Spanish Civil War Music: A Crescendo of Ideological Disjuncture

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Orwell's Key Observation

In December of 1936, Barcelona resembled a ghost town, with its residents carrying out their lives in an atmosphere of fear. Streets were barely lit in preparation for an air strike, shops were half-empty if not abandoned, and roads and buildings were completely in ruins. Among the wreckage, the Spanish people rummaged through the rubble in search of food for their children and wood to warm their homes. Living alongside the beat-down and crestfallen throngs of Barcelonans was a unit of the International Brigades, a group of troops sent by the Communist International to assist the Republicans during the Spanish Civil War. Among them was the English writer, George Orwell, who in the following decade would become a household name after the publication of his works, *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

In 1936, Orwell was simply a lieutenant fighting for the International Brigades, scribbling down his account of the war in a journal. These journal entries eventually made their way into his book, *Homage to Catalonia*, in which Orwell details the horrors and hardship of military life and captures the environment that engulfed Spain for three long years: "Down the Ramblas, the wide central artery of the town where crowds of people streamed constantly to and fro, the loud-speakers were bellowing revolutionary songs all day and far into the night... Above all, there was a belief in the revolution and the future, a feeling of having suddenly emerged into an era of equality and freedom." This passage of Orwell's illustrates the importance of music during the Spanish Civil War and underscores how music filled the lives of every Spanish citizen. Today, though few historians have mined this musical trove of primary sources, these songs can be used as windows into the past.

¹ George Orwell, "Excerpt from Homage to Catalonia," (London: Secker and Warburg, 1936), 2-3, accessed March 14, 2017, https://libcom.org/files/Homage%20to%20Catalonia%20-%20George%20Orwell.pdf

Through an analysis of music, historians can gain a deeper understanding of the Spanish Civil War and how it impacted the lives of the Spanish people. By evaluating the similarities between the songs of the Nationalists and Republicans, intellectuals can observe how both factions acknowledged the Civil War as one of the most dramatic and horrendous contests in Spanish history and therefore, used music as a way to encourage soldiers to persevere and to praise the efforts of certain individuals.² On the other hand, through an evaluation of the differences between Nationalist and Republican music, historians can examine how each bloc envisioned the conflict differently and what values helped to shape these contrasting images of the war. The concentration on music during the Spanish Civil War offers historians a new medium to explore how the Nationalist and Republican forces affected the lives of the Spanish people, but more importantly, how they embodied the opposing ideologies, which generated such a passionate conflict.

Striking a Chord

To analyze the conflict ideologies of the Nationalist and the Republicans, many historians focus on art produced during the Spanish Civil War era. Most research centers on the analysis of propaganda posters as visual testimonies of the war. According to historian Alexander Vergara, propaganda posters comprised an essential part of the visual landscape in which individuals

² The two opposing sides of the Spanish Civil War were known as the Nationalists, or the Right, and the Republicans, or the Left. The war began on July 18th, 1936 when a few of the most influential generals of the Spanish Army, led by General Francisco Franco rose up against the democratically elected Republican government. Franco led the Nationalists in a Civil War that would span three years. The war also transcended Spanish borders as the Republicans gained the Support of the Soviet Union and European democracies, while the fascist governments of Germany and Italy rallied behind Franco and the Nationalists. On April 1st, 1939, the Nationalists defeated the Republicans, marking the beginning of Franco's dictatorship, which would last until 1975.

living the tragedy of the war went about their daily business of survival.³ Further, Vergara emphasizes that while posters contribute to the visual landscape, they also formed a part of the psychological landscape, which included passionate ideology but also destruction, fear, and death.⁴ He explains that the distribution of posters can be used to deduce the morale of the people in the areas in which they were displayed. He elaborates that the most devastated areas, in particular, those loyal to the Republicans were flooded with posters in an attempt to inspire hope in the fight to preserve freedom. The message that many Republican posters conveyed was that a Spain under Fascist rule is a darker place than the Spain plagued by the destruction of the war. Vergara's argument supplements artistic analysis with psychological analysis to explain how propaganda posters portrayed messages that resonated with Spanish citizens during such a devastating time.⁵

Literature is another art form widely explored by historians when it comes to understanding the Spanish Civil war era and the contrasting mindsets at the time. The plays of Federico García Lorca have received particular attention in explaining the conflicting ideologies of the war. In "Federico García Lorca's Theater and Spanish Feminism," Roberta Johnson explains how Lorca explores the schism in Spanish society and how the existence of "two Spains" specifically influenced the role of women.⁶ As a result of the "two Spains," the traditional ideology concerning the role of women dominated society while feminism began to emerge as a small but vocal movement. Many of Lorca's plays feature characters that exhibit a

³ Alexander Vergara, "Images of Revolution and War," *Posters of the Spanish Civil War* (San Diego: University of California San Diego, 1998).

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ For other resources on the study of art from the Spanish Civil War, see Miriam Basilio's *Visual Propaganda, Exhibitions, and the Spanish Civil War*

⁶ The term "two Spains" describes how Spanish society was divided into liberal and conservative factions. Roberta Johnson, "Federico García Lorca's Theater and Spanish Feminism", *Anales de la literatura española contemporánea*, vol. 33, no. 2, (2008) 37-38

traditional view of women such as the belief that women are subservient to men and the belief that women should stay home and avoid participating in politics or business ventures. His plays also include characters representative of feminist ideals. These characters often believe that women have the right to be independent from the men in their lives and in many of Lorca's plays, the strife of these characters represents the feminist struggle for gender equality in Spanish society. Johnson argues that the interaction between these two types of characters in Lorca's plays symbolizes the clash between traditional and feminist views about women during the Spanish Civil War era. Carolyn Jean Hollis extends Johnson's argument and hones in on Lorca's use of color in his narration to depict the different mentalities. Analyzing a number of Lorca's works, Hollis contends that the color white represents purity. Through the use of white, Lorca reinforced traditional ideals. On the other hand, Hollis notes that green often symbolizes lust and sexuality in Lorca's plays. In this case, the color green embodies feminist values by promoting a sense of independence and liberation. Together, Johnson and Hollis' arguments demonstrate how literature was used to express the conflicting perspectives during the war especially through the portrayal of literary women.⁸

While art and literature have been well researched, historians have largely neglected the music of the Spanish Civil War. The few studies that do explore music during this era primarily focus on that of high culture or the music composed by classically trained musicians such as Manuel de Falla. Tómas Marco even claims "the civil war had a relatively small effect on

⁷ Carolyn Jean Hollis, *Color in Selected Dramas of Federico Garcia Lorca* (Manhattan Kansas: Kansas State University, 1966) 7-8.

⁸ For other resources on the study of literature from the Spanish Civil War, see Paul Preston's *The Spanish Civil War: Dreams and Nightmares*

⁹ Spanish high culture music was composed in orchestral style and the primary Spanish high culture composers were Manuel de Falla, Isaac Albeniz, and Enrique Granados. See Tomás Marco's *Spanish Music in the Twentieth Century* for more information.

Spanish music."¹⁰ Marco bases his argument on the contention that the production of classical masterpieces halted with the outbreak of the war. However, his argument neglects the widespread popularity and significance of patriotic songs and war anthems. The prevailing perception is that the war was nothing more than a disruption to the evolution of Spanish music and further, that war music is insignificant. This view has caused historians to discount evidence in the sources that suggests that music had an invaluable role during the war.

Contrary to the claims of most historians, music during the Spanish Civil War functioned a musical narrative for composers and songwriters to express how the conflict influenced the lives of the Spanish people. On one hand, music served an integral for the soldiers. Accompanied by portable instruments such as guitars and various brass instruments, these war anthems followed soldiers while marching into battle and at their camps. Almost all the songs from both factions were orchestrated in the style of group chant to promote a sense of unity among the singers. On the other hand, music accompanied the politics during the era. In August of 1937, General Francisco Franco, leader of the Nationalist faction, met with an Italian representative and had members of the army occupy the square to sing songs.

Spanish Civil War music was also readily available and widespread for Spanish citizens.

Newspapers from both factions every so often had advertisements for music concerts showcasing the popular war songs of the time. Music was also able to reach a greater audience in

¹⁰ Tomás Marco, *Spanish Music in the Twentieth Century*, trans. Cola Franzen (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1993), 9

¹¹ Information on the performance of Spanish Civil War music is limited. It is understood that songs was mostly performed in an informal setting – in homes, at the battlefields, in the camps, etc. However, advertisements in newspapers during the Spanish Civil Era reveal that most performances in theaters were free, enabling all classes of people to attend. In particular, this can see as Republican strategy to spread their agenda to the lower classes as this part of the population typically supported the Republicans.

comparison to art and literature as 30-70% of Spaniards were illiterate during the war. ¹² Unlike literature and art, music was accessible to all classes and the appreciation of music was not limited by one's education level.

The study of Spanish Civil War songs is crucial to understanding the conflict as a whole because it was fundamental for the Spanish citizen's and soldier's war experience and probably enjoyed a greater influence than other art forms due to its accessibility. With musical expression, the Nationalists and Republicans articulated the warfare's grave consequences and its ripple effect on the lives of the Spanish people. More specifically, historians can observe how both groups reflected the tragedy and suffering of the war through inspirational lyrics to motivate the population to continue in their respective fights, while also commending the contributions of certain individuals. Additionally, a musical analysis of Spanish Civil War music reveals the ideological disharmony within Spanish society, which principles each side drew upon and how each side's outlooks resonated with different subgroups.

The Shared Melody

From 1936 to 1939, the Spanish people engaged in fierce conflict that ravaged the entire nation: air raids razed cities, economic blockades starved the population, and by the end of it all the war claimed close to 500,000 soldiers and citizens. Tragedy touched the lives of all in Spain and in the face of this destructive loss many hesitated to fight. In an attempt to boost the morale of soldiers and civilians alike, the Nationalists and the Republicans used songs as instruments of solidarity to encourage soldiers to persevere. E. Pendemonti Guillén in "Canción del legionario"

¹² Joan Domke, "Education, Fascism, and the Catholic Church in Franco's Spain." (PhD diss., Loyola University Chicago, 2011), 31

¹³ "Spanish Civil War: Casualties," last modified September, 1997 http://spartacus-educational.com/SPcasualties.htm

or "Legion Song" reminds Nationalist supporters that a victory will change the course of Spanish history and if the soldiers keep fighting, they will achieve triumphant glory: "By the same ideal and with the same purpose of feat and victory, add to the Spanish history new awards of ardent patriotism. The Legion will come to the point of heroism by the triumphant path of glory."¹⁴ Here, Guillén stresses the impact of the Civil War. By recognizing the historical significance of the conflict, the lyricist attempts to motivate Nationalist supporters to mobilize and to keep striving for a Nationalist victory because the Right has the ability to change the course of Spanish history and the capability of designing the nation to their liking. Similarly, the Republican composer in "Canción Patriotica" or "Patriotic Song" stresses the importance of the conflict and reminds the Republicans of their sense of duty: "Let's go the field, which is glory to depart. The warrior horn calls us to the front; The motherland, oppressed with ayes without end, summons his children; their echoes heard."15 Like the Nationalist composer, the Republican songwriter encourages Republicans to remember their obligation to fight. Both factions of the Spanish Civil War utilized music to motivate their respective supporters to endure the hardship and suffering of war. This particular function of music during the Spanish Civil War also indicates the widespread impression the war left on the lives of the Spanish people.

Music also served as testaments to the ardent patriotism of war heroes and other important figures. By acknowledging the efforts of these esteemed individuals, composers praised them for their contributions to the war while also depicting these figures as role models for the rest of the population to model after. In "Madrid y su herorico defensor" or "Madrid and

¹⁴ "Por un mismo ideal y con un mismo propósito de hazaña y de victoria añadir a la Española historia nuevos lauros de ardiente patriotismo. La Legión llegará hasta el heroísmo por el triunfal camino de la gloria" Marco Antonio de la Ossa Martínez, "La música en la Guerra Civil Española." (PhD diss., La Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2009), 242-243.

¹⁵ "Partamos al campo, que es gloria el partir. La trompa guerrera nos llama a lid; la patria, oprimida, con ayes sin fin, convoca a sus hijos, sus ecos oíd..." Ibid. 242.

its Heroic Defender," the Republican lyricist highlights general Miaja as a war hero for the Republican cause: "Who do you have in your defense? You have General Miaja!" By characterizing General Miaja as a skilled war general, the Republican songwriter praises Miaja's efforts in the war and also establishes him as a paragon for the Republicans worth modeling after. Likewise, "El Quinto Regimiento" or the "Fifth Regiment," is a Republican war song dedicated to the Fifth Regiment. The songwriter, Petere Herrera, even mentions specific people within the song such as the regiment commander, Carlos, and overall, depicts the Fifth Regiment as fierce fighters in the war: "With Commander Carlos there is no militiaman, with fear... fighting in Spain's fiercest battles are the bravest of every village."¹⁷ Here, Herrera recognizes Commander Carlos as a formidable foe for the Nationalists and characterizes the Fifth Regiment as a group of soldiers whose bravery deserves laudation. Nationalist music also highlights important figures for their cause in an effort to gain momentum for their movement while also paying tribute to certain individuals. In "Tenemos un caudillo" or "We Have A Leader," the Nationalist songwriter portrays General Francisco Franco, the leader of the Nationalists, as notable and deserving head of the party: "Our guide and captain, united in wartime, brotherhood in peaceful times. Only to you we swear. As our guide and captain that we loyally promise to follow."18 Here, the composer identifies General Franco as the leader of the Nationalists and argues that he deserves the loyalty of all. By including the names of war heroes and political figures in their music, the Nationalists and the Republicans turned these individuals into symbols for the cause, exalted them for their contributions, and became models for the citizenry.

¹⁶ "A quién tienes en tu defensa? Tienes al general Miaja!!" Ibid. 246.

¹⁷ "Con el comandante Carlos no hay miliciano, con miedo... Se va lo ejor de España, la flor mas roja del pueblo" Ibid. 243.

¹⁸ "Nuestro guía y capitán; unidos en la Guerra hermanados en la paz, tan solo a ti juramos como guía y capitán que prometemos seguir con lealtad" "Tenemos un caudillo," accessed March 20, 2017 http://www.rumbos.net/cancionero/4560_010.htm

Lastly, the Nationalists and Republicans used music as a means of propaganda during the Spanish Civil war, spreading their respective ideologies through song. Through this function of music, both sides targeted certain subgroups within the Spanish population to garner support for Nationalist and Republican causes. When the Second Spanish Republic was established in 1931, it fanned the flames of the already divided Spanish society and ultimately, gave way to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. Within its first three years of political control, the Republic attempted to structure Spanish society more equally by taking away the privileges and power of the wealthy and elite while simultaneously granting political rights and civil liberties to the peasants and urban workers. More specifically, through its agrarian reforms, the Republic dismantled latifundia estates, through which the landed elite controlled large landmasses and exploited landless peasants for cheap labor. In the cities, the Republic addressed poor working conditions and passed legislation granting social security benefits and the freedom to strike without the fear of dismissal. The government also introduced the eight-hour working day. In addition, the Republic fought to keep the power of the Catholic Church out of political affairs and passed a number of anti-clerical reforms. Before these reforms, the Catholic Church exercised substantial power and influence in the Spanish government. Political leaders of the Republic attempted to separate the Church and state by declaring Spain a secular state, ending government financial support to the Church, banning teaching by religious orders to end the Church's monopoly in education, and legalizing divorce and civil marriage. With regards to the military, the Republic reduced the number of officers, closed the conservative military academy at Zaragoza, and even moved some right-wing officers to lower positions. And finally concerning the separatist regions in Spain, the Second Republic granted limited autonomy in

Catalonia and even established a Catalan Parliament, the *Generalitat*, which controlled one-third of Catalan taxation.

Ultimately, the actions of the Republic created a schism within Spanish society, giving rise to the Nationalist and Republican factions. Driven by contrasting ideologies and differing visions of what constituted a "better Spain," the Nationalists and the Republicans clashed in a three-year-long civil war. While both sides employed music to boost the morale of soldiers and recognize important figures, the most significant use of music during the Spanish Civil War is as a mode to promote each faction's values. Through an ideological analysis of the Nationalist and Republican songs, much can be said about the conflicting images of the war and how their respective outlooks resonated with certain sects of the Spanish population.

Nationalist Music: Moving Forward by Going Back

Threatened by the Second Spanish Republic, General Francisco Franco and the Nationalists instigated the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 and for the duration of the war, the Nationalists perceived the conflict as a necessary means to install a disciplined and traditional-minded regime. Two years after the war began, the Nationalists established the *Delegación Nacional de Prensa y Propaganda* or the National Delegation of Press and Propaganda (DNPP) as an effort to disseminate their ideas through newspapers, pamphlets, and even through music. ¹⁹ To propagate their ideology, the DNPP used a variety of songs. Some songs were written by party leaders, others were Nazi songs translated into Castilian, and a few were even reused anthems from previous Spanish conservative political movements. However, most of the composers were not prominent Nationalist leaders, but were Spanish citizens that

¹⁹ While I have found no evidence proving that the DNPP broadcasted Nationalist songs over their radio stations, it can be inferred that the Nationalists used radio stations as a way to spread their ideals through music. As a bare minimum, the Nationalists must've broadcasted their organization's anthem.

came from a more modest background. Therefore, a majority of Nationalist music was written by Nationalist supporters outside the *Falange*, the Spanish Fascist party, vanguard and was then promoted by party leaders as songs to spread the Nationalist agenda.

Interestingly, the Nationalist mindset drew support from both the wealthy Spanish elite and the rural peasants. What attracted both ends of the social strata was the Nationalist agenda to reverse the reforms of the Republic to renew the omnipotence of the Catholic Church and to institute a political regime incorporating traditional values. In particular, the Nationalist mentality reflected the interests of the upper classes whose social status waned with the enactment of the Republic's legislation. Likewise, the rural classes allied with the upper classes believing that the Catholic Church's preponderance was essential to uphold order in the country. Finally, both groups felt threatened by the liberalization of society due to their dedication to traditional values.

During the Second Republic's administration, the Spanish upper classes – nobles, Church officials, the bourgeoisie, and the military – lost significant power and privileges. Before the Republic's agrarian reforms, the nobility and the Church controlled two-thirds of the land in the country. Therefore, these landholding classes perceived efforts to redistribute land as a threat to their social status and wealth. The bourgeoisie also felt targeted by the Republic's urban reforms. By securing social security benefits, establishing an eight-hour workday, and guaranteeing seven days paid leave per year, the Republic aimed to end the exploitation that kept members of the bourgeoisie wealthy and in control in urban areas. The Republic also undermined the power of the military primarily through reducing the size of the army. Weakened by the Republic's reforms, these sections within the Spanish upper class rallied behind the Nationalist agenda as

²⁰ John D. Stephens, "Democratic Transitions and Breakdown in Western Europe, 1870-1939: A Test of the Moore Thesis" *American Journal of Sociology*, vol 94, no. 5. (March, 1989) 1060.

Franco and the Nationalists promised the reinstatement of the hierarchy that had once benefited them.

The Nationalist movement also garnered support from the rural peasants who were concerned about the Republic's efforts to separate the Church and State and overall, weaken the Church's dominance in Spain. While most of Spain identified as Catholic at the time, not many attended mass or demonstrated serious religious commitment with the exception of those who lived in the Spanish countryside. These rustic residents accredited the Catholic Church as a fundamental institution to maintain order and to enforce discipline among the Spanish people. In conjunction with the Church officials who wanted to maintain power, the rural classes also regarded the Catholic Church as a keystone of Spanish heritage: "Spain, without the cross, will cease to be Spain." Among Nationalist supporters, the predominant attitude was that the Republic failed Spain through the lawless act of suppressing the Catholic Church, the foundation of Spanish convention and moral order. Driven by this conviction, the rural class allied with the upper classes in an effort to restore the Church's hegemony, believing this religious renewal would expunge the aftermath of the Republic's anti-clerical reforms.

Additionally, Nationalist exponents deemed the Second Spanish Republic's reforms too radical. Given a conservative mindset, policies that granted women political rights and allowed divorce veered from the Nationalist mentality of traditional gender roles and disrupted the conventional image of the family. More specifically, the anti-clerical reforms led to violent attacks against Church property through Spain in May 1931 in which more than 100 buildings were vandalized or looted.²² The Nationalists construed this defacing of Church property as an

²¹ "España, sin la Cruz, dejaría de ser España," "Los que es España para los Requetes" El Requeté: Dios-Patria-Fueros-Rey, January 1, 1939 no. 2, 1.

²² "Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939," https://limun.org.uk/FCKfiles/File/Spanish_Civil_War_Source_3.pdf, 80

attack on religion and understood these extremist aggressions as evidence that the Republic would give way to chaos in Spanish society. Through its denunciations of the Republic's legislation and its call to reestablish the Church's dominion, the Nationalist faction attracted the sects within the Spanish population who lost power during the Republic's reign, upheld the Church as a vital force for order, and clung to conservative ideals. Through music, the Nationalists spoke to these parts of the population by expressing the importance of religion and tradition to their cause, referencing key Spanish historical figures as embodiments of the goals of Franco's movement, and advocating for the necessity for a new political regime in place of the Second Spanish Republic.

Nationalist dogma endorsed religion and tradition as imperative to the enforcement of propriety among the Spanish population. These elements of the Nationalist viewpoint were mirrored in earlier political movements. The motives of the Spanish *Falange*, the Spanish Fascist political party, parallel those of the Carlists during the 19th century. Both the Nationalists and the Carlists wanted to ordain the Catholic Church as a key influence in the matters of the Spanish state and simultaneously, reestablish an autocratic regime. Echoing Carlist beliefs, the Nationalists adopted the Carlist anthem during the Spanish Civil War. Ignacio Baleztena wrote "Marcha de Oriamendi" or "March of Oriamendi" to outline the Carlist doctrine during the Carlist wars: "For God, Fatherland and the King, our forefathers fought. For God, Fatherland and

²³ Carlism was a movement that emerged following the crisis of Spanish succession after the death of Ferdinand VII of Spain. Ferdinand's fourth wife María Cristina became Queen Regent on behalf of their daughter, Isabella. Outraged by the idea of a woman on the throne, the Carlists rallied behind Carlos, the brother of Ferdinand – believing that Carlos deserved the throne. In a series of wars, the Carlists fought against the Cristinos, those who supported María Cristina as a monarch and her shift from conservative to moderate politics.

the King, we will fight as well."²⁴ Here, Baleztena identifies the three principal tenets of the Carlist movement: religion, nationalism and tradition. In the case of the Carlist wars, the Carlists were inspired to oppose the Cristinos to maintain religious values in Spain, to uphold Spain's prestige as a nation, and to place the man, whom they believed to be the rightful King on the throne. The motivations for the Carlists reflected those of the Nationalists and by continuing to perform this song during the Spanish Civil War, the Nationalists reinforced this fact. The Nationalists fought to strengthen the role of religion in society, to return Spain to its former glory through the establishment of a new political regime, and to rid Spain of the Republic and reestablish an autocratic government.

Baleztena also hones in on the importance of tradition for the Carlists and writes: "We shall fight, all together. All together in union defending the banner of Sacred Tradition." By this, Baleztena argues that the Carlists must band together to fight the liberals in order to defend traditional values. More specifically, Baleztena declares the Carlists must fight to remove María Cristina and later Isabella from the throne, as the Carlists considered women unfit to rule. Corresponding with the Carlists' indignation to María Cristina's unconventional rule, the Nationalists believed the Republic deviated too far from traditional values and new state leadership is necessary to restore order. Through the use of "March of Oriamendi," the Nationalists echoed the motivations of the Carlists by declaring the need to restore Spain's glory by reinforcing the importance of religious and traditional values. By doing so, they appealed to those who were conservative-minded citizens and devout Catholics.

²⁴ "Por Dios, por la patria y el rey lucharon nuestros padres; por Dios, por la patria y el rey lucharemos nosotros también" Marco Antonio de la Ossa Martínez, "La música en la Guerra Civil Española" (PhD diss., La Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2009), 666

²⁵ "Lucharemos todos juntos, todo juntos en unión defendiendo la bandera de la santa tradición" Ibid.

Nationalist lyricists also used Spanish historical figures as symbols of the Nationalist movement. In "En pie, camaradas" or "Standing, comrades," the anonymous Nationalist composer references Isabella and Ferdinand to demonstrate the Nationalist goal of restructuring Spain by strengthening the Catholic Church once more. ²⁶ Through the lyrics, the Nationalist songwriter links the reign of the Catholic monarchs to the Fascist movement: "From Ferdinand and Isabella, the spirit reigns. We will die kissing his sacred flag. Our glorious Spain again must be the powerful nation that never stopped winning." Here, the lyricist references Isabella and Ferdinand because they are credited for the unification of Spain by enforcing religious purity and thereby, strengthening the role of Catholicism within Spanish society. By this, the composer is comparing the devout monarchs' use of Catholicism to consolidate Spain and their emphasis on the role of religion to Franco's plan to strengthen Spain by reinforcing religion and tradition and also to Franco's objective to reestablish the Catholic Church in state affairs. ²⁹ Likewise, the rule of Isabella and Ferdinand is characterized as the beginning of a prosperous era not only as a

²⁶ Queen Isabella I of Castile and King Ferdinand II of Aragon, also known as the Catholic monarchs, married in 1469. Their marriage is considered the cause of the unification of Spain, marking the beginning of modern Spain. The rule of the Catholic monarchs was characterized by many policies to ensure religious purity in Spain in order to impose unity and order. Isabella and Ferdinand ordered the expulsion of all Jews and Muslims from Spain. Those who converted to Catholicism could remain. ²⁷ "De Isabel y Fernando el espíritu impera. Moriremos besando su sagrada bandera. Nuestra España gloriosa nuevamente ha de ser La Nación poderosa que jamás dejó de vencer" Martínez, op cit. 247 ²⁸ The specific policies targeted as maintaining Catholic orthodoxy in Spain began in 1478 with the establishment of the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, commonly known as the Spanish Inquisition, by Ferdinand and Isabella. Replacing the Medieval Inquisition, which was under papal control, the Spanish Inquisition was intended to ensure orthodoxy of those who converted from Judaism and Islam. The regulation of faith intensified with the royal decrees issued in 1492 and again in 1502, which ordered Spanish Jews and Muslims to convert to Catholicism or leave Spain. ²⁹ Franco and the Nationalists believed that Spain lost its way under the Second Spanish Republic and therefore, one of the main aims of the Nationalist agenda was to restore the power of the Catholic Church. After the war, Franco would sign a Concordat in August 1953 which did the following: recognized Catholicism as the official religion of the country, enforced mandatory religious instruction at all educational levels in conformity with Catholic dogma, reinstate financial of the Church by the state, and guaranteed representation in both press and radio. In return, Franco was granted the right to help select bishops. The Nationalist and the Church worked together to strengthen each other's power in Spain as their interests overlapped.

result of Spain's unification, but also due to Columbus' discovery of the New World. Therefore, the Nationalist writer argues that a Nationalist victory, and Franco's reign will bring Spain back to the glory of its Golden Age.³⁰ The Nationalist use of "Standing, comrades" during the war targeted supporters of the Catholic Church and members of the middle class by referencing prominent figures of Spanish history and thereby, expressing the Fascist commitment to religion and tradition and recognition of the Catholic Church as an organization that can once again impose discipline. The employment of "Standing, comrades" also emphasizes that the *Falange* will restore Spain's prestige, while the Republicans will not.

The Nationalist songwriter in "Diana Azul" or "Blue Target" also mentions historical figures in an effort to evoke the Nationalist belief that the Catholic Church was crucial to maintain the Spanish nation. This Nationalist song called upon Spanish women that supported the Nationalists and urged them to model themselves after Agustina of Aragon and Queen Isabella. Both of these women are prominent figures in Spanish history, remembered for their contributions to the country. Agustina of Aragon was a war heroine during the Spanish War of Independence and has been the focal point much artwork and folklore. I Likewise, as mentioned before, Queen Isabella I was revered as one of the principal unifiers of modern Spain. Alongside her husband, Queen Isabella imposed religious purity and ruled at the beginning of the Spanish empire. In "Blue Target," the Nationalist writer describes the ideal Nationalist woman as "a sunrise with ideal heat, house forger, sanctuary of love, heroine of your home... Loyal follower of the sacred duty of virtue without equal. First of all, woman! Agustina in courage, Isabella in

³⁰ Martínez. Op cit. 247.

³¹ Agustina Raimunda María Saragossa Doménech or Agustina of Aragon is widely regarded as the "Spanish Joan of Arc" and was a leader for the Spanish resistance in the Spanish War of Independence (1807-1814). When the war began, she was only a civilian but due to her heroic acts throughout the course of the war, she rose to a position in the Spanish army.

peace."32 Here, the writer describes the perfect Nationalist woman as a zealous patriotic and nurturing homemaker. This ideal of womanhood reflects Fascist ideology because the Nationalists cleaved to traditional gender roles, which define the role of women as the caretaker of the household. Additionally, the writer identifies Agustina and Isabella as famous figures for Nationalist women to emulate. By mentioning Agustina, the Nationalist composer encourages Nationalist women to act valiantly within the Nationalist gender construct during the war. By referencing Isabella, the Nationalist songwriter reminds Nationalist supporters that Franco's ambitions parallel the achievements of the Catholic Monarchs and that the Nationalists view religion as a unifying force and a mechanism for peace. In addition, the composer depicts the Nationalist woman as a devout Catholic and turns to religion for comfort during the painful uncertainty and worry of war. "Blue Target" portrays the ideal Nationalist women and makes historical allusions to Agustina of Aragon and Queen Isabella as archetypes. By doing so, the Nationalist lyricist celebrates the role of women during the war while simultaneously restricting their function within the confines of traditional gender roles.

Nationalists also used music to promote the belief that a new political regime was needed to replace the Second Spanish Republic. For Franco and the Nationalists, this new government

³² "un sol de amanecer con calor de ideal, forjadora de hogar, santuario de amor, heroína sin par de su hogar… Cumplidora leal de sagrado deber de virtud sin igual. Ante todo mujer! Agustina en valor, Isabel en la paz…" Martínez. Op cit. 646.

³³ The use of Agustina is particularly interesting because Agustina is the very antithesis of the perfect Nationalist woman. Nationalist women were not encouraged to go up in arms and fight alongside soldiers as Agustina did during the Spanish War of Independence. The Nationalist woman was portrayed as a passive individual who patiently waited and prayed for her husband to return from war while taking care of her children and family. In this case, the reference to Agustina is meant to evoke a sense of urgency to the role of Nationalist women. While the Nationalist woman was encouraged to be passive in her role as a wife and as a woman in society, her role as a woman was complementary to that of a man. The Nationalist woman served an important job and had an equivalent responsibility in comparison to a man's. The only difference is what comprised this function. The Nationalist composer intended to further characterize the Nationalist woman within traditional gender roles as a homemaker; however, the writer expands upon this concept and encourages Nationalist women that even though they cannot fight alongside men, they can perform their role as a mother and wife courageously while holding down the fort at while the men are fighting the war.

would be built upon conservative ideals, would facilitate a symbiotic relationship between Church and State, and renew traditional social hierarchy in which the upper classes benefited from the exploitation of the poor. José Antonio Primo de Rivera composed "Cara al sol" or "Face to the Sun" to express this mindset.³⁴ Serving as an ideological and emotional binding for their supporters, "Face to the Sun" became a very popular Nationalist war song and was regarded as the Spanish Falange anthem. 35 Through the imagery of light in the first stanza, "Facing the sun in my new shirt," Primo de Rivera equates the light, or hope, of this new regime to the better times ahead in Spain.³⁶ This use of imagery contrasts the light of the new regime to the darkness that represents the Republican regime – conveying the Nationalist opinion that the Republic weakened Spain's prominence as a nation by undermining the values that make the country great. Additionally, to further argue the importance of a new regime, Primo de Rivera uses the "new shirt" as a symbol for the new Fascist government that will bring Spain towards a better future.³⁷ Towards the end of the song, Primo de Rivera states: "Spring will laugh again."³⁸ Spring in this lyric symbolizes the prosperous rebirth of Spain after a time of desolation in the winter, while winter on the other hand represents the Republican regime. Through this symbolism of spring and winter, Primo de Rivera urges his audience that a Nationalist victory will precipitate a prosperous era for Spain and argues that the Republic's policies have subverted Spain's illustriousness. By using "Face to the Sun" as their anthem, the Nationalists spoke to those who were angered by the actions of the Second Spanish Republic by emphasizing the

³⁴ Primo de Rivera founded the Spanish *Falange* and remained its leader until he was executed by the Spanish republican government during the war.

³⁵ Originally, the Spanish Falange translated Nazi songs into Castilian and used those at rallies and other important events. Recognizing the importance of an anthem, "Face to the Sun" was written and served as the anthem for the Spanish Falange.

³⁶ "Cara al sol con la camisa nueva" José Antonio Primo de Rivera, writer. Cara Al Sol. (Military Archives Records, 2006). CD

³⁷ "Volverá a reír la primavera" Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

belief that the Fascists could establish a new political regime that will reestablish Spain as a great nation by returning power to those who contributed to its supremacy.

Republican Music: A Defense of Progress

Restoring elements of Spain's past political structure was antithetical to the goals of Spanish Republicans, who favored reform. The Second Spanish Republic was established in 1931. Within the first three years of its administration, the Republic passed a series of reforms in an effort to address rural inequality, unemployment and the exploitation of labor. Interpreting the Nationalist uprising against the Republic as an attack on freedom and a call to reestablish the previously oppressive hierarchy, supporters of the Republican movement fought to defend the Second Republic and its attempts to combat inequality in Spanish society. The Republicans attracted the support of the political left, including Communists, Socialists and Anarchists. In addition to leftist support, the Republicans also received assistance from foreign nations, including the Soviet Union and international groups such as the International Brigades. The Catalonians hoped that with a Republican victory, Catalan sovereignty could expand. It was laborers and urban workers, thought, who comprised the largest group that rallied behind the Republicans. Comprising 25.6% of the Spanish population, the working class remained loyal to the Republican cause because the Republican government granted these individuals political rights such as freedom of speech and freedom of association.³⁹ Additionally, during the Second Republic's administration, the government passed a number of reforms that tried to improve the lives of the working class by targeting the poor working conditions.

³⁹ Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939," https://limun.org.uk/FCKfiles/File/Spanish_Civil_War_Source_3.pdf, 75

At the beginning of the war, the Republicans established *Oficina de Propaganda e Información de la Subsecretaría de la Presidencia del Gobierno* or the Office of Propaganda and Information of the Undersecretariat of the Presidency of the Government at the beginning of the war. This Republican organization was aimed at rebuilding the prestige of the Republic and regaining support of the population through propaganda campaigns utilizing film, radio, and pamphlets. Similar to the Nationalists, the Republicans used Castilian-translated songs, mainly Socialist anthems in French or Russian for their cause. In addition, the Republicans incorporated anthems of the Second Spanish Republic into their musical repertoire during the war. However, many of the Republican songwriters were from the lower classes and most of these lyricists are unknown or anonymous. While these songs come from various sources, they all aim to celebrate the working class, denounce fascism, and characterize the war as a fight for freedom.

Throughout the course of the war, the Republicans focused on the working class in order to recruit the working class for the Republican movement because they were a large portion of the population and had interests that coincided with those of the Republican mentality. Republican propaganda chiefly capitalized on the working class' struggle against the oppression by the upper classes. According to Republican media that circulated at the time, the Nationalist objective embodied all the injustices that the Republic worked hard to eradicate from Spanish society: "Fascism is exploitation, crime, and organized theft." By depicting Fascism as a vehicle for abuse of the working class, the Republicans appealed to urban workers and laborers and gained their support during the war.

Through the use of music, the Republican composers envisioned the Spanish Civil War as a passionate struggle between the Spanish elite and those the upper class abused. Lyrically, writers

⁴⁰ "El fascismo es la explotación, el crimen y el robo oragnizados," Abril – Portavoz de las Izquierda (July 18, 1936) no 61, 2.

concentrated on the tragedy and suffering of the war to give value to the hardship that the Republicans endured and to also argue that a Fascist victory will only continue this environment of pain and loss by creating a repressive regime. Valeriano Orobón Fernández opens his song, "A las barricadas" or "To the Barricades" with imagery of a storm to represent the Republican fight against the Fascists: "Black storms shake the sky, dark clouds blind us... Although pain and death await us, duty calls us against the enemy."41 Here, Fernández uses "black storms" and "dark clouds" to represent the Fascist threat present in Spain. He acknowledges that pain and death are imminent for the Republicans, but their responsibility to defend their rights and their freedom overrides their fear of suffering. 42 The pain and loss involved in fighting was portrayed as incomparable to the suffering if the Fascists were to succeed. He continues this sentiment in the second stanza by stating, "the most precious good is freedom... And we have to defend it with faith and courage."43 Once again, Fernández stresses the importance of the Republican cause, but argues that the end goal is not political power, but freedom. By characterizing the conflict as a fight for freedom and not as a pursuit for power by one political group, Fernández was making an appeal to the working class. The working class was not concerned with whether or not they had political power. It seemed that working class people favored the establishment of a government that would ensure equality and freedom as the Republic had attempted to do. Additionally, Fernández establishes the revolutionary flag as a symbol for their cause; while people sacrifice their lives, the flag is a constant. In the ideal world depicted in the song, the revolutionary flag was present in every battle to carry the Republican soldiers through their pain and suffering, an enduring symbol of a fight worth dying for. Here, music amplifies the visual

⁴¹ "Negras tormentas agitan los aires nubes oscuras nos impeden ver. Anque nos espere el dolor y la muerte contra el enemigo nos llama el deber" Valeriano Orobón Fernández. A Las Barricadas. Odisea Records, 2001. CD.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ "el bien más preciado es la libertad... hay que defenderla con fe y valor" Ibid.

imagery of the war as the revolutionary flag was a symbol illustrated in many forms of the Republican art. Likewise, Fernández identifies the Spanish working people as those who are marching into battle, alluding to the Republican notion that the working class had been exploited and disadvantaged at the hands of the privileged and must fight for their rights, their dignity, and their freedom. "To the Barricades" illustrates the Republican perspective of the Spanish Civil War because it celebrates the central role of the Spanish working class in the fight to defend their freedom.

"Hijos del pueblo" or "Sons of the People" is an example of a Republican war song that envisions the Civil War as a fight for freedom: "sons of the people, chains are oppressed and that injustice can not follow..." Here, the lyricist emphasizes that the people have suffered and this oppression will worsen if the Fascists prevail. While times are tough now, it is important to find the will to fight, because a Fascist victory will crush the Spanish people. Additionally, this musical piece acknowledges the internal conflicts that plague the Republican forces and highlights for all Republican supporters that there is a greater enemy: "In the battle, the fascist hyena by our effort will succumb... our banner one must be: only in union is victory". By this, the lyricist stresses that people need to set aside their differences to fight the Fascists.

The original version of "*Himno de Riego*" or "Anthem of Riego" by José Melchor Gomis was used as the national anthem of Spain during the Second Republic. The lyrics of the original version coincided with the messages of other Republican songs and served as a call to arms: "Soldiers, the country calls us to the fight. Let us swear for her to succeed or to die". ⁴⁶ Gomis also appeals to the common people by referencing Cid, the national hero and protagonist of the

⁴⁴ Smithsonian Folkways. "Songs of the Spanish Civil War." 2016. Accessed 2016.

⁴⁵ "En la batalla, la hiena fascista, por nuestro esfuerzo sucumbirá… Nuestro pendón uno ha de ser: solo en la unión está el vencer" Ibid.

⁴⁶ "Soldados, la patria nos llama a la lid. Juremos por ella vencer o morir" Martínez. Op cit. 512.

most significant and popular Spanish epic poem, *El Cantar de Mío Cid* or *The Song of the Cid*: "Our voices shall astonish the world, which will see as the children of the Cid". ⁴⁷ Here, Gomis makes an effort to inspire the Republican supporters by calling them the children of the Cid. Known for his widespread heroic acts, Cid is revered by Spaniards as a legendary military leader and has become a national icon for the country. By making this reference to Cid, Gomis claims that Republican supporters have the same capacity to be just as powerful and important to Spain through their dedication to the war effort.

Interestingly, the satirical version of this song became extremely popular amongst Spaniards during the Spanish Civil War: "If priests and monks knew the beating they were going to receive, they'd make a chorus and sing, 'Liberty, liberty, liberty!'... A man was pooping but had no paper. King Alfonso XIII came by so he wiped his ass with him". 48 The rudeness of the lyrics demonstrates Republican dislike and irreverence of church authorities and monarchy. The beating that the priests and monks receive is symbolic of the Church exploitation of the Spanish people through its extensive power and privileges it once enjoyed before the Republic.

Additionally, the vulgar interaction with King Alfonso XIII represents the Republican notion that the monarchy has mistreated the Spanish people and the Republicans would happily reciprocate this sentiment. Ultimately, through this blunt, subversive behavior, the anonymous songwriter channels the Left's ideology by demonstrating how the Spanish people have been oppressed by the Church and monarchy.

The phrase "they shall not pass" is a slogan used to convey tenacity to defend a position against an enemy and was most famously employed in the First World War by French General

⁴⁷ "De nuestros acentos el orbe se admire y en nosotros mire los hijos del Cid" Ibid.

⁴⁸ "Si los curas y frailers supieran, la paliza que les van a dar, subirían al coro cantando: Libertad, libertad, libertad! … Un hombre estaba cagando y no tenía papel, pasó el Rey Alfonso XIII Y se limpió el culo con él!" Smithsonian Folkways. "Songs of the Spanish Civil War." 2016. Accessed 2016.

Robert Nivelle. 49 During the Spanish Civil War, Dolores Ibárruri Gómez, a member of the Spanish Communist Party also adopted this slogan in a famous speech. ⁵⁰ In "No pasarán" or "They Shall Not Pass," Siroski uses imagery of the destructive warfare in an attempt to demonize the Nationalists: "The fascist bullets, the fascist bombers, they leave our cities a smoking mass. They want to plunder and rule our country, but at Madrid – they shall not pass!"51 Here, Siroski portrays the Fascists as the enemy who demolished Spanish villages, towns and cities, leaving many homeless. However, while arguing that the Nationalists have annihilated many areas in the country, the composer declares that the Nationalists will not take the capital. Seizure of the capital equates to ultimate defeat of the Republicans. Therefore, by arguing that the Nationalists will not occupy Madrid expresses the need to continue to fight. The Republicans have to persevere and do everything possible to prevent a Nationalist victory. Siroski continues to attribute the horrors of war to the Fascists to incite the Republicans to continue to fight: "They murder women, old men and children – a fascist action, a coward's crime. These deeds of horror will be remembered, will blacken ever the page of time."52 By doing so, Siroski reminds the Republic supporters that the Fascists commit tremendous crimes during the war and have directly affected their lives. Additionally, Siroski implies that since the Fascists are capable of horrific deeds, they will continue to oppress and make the Spanish people suffer if they win the war. By claiming that the Nationalist crimes will be remembered in history, the songwriter

⁴⁹ The original French translation *is* "*ils ne passeront pas.*" More specifically, it was most famously used during the Battle of Verdun and after, appeared on propaganda posters.

⁵⁰ Dolores Ibárruri Gómez was a Spanish Republican heroine and is referred to as *la Pasionaria* or "who has passion." She is best known for her "*No Pasarán*" speech during the Battle for Madrid in November 1936. Upon the Nationalist seizure of the capital, Franco replied with this slogan with "*hemos pasado*" or "we have passed."

⁵¹ "En el espacio van los fascistas, bombas aéreas destrozarán, la bella urba capitaliana, pero a Madrid, No pasaran!" Martínez. Op cit. 572-573.

⁵² "Matan mujeres, niños y ancianos, que por las calles suelen andar. Esta es la hazaña de los fascistas, que allá en la historia se ha de grabar" Ibid.

argues that the effect of these actions are widespread and will continue to affect future generations.

Instrumental Significance

Lyrically, the Nationalists and Republicans used music to promote their respective ideologies. However, it is also important to evaluate the instrumental similarities and differences within extant compositions from the period. Composers from both factions orchestrated musical pieces in the style of group chant and in the style of marches. Each side aimed to create a sense of unity among their troops and to enable soldiers to sing their faction's anthem while walking into battle. To accomplish this, the Nationalist and Republicans wrote their songs using simple time signatures. 53 In La Música de la Guerra Civil Española, Marco Antonio de la Ossa Martínez observes in the Nationalist songs he analyzes that three are composed in \(^3\)4 time, five in 6/8, eight in 4/4, and fifteen in 2/4. For the Republican side, Martínez finds, seven in 6/8, thirty two in 2/4 and forty five in 4/4. While marches can be written in any time signature, marches are most commonly written in 4/4, 6/8 and 2/4. These time signatures are simple and enable the soldiers to easily set their pace to the rhythm of the song unlike other more complex time signatures. Martínez's observations therefore recognize a predominance of songs created to accompany marches. Both the Nationalists and Republicans composed songs written in simple time signatures to facilitate soldiers marching to their faction's war songs and therefore, promoting a sense of unity on the battlefront.

Across both factions' musical pieces, there is a prevalence of simple time signatures; however, there is a clear distinction in the musical keys in which each side wrote their songs. As a result, the Nationalists and the Republicans demonstrated instrumentally their different motives

⁵³ A time signature is usually written as a fraction to indicate the rhythm of a musical piece. The numerator gives the number of beats per bar while the denominator defines what kind of note is used as a unit of time.

and perspectives on the war.⁵⁴ In Martínez's analysis of Spanish Civil War music, he also notes that almost all of the Nationalist songs are composed in a major key. This reflects the Nationalist agenda of promoting the idea that a Nationalist victory will precipitate a prosperous era for Spain. Through the use of a major key, the Nationalist composers characterized their music instrumentally with a sense of brilliance and joviality. In contrast, about half of the Republican songs Martínez analyzes are written in a minor key, the other half written in a major key. This supports the notion that the Republican faction honed in on the tragedy of the war to garner support for their movement as half of their songs had an instrumentally sad connotation. While both factions were rhythmically similar, Nationalist and Republican music differed in the musical keys they were written in, demonstrating the conflicting tones of each side during the war. In conjunction with the lyrics, the music exhibited in Spanish Civil War songs demonstrates how culture reflected this momentous period in history and how the opposing sides shared aims while simultaneously attempted to promote distinctive philosophies.

Ceaseless Vibrato

Luis Díaz Viana asserts "almost all wars and revolutions are made to the sound of songs and music." This statement was bolstered by George Orwell's account of the Spanish Civil War in his book, *Homage to Catalonia*, in which Orwell illustrates the power of music in the lives of the Spanish population. Music reflected the widespread influence of the spirited yet tragic warfare on the lives of the Spanish people. Songs set the tone and became the daily background by articulating the pain and loss that the nation experienced. To inspire the masses, songwriters composed musical pieces to reignite the spark that once incited the public and

⁵⁴ In music, the key of a piece is the scale or range of notes that is used in the musical composition.

⁵⁵ "casi todas las guerras y revoluciones se hacen al son de cánticos y músicas" Martínez. Op cit. 13.

showcased certain individuals to model their behaviors after. However, most importantly, Spanish Civil War music manifested the social and political cleavages and overall indicated how the Nationalist and Republican factions diverged in their portrayal of the war and what principles resonated with each side.

The Nationalists rose up against the Republican government in effort to oust the Republic from power and establish a new political regime. This desire was exhibited in many Nationalist war songs through central themes of reestablishment of the Catholic Church as an institution to implement and reinforce a moral code and calling for the return of traditional ethics to discipline the country. By strengthening the Church and upholding traditional values through state power, the Nationalists believed they could restore Spain's eminence as a nation, similar to that of the Catholic monarchs of the 15th century. Driven by a conservative mentality and the ambition to remain at the utmost position in society, the Nationalists defied the Second Spanish Republic and waged a three-year-long war with the Republicans.

Conversely, the Republicans engaged in the Civil War against the Nationalist in defense of the Republic. For the Republicans, the Republic embodied progress towards a more equal and fair Spanish nation as it passed many reforms targeting the unfair conditions extant in Spanish society. Through music, Republican lyricists orchestrated pieces to envision the conflict as a struggle for civil liberties and a political voice, while simultaneously unveiling the Spanish *Falange* as an organization fighting to reintroduce the oppression and exploitation that kept the elite in power. Motivated to protect their gains granted through the Republic's tenure, the Republicans loyally defended the Spanish government.

Seventy-eight years ago, the opposing credos of the Nationalist and Republican blocs prompted one of the most fervent and calamitous eras in Spanish history. While the Spanish

Civil War served as the ultimate expression of these contending philosophies, this ideological discord was not unprecedented in Spain's history. This underlying friction between liberal and conservative forces has been present in Spanish society long before the war began and even today, one can observe this dissonance.