

## Music papers on movement, 1936-1939: the case of Spanish Civil War

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### Abstract

In July 1936 begins the Spanish Civil War with the military rebellion against the Republican Government; it will last until the 1st april 1939. The present paper is a first collective attempt to add information on how the Civil War affected to musical heritage, specially to funds and collections in different Spanish institutions, either by losses, removals, either by its effects to musicians and composers, among them Manuel de Falla, and performing institutions (exiles, extinctions....). Information will be structured by Spanish regions and collected by the main current custody heritage centers and music documentation centers. It will also provide a bibliography on the status of issue around the aforementioned problem.

### INTRODUCTION

The Spanish Civil War began on 18 July 1936, with the uprising of part of the army against the legitimate government of the Second Republic. The conflict lasted for almost three years, coming to an end on 1 April 1939. It was followed by General Franco's dictatorship, which lasted until his death on 20 November 1975.

Spain was divided into two constantly changing geographical areas until the end of the war.

The researcher Gemma Pérez Zalduondo has stated that, in general, "the measures to evacuate historic patrimony abroad ordered by the Republic Government arrived late and it was very difficult to put into practice, so the majority of musical collections remained in National territory<sup>1</sup>." And once the war had come to an end, in 1940, the new regime established the sorting, classifying and cataloguing of "the rich

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<sup>1</sup> Gemma Pérez Zalduondo. *Una música para el "Nuevo Estado" [Music for the "New State"]*, p. 50.

bibliographical material which has been moved due to confiscations and plundering during the period of Marxist domination or due to other motives”<sup>2</sup>, as the duty of the new functionaries of the Corps of Archivists, Librarians and Archaeologists.

What do we know about the “rich material” which was moved? Very little, if we are honest. This text aims to provide a starting point to gather existing information in the diverse music heritage institutions in Spain, to be extended at a later date into a dossier to be published in the Boletín DM [DM Bulletin] of the Asociación Española de Documentación Musical [Spanish Association of Musical Documentation].

But in addition to the documents and archives that changed location, there were also archives that disappeared, leaving hardly any trace. What happened to the archives of choral societies and bands belonging to political parties such as the Socialist Party, the CNT and the Communist Party? They vanished during the war, but did any traces of their musical archives remain?

And meanwhile, the war situation gave rise to new music and new documents, mainly anthems on both sides of the conflict, which have left traces in both scores and sound recordings.

All of this goes to make up the panorama of how the Spanish Civil War affected musical documentation, both pre-existing and that generated by propaganda and exaltation activities. In this text we will restrict ourselves to highlighting data mostly related to the movement of people and musical collections.

## PRECEDENTS FOR MUSICAL PATRIMONY MOVEMENTS

The years immediately preceding the Spanish Civil War were not easy in terms of patrimonial stability. There is the case of the musical archive of the Real Convento de la Encarnación [Royal Monastery of the Incarnation] in Madrid, whose movement

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 53

has recently been explained in an in-depth article<sup>3</sup>. The delicate situation created in 1931 due to the confiscations by the Government of the assets of the Royal Patrimony, and the prohibition of selling patrimony, persuaded more than one religious institution to make sales discreetly. That explains how, at the suggestion of the priest David Pujol, the Benedictine monastery of Montserrat authorised the purchase of a large part of the musical archive, a collection of 2,000 manuscripts with musical works by authors from the 17th to 19th centuries.

It would be advisable to check whether similar circumstances were present in the origins of other collections of documents in Spain.

#### COMPOSERS AND CREATION AS THE FIRST VICTIMS OF THE WAR

In the first place, the composers and musicians who died as a consequence of the war must be named. Although there is no detailed register, we can point to the unfortunate examples of the distinguished poet and musician Federico García Lorca, or the Burgos-born composer Antonio José, as well as religious composers, such as Gonzalo de Santa Cecilia, or composers of light music, such as Teodoro de Gracia.

Many musicians, composers and performers had to leave Spain due to the Civil War and their support for the Republic. The circumstances of their escape were far from easy. For example, the researcher Jorge de Persia recounts the case of the composer Rodolfo Halffter, who, during the last days of the war, with Barcelona airport under occupation, set out by road towards Figueres, “where we suffered a terrible bombardment by Nazi aviation, during which I lost several manuscripts – several years’ work.”<sup>4</sup>

Rodolfo Halffter ended up in Mexico, the destination for many Spanish Republicans, such as fellow composers María Teresa Prieto, Rosa García Ascot, Baltasar Samper and Simon Tapia Colman, the musicologists Adolfo Salazar and Jesus Bal y Gay,

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<sup>3</sup> Daniel Codina. “L’arxiu musical del monestir de l’Encarnación de Madrid a Montserrat” [“The musical archives of the monastery of “La Encarnación” of Madrid, in Montserrat”]. *Anuario Musical*, 71 (2016), 45-56.

<sup>4</sup> Jorge de Persia. *Ecos de música lejanas [Echoes of Distant Music]*, p. 154

and orchestra and band musicians such as Julián Bayod, Juan Cid Mayos, Narcís Costa i Horts, Francisco Gil Gallego and Crescencio Tapia Colman, brother of Simón<sup>5</sup>.

Other Latin American countries such as Argentina (Manuel de Falla, Jaume Pahissa, Conxita Badia, Montserrat Campmany), Chile (Vicente Salas Viu, P. Hilario Olazarán de Estella), Colombia (María Rodrigo, who later went to Puerto Rico, losing scores during these successive moves), Cuba (Julián Orbón, Gustavo Pittaluga) and the Dominican Republic (Enrique Casal Chapí) also took in Spanish musicians.

In contrast to life in exile, other authors suffered prison or internment in camps. Two examples are the Catalan Ricard Lamote de Grignon and Francisco Escudero, who, after fighting with the Basque militias on the Republican side, was sent to a concentration camp in Miranda de Ebro.

The case of Fernando Remacha from Navarre serves as an example of the new situation in Spain during the war and the post-war period: that of “internal exile” or, as other researchers prefer to call it, “insile”, which brought about cultural isolation in the new political situation.

How much musical documentation has been lost and how much have we been able to recover?

In the Autonomous Community of Catalonia, we have the case of three musicians, part of whose musical archives have been recovered. On one hand, the archive of the composer and cellist Josep Valls Royo (Barcelona, 1904 – Le Havre, 1999). This collection (Library of Catalonia) is essential for historians and musicologists. The collected letters are a real web of messages between refugees which enables us to obtain an idea of the nature of their relationships, how they received news of each other—independently of their country of exile—, how they helped each other and, in short, how they survived. The papers returned to Barcelona, his native city, thanks to his family, who maintained and preserved them in Le Havre.

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<sup>5</sup> Eva Moreda Rodríguez. “Sobre la necesidad de estudiar a los músicos de orquesta y de banda en el exilio: reflexiones a partir de cinco perfiles del exilio republicano español en México” [On the Need to Study Orchestra and Band Musicians in Exile: Reflection from Five Profiles of Spanish Republican Exile in Mexico]. In *Bandas de música: Contextos interpretativos y repertorios* [Music Bands: Performance and Repertoire Contexts]. Granada: Libargo, 2019, pp. 249-269.

The composer and trumpeter Emili Salut Payá (Barcelona, 1918-1982) also suffered an unusual story. He was held into the Gulags when the Second World War broke out, while he was receiving training with a group of Republican aviators in Russia. For seven years, he carried a briefcase full of papers with him from concentration camp to concentration camp. The interest of his daughter Francheska has been decisive in gaining access to his papers since 2001 and finding more documents in Norway.

The fortunes of Pau Casals, exiled on 18 July 1936, are more widely known. His active defence in favour of refugees and exiles led him to France and later to the Americas. There are many documents handwritten by Casals throughout the world. Finally, his personal archive was deposited in the Catalan National Archive in 1996.

One aspect correctly suggested by Jorge de Persia is the reduction in the quantity of creation caused by exile abroad in the case of many composers, which the researcher calls the “conflictive element of exile” or the inherent difficulty in the necessity to make a new life involving the loss of contact with the original context of the work<sup>6</sup>. And he quotes the case of Jaume Pahissa, exiled in Argentina, as an author who almost stopped his compositional production during his period in exile. This is a circumstance worthy of study and could be extended to the whole of Europe in the first half of the 20th Century.

## THE CASE OF MANUEL DE FALLA

The composer Manuel de Falla left to Argentina at the end of the war, dying in exile in 1946.

When Manuel de Falla left Granada towards Argentina in September 1939, he left behind not only the best years of his adult life but also his personal belongings, including books, music manuscripts, and correspondence, which remained in the modest dwelling on Antequeruela Alta, near the Alhambra, where he had lived with his sister María del Carmen since January 1922.

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<sup>6</sup> Jorge de Persia. *Ecos de música lejanas [Echoes of Distant Music]*, p. 165

The Manuel de Falla Archive Foundation, established in 1988 with headquarters in Madrid, agreed to deposit its entire holdings in Granada. Subsequently, in March 1991, the Manuel de Falla Archive was opened there, as the result of an institutional agreement.

After Falla's death in 1946, his brother Germán, who was in Cádiz, started gathering together the composer's legacy; this included items which María del Carmen brought from Argentina. In 1961, the books and other documents which had been entrusted to the care of Falla's friends in Granada were collected and transferred to Madrid, where the first steps in sorting and classifying the material were taken.

## **PATRIMONIAL MANAGEMENT IN INSTITUTIONS**

### **THE SGAE ARCHIVE DURING THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR**

On 17 February 1932, when the Spanish Second Republic was less than one year old, the Sociedad de Autores Españoles [Society of Spanish Authors] disappeared after almost 33 years of operation, to create the Sociedad General de Autores de España [SGAE, Spanish Society of Authors and Publishers].

The musical archive of the SGAE —basically lyrical, but with an increasingly important symphonic archive— was basically located in Madrid, but the SGAE had archives in two of its biggest headquarters, Barcelona and Valencia, which served the requests of theatres and orchestras in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands, in the case of the first one, and in Valencia, Levante and Murcia in the case of the second one.

In June 1936, the **Societat d'Autors i Compositors de Catalunya** was founded, in response to the demands of Catalan authors, who took advantage of the self-government of Catalonia granted by the Republic to make those wishes come true.

When the war broke out, on 18 July 1936, Spain was divided into two areas, and the SGAE suffered the same fate. According to Federico Carlos Sainz de Robles, SGAE librarian:

“During the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939, the SGAE (and this is the main proof of its strength) continued operating in the two areas into which

Spain was divided, but, of course, subject to diverse existing circumstances and conditions, without the material located in the Republican area suffering any deterioration at all. In the Nationalist area, Federico Moreno Torroba, Juan José Cadenas, Manuel Linares Rivas and Adolfo Torrado quickly reorganised the archive and the administration of the society. It would be unfair to leave out the name of Joaquín Dicenta (Junior), who held the presidency of the SGAE in the Republican area, and carried out his duties competently and patiently, because it was in Madrid precisely that, for two and a half long years, copyright operated in the most abnormal way.”<sup>7</sup>

The reality was a little more complicated than that described by Sainz de Robles. On 2 August 1936, a Republican Government’s decree allowed the workers of companies abandoned by their owners to confiscate them, in order to prevent their coming to a halt. Taking advantage of that decree, at the end of August, a Workers’ Committee made up of employees of the SGAE in Madrid affiliated with the unions UGT and CNT confiscated the Madrid headquarters and the archive. In Barcelona, it was the CNT —the majority union in Catalonia, to which the majority of authors of the *Societat d’Autors i Compositor de Catalunya* were affiliated— which seized the Catalonia headquarters and archive, and in Valencia, the UGT confiscated the archive and the headquarters, where the *Sindicato de Autores Valencianos* [Union of Valencian Authors] were settled down.

In the Republican area, the unions kept firm control of the archive, and went to extremes such as the CNT preventing the Luis Calvo Company, in the port of Barcelona, from setting out for the Americas with the material from *La del manojo de rosas*, by Pablo Sorozábal, which meant the work received its première in Argentina with orchestration by Manuel Penella, who travelled with the Luis Calvo Company, which led Sorozábal to report the Catalan impresario to the Board of Directors of the SGAE once the war was over. Sorozábal himself featured in another anecdote, caused by the

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<sup>7</sup> F. C. Sáinz de Robles: “La S.G.A.E. Medio siglo de labor fecunda y feliz [“The S.G.A.E., Half a Century of Fertile and Happy Work”], *Autores*, S. G. A. E. information magazine, monograph edition, 50th Anniversary of the S.G.A.E. 1932-1982, Madrid, 1982, pp. 23-24.

decision of the unions in Catalonia and Valencia that the headquarters should operate independently of Madrid, so that they not only collected, but also shared out royalties. However, only among members within their geographical area. Sorozábal, on tour in Spain with the Municipal Band of Madrid to collect funds for the Republic, was required to become a member of the Societat d'Autors i Compositor de Catalunya in Barcelona. Faced with the indignant reaction of the Basque composer, they chose to name him "non-resident member" as a means of enabling him to receive his royalties.

The big problem they faced was that the archives had remained in the Republican area (Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia); therefore in the "Nationalist area", they had to create a small archive from the catalogues of works by authors gathered there. Thus, in June 1937, the delegation of La Coruña began to operate as the provisional headquarters of the SGAE.

The SGAE in Madrid managed to get the UGT to lift its confiscation of the archive, because the union was represented on the Governing Board, meaning the confiscation made no sense.

However, it was not that simple to normalise relations between Barcelona and Valencia. Meeting and interviews multiplied, pacts were proposed, leading to the registering of the Minutes of the SGAE in 1937, but Barcelona continued to operate independently until the Nationalist troops took the city in January 1939, as they did in Valencia, which on that very date depended once again on the Central Headquarters in Madrid.

As for the delegation of La Coruña, once the war was over, the employees were given the chance to become part of the Central Headquarters of the SGAE in Madrid. In May 1939, "the Galicians", as they were known, arrived by bus, while the furniture, archives, and even a monkey which belonged to one of the employees, travelled by truck and everything was settled in the headquarters at Plaza de Cánovas<sup>8</sup>. This situation lasted until, in 1950, with Jacinto de Longoria at the head of the Governing

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<sup>8</sup> José Luis Ramírez: "1899-1999. Un siglo administrado el derecho de autor. Parte II. La Sociedad General de Autores de España", [1899-1999. A Century Administering Copyright. Part II. The Spanish Society of Authors and Publishers] *La Revista del Club Social*, Madrid, SGAE, Fundación Autor, 1999, p. 12.



Board of the SGAE, the Palace of Longoria was purchased and turned into the definitive headquarters of the SGAE, where the Archive was installed.

## THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SPAIN

The National Library of Spain is located on one of the main arteries of the city of Madrid in a historical building designed as **the library and palace of Spanish museums**. During the Spanish Civil War period, intense work took place to preserve the rich patrimony of all types of institutions, whether civil, ecclesiastic or private collections. The building was closed by means of an Order from the Ministry of Public Education and Fine Arts in October 1936. For that reason, the institution's librarians felt it was necessary to collect, catalogue and inventory the documentary and bibliographical collections, not only from their bibliographical centre, but also those collections found within their area of activity, and thus avoid their destruction. The archive of the Spanish National Library keeps files and detailed inventories of aristocratic libraries and those of convents and monasteries in the Madrid area. This intensive work of description and control made it possible to avoid the plunder and destruction of these works. In addition, all the copies claimed by their owners at the end of the war were returned. So the work was not only rigorous, but also set an example.

The bombardments of the city were also felt in the building, so its most valuable copies were preserved or moved outside the city.

The extensive documentation kept in the National Library of Spain's Archive shows us how a large quantity of musical documentation were moved, above all old musical treatises or important examples of music for vihuela (an early form of guitar), which were moved to Valencia alongside the National Librarie's most important patrimonial works. Not only its own documents were moved, but a selection of copies from important libraries kept in his headquarters during the early years of the conflict as well, such as the Lázaro Galdiano Library, for example. Patrimonial copies of musical documentation were also included among the copies moved from these libraries. These included, by way of example:

**Marcos Durán, Domingo (n. ca. 1460)**  
*Glosa sobre Lux bella.*

**Milán, Luis de (ca. 1500-ca. 1561)**  
*Libro de musica de vihuela de mano*

**Fuenllana, Miguel de (fl. 1553-1578)**  
*[Orphénica Lyra]*

**Pisador, Diego (ca. 1509-ca. 1557)**  
*Libro de musica de vihuela*

**Guerrero, Francisco (1528-1599)**  
*[Motetes, libro 2º]*

The National Library of Spain has spent the last few years working on a description and dissemination project for its **choir books**. With a collection of 78 plain chant missals, the project has allowed the study of the origins of these copies, highlighting those which came from ecclesiastical institutions from the area around Madrid, thanks to **the Commission for the Expropriation and Safeguarding of Artistic Treasures**.

The rich collection of sound documents of the National Library of Spain began on 13 October 1938, the date of the publication of the Decree of the Spanish Ministry of Education on Legal Deposit.<sup>9</sup> In its first article, the aforesaid Decree established, for the first time in Spain, the obligation on the part of the producer to deliver two copies responding “to the traditional Spanish obligation to transmit to future generations the entire image of contemporary life, to preserve literary production in the Spanish language and the consideration of other peoples by conserving the complete expression of national thought.” The provision states that “musical works and gramophone pieces shall be the object of Legal Deposit.” Thus, in the middle of the Spanish Civil War, the legislator ensured that these documents should form part of the Spanish documentary patrimony. The spirit of the Decree was developed in 24 articles and a transitory provision in which it was established that “the deposit, which by virtue of this Decree, must be carried out in the National Library, shall be effected until the

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<sup>9</sup> Decree of 13 October 1938 (Spanish Ministry of Education). Archives, Libraries and Museums. Legal Deposit of Works (*Spanish Official Journal* no. 115 of 23 October)

liberation of Madrid in the Headquarters of the Library and Archive Services of the Ministry of Education.”<sup>10</sup>

In February 1938, the headquarters of the Ministry of Education had been established in Vitoria, so the first records were sent there during the conflict.<sup>11</sup>

It was necessary to wait until the end of the Spanish Civil War, specifically until November 1945, for the return and handing over to the Music Section from the Legal Deposit Office of Vitoria of 99 boxes of records, which would be the origin of what was first known as the “record library or sound archive” of the Spanish National Library.

In recent times the BNE has enriched its collection of documents from this period with a series of 11 magnetic threads, sound documents used mainly as radio propaganda; they contain politico-military harangues, speeches and hymns recorded during the contest.

#### THE MUSIC LIBRARY OF MADRID IN THE CIVIL WAR

It was created as a public library in Madrid at the request of Víctor Espinós (1871-1948) in 1919. The main goal was to have a facility and collections to make the music and the study of music accessible to people who, due to their social status, did not have easy access to scores and instruments. Existing documentation in the archive shows that during the period between 1936 and 1939, services continued to be offered to the citizens of Madrid. New user cards were issued and administrative activities carried on.

Due to the characteristics of its foundation, the Musical Library always received diverse donations. It can be seen that these contributions continued during the years of conflict, but we do not know (except in some specific cases) if those movements were due to individuals’ choices or were the result of events.

For example, there is an explicit reference to scores deposited in the Library as a means of safekeeping or loss prevention by the family of Ramón Carnicer y Batlle

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<sup>10</sup> Cited provision

<sup>11</sup> Circular 51, February 1938 (Subsecretariat of the Vicepresidency). Ministries. Their location: *Spanish Official Journal* no. 483 of 16 October.

(1789-1855). The documentation, dated 1939, states that *in the final days of November 1936, they received in deposit all or the majority of the musical works of the master composer so that, as far as possible, they could be saved from the risks they were suffering [in] Madrid.*

It is also possible that some entries of books and other documents were related to confiscations, although some data needs to be confirmed. For example, the *“List of books which, at the time of writing, are being sent to the Municipal Lending Library, by order of S. Muiño, coming from the main room of house no. 1 in Calle del Águila”.*

Some instrument purchases in 1936, referred to as *urgent*, to private individuals, and some donations of scores and books of greater historical value could be related to the need to safeguard musical patrimony during that time of instability.

It should be noted that the director of the Library during the Spanish Civil War, Victor Espinós, according to his own words, had to go into exile in the “real Spain” from 1936 to 1939. The report issued in 1939 about the Musical Library to the new directors states that, with the aim of preserving the most important collection of the Library, he took the scores pertaining to works inspired by *Don Quixote* with him into exile. The collection was returned to the library when the conflict ended and Espinós returned to his post.

Without leaving Madrid, we will see as an example of patrimonial loss the one produced by the fire of the Palace of Liria in 1936, where the rich music archive of the Dukes of Alba was destroyed; on the other hand, a singular case in which the knowledge of its content has been preserved thanks to the excellent monograph by Subirá published in 1927.<sup>12</sup>

## MUSICAL DOCUMENTS IN CATALONIA

In 1936, Barcelona was experiencing a boom. Between 18 and 25 April, the 3rd Conference of the International Musicological Society (IMS) and the 14th Festival of the International Society of Contemporary Music were organised. Just three months

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<sup>12</sup> José Subirá. *La música en la Casa de Alba: Estudios históricos y biográficos*. Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1927.

later, the Spanish Civil War began, which meant that the conference minutes were left unpublished.

It is also worth remembering that on 18 July, the exact day the war started, the opening ceremony of the People's Olympiad was planned. This was to be an alternative to the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games to stop Nazi and racist apologists and recover the true Olympic spirit. Many of the documents generated—including musical ones— have still not appeared.

The two main people responsible for the musical documentation of the Library of Catalonia, Higiní Anglés and Robert Gerhard—conservator and librarian, respectively, of the Music Department at that time—, had to go into exile in a hurry, abandoning their papers. Anglés was pursued by the Republican side for his religious status and had to seek refuge in Germany in 1936. Later on, in 1939, Robert Gerhard went into exile when, while in Paris, he was warned not to return because the Francoist occupation forces had searched his home.

To a great extent, the documentation of the IMS conference and the ISCM festival were conserved in the personal archives of Anglés. Meanwhile, a smaller collection of documents remained among Gerhard's papers, as internal documentation of the Music Department. Both collections have survived until now in a disorderly and in some fragmented state.

Before taking refuge in Germany, Anglés had time to safeguard manuscripts from different churches and convents to save them from possible destruction. This was the case of the collection of handwritten music of Barcelona Cathedral, entered to the Library of Catalonia during 1936, in the middle of the war.

But his work to safeguard musical heritage dates back to the 1920s, with the reproduction of documents of interest, in the form of both photographs and microfilm. Thanks to this action, years before the war, it was possible to recover some of the manuscripts of the Santa Maria del Mar church in Barcelona, which was burned in July 1936.

#### SITUATION IN THE BASQUE COUNTRY

The speed of development of the Spanish Civil War in the Basque territory perhaps explains the relatively scarce information we have regarding composers and

musicians who died in the Basque Country as a consequence of the conflict. But at the same time it involves a large number of people suffering reprisals at the hands of the insurgents once the war had ended. The researcher Itziar Larrinaga has written about the case of the musical functionaries of San Sebastián City Council<sup>13</sup> and their purge following the war.

One aspect worth highlighting is the creation of choirs made up of Basque prisoners in different prisons, such as those of Ondarreta (San Sebastián), El Dueso (Santoña), Miranda de Ebro, Nanclares (Álava), Burgos, San Isidro de Dueñas (Palencia) and Carmona (Seville).

From the documentation used in all these activities, only fragments of music remain, except in the case related to Astorga, whose collection of scores has been preserved by ERESBIL (the Basque Music Archive).

In the case of the Basque Country, we would highlight as a counterpoint to the internal situation, the creation of the Eresoinka project, originally founded in August 1937. It was commissioned by the President of the Basque Government as the Basque National Choir, but it would soon be extended to dance, with the participation of traditional instruments and orchestra. It had the aim of disseminating Basque music and dance, and to serve as a counterbalance to Francoist propaganda.

Its first artistic tour began in December 1937, in the Salle Pleyel in Paris, with more than 100 artists taking part, including singers, dancers and instrumentalists. Its last performance was also in Paris, on 26 May 1939 at the Théâtre Chaillot. By then, it had appeared on stages in Belgium, Holland Brussels, Ghent, Antwerp, Bruges, Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam and London, as well as towns throughout France.

Outstanding members of this Basque cultural embassy included the singing Zabalbeascoa sisters, Pepita Embil (mother of Plácido Domingo) and the tenor Luis Mariano.

One of the interesting aspects of this project is its links, from the point of view of repertoire and therefore the performance materials, with the Saski Naski Project, which was carried out in San Sebastián between 1928 and 1931, created as an

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<sup>13</sup> Itziar Larrinaga Cuadra. "Dura lex, sed lex. La depuración franquista en las instituciones musicales dependientes del Ayuntamiento de Donostia-San Sebastián (1936-1940) [The Francoist Purge in the Musical Institutions Attached to Donostia-San Sebastián City Council (1936-1949)]". In: *Music and Francoism* (2013), p.127-156.

imitation of the Théâtre de la Chauve-Souris of Moscow, which performed in 1926, and the group Korobok in 1927. Eresoinka's format was clearly in the latter's debt.

Enrique Jordá, the musical director of Eresoinka, composed and orchestrated music for several numbers, and probably used the orchestral material made for the precedent project Saski Naski, and at the end of the project he kept all the musical materials in a hotel belonging to the Rocca Serra family, which caught fire during the second European war. All the general scores and materials used were burned there; probably part of those belonging to the Saski Naski project, and all those generated for the Eresoinka project. Thus, a large proportion of the orchestral scores with Basque roots were lost, just as the whole of Europe was suffering the beginning of the Second World War.

## CONCLUSION

Eighty years after the disastrous war, we are aware of the great losses from patrimonial collections. Luckily, institutions are locating and identifying new sources by, on the one hand, processing retrospective collections and, on the other hand, recovering the archives of exiles (as happened in some of the aforementioned cases). In addition, technology allows us to bring closer and complete documents and collections from faraway places, which means that we cannot evade the responsibility of solving this historic puzzle dispersed by circumstances.

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