

ABSTRACT

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ORCHESTRATION OF *IBERIA*

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Enrique Arbós's five orchestrations of pieces from *Iberia*, the masterly piano work by his close friend, Isaac Albéniz, are among the most frequently programmed works in the Spanish orchestral repertoire today. Increased academic interest in Albéniz's orchestral output has revealed that Arbós's orchestration of Albéniz's piano solo, "El Puerto," from *Iberia*, bears striking similarities with Albéniz's unpublished orchestration of the same piece. Although Albéniz asked Arbós to take over the task of orchestrating "El Puerto," little is known about the details of this arrangement. To shed light on this issue, I have carefully reviewed the overlapping biographies of these two composers, as well as thoroughly analyzed the two scores for the first time. I conclude that Arbós's orchestration of "El Puerto" is indeed a revision of Albéniz's orchestration, and that this revision was a natural result of their close relationship.

FROM ALBÉNIZ TO ARBÓS: THE ORCHESTRATION OF *IBERIA*

By

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University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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Preface

I first came across Arbós's orchestrations of *Iberia* while working in the Michelle Smith Performing Arts Library at the University of Maryland, College Park in 2009. At that time, the library was acquiring materials related to Isaac Albéniz, Arbós's close friend and composer of the magnificent piano work, *Iberia*, from which Arbós made his orchestrations. In my first attempt to find and listen to a recording of the piano work, I ended up with a recording of the orchestrations. Because of my orchestral background as a French horn player, the orchestrations immediately caught my attention and soon had my devoted interest.

As I delved into the history of Arbós's orchestration of *Iberia*, I found myself drawn to the history of its inception, particularly as it related to Albéniz's own orchestration of the work. This project is my quest to understand the contributions of both of these great composers to this exceptional masterpiece of Spanish orchestral music.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my parents for standing by me through this long journey. Their support and confidence never wavered through the spontaneous decisions, the planned postponements, and the unexpected delays. I am grateful not only for their support through the challenges, but also for their joy as I reached each milestone.

My advisor, Professor Barbara Hagg-Huglo, has likewise supported me through the many stages of this endeavor. I am particularly indebted to her for her assistance in obtaining the copies of Albéniz's manuscript of "El Puerto," from the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona, without which my thesis would have been greatly altered. I also acknowledge my other committee members, Richard King and Olga Haldey, whose insightful comments contributed significantly to this thesis as well.

I express appreciation for the assistance of Steve Henry, music reference librarian of the Michelle Smith Performing Arts Library, University of Maryland, College Park. I have benefitted from his enthusiasm for the topic and his help in locating important sources.

Finally, I thank my friends, musicology colleagues, and co-workers at Special Collections in the Performing Arts at the University of Maryland, College Park, who have unceasingly listened to me and encouraged me for the last year. Their support when I needed it most has kept me going.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Enrique Arbós's orchestrations of the piano work, *Iberia*, by Isaac Albéniz, are among the most well-known and frequently performed concert works in the Spanish orchestral repertoire.¹ These orchestrations, premiered between 1910 and 1925, represent five of the twelve pieces, or “impressions,” from the monumental piano work, *Iberia: 12 nouvelles impressions*, and composed between 1905 and 1908 by Albéniz, Arbós's close friend and colleague. The merits of these orchestrations in their brilliant representation of the essence of Albéniz and his beloved Spain are universally praised,² and it has even been suggested that their popularity contributed to the popularity of the original piano work.³ Even today, according to Justo Romero, Arbós's orchestrations are recorded more than any other orchestral work in the Spanish repertoire, save Manuel de Falla's ballets.⁴

For some biographers, the difficult and evocative music of *Iberia* lent itself very naturally to orchestral adaptation. Edgar Istel even refers to the pieces as “orchestral sketches in disguise,”⁵ and Walter Clark stipulates that when writing

¹ See Walter Clark, *Isaac Albéniz: Portrait of a Romantic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 252; and Arturo Reverter, “Albéniz-Arbós: Amistad, relación musical, escenarios,” *Notas de música* (Boletín de la Fundación Isaac Albéniz), 2-3 (Apr.-June 1989), 25.

² See Justo Romero, *Isaac Albéniz* (Barcelona: Peninsula, 2002), 375; Arturo Reverter, “Albéniz-Arbós: Amistad, relación musical, escenarios,” *Notas de Música* (Boletín de la Fundación Isaac Albéniz) 2-3 (April-June 1989): 25-27; Víctor Espinós, *El Maestro Arbós* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S. A., 1942), 82.

³ According to Edgar Istel, who writes, “[Arbós's] orchestrations of Albéniz's principal works more than anything else have caused them to be known...” It should be mentioned that Istel was a close friend of Arbós, and he may be expressing person bias in this statement. See Edgar Istel and Frederick Martens, “Isaac Albéniz,” *The Musical Quarterly* 15/1 (Jan. 1929), 121.

⁴ According to Justo Romero, *Isaac Albéniz* (Barcelona: Peninsula, 2002), 375.

⁵ Istel and Martens, “Isaac Albéniz,” 142.

Iberia, Albéniz was “treating the piano as a self-contained orchestra.”⁶ What is less known and only peripherally mentioned by biographers, however, is that it was Albéniz himself who first began to orchestrate *Iberia*.⁷ Albéniz completed the orchestration of the first two of the twelve pieces of *Iberia* in 1907, but he was not happy with his version. As a result, he asked Arbós to take over the task of orchestration, which eventually led to the orchestrations described above.

Of the two pieces orchestrated by Albéniz, only an unpublished manuscript of “El Puerto” is extant.⁸ In recent years, this score, Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Sección de Música (E-Bbc), M 980,¹⁰ has received additional attention from scholars. Jacinto Torres, for example, suggests that it is one tool for a much-needed reevaluation of Albéniz, who has been traditionally denied recognition as an orchestral composer.¹¹

At a cursory glance, according to Torres, Albéniz’s orchestration of “El Puerto” bears striking resemblance to the one by Arbós, who does not directly say that he had access to Albéniz’s manuscript while writing his own.¹² Without a serious

⁶ Walter Clark, “Isaac Albeniz’s Faustian Pact: A Study in Patronage,” 465-487, *The Musical Quarterly* 76/4 (Winter, 1992): 481-482.

⁷ Istel explains, “That the expressional means of the piano are not adequate for the ‘Iberia’ and that these compositions are in reality orchestral sketches in disguise even Albéniz himself finally realized. In consequence he instrumentated the first two movements, the ‘Evocation’ and the ‘El Puerto’...” See Istel and Martens, “Isaac Albéniz,” 142.

⁸ Albéniz orchestrated “Évocation” as well, but this manuscript has never been located.

¹⁰ The score is a holograph on paper, twenty-two pages, and 33.5 x 27 cm. This manuscript is a complete orchestration of “El Puerto” and was evidently prepared by Albéniz for publication, though never published, as it contains written instructions for the copyist.

¹¹ Jacinto Torres, *Catálogo Sistemático Descriptivo de las Obras Musicales de Isaac Albéniz* (Madrid: Instituto de Bibliografía Musical, 2001), 478. Torres writes, “It is necessary -and urgent- to revise with rigor the habitual and predominant criteria used on Albéniz’s orchestral productions that deny our author capacity and competency in that camp.” (“La faceta orquestal en la producción albeniciana - es necesario- y urgente- revisar con rigor los criterios habituales y predominantes, que niegan a nuestro autor capacidad y competencia en ese campo.”)

¹² Jacinto Torres, “*Iberia*,” by Albéniz, *Through the Manuscripts* (Madrid: EMEC-EDEMS, 1998), 74.

comparison of the two scores, however, we cannot know if this work is additional evidence of Albéniz's underrated abilities as an orchestral composer.¹³ If there is such a striking resemblance, the presumption is that some of the praise given to Arbós is due to Albéniz.

The possible correlation between Albéniz and Arbós's versions of "El Puerto" also has implications for their relationship and what took place to bring about Arbós's orchestrations. Rather than asking Arbós to continue or even complete the orchestration of *Iberia*, Albéniz may have asked him to revise his own scores. Such a request is at variance with the general assumption that Arbós held the rights to the orchestration after Albéniz's death, because he continued to orchestrate the work later in his life.¹⁴ Perhaps the popularity of Arbós's orchestrations has kept anyone from investigating why only five of the twelve pieces that make up *Iberia* were orchestrated by Arbós, why they were premiered when they were, and why the alleged similarities between the two scores of "El Puerto" exist.

To settle the question of authorship in this capstone masterpiece of Albéniz's career, this study undertakes the first thorough analysis of the two versions of "El Puerto," namely Albéniz's unpublished orchestration of 1907, and Arbós's version from 1910. Furthermore, this research will demonstrate that the interchange between Albéniz and Arbós culminating in *Iberia* is not an isolated phenomenon. Rather, it comes in the context of a longstanding personal and artistic relationship between the two, wherein Arbós frequently took on the role of mentor and advisor to Albéniz, and

¹³ See Torres, "Iberia," by Albéniz, 73-74.

¹⁴ Romero, *Isaac Albéniz*, 372.

Albéniz most often supported his friend by providing him with professional opportunities. Through a comparative analysis of the two scores of “El Puerto” and an examination of biographical data, it can be proven that Arbós did in essence revise the original orchestration to compose his own, and that this revision was a natural result of the close relationship between the two composers.

Review of the Literature

The scholarship regarding Albéniz and Arbós has improved in both quantity and quality in recent years. For Albéniz biographers, this has largely meant sorting out fact from fiction in the exaggerated tales of his youthful adventures. This was the mission of Walter Aaron Clark, who debunked the many myths and legends about Albéniz’s life in several articles and in his 1999 biography in English.¹⁵

With Albéniz’s biography coming into focus, his compositions have also received attention. In 2001, Jacinto Torres published a comprehensive catalog of Albéniz’s works, the first of its kind.¹⁶ Torres includes Albéniz’s orchestration of “El Puerto” in the catalog and comments on the manuscript’s striking similarity to Arbós’s score.¹⁷ Torres’s entry for Albéniz in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* from 1999 contains an extensive list of his works, including Albéniz’s orchestrations of *Iberia*.¹⁸ Interestingly, here Torres lists three pieces that Albéniz orchestrated: “Évocation,” “El Puerto,” and “Fête-Dieu à Séville.” “Fête-Dieu à

¹⁵ Walter Clark, *Isaac Albéniz: Portrait of a Romantic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

¹⁶ Jacinto Torres, *Catálogo Sistemático Descriptivo de las Obras Musicales de Isaac Albéniz* (Madrid: Instituto de Bibliografía Musical, 2001).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 201.

¹⁸ Walter A. Clark and Jacinto Torres Mulas, “Isaac Manuel Francisco Albéniz (y Pascual),” *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Personenteil*, vol. 1, ed. Ludwig Finscher (London: Bärenreiter Kassel, 1999), cols. 317-325

Seville” is labeled as incomplete, though it is not known if Albéniz actually orchestrated it or not.

Most recently, in 2002, Justo Romero contributed another Spanish-language book with updated biographical information and an extensive catalog and description of the many transcriptions, adaptations, and recordings of Albéniz’s works.¹⁹ He delves into topics typically passed over by other scholars. For example, he discusses what may be the only analysis, albeit brief, of Albéniz’s orchestration of “El Puerto,” as well as the history of the ballet adaptation of *Iberia* by Arbós.²⁰ Through his inclusion of these topics, Romero provides the most comprehensive evaluation of Albéniz’s works to date.

The earlier literature pertaining to Albéniz is less relevant for the purposes of this study due to the clarifying documentary evidence brought forth by the scholars and publications aforementioned, with a few important exceptions. For decades, biographers have relied heavily upon Enrique Fernández Arbós’s memoirs, written during the last six or seven years of his life between 1933 and 1939, but only published in 1963.²¹ They concern the first half of his career up to ca. 1904 and

¹⁹ Justo Romero, *Isaac Albéniz* (Barcelona: Peninsula, 2002). Currently, in 2010, the proceedings of the 2008 FIMTE Conference in honor of the 100th anniversary of the death of Albéniz are being published as *Pre-Iberia: From Masarnau to Albéniz*, edited by Luisa Morales and Walter Clark. The book consists of several essays about the historical context, style, and recovery and rediscovery of Albéniz’s life and works. It also includes an updated bibliography and discography and undoubtedly represents the most current state of research. Unfortunately, this book was not yet available at the time of this project. Publication information was obtained from Luisa Morales’s FIMTA website, <http://www.fimte.org/Fimte%20Books.htm> (2009), accessed 25 February 2010.

²⁰ This ballet adaption, published as *Triana*, consists of excerpts from Arbós’s orchestrations of “Évocation,” “Triana,” “El Albaicín,” and “Fête-Dieu à Séville,” with transitional passages composed by Arbós. It was premiered in 1929, in Paris. See Romero, *Isaac Albéniz*, 401-403. Though a detailed discussion of this ballet falls outside of the scope of this study, it is mentioned again on p. 58.

²¹ Enrique Fernández Arbós, *Treinta años* (Madrid: Ediciones Cid, 1963). The most recent edition of these memoirs is Enrique Fernández Arbós, *Treinta años como violinista (Memorias, 1863-1904)*, ed. José Luis Temes (Madrid: Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid, 2005). For a detailed description of the

contain numerous anecdotes, many of which refer to Albéniz, along with a few errors. These errors have been tacitly corrected through the evidence given in Walter Clark's *Isaac Albéniz: Portrait of a Romantic* and directly discussed through the 2005 publication of these memoirs by the Madrid Symphony Orchestra for its 100th birthday and in honor of one of its great conductors, Enrique Fernández Arbós. This edition of his memoirs includes thorough supplementary documentation provided by José Luis Temes.²²

Also of note among the earlier biographies is Edgar Istel's biography of Albéniz.²³ Though it repeats many errors common to early biographies, its redeeming value is that Istel frequently consulted with Enrique Arbós, with whom Istel was apparently well acquainted.

Paul Buck Mast's dissertation from 1974, deals with the music of *Iberia* directly, tackling the challenging task of analyzing its Spanish folk references.²⁴ Mast's analyses have been used by many later researchers, including myself, and are still valid and insightful.

Facsimile and *Urtext* editions of *Iberia* by Guillermo Gonzalez are available.²⁵ Included with the facsimile edition is historical commentary by Jacinto Torres, also

scope and content of the memoirs, see José Luis Temes, "Enrique Fernández Arbós y sus memorias," in *Treinta años como violinista (Memorias, 1863-1904)* by Enrique Arbós, ed. José Luis Temes (Madrid: Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid, 2005), 11.

²² See Walter Clark, *Isaac Albéniz: Portrait of a Romantic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), and the previous note.

²³ Istel and Martens, "Isaac Albéniz," *The Musical Quarterly* 15/1 (Jan. 1929): 117-148.

²⁴ Paul Buck Mast, "Style and Structure in 'Iberia' by Isaac Albéniz" (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1974).

²⁵ Isaac Albéniz, *Iberia*, *Urtext* edition, ed. Guillermo González (Madrid: EMEC-EDEMS, 1998); Isaac Albéniz, *Iberia*, facsimile edition, ed. Guillermo González and Jacinto Torres (Madrid: EMEC-EDEMS, 1998).

published separately in Spanish with an English translation.²⁶ Torres explores the different manuscripts of *Iberia* and discusses how they prove Albéniz's intention of orchestrating *Iberia*, among other issues.

The literature about Enrique Fernández Arbós is much more limited, though there is much to be gained from his memoirs. There Arbós gives a detailed, generally chronological, account of his life and career as a violinist up to 1904, describing his impressions of the people with whom he was associated, including Albéniz; the places in which he studied and performed; and the various successes and disappointments he experienced. He also notes his musical aesthetics, such as his love of the music of Bach and Brahms, his thoughts on composing, and his joy in performing chamber music. Arbós planned to divide his memoirs into two volumes, detailing first his life as a violinist and then his life as a conductor, but his health failed before he could write the second volume.²⁷ Fortunately, however, Arbós skips ahead in his chronology to include the only account we have of how he came to orchestrate *Iberia*.²⁸

The 2005 edition of Arbós's memoirs also includes a catalog of his works as a composer, yet to be explored by scholars.²⁹ As part of this same undertaking, the

²⁶ Torres, "*Iberia*," by Albéniz.

²⁷ The volumes were to be titled *Treinta años como violinista* (Thirty years as a violinist) and the *Treinta años como director* (Thirty years as a director) or *Al frente de mi orquesta* (Leading my orchestra).

²⁸ See Arbós, *Treinta años*, 444. This account is explored in detail below on pp. 52-55 of this study.

²⁹ The chronological listing of Arbós's compositions included here in Appendix B is heavily indebted to the catalog included in his memoirs.

Symphony released a complete set of recordings of his compositions on CD, including his zarzuela *El centro de la tierra*.³⁰

In conjunction with the 1963 publication of Arbós's memoirs, Arbós's widow asked José María Franco Bordóns, a close friend and later successor as conductor of the Madrid Symphony Orchestra, to contribute biographical and critical comments to the memoirs.³¹ His writings were included in the 2005 edition and are useful, because they include biographical information about the second half of Arbós's life. Besides these biographical notes and the brief biography found in the online and print versions of Grove,³² only one biography of Arbós has been written. This singular biography from 1942 is by Víctor Espinós, a member of the Madrid Symphony Orchestra and therefore an associate of Arbós.³³ Since most of the existing primary and secondary sources for Arbós are in Spanish, the biographical information presented herein is the most substantial available in English.

The relationship between Isaac Albéniz and Enrique Arbós has been recognized and commented upon, if somewhat peripherally, by biographers.³⁴ The most extensive commentary was provided by Arturo Reverter in 1989.³⁵ In his five-

³⁰ The recordings consist of three publications: Enrique Fernández Arbós, *La obra de cámara*, Trío Bellas Artes, perf. Verso VRS 2017, 2004; Enrique Fernández Arbós, *El centro de la tierra: zarzuela en dos actos*, Coro y Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid, José Luis Temes, cond. Verso VRS 2019, 2004; and Enrique Fernández Arbós, *La obra orquestal*, Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid, Jesús López Cobos, cond., Ara Malikian, perf. Verso VRS2027, 2004.

³¹ See José María Franco Bordóns, "El Maestro Arbós: Aspectos biográficos y críticos," in *Treinta años como violinista: memorias, 1863-1904* by Enrique Arbós and José Luis Temes. Madrid: Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid: 2005, 499-558.

³² *MGG* contains no entry for Arbós. For the Grove article, see Arthur Jacobs and Tully Potter. "Arbós, Enrique Fernández," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01164> (accessed 26 March 2010).

³³ Víctor Espinós, *El Maestro Arbós* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S. A., 1942).

³⁴ See Istel and Martens, "Isaac Albéniz," 117-148 and Clark, *Portrait*.

³⁵ Arturo Reverter, "Albéniz-Arbós: Amistad, relación musical, escenarios," *Notas de Música (Boletín de la Fundación Isaac Albéniz)* 2-3 (April-June 1989): 23-27.

page article, without footnotes or endnotes, Reverter briefly describes the mutual impact of the lives and careers of Albéniz and Arbós. Using the biographical material available at the time, Reverter concludes that Arbós's orchestration of *Iberia* is a direct manifestation of their friendship.

To understand the nature of Albéniz's request to Arbós regarding the orchestration of *Iberia* better, this study will investigate both the influence of their relationship as well as the reality of the resemblance between the two version of "El Puerto." This will be done by following the development of their relationship through a simultaneous presentation of their biographies, focusing on the periods of their lives when their careers overlapped. The biographies of Albéniz and Arbós reveal individual traits and tendencies that have the potential to explain later behavior, especially concerning the quality of Albéniz's request to Arbós. It is not the intent of the author to present a complete biography of either composer, though parallel timelines are provided in Appendix A for reference.

Once the pattern of Albéniz and Arbós's friendship is established and the chronology of their lives reaches the orchestration of *Iberia*, a comparative analysis of their orchestrations is provided to strengthen the claim that Arbós's version was a revision of Albéniz's. The analysis is generally motivic, as this was found to be the clearest and most efficient way to establish the connection between the two orchestrations, though comparisons of form are also used when relevant.

Unless otherwise noted, all translations are the author's own. Names of persons have been kept in their original languages, generally Spanish, with that

language's orthography. If place names have English equivalents, these are used here instead. Where possible, names of compositions follow the composers' original spellings.

Chapter 2: Early Lives

Albéniz and Arbós, at the respective ages of seventeen and thirteen, met in 1877 at the Brussels Conservatoire. Their early lives and musical training up to their enrollments at the Conservatoire are varied enough to merit separate descriptions, despite the fact that they both attended the Madrid Conservatory as children. Even so, the circumstances that led them both to Brussels are similar.

Albéniz's Early Life and Training

Isaac Manuel Francisco Albéniz, who was born 29 May 1860 in Camprodon, in Catalunya, Spain, spent his early childhood with his parents and three older sisters in Barcelona. His sister, Clementina, discovered early on that he was disposed towards music, and she became his first music and piano teacher along with Narciso Olivares, a local piano teacher in Barcelona.³⁶ Albéniz's progress was rapid, and in 1868 he enrolled in the Real Conservatorio in Madrid.³⁷

Albéniz was a student lacking dedication, who, according to Conservatory records, only sporadically appeared for his exams in solfège.³⁸ He preferred performing and touring, and for many decades, biographers believed that Albéniz frequently ran away from home to give spontaneous tours. Now we know that his

³⁶ Clark, *Portrait*, 23.

³⁷ The Conservatory was founded in 1830 under the name of the Real Conservatorio Superior de Música. It was renamed the Escuela de Música y Declamación that same year due to the Spanish Revolution, but the original name was reinstated in 1900..

³⁸ Clark, *Portrait*, 25.

father, through his government and Masonic ties, arranged the tours, including performing opportunities in Cuba and Puerto Rico.³⁹

Albéniz's first composition, published in 1869, shows the importance of his father's connections in his early training. The composition was for piano, titled *Marcha military* (Military march), and dedicated "Al Excelentísimo Señor Vezconde del Bruch." This was the son of General Prim, an important military figure in the Spanish revolution of 1868.⁴⁰ The composition was obviously written to gain or increase favor with the current government, to enable Albéniz's father to receive a position or to express gratitude for a position already granted.⁴¹

In order to receive further and more serious training, Albéniz went to the Hochschule für Musik in Leipzig when he was fifteen years old. His enrollment only lasted from 2 May to 24 June 1876, most likely due to his family's financial difficulties.⁴² Albéniz's efforts at receiving conservatory training were not thwarted, however. Indeed, his unsuccessful stint in Germany led to Brussels and Arbós a year and a half later. In 1876 Albéniz visited the Spanish king's secretary, Guillermo Morphy y Feriz, "Conde de Morphy,"⁴³ in order to request a pension for further study.⁴⁴ Conde de Morphy, who also had a musical background, persuaded the king to fund Albéniz's studies, arranging for this talented pianist to study at the

³⁹ For more details regarding Albéniz's adventurous youth and its realities, see Clark, *Portrait*, 16-33.

⁴⁰ For more information on the Spanish revolution of 1868 led by General Prim, see Simon Barton, *A History of Spain*, 2d ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 205-207.

⁴¹ Clark, *Portrait*, 26.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 34-35.

⁴³ Guillermo Morphy y Ferriz de Guzmán (1836-1899), Spanish musicologist, composer, and politician. In addition to his government position, Conde de Morphy had a musical background, having also studied at the Brussels Conservatoire and later with François-Auguste Gevaert, who was the then-current director of the Conservatoire. For more information, see Clark, *Portrait*, 36.

⁴⁴ Sagardía, *Isaac Albéniz*, 26.

Conservatoire Royal in Brussels where he knew the director, François-Auguste Gevaert.⁴⁵ Albéniz received a pension to study at the Conservatoire, where he stayed until 1879.

Arbós's Early Life and Training

Enrique Arbós was a *madrileño*, in contrast to his Catalan friend. He was born on 24 December 1863 in Madrid, the only child of Cayetano Fernández y Alcaután, a military musician, and Elena Arbós y Regimiento. Arbós, given a violin as a gift while the family was living in Valencia, exhibited a disposition to music during his first music lessons from his father, resulting in arrangements being made for him to study in Madrid.⁴⁶

Arbós's experience at the Escuela Nacional de Música y Declamación had a much greater impact on his life than did Albéniz's experience there. In contrast to Albéniz, Arbós was a diligent student with a great deal of self discipline, by his own estimation. He writes:

I did not have a rebellious bone in my body or the least tendency towards disobedience or being undisciplined. I studied because they told me that I should do it, and I already had within me the sense of duty that I have not abandoned during the rest of my life.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ François-Auguste Gevaert, 1828-1908. Belgian musicologist, composer, and teacher. He is known primarily for his influential thirty-seven year run as director of the Brussels Conservatoire. He also composed many works, primarily operas and cantatas. He travelled to Spain between the years of 1849 and 1952, and he composed a Spanish-themed work published in Belgium. For information on his compositional theories, see Penelope Miller Peters, "French Harmonic Theory in the Conservatoire Tradition: Fétis, Reber, Durand, and Gevaert" (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1990).

⁴⁶ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 25. See also José María Franco Bordóns, "El Maestro Arbós: Aspectos biográficos y críticos," 499-558, in *Treinta años como violinista: memorias, 1863-1904* by Enrique Arbós and José Luis Temes (Madrid: Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid: 2005), 500.

⁴⁷ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 31. "No había en mí rebeldía alguna, ni tuve el menor asomo de desobediencia o indisciplina. Estudiaba porque me decían que debía hacerlo, y ya mandaba en mí la idea del deber que no me ha abandonado en todo el resto de mi vida."

Arbós's sense of duty was an important feature of his personality, bringing him much of the success he enjoyed throughout his career. It also influenced how he responded to his friends, as we will see with Albéniz, and it has bearing on how he carried out the arrangement between him and Albéniz regarding the orchestration of *Iberia*.

In his *Memorias*, Arbós also describes meeting his future teacher and lifelong friend, Jesús Monasterio,⁴⁸ who, it must be noted, was also well acquainted with Auguste Gevaert.⁴⁹ Arbós relates, “We immediately went to the Conservatory to meet Monasterio. I was greatly impressed upon meeting him: a gentleman, who, they said, spoke two or three languages. I played in front of him, receiving his praise, and I became one of his students.”⁵⁰ Arbós's admiration and regard for Monasterio would only increase from then on, as well as Monasterio's influence on him.

Arbós's work ethic paid off. In 1876, he took first prize in violin, and in 1877, he won the same distinction for harmony.⁵¹ His achievements as a student at the Conservatory led him to seek a pension for further study by performing for Queen

⁴⁸ Jesús Monasterio, 1836-1903, Spanish violinist and composer. In many ways, his career foreshadowed Arbós's as a performer and teacher. Monasterio studied initially in Spain and was given a grant in 1851 by Queen Isabel II to study in Brussels, at the Brussels Conservatory. He was offered a professorship at the Brussels Conservatory, but he turned it down in order to remain in Spain. He contributed greatly to promoting instrumental music in Spain, including chamber music and particularly that of Romantic and neo-classical composers, a venture for which his student Arbós would become known with the Madrid Symphony Orchestra.

⁴⁹ Monasterio and Gevaert were intimate friends from their youth, and Monasterio studied counterpoint with Gevaert in Brussels. See José Subirá, “Epistolario de F. A. Gevaert y J. de Monasterio,” *Anuario Musical* 16 (1961): 1.

⁵⁰ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 27. “Fuimos enseguida al Conservatorio para presentarme a Monasterio. Me impresionó muchísimo verle: un señor que, según que decían, hablaba dos o tres idiomas. Toqué delante de él mereciendo su aprobación, e ingresé como discípulo suyo.”

⁵¹ Franco Bordóns, “El Maestro Arbós: Aspectos,” 501. In his memoirs, written nearly sixty years later, Arbós confesses, “De todos mis estudios musicales ya creo haber dicho que eran los de armonía y composición los que más me interesaban...” (“Of all my musical studies, I believe I have already said what interested me the most were those of harmony and composition...”), 242.

Isabel II on 13 September 1876.⁵² The Queen, however, told Arbós that she could not help him, but she gave him an introductory letter to take to her daughter, the Infanta Isabel. Thus, in March of 1877, with Monasterio at his side, he visited the Infanta and ultimately received the pension he was seeking. The Brussels Conservatoire was the obvious choice, as Monasterio had himself studied there many years earlier, and he still knew Gevaert, the director, personally.⁵³

⁵² Following the footsteps of his mentor. See note 48 above.

⁵³ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 50.

Chapter 3: At the Brussels Conservatoire

Through their mentors, Conde de Morphy and Monasterio, Albéniz and Arbós had a common connection to François Gevaert and the Brussels Conservatoire. Albéniz arrived in 1876, and Arbós joined him in 1877. Both of them completed their studies in Brussels in 1880. This period of time when both were at the Conservatoire Royal is noteworthy for the beginning and solidification of their friendship. They lived together, socialized together, played together, and influenced each other's work ethic. The emotional attachment gained through these mutual experiences no doubt drew them together for future professional collaborations.

Albéniz and Arbós were introduced by the director of the Conservatoire, François-Auguste Gevaert,⁵⁴ and maintained a good relationship with him, no doubt facilitated by Gevaert's knowledge of Spanish. The two friends lived in the same building with Arbós's mother and, according to Arbós, "from the first moment we had an extremely close relationship, and we shared many things in common."⁵⁵

Another Spaniard, Eusebio Daniel Campalans,⁵⁶ a composition student of Gevaert's from Catalunya, frequently made up a third person in their group. Arbós's descriptions of their youthful activities are telling of their temperaments and their

⁵⁴ As Arbós indicates, Gevaert was fluent in Spanish. While at the Conservatoire Royal, it is unclear whether or not Albéniz studied composition with François Gevaert. Existing Conservatoire records have no indication of this, at least in a formal setting. See Clark, *Portrait*, 53. Nonetheless, Arbós studied composition with Gevaert, suggesting the possibility that Albéniz did as well. It is also logical that Monasterio would arrange for Albéniz to study with his former teacher.

⁵⁵ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 54. "Desde el primer momento iniciamos una intimidad absoluta y hacíamos la vida en común."

⁵⁶ Eusebio Daniel Campalans (1862-1950), organist and composition student of Gevaert. He went by Daniel, though his first name was Eusebio.

camaraderie. For example, an amusing incident occurred shortly after they all met. According to Arbós, Gevaert asked Albéniz and Arbós to pass along a message to Daniel, requesting him to purchase and begin practicing the viola in order to help with his composing. Albéniz passed the message along “with slight variations,”⁵⁷ substituting bassoon for viola. Daniel bought the bassoon, and on his way to his first bassoon class, he ran into Gevaert who immediately questioned his behavior. Once all was explained, Gevaert simply laughed.⁵⁸

Keeping in mind that they were the respective ages of thirteen (Arbós) and seventeen (Albéniz) when Arbós came to the Conservatoire, it is not surprising that Arbós and Albéniz found creative ways to amuse themselves. Albéniz also began teaching Arbós French, and the two of them would “play” war together, influenced by the Russian-Turkish war of 1878-1879.⁵⁹ Another example of their jovial relationship took place at Arbós’s first paying gig. Albéniz and another classmate, Darío Regoyos, came to hear Arbós, and it was so crowded when they arrived that they had to enter through a window. During the concert, Albéniz and Regoyos threw projectiles at Arbós and called out patriotic *olés* and *vivas*.⁶⁰

Arbós relates another incident that reveals a more personal association between him and Albéniz. Its accuracy is difficult to know, but since Arbós tells it firsthand, it appears to be based on fact. As Arbós explains, Albéniz made the acquaintance of a certain South American of shady character after no longer living with Arbós and his mother. As a result, their “friendship suffered a long

⁵⁷ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 61. “con ligeras variantes”

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 61-63.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 72.

interruption.”⁶¹ Albéniz neglected his studies; Arbós even wrote notes to Albéniz in the dust left on his silent piano. The affair culminated when Albéniz received a note from his South American friend, who called off their planned suicide pact to follow through with it on his own.⁶² After discovering the body of his friend, Albéniz resumed his studies with fervor with the support of his friends, including Arbós.⁶³

José Luis Temes, author of the notes in Arbós’s *Memorias*, points out that this is the only account of this strange confession, though it is cited in all of Albéniz’s biographies. Thus we do not know if it is true or not.⁶⁴ Arbós would have no reason to fabricate or exaggerate the event, but that does not necessarily mean that Albéniz would not.

Some biographers have placed great importance on the role of their friendship at this point in Albéniz’s life, to the extent that Arbós is said to have “saved” Albéniz and thereby critically affected Spanish music from that time forward. One example is Víctor Espinós, who related this incident and then suggested that we should be able to “deduce without effort the transcendental nature of Albéniz and Arbós’s friendship.”⁶⁵ This seems a bit extreme, especially as based on an event whose details are unsubstantiated. Even so, it became a pattern for Arbós to feel a similar concern over Albéniz’s welfare and lifestyle choices at later periods in his life, frequently leading him to encourage, support, and even influence Albéniz on those occasions.

⁶¹ See Arbós, *Treinta años*, 66: “sufrió una larga interrupción.”

⁶² In Arbós’s words, “...parece ser que habían concertado la insensatez de suicidarse juntos...” in *Ibid.*, 66.

⁶³ Istel, “Isaac Albéniz,” 122.

⁶⁴ See Arbós, *Treinta años*, 66.

⁶⁵ See Víctor Espinós, *El Maestro Arbós* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S.A.), 81. “...deducirá sin esfuerzo la transcendencia de la amistad Albéniz-Arbós.”

Albéniz and Arbós benefitted artistically from their time at the Brussels Conservatory. They performed together the *Rondo brilliant* for piano and violin, Op. 70, by Schubert, on 14 February 1878.⁶⁶ Arbós studied violin with Henri Vieuxtemps,⁶⁷ counterpoint with Huber-Ferdinand Kufferath,⁶⁸ and composition with Gevaert. In the Conservatoire records, Albéniz is listed as Franz Rummel's student during the academic year 1876-1877 and Louis Brassin's for the remaining years.⁶⁹

When he was fifteen, Arbós won the Grand Prix d'Excellence at the Brussels Conservatoire in violin. This was, according to Espinós, "the maximum academic honor, distinguishing him, at such a young age, as an exceptional violinist."⁷⁰ In the month remaining until his examinations, Albéniz also worked hard enough to win the Grand Prix in piano playing. Daniel also won the prizes in his respective area, bringing home a "triple triumph" for Spain,⁷¹ and causing Gevaert to exclaim, "Send me Spaniards!"⁷²

Albéniz and Arbós completed their studies in Brussels at the same time and temporarily went their separate ways: Albéniz to Prague and Budapest in search of

⁶⁶ Clark, *Portrait*, 37.

⁶⁷ Henri Vieuxtemps (1820-1881), violinist and composer. After an illustrious international career, he accepted a teaching position in 1871 at the Brussels Conservatoire, where he contributed greatly to violin school. In 1873, he suffered a paralytic stroke, limiting his activities. From 1878-1879, he regained some health and was able to resume teaching on a limited basis, which is how Arbós, who was at the Conservatoire from 1877-1879, was able to study with him.

⁶⁸ Hubert-Ferdinand Kufferath (1818-1896), violinist, pianist, conductor, teacher, composer. He was made professor of counterpoint and fugue at the Brussels Conservatoire in 1872.

⁶⁹ Clark, *Portrait*, 37. Franz Rummel (1853-1901) was only seven years older than Albéniz. He apparently was also studying at the Brussels Conservatoire with Louis Brassin while teaching, and Rummel won a first prize in 1872 (Grove Music Online, accessed 4 March 2010).

⁷⁰ Espinós, *El Maestro Arbós*, 21.

⁷¹ José Subirá, *Historia de la música española e hispanoamericana*. Barcelona: Imprenta Moderna, 1953.

⁷² Víctor Espinós, *El Maestro Arbós* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S. A.), 80-81.

Liszt,⁷³ and Arbós to Germany to study with Joseph Joachim.⁷⁴ Their separate experiences were important in their individual development, and they would also have a bearing on their future interactions.

⁷³ For Albéniz's description of these alleged meetings, see his *Impresiones y diarios de viaje* (Madrid: Fundación Isaac Albéniz, 1990), 14, 21, 24. That these meetings never took place has been clearly proven by Walter Clark. He points out that Liszt's own correspondence proves that he was not in Budapest when Albéniz claims he was. Clark also points out that we do not know why Albéniz fabricated these meetings, but he speculates that it has to do with Albéniz proving to his father that the trip and its expense were not wasted. See Clark, *Portrait*, 43.

⁷⁴ Arbós began studying with Joachim in May 1880, and he finished studying with him in May 1886. These years were indeed seminal, and they molded Arbós's musicianship in multiple ways, exerting a lasting influence on his future as a composer and a conductor, not to mention as a violinist. During these *six* years, however, Arbós was absent from Berlin from the summer of 1881 until the spring of 1884, resulting in only slightly more than three years of formal study with Joachim. Nevertheless, their relationship was such that Joachim remained a constant influence throughout Arbós's career, especially when Arbós was in London. See Arbós, *Treinta años*, 81, note 1.

Chapter 4: Collaborations in Spain 1880-1884

The 1880s brought Albéniz and Arbós together on numerous occasions in Spain. Now adults, they made decisions that occasionally strained their relationship and that influenced their future collaborations. After finishing their studies at the Brussels Conservatoire in 1880, neither Albéniz nor Arbós returned directly to Spain, though they would spend most of the following decade there. Albéniz's attempt to see and study with Liszt was unsuccessful, and he returned to Madrid later in 1880, staying there until 1890, except for two years in Barcelona from 1883 to 1885. During vacations from school and for an extended period from 1881-1884, Arbós also spent time in Spain.⁷⁵

These years of continued education for Arbós and of being a professional musician for Albéniz were challenging but filled with a variety of opportunities. Their interactions or lack thereof reveal Arbós's care and concern with Albéniz and his career, contributing to the development of the supportive nature of their relationship. Their progress in composition during this time also foreshadowed their later activity composing and arranging.

In the early 1880s, Albéniz and Arbós's interactions were sporadic. They met from time to time in Madrid when Arbós was on leave from Germany and Albéniz came to town to perform. Arbós writes, "Albéniz came to Madrid, gave a concert or

⁷⁵ According to Arbós, he had to take this three-year leave of absence for two reasons: to report to the Infanta Isabel of his progress as her protégé, and he had to complete a required stance in the military. See Arbós, *Treinta años*, 119. In note 2, Temes expresses his opinion that these excuses are insufficient to account for the time. Arbós's visit to the Infanta certainly did not take three years, and he does not directly indicate how he fulfilled his military requirements.

two in public or in private at some Casino, and left again. As a performer, he had become bohemian, with very long hair and a large white tie...[and] a certain romantic aura.”⁷⁶ Albéniz’s bohemian nature did not appeal to Arbós, to the extent that he had concern for Albéniz’s career because of his lifestyle.⁷⁷ Arbós even explains how, because of Albéniz’s unpredictability, he formed a duo with José Tragó,⁷⁸ whom he described as a pianist of pure technique, an excellent musician, sober, of good taste and great perfection.⁷⁹ Even though Albéniz and Arbós were friends, at this time Arbós sought out someone more reliable for performing.

Around 1880, Albéniz introduced Arbós to Conde de Morphy, who became an important figure in Arbós’s life, as well as Albéniz’s.⁸⁰ They played music together at his house.⁸¹ According to Arbós, the Conde was modest, distinguished, cultured, and willing to do whatever he could for Spanish artists.⁸²

⁷⁶ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 122. “Pero ya no nos vimos de modo continuo y regular. Albéniz venía a Madrid, daba un concierto o dos en público o en privado en algún Casino y se volvía a marchar. Estaba hecho un concertista bohemio, de pelos muy largos y gran corbata blanca...con cierta aureola romántica.”

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁷⁸ José Tragó (1857-1934), Spanish pianist and composer.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 122.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 135. Conde de Morphy’s influence was particularly evident during Arbós’s insufficiently explained ‘break’ from his studies in Germany. Arbós writes, “He was extraordinarily kind to me. At that time I found myself without a fixed course, not knowing which way to go, and he was the one that persuaded me to go to Paris, the perfect place for the advancement of my career, where I could try my fortune.” (“Para mí fue bondadosísimo. En aquel momento me hallaba sin rumbo fijo, ignorando qué orientación tomar, y fue él quien me persuadió de que debía ir a París, centro propicio para el desenvolvimiento de mi carrera, donde podía probar fortuna.”) This enigmatic statement leads one to wonder about the nature of this leave from Berlin. One possible explanation is that during these three years, Arbós was participating in his military duties alongside these other musical endeavors, and, for an unknown reason, he was able to participate in them concurrently while in Spain. This idea is corroborated by his statement about 1884 that as his problems with military service were taken care of, he could return to Berlin. *Ibid.*, 154.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 96, 99.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 135.

Sextet in Santander

In 1883 Albéniz moved from Madrid to Barcelona where two significant events took place: he met and married his wife, Rosina Jordana Lagarriga, and he studied composition with Felip Pedrell.⁸³ Rosina was one of Albéniz's piano students and the daughter of a wealthy businessman in Barcelona. The marriage evidently put an end to Albéniz's bohemian ways.⁸⁴ When Arbós was informed that Albéniz was married, he was astonished. Apparently no word of Albéniz's courtship had reached Arbós. He writes, "We had to see her and meet Rosina Albéniz to believe the news because it had happened so fast that we had not heard anything about it beforehand..."⁸⁵ Apparently Arbós's assessment of Albéniz's bohemian lifestyle did not include matrimony.

Shortly after his marriage and perhaps even during his honeymoon, Albéniz joined a sextet with Arbós, performing at the Casino de Luis Gracia in Santander during the summer of 1883. The members of Arbós's sextet made many of their own arrangements, including Arbós's transcription of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.⁸⁶ Albéniz also wrote a sextet titled *Suite de concierto para sexteto* that is now lost.⁸⁷ They performed several concerts in Santander, and when the contract with the Casino was up, they toured Galicia. Arbós claims that they had a great deal of success, even

⁸³ Felip Pedrell (1841-1922), Catalan composer and musicologist. He was most influential through his revival of Spanish church music and Spanish national music, influencing many composers including Albéniz.

⁸⁴ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 144.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* "No podíamos creerlo... Tuvimos que verle y conocer a Rosina Albéniz para dar crédito a la noticia porque, además, todo había sido tan rápido que no hubo lugar a comentarios previos..."

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 145. This orchestration is lost. Later in his memoirs, p. 269, Arbós gives a different date for the arrangement of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Whether this is a memory slip, or a separate arrangement once existed that is now lost, no manuscript exists today.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 145, note 4.

though the sextet did not tour for long.⁸⁸ In fact, Albéniz returned to Barcelona because of the lack of success. In this interaction, though it was brief, we see Albéniz as a composer and Arbós as an arranger.

Albéniz and Arbós's work together in the sextet in Santander is one example of their progress in composition during this time. Over this entire period, 1880-1885, it is notable that Albéniz already evinced a lack of confidence in his orchestration and that Arbós was not encouraged in his compositional efforts beyond arranging. These circumstances, in addition to their developing supportive relationship, are vital to understanding their later collaboration in *Iberia*.

Up to this point, Albéniz had primarily composed salon works for the piano.⁸⁹ When he moved to Barcelona, he sought composition lessons with Felip Pedrell. The importance of Albéniz's lessons with Pedrell has possibly been exaggerated by biographers, but it does show Albéniz's sincere intentions to become more than a composer of salon music for the piano. With his increasing interest in composition, and in particular, in composing for the stage, Albéniz apparently sought out Pedrell's instruction in the technical aspects of composing.⁹⁰ By that time, it should be noted, Pedrell was well known as an opera composer. Not only did Albéniz seek out a composer who encouraged the incorporation of Spanish musical elements, he also found a composer for the stage.

⁸⁸ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 145-146.

⁸⁹ For a complete chronological list of Albéniz's compositions, see Jacinto Torres, *Catálogo Sistemático Descriptivo de las Obras Musicales de Isaac Albéniz* (Madrid: Instituto de Bibliografía Musical, 2001), 59-79. For a description of Albéniz's salon works for the piano, see Angel Sagardía, *Isaac Albéniz* (Plascencia: Caceras S. Rodrigo, 1951), 33-34.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 36.

According to Pedrell's eulogy of Albéniz written after his death in 1909, Albéniz had some difficulties with the lessons.⁹¹ He struggled with many of the rules of counterpoint, and Pedrell indicated that Albéniz could only sense the music through the piano.⁹² At this time, however, Albéniz was only twenty three years old, and while not a complete novice, he had yet to gain much of the experience evident in his later orchestral compositions.⁹³ There is even some evidence that Pedrell exaggerated Albéniz's ignorance in his eulogy.⁹⁴ Nonetheless, as Clark points out, Albéniz felt particularly inadequate in orchestration, and this feeling persisted throughout his life.⁹⁵ It surely contributes to our understanding of Albéniz's own orchestration of *Iberia* and his subsequent rejection of it.

In Madrid in 1882, Arbós composed *Seis ritmas de Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer*, op. 3, for voice and piano.⁹⁶ Arbós's description of the response to these songs is intriguing. He writes that they were:

... innocent enough certainly, very much in Schumann's style, in spite of the fact that the few people I showed them to – including my teacher Monasterio – did not find them to their liking. They all agreed that what I needed to do in order to have the least likelihood of success was get rid of the voice and stick with the piano only. Experts and laymen tried to direct me with their wise examples. At some friends' home, in order to show me what I should do with my compositions, the husband would suggest, "Sofía, sing *El gallo*."

And a professor from the Conservatorio, I.[abbreviated name], after listening to my music with marked disapproval, sat down gracefully at the piano in order to offer me a little song, one of his own, a model of what was all the

⁹¹ Clark, *Portrait*, 53.

⁹² Istel, "Isaac Albéniz," 123-124.

⁹³ Clark, *Portrait*, 54.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁹⁶ The songs were dedicated to the Infanta Isabel. The six parts were originally composed separately and only later joined together. Their titles are: Asomaba a sus ojos...¿Qué es poesía?, Si al mecer, Los invisibles átomos, Olas gigantes, and Volverán las oscuras golondrinas. See Temes, "Catálogo de obras," 560.

rage here, in comparison to what was being played in the North. I refrain from quoting the over-the-top, picaresque lyrics.

All this encouraged me to completely abandon my melodies, never to return to them again.⁹⁷

It is possible that Arbós's humor and age exaggerated these reactions a bit, but it certainly shows that Arbós did not receive a great deal of encouragement for his composing. Part of the difficulty could have been a reaction to the "Germanized" style of his music. This attitude in Spain, and especially in Madrid, was also partially responsible for driving Albéniz away in 1890.

In his biography of Arbós, Víctor Espinós suggests that one of the reasons why Arbós became a composer was the influence and success of his intimate friend Albéniz.⁹⁸ To what extent Arbós was influenced by Albéniz's success as a composer is difficult to discern from his memoirs. Albéniz's influence on his career path is undeniable, but a clear desire to follow Albéniz's path as a composer is not evident. It seems that Arbós's bent toward composing came about, at least in part, out of necessity. He began with arrangements and compositions for his chamber groups specifically, and then branched out from there. Mostly likely because of the lack of

⁹⁷ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 244. "...bien inocentes por cierto, muy estilo Schumann, pese a lo cual las pocas personas a quienes las di a conocer -incluso mi maestro Monasterio- no hallaron de su agrado mi atrevimiento. Todos coincidían en que carecía de la menor probabilidad de éxito de que acabase el canto y siguiese el piano. Entendidos y profanos intentaban orientarme con sabios ejemplos. En casa de unos amigos, para demostrarme lo que hubieran debido ser mis composiciones, el marido sugería: - Sofía, canta *El gallo*. / Y un profesor del Conservatorio, I., después de escuchar mis músicas con marcada desaprobación, se sentó donosamente al piano para brindarme una cancioncita, obra suya, modelo de lo que aquí hacía furor, en contraposición con las brumas del norte. Renuncio a citar la letra, sobradamente picaresca. / Todo eso promovió el completo abandono en que dejé mis melodías, de las que nunca volví acordarme."

⁹⁸ Espinós, *El Maestro Arbós*, 107-110. The other two reasons he gave were Arbós's theoretical training at school and his later position as a conductor. Of note is that Arbós himself refers back to his counterpoint and composition classes as the classes that interested him the most. Regarding composing, he writes, "Nothing else that has happened to me in my life has absorbed me to the extreme that I forget the time and am surprised to see the morning light appear on my notes, insensible to cold and fatigue." ("...con ninguna otra cosa en la vida me ha ocurrido absorberme hasta el extremo de olvidar la hora y sorprenderme la luz del día enfrascado en mis notas, insensible al frío y al cansancio.") See Arbós, *Treinta años*, 242.

encouragement and success, he did not continue to compose.⁹⁹ This trend may also help explain why Arbós's orchestrations of *Iberia* were limited to only five *Impressions*, composed sporadically over several years.

⁹⁹ For a catalog of Arbós's complete compositional output, see Appendix B. Also see, José Luis Temes, "Catálogo de obras de Enrique Fernández Arbós," in Enrique Fernández Arbós, *Treinta años como violinista (Memorias, 1863-1904)*, ed. José Luis Temes (Madrid: Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid, 2005), 559-562.

Chapter 5: Together in Madrid

During the second half of the 1880s, Albéniz and Arbós both settled more or less permanently in Madrid: Albéniz in 1885¹⁰⁰ and Arbós in 1888.¹⁰¹ As their careers advanced, they became highly involved in the musical scene of Madrid. Once again, their association brought about professional opportunities as well as frustrations.

In 1886, while Arbós was finishing his studies in Germany, Albéniz became involved in the musical scene of Madrid. He renewed associations with Conde de Morphy and Tomás Bretón,¹⁰² and launched his own career as a pianist on 24 January 1886, by giving an important concert at the salon of his publisher, Antonio Romero. In this same year, and in honor of this concert, Albéniz's first biography was written by Antonio Guerra y Alarcón.¹⁰³

During this time, we find further evidence of Albéniz's lack of confidence in his orchestrating abilities. For example, in early 1887, rather than doing so himself, Albéniz asked Bretón to orchestrate his Piano Concerto and the *Rhapsodia española*

¹⁰⁰ For an unknown reason, Albéniz moved from Barcelona back to Madrid in 1885. See Clark, *Portrait*, 62.

¹⁰¹ Arbós's relocation to Madrid is the result of several events. As Arbós finished his training with Joachim, he had his grand debut as a performer with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra on 1 February 1886. As a result, he was offered and held the position as concert master of that orchestra for one year. Arbós then accepted a position at the Hamburg Conservatory, though the job did not begin immediately. While waiting, Arbós took a three-month contract as concertmaster in Glasgow. Then, while still waiting, Arbós returned to Spain under a contract to perform with the Sociedad de Conciertos, the precursor to the Madrid Symphony Orchestra. When the time came to return to Hamburg, Arbós was persuaded, chiefly by Pablo Sarasate, to stay in Madrid and take a newly formed position at the Madrid Conservatory. See Arbós, *Treinta años*, 196-197, 213, 216, 235-236, 229-230, and 235.

¹⁰² Tomás Bretón (1850-1923), Spanish conductor and composer. Albéniz later made a significant contribution to his career through introduction in London in 1891. Bretón also conducted the Madrid Symphony Orchestra just prior to Enrique Arbós.

¹⁰³ See Clark, *Portrait*, 58. For this biography, Antonio Guerra y Alarcón consulted with Albéniz, who apparently elaborated on some of the experiences of his youth, leading to the exaggerated tales repeated by biographers for many years.

for piano and orchestra. Albéniz continued to compose for the piano, mostly an abundance of salon music.¹⁰⁴

In his memoirs, Arbós offers the following description of Albéniz's compositions from this time:

In those days, Albéniz still had not conquered the terrains of harmony and counterpoint. He composed by improvising at the piano and then writing it down, occasionally making minor errors in notation. Notwithstanding, some of his best known works date from this period: our dances that have been popularized in and outside of Spain. They reflect an inherently Spanish feeling, and even though they do not have the interesting and advanced finish of *Iberia*, they have the merit of not having simply replicated our folk music: these themes are Albéniz's own creations, and they only became popular because of Albéniz's natural ability.¹⁰⁵

Of note from this passage is Arbós's familiarity with Albéniz's works. Such a familiarity undoubtedly had bearing on Arbós's later orchestrations and perhaps even influenced Albéniz's choice of Arbós as orchestrator.¹⁰⁶

In 1888, Arbós was contracted to perform with the Sociedad de Conciertos,¹⁰⁷ bringing him to Madrid and its musical environment. By this time, the director of the

¹⁰⁴ Clark, *Portrait*, 62.

¹⁰⁵ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 227-229. "En aquellos años, Albéniz todavía no dominaba en terrenos de armonía y contrapunto. Componía improvisando al piano y copiando luego, incurriendo a veces en pequeñas faltas de ortografía musical. Pese a lo cual, de esta época datan algunas de las más conocidas entre sus obras: todas aquellas que han divulgado en España y fuera de España nuestras bailarinas. Responden a un sentimiento netamente español y, aunque no las envuelva el ropaje interesante y avanzado de la *Iberia*, tienen el mérito de no haber utilizado el archivo de nuestro folklore: son creación de Albéniz esos temas genuinamente nuestros que se popularizaron por el solo valor de su gracia." Arbós is referring to Albéniz's works for piano, namely his *Primer suite española*, begun in 1883; *Seis danzas españolas* from 1886; *Rapsodia española* from 1886/1887; *Recuerdos de viaje* from 1887; *Andalucía* from 1888; and *Segunda suite española* from 1889. These works are specified by Temes in Arbós, *Treinta años*, 229, note 1. It should be noted that Albéniz did not only write piano music during this time. He also wrote for the voice and helped to foster symphonic music in Spain. See Clark, *Portrait*, 71.

¹⁰⁶ According to Reverter, who comments on how well Arbós knew the talent and the idiosyncrasy of his friend. See Reverter, "Albéniz-Arbós," 27.

¹⁰⁷ Founded in 1866, this orchestra was the immediate predecessor to the Madrid Symphony Orchestra, which was founded in 1904. Arbós was involved with both orchestras to a significant degree during his career as both a violinist and conductor.

Society was Tomás Bretón. With the help of Albéniz and Pilar de la Mora, Arbós convinced Bretón to allow him to perform a program of Bach's works for violin, which had never been performed before in Spain.¹⁰⁸ His persistence resulted in successful performances on the 18th and 25th of March.

Bretón's diary contains entries on and near the performance days. His writing reveals the close relationship of Bretón, Arbós, and Albéniz, with frequent visits to each others' homes as well as to that of Count Morphy. He also comments on Arbós and Albéniz's occasional immature behavior, probably reminiscent of their school days together.¹⁰⁹

Due to his position at the Hamburg Conservatory, Arbós did not plan to stay in Madrid. He even mentions how his parents thought he was gone forever when he took the position.¹¹⁰ Right around this time, however, his former teacher and mentor, Monasterio, decided to split in half his position at the Madrid Conservatorio to create a vacancy for an additional violin professor; Monasterio would look after the superior level students and chamber music, while the new instructor would teach the new and mid-level students.¹¹¹ Arbós was strongly encouraged to take the position, and it was Pablo Sarasate¹¹² who persuaded him the most:

But the one who wanted me to stay the most was Sarasate, who, in accordance with his principles, fought boldly against all that had been Germanized in my spirit. He and Goldschmitt [Sarasate's accompanist] were the ones that most

¹⁰⁸ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 229-230.

¹⁰⁹ Diary entries for 3 March through 28 March 1888. Quoted in Arbós, *Treinta años*, 230-31, note 2.

¹¹⁰ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 235.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 235, note 1.

¹¹² Pablo Martín Melitón de Sarasate y Navasuéz (1844-1908), Spanish violinist and composer. He achieved fame throughout Europe and was somewhat of a mentor-figure to Arbós. They met while Arbós was studying in Germany.

clearly made me see the place that I could occupy in Madrid and the work I could accomplish in favor of our musical future.¹¹³

Espinós, his biographer, states that Arbós thought he could be in Spain what Vieuxtemps and Joachim were in their respective countries, and for this reason Arbós stayed in Spain.¹¹⁴

Having committed himself to staying in Madrid, Arbós began preparations for the examination for the professorship at the Madrid Conservatorio, preparations that could have involved Albéniz, but did not. Arbós's accompanist for the examination was José Tragó, the same pianist with whom he had collaborated a few years earlier, and not Albéniz, because Tragó was already a professor at the Conservatorio. While Arbós felt obligated to go with Tragó, this decision did have negative repercussions on his friendship with Albéniz, and was in part instrumental in Albéniz's eventual removal to London:

Albéniz felt – justifiably so – the same pain as I did, and I can assure you that this was the only time our friendship was clouded, to the point that he felt obligated to leave Madrid and search for new horizons; but in his heart he could not harbor feelings that were not great and noble. In effect, he did leave some time after this, but not without the permanent restoration of our mutual affection and artistic understanding.¹¹⁵

Arbós continues by pointing out that because of Albéniz's removal to London and his subsequent invitations to Arbós, the course of Arbós's own career was greatly

¹¹³ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 235. “Pero quien más me decidió a quedarme fue Sarasate que, de acuerdo con sus principios, luchó denodadamente contra todo lo que había de esencialmente alemanizado en mi espíritu. Él y Goldschmidt fueron los que más claramente me hicieron ver el lugar que podía ocupar en Madrid y la labor que me correspondía llevar a cabo en pro de nuestro futuro musical.” This perhaps helps explain Sarasate's feelings against Bach.

¹¹⁴ Espinós, *El Maestro Arbós*, 69.

¹¹⁵ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 237. “Albéniz debió sentir -y con justicia- la misma pena que yo y puedo asegurar que ésta fue la única ocasión en que su amistad se empañó [was clouded] con una ligera nube, e incluso llegó a decirme que aquello le obligaba a dejar Madrid y buscar nuevos horizontes; pero en su corazón no podía anidar sentimiento que no fuera grande y noble. En efecto, sí, marchó algún tiempo después, pero no sin que nuestro mutuo afecto y compenetración artística quedaran sellados de nuevo y consolidados para siempre.” Later on, Arbós gives additional insights into the causes for Albéniz's departure to London.

altered.¹¹⁶ That their friendship survived this episode and that Albéniz continued to look to Arbós for support, as well as provide him with professional opportunities, was pivotal for both of their futures.

Arbós won the professorship at the Madrid Conservatorio in 1888, at the age of twenty four, and settled down to a quiet life of teaching and performing.¹¹⁷ This time period is also when Arbós began to conduct.¹¹⁸ The atmosphere in Madrid at this time, however, was not ideal for Spanish musicians wanting to expand the musical horizons of the city. Bretón, an influence on Arbós and Albéniz with his patriotic desire to create Spanish opera, struggled with the Sociedad de Conciertos, and he had difficulties premiering his opera, *Los amantes de Teruel*. Arbós claims that Bretón's greatest difficulty was his Spanish text, because the city was then dominated by Italian opera.¹¹⁹ Sarasate also went through his own struggles during this time. He was accused of trying to exploit his compatriots and of having become a naturalized Frenchman. He had to resort to hiring a lawyer to put an end to these intrigues, and his fame apparently returned.¹²⁰ Arbós reacted to this atmosphere in a relatively calm way, while Albéniz was much more impassioned by it, and this may have also contributed to his decision to leave Madrid for London.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 239.

¹¹⁸ On 25 April 1890, Arbós directed for the first time in a public setting. The event was not of great importance, other than in the story of Arbós's life. The orchestra, made up of members of the Sociedad de Conciertos, performed or possibly premiered Arbós's orchestration of his own work, *Bolero*, one part of his earlier work *Trois pièces originales dans le genre espagnol, pour violon, violoncelle et piano*. They also performed Arbós's orchestration of a dramatic piece by Botessini, *La mártir Cristiana*. Arbós probably directed because these were his orchestrations. Arbós, *Treinta años*, 266-267, note 3.

¹¹⁹ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 244-245.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 246.

¹²¹ Ibid.

In 1889, Albéniz endeavored to promote his compositions through performing and arranging concerts. As evidence of his growing popularity, Albéniz was invited to perform in Paris, which he did successfully, with well-known composers, such as Debussy, Fauré, Ravel, and Dukas.¹²² On 7 March 1889, Albéniz gave a concert entirely of his own music at the Teatro de la Comedia in Madrid with the Sociedad de Conciertos, directed by Bretón. The concert consisted of a composition for orchestra, *Escenas sinfónicas catalanas*, whose solo violin part Arbós played, as well as other pieces. Arbós writes, “I do not believe he was very satisfied with this concert, and this served to confirm his intention of leaving Spain, which intention he undertook a little while later causing great pain to me, as I believed he was gone from us forever.”¹²³

Finally, Albéniz undertook what became a successful series of concerts in Barcelona from 1888 to 1889, prompting him to consider moving back to the Catalan capitol.¹²⁴ His future, however, was in Great Britain, after he gave an extremely successful concert on 13 June 1889 at Prince’s Hall. The success was enough that he returned to give concerts in July, September, October and December that same year.¹²⁵

During the 1880s, Albéniz and Arbós experienced triumphs and frustrations in the musical atmosphere of Spain. Their friendship survived, despite the difficulties, to be an anchor of support and an instigator of professional opportunities in the years to come.

¹²² Clark, *Portrait*, 75.

¹²³ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 246. “No creo que quedara satisfecho de este concierto y ello contribuyó a afirmar el propósito que ya tenía de marcharse de España, propósito que realizó poco más tarde con gran pena por me parte, que le creía alejado de nosotros para siempre.”

¹²⁴ Romero, *Isaac Albéniz*, 41.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

Chapter 6: London and *The Magic Opal*

In 1889, Albéniz moved to London, bringing about a geographic separation of the two friends. The separation did not last long, however, because Albéniz provided Arbós with significant performing opportunities in London and England. Their collaborations during this time continued to reveal a strong bond despite artistic differences.

Albéniz's security in London came in the form of a contract between him and the London theater impresario, Henry Lowenfeld.¹²⁶ The contract gave Lowenfeld absolute control over all of Albéniz's works and his services as composer and musician. In turn, Lowenfeld gave Albéniz enough money for his personal expenses, taking care of and promoting his interests.¹²⁷ The contract allowed Albéniz to move to London with his family, where he was able to focus his energy on composing and performing.

During this time, Arbós began to establish himself as a conductor. In the summer of 1890, he was asked to conduct a small chamber orchestra in Santander for two months. In accepting this opportunity, he writes, "The offer was too attractive, so I abandoned all other plans."¹²⁸ He also writes that from the first time he conducted, he experienced an unforgettable feeling of delight.¹²⁹ The two months not only provided a further introduction into conducting, but they gave Arbós "a truly artistic

¹²⁶ Henry Lowenfeld was a successful London businessman. Beyond his business activities, including founding the Universal Stock Exchange in 1865, Lowenfeld was involved in theatrical and concert management. See Clark, *Portrait*, 77-78.

¹²⁷ Romero, *Isaac Albéniz*, 41.

¹²⁸ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 267. "El ofrecimiento era demasiado halagüeño y abandoné toda otra idea."

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

labor.” The orchestra was of a high caliber, made up of members of the Sociedad de Conciertos, and since they were a small ensemble, they wrote and performed many of their own transcriptions. Arbós’s cites his own orchestrations of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* and *Bolero* from this time as well, commenting on the additional musical colors available in orchestral sound.¹³⁰

Albéniz, with his financial backing from Lowenfeld, organized a series of concerts to feature himself and his friends in 1891.¹³¹ Albéniz was known for promoting the interests of his friends and colleagues, especially fellow Spaniards.¹³² Thus, he encouraged Arbós to come to London as part of a tour under the management of Lowenfeld.¹³³ Arbós agreed, and overall the month-long *tournee* was a positive experience, allowing Arbós and Albéniz to work together along with other Spanish musicians in London.¹³⁴

Arbós, however, immediately developed an extremely negative opinion of Lowenfeld, “with whom [he] did not get on with from their first meeting.”¹³⁵ Arbós clearly saw him as opportunistic. In his memoirs he writes, “Personally he was agreeable, but he professed the most advanced ideas of allurements and exhibitionism. I quickly realized that he launched an artist the same way he would a new brand of corn...”¹³⁶

¹³⁰ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 269. These works were possibly orchestrated earlier by Arbós’s, as cited previously. It is not clear whether these are new transcriptions or a memory slip on Arbós’s part.

¹³¹ Clark, *Portrait*, 82.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 76.

¹³³ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 270. It is not clear exactly which contractual relationship existed between Arbós and Lowenfeld, though it is evident there was a contract of some sort.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 272.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*: “...con quien desde un principio no congenié.”

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* “Él personalmente era agradable, pero profesaba las ideas más avanzadas de reclamo y exhibicionismo. Pronto me di cuenta de que lo mismo lanzaba un artista que una nueva marca de maíz...”

Neither Arbós's opinion of Lowenfeld, nor his feelings in general toward managers improved with subsequent tours. Arbós went on his second tour organized by Lowenfeld later in 1892. This tour was quite successful, with Albéniz and the cellist David Popper.¹³⁷ After this tour, however, Arbós's confidence in and enthusiasm for Lowenfeld's enterprises waned even more.

As their manager, Lowenfeld proposed that Arbós and Albéniz undertake the writing of an operetta based on the play, *The Magic Opal*, by Arthur Law.¹³⁸ Ángel Sagardía describes their collaboration in his biography of Albéniz.¹³⁹ Albéniz apparently asked Arbós to be responsible primarily for orchestrating, "which was somewhat difficult for him [Albéniz]."¹⁴⁰ This reveals yet again Albéniz's lack of self confidence as an orchestrator, but by giving that task to Arbós, he could focus on other musical endeavors.

This division of labor was in place when Arbós experienced a family emergency that caused him to leave London for Spain immediately, solidifying an existing desire to be free from the contract. This left Albéniz both to compose and to orchestrate the vast majority of the operetta. In a letter to his sister, Albéniz expresses his dismay at this unfortunate situation:

Dear Clementina: I suppose you should know how I am with work. It is hard to say; poor Enrique, who should have collaborated on half of the work with me, first for laziness or a lack of enthusiasm, and now for his terrible misfortune, has left me in the "bull's horn", not writing more than two and a half of the numbers of the twenty seven that the work has, and even those two

¹³⁷ David Popper (1843-1913), Austrian cellist and composer.

¹³⁸ Arthur Law (1844-1913), English playwright.

¹³⁹ Sagardía, *Isaac Albéniz*, 50-51.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 51: "la cual era algo penosa."

and a bit I have had to orchestrate. All of this serves to explain to you that I arrive at the theater at 10 AM and leave at 6 PM.¹⁴¹

This letter shows that Albéniz and Arbós did have an agreement, and that Arbós evidently was assigned to compose as well as orchestrate.

Arbós's disapproval of Lowenfeld certainly contributed to what Albéniz called Arbós's "lack of enthusiasm" in his letter to his sister, Clementina. Here are Arbós's own words:

No sooner had we concluded this *tournee* than it occurred to [Lowenfeld] to continue exploiting us in the realm of composition, and he proposed that Albéniz and I write the music for a comic opera... He found an author from who knows where that provided him with a libretto, *The Magic Opal*, and we began to write. From the beginning I was troubled at my lack of English ability to bring about a work that would be performed in public... We had to work blindly...¹⁴²

Arbós also complains that they were required to add accent marks to the English text and have Lowenfeld check them, a painful task since his knowledge of English was extremely limited at that time.¹⁴³

The situation became intolerable for Arbós when Joachim, his beloved teacher, came to London and offered him an attractive alternative, because "being

¹⁴¹ Sagardía, *Isaac Albéniz*, 51. "Querida Clementina: Supongo te harás cargo de cómo estoy de trabajo; no es para contado; el pobre Enrique, que debiera haber colaborado por mitad en la obra conmigo, primero por pereza o poco entusiasmo, y ahora por su terrible desgracia, me ha dejado en las "astas del toro", no escribiendo más que dos números y medio de los veintisiete que tiene la obra, y aun esos dos y pico los he tenido que instrumentar yo. Todo esto sirve para explicarte que entro en el teatro a las diez de la mañana y salgo a las seis de la tarde." It should be pointed out that Clark translates "su terrible desgracia" as "his great shame," instead of "his terrible misfortune," suggesting that Albéniz makes no mention of any emergency in his letter. See Clark, *Portrait*, 85, note 42.

¹⁴² Arbós, *Treinta años*, 291-293. "No bien concluimos esta *tournee*, se le ocurrió [a Lowenfeld] seguir explotándonos en el terreno de la composición y propuso que Albéniz y yo musicásemos una ópera cómica... Sacó no sé de dónde un autor que le proporcionó un libretto: *El ópalo mágico*, y empezamos a escribir... Desde el principio me arredró mi falta de conocimiento del inglés para llevar a cabo una empresa destinada al público... debía trabajar a ciegas..." It does seem odd that this manager would ask two Spaniards to compose the music for an English operetta. More information is needed for a clearer understanding.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 291.

under the yoke of a manager bothered [him] to an unimaginable extent...”¹⁴⁴ Joachim offered to present Arbós to the London public in the same way he had been presented in Berlin, with a joint performance at St. James’s Hall. Arbós quickly recognized the benefit of this debut for his future career, and he decided to do the performance.¹⁴⁵

The exact nature of Arbós’s contract with Lowenfeld is unclear from his memoirs. It does not appear to have been nearly as binding as Albéniz’s contract, and yet it was enough that Arbós had to break it off before agreeing to the performance with Joachim. Arbós evidently discussed this course of action with Albéniz, who advised against ending the contract, believing that Lowenfeld would not take it well.¹⁴⁶ It is possible that Albéniz felt personally responsible, given that he had made the arrangements for Arbós to come and be managed by Lowenfeld. Arbós, however, ultimately decided to act in his own best interest, and in the fall of 1892, the contract was cancelled amicably, on the condition that Arbós turn over to Lowenfeld the two songs that he had already written for *The Magic Opal*.¹⁴⁷

Arbós’s successful performance with Joachim helped change his attitude toward London, if not toward managers.¹⁴⁸ Nonetheless, toward the end of 1892, Arbós went on his third tour organized by Lowenfeld, having most likely dissolved only the part of the contract regarding *The Magic Opal*. Knowing that the tour was finite, Arbós could tolerate dealing with Lowenfeld.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 293. “[Le] molestaba hasta lo imaginable aquella supeditación a un *manager*.”

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. For details on Arbós’s debut in Berlin, see Arbós, *Treinta años*, 196.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. On p. 294, note 4, Temes points out that we do not know which of the two songs in the final version of *The Magic Opal* were composed by Arbós.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 294.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 305.

At the end of 1892, Arbós was in Madrid, where his father was taken ill. His father's subsequent death was probably the "terrible misfortune" that Albéniz cites in the letter to Clementina, giving Arbós additional cause to terminate his opera-writing contract and leave London.¹⁵⁰ This excuse is given in many Albéniz biographies, including Sagardía's.¹⁵¹ Taking Albéniz's letter in the context of Arbós's explanation, it appears that Arbós already had plans to terminate the contract and perform with Joachim when his father was taken ill, that illness probably solidifying his decision to leave.

The Magic Opal, composed in 1892, was premiered in London in 1893 on January 19. It had a substantial run of forty performances and later successfully travelled throughout England.¹⁵² Albéniz's orchestration was praised by a writer in *People*, in the article "The Theatres. Lyric," from 22 January 1893. "His orchestration is specially worthy of admiration; far surpassing that of nearly all the comic operatic works produced within the last dozen years."¹⁵³ Evidently Albéniz did not fare too poorly without Arbós as his orchestrator.

This collaboration, or near-collaboration, between Albéniz and Arbós can be seen as foreshadowing Albéniz's future request that Arbós orchestrate his masterpiece, *Iberia*. Indeed, Arturo Reverter, immediately after relating their planned partnership on *The Magic Opal*, goes so far as to say that it is no surprise that Albéniz turned to Arbós to orchestrate *Iberia*.¹⁵⁴ On the contrary, this unharmonious incident

¹⁵⁰ Sagardía, *Isaac Albéniz*, 51.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² Arbós, *Treinta años*, 314, note 1.

¹⁵³ Torres, *Catálogo Sistemático Descriptivo*, 92. The article's title, "The Theatres. Lyric," is written in the same manner by Torres.

¹⁵⁴ Reverter, "Albéniz-Arbós," 24.

with *The Magic Opal* does not seem likely to have endeared Arbós to Albéniz as a collaborator; still, the collaboration on *Iberia* most likely resulted from their enduring friendship and Albéniz's desire to give professional opportunities to his friend, even if only to revise his own work.

Arbós's mother passed away on 30 July 1893, six months and three weeks after his father's death.¹⁵⁵ As the only child, Arbós then had no immediate family living, and he did not marry for another twenty-three years. This allowed him to embark on professional ventures that family obligations might have otherwise hindered.¹⁵⁶ To deal with his grief, Arbós determined to work with as much intensity as ever, so he spent his time with his violin and began work on what would become his zarzuela, *El centro de la tierra*.¹⁵⁷ Additionally, before returning to London, Arbós went to Barcelona where Albéniz had invited him to perform several months earlier. This helped him to cope with the loss of his mother, and is another example of Albéniz providing a performing opportunity.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 326.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 326, note 2.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 326-327.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 331.

Chapter 7: The Contract with Money-Coutts

In 1893, the contract between Albéniz and Lowenfeld came to involve a third person, Francis Money-Coutts.¹⁵⁹ Through Lowenfeld, Money-Coutts met Albéniz, and in 1894, Lowenfeld sold his part of the contract to him, leaving Money-Coutts as the sole proprietor. The terms of the contract at that point were essentially the same, with Money-Coutts providing a large income to Albéniz in return for the composer's setting of Money-Coutts's own librettos, poems, and other texts.

As Albéniz began working on collaborations with Money-Coutts, he also composed and premiered his zarzuela, *San Antonio de la Florida*.¹⁶⁰ This was a one-act zarzuela, with text by Albéniz's friend, Eusebio Sierra. The premiere took place in Madrid in October of 1894, followed shortly thereafter by a Spanish adaptation of *The Magic Opal*, titled *La sortija*. Neither production was well-received, a common fate for Albéniz's compositions for the stage.¹⁶¹ This criticism frequently stemmed from the belief that his music was too good for the subpar librettos.¹⁶²

At the same time, in 1894, Arbós premiered his own zarzuela, *El centro de la tierra*, in Madrid; its libretto was written by Celso Lucio and Ricardo Monasterio. Arbós left London during Holy Week to assist with the premiere. According to him, the rehearsals went well: people laughed, and the musical numbers were performed with enthusiasm. In retrospect, he writes, the work could not have been a success: the

¹⁵⁹ Money-Coutts belonged to a wealthy London banking family, saw himself primarily as a poet, and through personal interest was financially involved in theatrical ventures around the city.

¹⁶⁰ Albéniz had written two zarzuelas previously, in 1882, while in Spain, of which only the titles remain. See Clark, *Portrait*, 48-49.

¹⁶¹ Clark, *Portrait*, 113 (113-124).

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 123.

mythological theme was completely out of harmony with the public and the cast, who were all accustomed to realism. Additionally, the day before the premiere, all of the dancers went on strike, and only one showed up for the performance.¹⁶³

This premiere took place on 21 December 1894, and the last performance took place only four days later on the 25th. According to Franco, however, the music was well done, and the orchestration was much better than was typical at that time.¹⁶⁴ As testament to the quality of the music, the publishing company, Editorial Romero, founded by Arbós's friend, Antonio Romero y Andía, offered to publish the entire work, including both instrumental and vocal parts. In this form, the work had a fair amount of circulation, and the instrumental pieces were frequently performed in the salons. Arbós himself arranged the piano reduction.¹⁶⁵

This damaging episode took its toll on Arbós's compositional future. Of the failure, Arbós writes, "...it did not greatly affect me...[It] was only a test, and I promised myself not to repeat that mistake ever again..." Arbós then contradicts himself and reminisces that if he had not taken it so much to heart, he might have tried again and had success in the theater.¹⁶⁶ He never did compose again for the theater, and it is possible this may have limited his enthusiasm toward orchestrating the entirety of *Iberia*.

The collaboration between Albéniz, as composer, and Money-Coutts, as librettist, resulted in numerous works, including the operas *Henry Clifford* (1894-

¹⁶³ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 365.

¹⁶⁴ Franco, "El Maestro Arbós: aspectos biográficos," 548. To date, I am not aware of any scholarly study of this music.

¹⁶⁵ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 369, note 1.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 368. "no me afectó grandemente. Para mí era sólo una prueba y me prometí no reincidir nunca más." Arbós's nearest venture into the theater was to bring together excerpts from his orchestration of Albéniz's *Iberia* into a ballet titled *Triana*, discussed on p. 58 of this study.

1895), *Pepita Jiménez* (1895), and *Merlin* (1905) from the *King Arthur* trilogy.¹⁶⁷ The *King Arthur* trilogy was Money-Coutts's great ambition: three operas portraying the great English legend. *Merlin* was the first of the three; the other two, *Launcelot* and *Guenevere*, were never completed.

Albéniz's contractually bound position working for Francis Money-Coutts has been one of the most misunderstood aspects of Albéniz's life and career.

Traditionally, this contract has been condemned as a "Faustian pact," to which Albéniz was regrettably bound, wasting away his talent and energy composing settings for Coutts's less-than-exemplary texts. As one example of this, Istel suggests that had Albéniz been given better librettos, he would have been successful as a stage composer. "Yet fate willed it that – largely influenced by his English friends – he entered upon a course in which his best powers were wasted *to no end*."¹⁶⁸ Istel even blames the contract for Albéniz's poor health:

[Albéniz's] connection with the Prince of Wales' Theatre brought him an acquaintance who, while very useful to him financially, was to do him incalculable damage humanly and artistically, and, perhaps, was responsible - in so far as inner reasons come into question - for Albéniz's untimely end.¹⁶⁹

This view of Money-Coutts has been masterfully refuted by Walter Clark.¹⁷⁰

A more positive view of Money-Coutts is also accepted by Justo Romero, though he offers his own criticism of the relationship.¹⁷¹ Romero argues that the artistic results

¹⁶⁷ See Torres, *Catálogo Sistemático*, 83-166. For *Pepita Jiménez* in particular, see also Walter Clark, "Spanish music with a universal accent": Isaac Albéniz's opera *Pepita Jiménez*" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1992).

¹⁶⁸ Istel, "Isaac Albéniz," 135.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid*, emphasis added.

¹⁷⁰ Clark, "Isaac Albeniz's Faustian Pact," in particular, see p. 474.

¹⁷¹ Romero, *Isaac Albéniz*, 42. He writes, "Los resultados artísticos del acuerdo fueron muy desiguales, tanto por la mediocridad literaria de Money-Coutts como por la falta de convicción de Albéniz, que, a

were inconsistent, because Albéniz preferred Spanish subjects that were on the margin of Money-Coutts' knowledge and experience, even though the contract stipulated for Albéniz to set Money-Coutts's texts to music.¹⁷² Certainly the opposite was true as well, with Albéniz writing at the margin of his knowledge and interest in composing English national opera.

Nonetheless, the negative view of Money-Coutts is worth reviewing, because it has bearing on the relationship between Albéniz and Arbós. Indeed, the root of this diabolical view of the situation may well rest with Arbós, with whom Istel consulted while writing his biography of Albéniz.¹⁷³ Arbós evidently had a negative view of the arrangement between Albéniz and Money-Coutts, a view he shared with Albéniz's wife, Rosina.¹⁷⁴ In his memoirs, Arbós writes the following:

...Albéniz dedicated all his work and his enthusiasm to setting to music the texts of Money-Coutts...with whom [Albéniz] had signed a contract in which he promised to not write music except for [Money-Coutts's] texts, embarking on a task to which he was tied without a break during many years...I knew of his frequent contact with French musicians such as Dukas, Chausson, Debussy, Vincent d'Indy and the high opinion that they had of his worth as a composer, of his works' freshness and creative power filled with spontaneity, and it surprised me to see him completely absorbed year after year in Money-Coutts' trilogy. ... Rosina, his wife, was of my opinion...¹⁷⁵

pesar de lo convenido, siguió trabajando en proyectos y obras completamente al margen del conocimiento y de los intereses de Money Coutts..."

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ See Istel, *Isaac Albéniz*, 121. In discussing Albéniz's pension to study in Brussels, Istel writes, "At the same time, the young violinist Enrique Fernández Arbós, my dear friend, to whom I am indebted for so many details with regard to Albéniz, and whose orchestration of Albéniz's principal works more than anything else have caused them to be known, was granted a pension by the Infanta Isabella." Clark also speculates that the term "Faustian pact" may first have been used to describe the contract by Albéniz in jest. See Clark, *Portrait*, 482.

¹⁷⁴ Clark, *Portrait*, 482. It is also possible the negative view of Money-Coutts originated with Rosina.

¹⁷⁵ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 442-443. "...Albéniz dedicaba todo su trabajo y su entusiasmo a poner música a los textos de Money-Coutts...con quien había firmado un contrato en que se comprometía a no escribir música más que para sus textos, emprendiendo así una labor a la que se dedicó sin reposo durante varios años...Conocía su estrecho contacto con músicos franceses como Dukas, Chausson, Debussy, Vincent d'Indy y la alta idea que éstos tenían de su valor como compositor, de la frescura y

This passage has been used many times to justify a negative view of Money-Coutts and the contractual relationship. It seems to me, however, that Arbós was less concerned with the terms of their contract than with the subject of their works, and that the contract seemed to keep Albéniz from writing in the Spanish style for which he was known. Consider the following passage taken from the same entry in his memoirs:

I exhorted him to cultivate his gift and not to abandon the authentic Spanish personality that he possessed, dedicating himself to a work [i.e. the Trilogy] that had occupied him years on end...¹⁷⁶

Arbós repeatedly encouraged Albéniz to take other commissions, and to “follow his gift.”

There may be some justification to Arbós’s denunciation of Albéniz’s work on the *King Arthur* trilogy, especially in how it kept Albéniz from following his gift. The following chart displays Albéniz’s compositional activity after signing the agreement with Money-Coutts in 1894.¹⁷⁷

Table 1: Albéniz’s Compositions from the Period of his Contract with Money-Coutts

Year	Money-Coutts	Other
1894		<i>San Antonio de La Florida</i> ; zarzuela
1894-1895	<i>Henry Clifford</i> ; opera	
1895	<i>Pepita Jiménez</i> ; opera	

poder creativo lleno de espontaneidad de su obra y me sorprendía verle enfrascado años y años en una trilogía de Money-Coutts ...Rosina, su mujer, era de mi opinión...”

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 443-44. “...le exhorté a cultivar su vena y a no abandonar la auténtica personalidad española que poseía, dedicándose a una tarea que había de tenerle ocupado años enteros...”

¹⁷⁷ All information in the chart is taken from Jacinto Torres’s *Catálogo Sistemático Descriptivo de la Obras Musicales de Isaac Albéniz* (Madrid: Instituto de Bibliografía Musical, 2001). Titles in bold type were unfinished.

1895-1897		<i>Mar i Cel</i> ; opera; unfinished, only a fragment
1896		<i>Llascó, Lo</i> ; symphonic poem for voice and orchestra; unfinished, only a fragment
1896	<i>To Nellie</i> ; voice and piano; six parts: “Home,” “Counsel,” “May-Day Song,” “To Nellie,” “A Song of Consolation,” “A Song”	
1896-1903	<i>Six Songs</i> ; six parts: “Art Thou Gone Forever, Elaine?” “Will you be mine,” “Separated,” “A Song [Laugh at Loving],” “The Gifts of the Gods,” “The Caterpillar”	
1896-1897		<i>The Alhambra</i> ; orchestra and piano; six parts, only no. 1 and no. 3 are finished
c. 1897		<i>Espagne (Souvenirs)</i> ; piano; two parts: “Prélude” and “Asturias”
1897		<i>Deux morceaux de prose</i> ; voice and piano
1897		<i>Il en est de l’amour</i> ; voice and piano
1898		<i>Petite Suite d’Orchestre</i> ; orchestra (only one part known : “Sérénade Lorraine”
c. 1895-1899		<i>Conseil tenu par les rats</i> ; voice and piano ; incomplete
1899		<i>Catalonia</i> ; suite for orchestra ; unfinished ; only No. 1 and No. 2 known; No. 2 only started
1899		<i>La Sérénade</i> ; lyric drama (only the introduction for orchestra exists); unfinished
c. 1900		<i>Aventura de los molinos</i> ; orchestra (?); unfinished, only a fragment
1898-1902	<i>Merlin</i> ; opera	
1902-	<i>Launcelot</i> ; opera; unfinished	

1903a		
1902		<i>La Real Hembra</i> ; zarzuela; unfinished, only fragments
c.1900-1903 (?)		<i>Peteneras</i> ; piano; unfinished work, only a fragment
1905		<i>Guajira</i> ; voice and orchestra; unfinished, only a fragment
1905		<i>La Morena</i> ; lyric drama; unfinished, only a fragment
1905	<i>The Song of Songs</i> ; opera (?)-not sure if intended as opera or incidental music in a play (p. 165); unfinished, only a fragment	
c. 1905		<i>Yvonne en visite</i> ; piano; 2 parts
1905-1908		<i>Iberia</i> ; piano; 4 books of 3 pieces each
1908		<i>Quatre Mélodies</i> ; voice and piano; 4 parts
1908		<i>Navarra</i> ; piano... completed by D. Séverac; also by J. Pahissa
1909		<i>Azulejos</i> ; 1 part “Prélude”; completed by E. Granados

This table presents the genres and subjects of Albéniz’s compositions that date from the years of his contract with Money-Coutts. There appears to be some substance to the claims made by Arbós, among others, that Albéniz’s obligations to Money-Coutts kept him from finishing his other projects, given the number of unfinished works over the course of these years. At the same time, Clark’s argument is valid in that without the financial security of Money-Coutts’s contract, who knows

what or how much Albéniz would have composed had he been forced to rely on other ventures just to earn a living.¹⁷⁸

While Arbós may have advertently or inadvertently initiated an intensely damaging view of Money-Coutts, his outlook provides several important insights. First, it displays once again the supportive relationship between Albéniz and Arbós, both as colleagues and as fellow Spanish musicians. Arbós obviously felt a sincere concern for his friend's welfare. Next, it reveals a shared aesthetic ideal of writing and promoting Spanish music. Although Albéniz was composing Spanish-themed works during this time, Arbós was evidently concerned that this effort was being spoiled by too much focus on non-Spanish works. And finally, even though Arbós disliked the arrangement, he knew that Albéniz had the ability to work on other projects while he set Money-Coutts' texts, i.e., that the contract was not strictly binding. Otherwise, he would have encouraged his friend to get out of the contract, rather than to write works in a Spanish style, *Albéniz's* style, and not to focus all his energy on the Trilogy.

¹⁷⁸ Clark, "Isaac Albéniz: Faustian Pact," 481-482.

Chapter 8: Two Orchestrations of *Iberia*

Up to this point, the interaction between Albéniz and Arbós had both personal and professional consequences. From their schooldays in Brussels to their experiences in Madrid and Spain, they forged a friendship of mutual concern for the other's wellbeing, despite occasional differences of opinion. Arbós, with his steady, uncompromising work ethic, frequently provided an anchor of encouragement and support to Albéniz, as well as performing opportunities, such as the sextet in Santander. Albéniz, even with his less-orthodox work habits, provided Arbós with tremendous professional opportunities in London, as well as emotional support after the death of his parents. The composition of *Iberia* and its orchestrations is another result of this pattern: Arbós encouraged Albéniz to compose a Spanish-style work, and Albéniz provided Arbós with the opportunity to revise his orchestrations.

Arbós's memoirs provide insight into the genesis of *Iberia*. He explains, “[Albéniz] returned to live in Paris and, at the pleadings of his wife and perhaps because of all that I had said, he composed his *Suite Iberia*, and he began the *Azulejos*.”¹⁷⁹ Other than Arbós's assertion here, no other written indication that *Iberia* was inspired by his advice is known, but it is in line with the pattern of their relationship, and thus helps to explain Arbós's later involvement with the work.

Also of note is that Arbós was writing his memoirs during the 1930s, thirty years after these events took place. Arbós's intention was to write a second volume

¹⁷⁹ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 444: “Volvió a habitar en París y, ruegos de su mujer e influido quizá por lo mucho que yo le había dicho, compuso su *Suite Iberia*, y empezó los *Azulejos*.”

for his memoirs starting after 1904, primarily recalling his tenure as conductor of the Madrid Symphony Orchestra. The events culminating in *Iberia* took place from 1905 to 1909, but Arbós, whose health was failing, jumped ahead to include this important exchange in the first volume.¹⁸⁰ Here is another intimation of the weight of this undertaking in his estimation.

Much has been written about *Iberia* and its value within the piano repertoire. In brief, *Iberia* is a monumental work for solo piano, titled *12 Nouvelles impressions* (12 New impressions) and made up of four *cahiers* (notebooks), each containing three individual pieces called *impressions*.¹⁸¹ Each of the twelve is distinct, and they can theoretically be played in any order or even be programmed separately, which is how they are typically performed today.¹⁸² The piano version of *Iberia* was composed between 1905 and 1908 in several stages.¹⁸³

Albéniz began his orchestration of *Iberia* in 1907, before completing the piano version. In most biographies, this is mentioned parenthetically, almost as an afterthought.¹⁸⁴ Evidence abounds, however, that this was a planned scheme that Albéniz fully intended to carry out.

¹⁸⁰ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 467, note 1.

¹⁸¹ The titles of the individual pieces are as follows: 1. “Évocation,” 2. “El Puerto,” 3. “Fête-Dieu à Séville,” 4. “Rondeña,” 5. “Almería,” 6. “Triana,” 7. “El Albaicín,” 8. “El poco,” 9. “Lavapiés,” 10. “Málaga,” 11. “Jerez,” 12. “Eritaña.”

¹⁸² Clark, *Portrait*, 223.

¹⁸³ Torres, “*Iberia*, by Isaac Albéniz, through the manuscripts,” 54. A timeline of the composition of the twelve parts of *Iberia* as well as the orchestration of “Évocation” and “El Puerto” is provided in Appendix C.

¹⁸⁴ See, for example, Clark, *Portrait*, 252.

Though frequently identified as such, the piano version of *Iberia* is not a suite.¹⁸⁵ As Torres points out, Albéniz never labeled the piano version of *Iberia* a suite,¹⁸⁶ nor did he ever refer to this piano work in his correspondence as a suite.¹⁸⁷ The surprising truth is that when the word “suite” does appear in association with *Iberia*, in Albéniz’s use, it is *not* in reference to the twelve pieces for piano as a whole; rather, he only uses the term in reference to the orchestration of *Iberia* that he began himself.¹⁸⁸

This is corroborated by the manuscript of the orchestrated version of “El Puerto.” The cover page of the manuscript that Albéniz prepared for publication is as follows:

Iberia
12 Nouvelles impressions en quatre cahiers
1^{er} Cahier
1^{re} suite d’Orchestre

N^o 1 – Evocation
N^o 2 – El Puerto
N^o 3 – Fete-Dieu à Seville

I. Albéniz
Nice Janvier 1907

Here, Albéniz clearly specified that this first book was the “1st Suite for Orchestra.”

The complete title, “12 New impressions in four books,” also strongly suggests Albéniz’s intention to orchestrate the entirety of *Iberia*.

¹⁸⁵ Arbós refers to *Iberia* as a suite in his memoirs. See *Treinta años*, 444.

¹⁸⁶ Torres, Jacinto, “*Iberia* al través sus manuscritos,” XIX. Torres also points out that the word *Iberia* was not used in the title of the work until the second piece in the second book.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, XX.

The timeline for the Albéniz's orchestration, alluded to above, further reveals that he planned to orchestrate the work.¹⁸⁹ Even before completing the final book of *Iberia* for piano, he began the orchestrations. He completed it for the first two pieces, "Évocation" and "El Puerto," in January and February of 1907, before composing for piano the final three of the twelve pieces of *Iberia*, in July and August of 1907, and in January of 1908.¹⁹⁰

With an obvious intention of creating an orchestral suite from *Iberia*, what caused Albéniz to desist in this effort? The only written answer to this question is found with Arbós. If he had not jumped ahead several years in his memoirs to include his account of Albéniz's explanation, we would know even less about why this project was abandoned. After explaining that Albéniz wrote *Iberia* and "Asturias," Arbós tells of a letter he received from Albéniz:¹⁹¹

A short time later he wrote me, telling me that he had orchestrated Evocación and El Puerto; he had gone over them with the Montecarlo Orchestra, and it did not go well; it did not sound right. He asked me orchestrate them."¹⁹²

Keeping in mind that at this point in his memoirs Arbós was dictating to his wife, his description is perhaps understandably ambiguous. Thus, according to Arbós, Albéniz completed the orchestration of "Évocation" and "El Puerto" and read through them with an orchestra in Monte Carlo. This did not go well, in Albéniz's opinion, causing him to ask Arbós to take over the task of orchestrating.

¹⁸⁹ A timeline of the completion dates of each of the pieces of *Iberia* is provided in Appendix C, illustrating this striking chronology.

¹⁹⁰ Torres, "*Iberia* al través de sus manuscritos," XX.

¹⁹¹ I have yet to locate this correspondence and am not sure it exists. Thus far in my research, I have not come across any other reference to it outside of Arbós's memoirs.

¹⁹² Arbós, *Treinta años*, 444. "Poco después me escribió diciendo que había instrumentado Evocación y El Puerto; los había probada con la orquesta de Montecarlo y aquello no iba; no sonaba. Me pedía que las instrumentase yo."

Istel, in his biography of Albéniz, sheds a little light on the fateful reading:

...[Albéniz orchestrated] the first two movements, the "Evocation" and the "El Puerto," and in this form (so Arbós told me) they were tried out on a single occasion in private by the orchestra of León Jehin, in Nice. The instrumentation sounded so badly, however, that Albéniz did not have them played in public, but left the work of orchestrating them to his friend Arbós.¹⁹³

Such a brief account leaves many questions unanswered regarding the reading session, Albéniz's mindset concerning the orchestration project, and the exact nature of his request to Arbós. Additionally, the manuscript of "Évocation" has never been located. Recently, the archives at Monte Carlo and Nice, where the orchestrations were composed, were scoured for more evidence, but nothing was found to shed light on the reading session or the location of "Évocation."¹⁹⁴

Justo Romero, however, refers to a rather incriminating explanation. He writes:

The vulgar rumors that more than once ...have suggested the possibility that [Arbós] made Albéniz's orchestrations disappear so that they would not compete with his own orchestration stem from a complete unfamiliarity of the irreproachably humane quality of Fernández Arbós...¹⁹⁵

It should be stated that I have not come across any other suggestions of this nature and am therefore unfamiliar with the rumors here referenced. Furthermore, setting Romero's defense of Arbós's character aside, it seems unlikely that he would have left even one extant manuscript had this truly been his diabolical scheme.

¹⁹³ Istel, *Isaac Albéniz*, 142.

¹⁹⁴ Romero, *Isaac Albéniz*, 356. "It is also possible that Albéniz orchestrated a third piece from *Iberia*, as suggested by a few articles and letters. See Torres, "Iberia al través los manuscritos," XXI.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 372. "Los burdos comentarios que más de una vez...apuntan la posibilidad de que [Arbós] hizo desaparecer las *Iberias* orquestadas por Albéniz para que no compitieran con su propia instrumentación delatan un absoluto desconocimiento tanto de la irreproachable calidad humana de Fernández Arbós..."

Several hypotheses have been made concerning Albéniz's decision to give up orchestrating *Iberia*, despite his desire to complete it. The most likely cause was his declining health. Jacinto Torres, on the other hand, suggests that Albéniz knew the quality of the piano works, verified by their already increasing success, and therefore would not accept less than the same quality in the orchestrations.¹⁹⁶ This corresponds with Albéniz's doubts about his orchestrating ability earlier in his career. Still, if Albéniz was seeking after orchestrations of the highest quality, it is somewhat surprising that he turned to Arbós, notwithstanding their close relationship. Arbós, for all his other tremendous musical accomplishments up to this point in his career, was not a prolific composer,¹⁹⁷ and one would have expected Albéniz to turn to one of his more established friends such as Dukas or D'Indy. Since Albéniz did obviously ask Arbós, it is another indication of his desire to provide his friend with a professional opportunity. It also suggests that Albéniz chose Arbós, because he was involved in some capacity in the project already.

This leads to the question of the nature of Albéniz's request. Did Albéniz ask Arbós to orchestrate the entire work for piano or did he only ask him to revise his own unsuccessful orchestrations? That the request was only to revise is verified in part through biographical data. In the passage quoted above, Arbós's memoirs refer only to the two pieces that Albéniz had already orchestrated: Albéniz asked him to orchestrate "them." Following this passage, Arbós writes:

¹⁹⁶ Torres, "*Iberia*," by Albéniz, 74.

¹⁹⁷ Think of his negative experiences with *Seis ritmas de Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer* and *El centro de la tierra*.

I had been waiting for this score to play “Iberia” in London,¹⁹⁸ so I began my orchestration of the suite. By the way, when I had finished “El Puerto”, I shared my work with Dukas and he liked it very much, encouraging me to continue, [and] together we revised the original, and upon asking him if, for a certain passage, he thought the trumpet was better with or without a mute, he said to me:

-No, without a mute. It sounds better, but above all, how are you going to do without such a novel effect?¹⁹⁹

On the surface, it appears as if Arbós has already completed his orchestration of “El Puerto” when he meets with Dukas.²⁰⁰ If that is the case, then what are he and Dukas revising? If they are revising Arbós’s rendition, it seems odd that Arbós would refer to it as the “original.” Although this account is admittedly enigmatic, it is possible that Arbós is referring to his job of revising *Albéniz’s* originals, potentially with Dukas’s help. Indeed, Arbós was obviously still working on the orchestrations in some form, leading him to ask Dukas for advice. Given that Arbós is relaying these events thirty years after the fact, there is also a margin of memory error to be taken into consideration. If nothing else, this passage indicates that Arbós made revisions while working on his orchestration.

After Albéniz’s Death

As we analyze the remaining biographical data, as well as the two versions of “El Puerto,” we will find further evidence that Arbós must have been asked to revise,

¹⁹⁸ This would seem to indicate that Arbós was anticipating receiving Albéniz’s orchestration in order to perform it, presumably as the conductor, in London. This view is shared by Torres. See Torres, “*Iberia* al través de los manuscritos,” XXI. Once Arbós found out that Albéniz wanted him to orchestrate it, however, he began that endeavor immediately.

¹⁹⁹ Arbós, *Treinta años*, 444. “Yo esperaba esa partitura para tocar ‘Iberia’ en Londres, por eso empecé mi orquestación de la Suite. Por cierto que, cuando hube terminado ‘El Puerto,’ le enseñé mi trabajo a Dukas y le gustó mucho, animándome a que continuase, juntos revisamos el original y al preguntarle si, en cierto pasaje, le parecía mejor la trompeta con sordino o sin ella, me dijo: ‘No, sin sordino.’ Suena mejor, pero sobre todo ¿cómo va usted a despreciar un efecto de tal novedad?”

²⁰⁰ It is unclear to what time Arbós is referring. The premiere of these two works was 27 April 1910 at the Teatro Real in Madrid, so it was most likely in 1909.

but not to complete the project. Isaac Albéniz, who had suffered from poor health most of his life, died of kidney failure in 1909. The very next year, Arbós premiered his orchestrations of the first two pieces of *Iberia*: “Évocation” and “El Puerto.”²⁰¹ Without memoirs or correspondence to explain the process, we do not know why these pieces were not premiered until 1910, when Albéniz’s request most likely came in 1907.

That only the two pieces that had already been orchestrated by Albéniz were premiered suggests that Arbós was only asked to prepare a revision and not to orchestrate the entire work, as does the fact that . Moreover, the fact that Arbós only premiere the next piece, “Triana,” in 1917, and the final two pieces, “El Albaicín” and “Fête-Dieu à Séville,” in 1924 and 1925, respectively. In the absence of Arbós’s memoirs and any other documentary evidence, we cannot know why Arbós chose these particular pieces or why they were published when they were. Arturo Reverter laments that Arbós could not complete more than five of the orchestrations, though Reverter does not question why this was the case.²⁰²

The possibility that Albéniz did ask Arbós to orchestrate the entirety of *Iberia* is unlikely. Arbós obviously did not follow through with this charge by orchestrating only five of the twelve pieces, even though he had thirty years to do so before his death in 1939. This scenario is highly improbable because of their close relationship and Arbós’s reputation for honor and sense of duty. In the unlikely event that this was the original objective, it is possible that Arbós’s busy career kept him from

²⁰¹ Multiple sources verify the dates and locations for the premieres of these two pieces in 1910. See, for example, Romero, *Isaac Albéniz*, 371; and Arbós, *Treinta años*, 561-562. The only publication of these pieces that I am aware of, however, is from 1928. See Isaac Albéniz, *Iberia: Transcriptions pour orchestre* by E. Fernández Arbós (Paris, Éditions Max Eschig, 1928).

²⁰² Reverter, “Albéniz-Arbós,” 25.

completing the orchestration. Arbós began conducting the Madrid Symphony Orchestra in 1905, while he still had positions at the Real Conservatorio in Madrid as well as at the Royal College and Royal Academies in London. As his conducting career at home and abroad blossomed, he spent more and more time touring internationally. With such a demanding schedule, Arbós may have acted in his own best interest and focused on conducting rather than orchestrating. This is similar to Arbós actions earlier in his career when he chose a “safer” accompanist over Albéniz and when he backed out of *The Magic Opal* collaboration. Even still, it seems highly doubtful that he would make such a small effort.

What is more likely is that Arbós fulfilled his obligation to Albéniz by revising and premiering “Évocation” and “El Puerto” as soon as he could in 1910. It was then several years before he thought of and had time to orchestrate another piece, which he did as his schedule allowed. It is also possible that the task of orchestrating was more difficult in the absence of any orchestral score by Albéniz and therefore took longer. This scenario is much more in harmony with what we know of their relationship and is supported by the dates of publication.

Additionally, during his tenure as conductor in Madrid, Arbós was instrumental in premiering heretofore unheard works in Spain as well as promoting Spanish music in Spain and abroad, including those of Isaac Albéniz. For example,

Arbós made a recording of four of his five orchestrations from *Iberia*, only excluding “El Albaicín,” with the Madrid Symphony Orchestra in 1928.²⁰³

Another instance helps clarify Arbós’s obligation to Albéniz. In 1928, Maurice Ravel considered orchestrating parts of *Iberia* for a ballet for Ida Rubinstein, but he was deterred when he learned that Arbós held the rights.²⁰⁴ It has commonly been assumed by biographers that those rights were for the orchestration of *Iberia* generally.²⁰⁵ Thanks to the research of Justo Romero, it is now believed that those rights applied only to a proposed ballet from *Iberia*, which required Arbós to obtain permission from Albéniz’s widow, Rosina.²⁰⁶

The proposed ballet, titled *Triana*, was instigated by the ballerina, Antonia Mercé, “the Argentina,” and successfully premiered on 28 May 1929 at the Opéra Comique in Paris. The ballet score consisted of excerpts from Arbós’s orchestrations of “Évocation,” “Triana,” “El Albaicín,” and “El Corpus en Sevilla,” strung together by modulatory passages also composed by Arbós.²⁰⁷ While further documentary evidence is needed to know the exact nature of Albéniz’s request, this at least lessens the likelihood of a formal arrangement that included rights to the work.

²⁰³ Romero, *Isaac Albéniz*, 375. This recording is available today on CD as *Enrique Fernández Arbós conducts Arbós & other Spanish composers*, Madrid Symphony Orchestra, perf. Dutton CDBP9782, 2008.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 272. Incidentally, Ravel then decided to compose his own ballet, resulting in the now-famous *Bolero*. For more information about this, see Joaquín Nin Castellanos, “Comment est né le *Boléro* de Ravel,” *La Revue Musicale* 19/187 (1938): 211-212.

²⁰⁵ See, for example, Clark, *Portrait*, 252.

²⁰⁶ Romero, *Isaac Albéniz*, 372.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 401 (401-403 for more detail).

Chapter 9: A Comparative Analysis of Three Versions of “El Puerto”

The most obvious proof that Arbós’s orchestration was a revision of Albéniz’s own orchestration is the similarity between the two versions of “El Puerto.” Jacinto Torres gives this explanation and challenge:

...[B]y way of illustration and in the absence of a serious comparative study still yet to be undertaken, let me point out that one can find many revealing master strokes in Albéniz’s orchestration and, in addition, some of his proposed solutions are glaringly similar to those which appear in the version by Arbós, who does not mention whether he knew the composer’s material.²⁰⁸

Torres is not alone in his suggestion that the scores bear strong resemblance to one another. On 22 March 2002, the Orquesta Sinfónica del Principado de Asturias performed Albéniz’s orchestral versión of “El Puerto.” Justo Romero relates the following:

The Asturian public was able to prove from these concerts that, notwithstanding what Fernández Arbós references, ‘El Puerto’ by Albéniz “goes” very well in the orchestra and, furthermore, it “sounds” marvelously. The general comment from the audience members and performers was, precisely, the “surprising” similarity between Albéniz’s orchestration and Fernández Arbós’s, which was also part of the program.²⁰⁹

In conjunction with this account of the modern premiere of Albéniz’s “El Puerto,” Romero also gives a brief analysis of Albéniz’s orchestration.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ Torres, “*Iberia*,” by Albéniz, 74. As I discussed on p. 55, I would argue that Arbós did potentially indicate his revision of “El Puerto” when he described the revision he made with Dukas.

²⁰⁹ Romero, *Isaac Albéniz*, 355. “El público asturiano pudo comprobar en esos conciertos que, a pesar de lo que refiere Fernández Arbós, ‘El Puerto’ de Albéniz “va” muy bien en la orquesta y, además, “suena” maravillosamente. El comentario general de espectadores e intérpretes fue, precisamente, el “sorprendente” parecido entre la orquestación de Albéniz y la de Fernández Arbós, que también figuró en el programa.” This is the only reference to this performance that I came across in my research. No doubt, further investigation into this program would shed more light on the question of Albéniz’s abilities in orchestrating “El Puerto.”

²¹⁰ See Romero, *Isaac Albéniz*, 355-57.

Whereas Torres desires a “serious comparative study” in order to reevaluate Albéniz’s abilities as an orchestrator, I have undertaken this comparison in order to verify Arbós’s use of Albéniz’s rejected manuscripts and to better understand the relationship of the two men and its role in the former’s orchestration of *Iberia*. This is all the more necessary, because of the absence of definitive indications that Arbós used Albéniz’s manuscript of “El Puerto” while preparing his own orchestration. As shall be demonstrated, Arbós made use of the piano score and Albéniz’s orchestration when making his own orchestration of “El Puerto” and, most likely, “Évocation.” Even apart from the results of this comparison, the fact that Arbós premiered “Evocación” and “El Puerto” in 1910, just one year after Albéniz’s death, and that the next piece, “Triana,” was not premiered until 1917, suggests that Arbós essentially revised Albéniz’s original. The following comparison definitively confirms this, however.

Scores Used for the Comparison

The scores used for the comparison are three versions of “El Puerto” from *Iberia*: first, Albéniz’s unpublished orchestration, Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Sección de Música, M 980;²¹¹ second, the 1928 publication of Arbós’s orchestration of “El Puerto;”²¹² and third, “Cádiz (El Puerto)” from the 1998 Urtext edition of

²¹¹ The manuscript is part of the collection: Isaac Albéniz. Quadern de composicions, 1897, 1905-1908.

²¹² Isaac Albéniz, “El Puerto de la Suite ‘Iberia’,” transcription for orchestra by E. F. Arbós (Paris: Max Eschig, 1928). Incidentally, the other four pieces from *Iberia* were also published at this time by the same company.

Iberia, prepared by Guillermo González.²¹³ The last edition enabled me to determine which characteristics were taken from the original work for piano by one or both composers.

Scope of the Comparison

The purpose of this comparison is to examine whether Arbós used Albéniz’s orchestration, or only the piano version, in making his own orchestration. As such, this is not a detailed analysis of the form or the melodic, rhythmic, and harmonic idiosyncrasies of the work, whether for piano or orchestra.²¹⁴ Nonetheless, in order to identify, understand, and communicate the similarities and differences between the three versions, I refer to stylistic characteristics, using my own as well as others’ classifications.

General Characteristics

“El Puerto” is a Spanish *zapateado* that evokes the lively atmosphere of a sea port through the employment of three contrasting motives.²¹⁵ An example of each of these motives from the piano score is provided here:

²¹³ Isaac Albéniz, “Cádiz (El Puerto)” in *Iberia*, ed. Guillermo González (Madrid: EMEC-EDEMS, 1998), 9-16.

²¹⁴ For such an analysis of the piano version, see Paul Buck Mast, “Style and Structure in ‘Iberia’ by Isaac Albéniz” (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, Eastman School of Music, 1974), 233-244. For a basic analysis of Albéniz’s orchestration, see Justo Romero, *Isaac Albéniz* (Barcelona: Peninsula, 2002), 354-357. As far as this author is aware, Romero’s description of Albéniz’s orchestration is the only one undertaken up to this point. I would also point out that in a cursory glance, both Albéniz’s and Arbós’s orchestrations appear to follow the harmonic form of the piano version.

²¹⁵ I have used the three motives as identified in a diagram by Mast, “Style and Structure,” 235. Mast’s diagram also details the harmonic structure of the piece.

Example 1: Motive 1, from “El Puerto,” Version for Piano, mm. 11-17

The image displays a musical score for a piano piece, specifically Motive 1 from "El Puerto." The score is presented in two systems, covering measures 11 through 17. The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The first system includes measures 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15. The second system includes measures 16 and 17. The score is written for piano, with a grand staff consisting of a treble and bass clef. The right hand (treble clef) plays a melodic line with various articulations, including accents and slurs. The left hand (bass clef) provides a rhythmic accompaniment with chords and moving lines. Performance instructions include "fort et très en dehors" in measure 11, "sempre f" in measure 13, and dynamic markings of *f* and *ff* in measures 16 and 17. The score also features several fermatas and slurs.

Example 2: Motive 2, from “El Puerto,” Version for Piano, mm. 45-48

Example 3: Motive 3, from “El Puerto,” Version for Piano, mm. 55-58

The piece is in 6/8 meter with frequent uses of the *rasgueado* guitar technique.²¹⁶ Its form is ternary, ABA', with an introduction and a coda; B is a development section.²¹⁷ The piano score has 187 measures.

²¹⁶ For example, see the right-hand figure on beat one of m. 45 of the piano score, shown in Motive 2 above. Clark identifies this frequent usage of the *rasgueado* as one of the distinguishing features of “El Puerto.” See Clark, *Portrait*, 228-229. The *rasgueado* technique, taken from flamenco guitar playing, is a right-hand strum with a drum roll effect, using the back of the fingers. See Lola Fernández, *Flamenco Music Theory: Rhythm, Harmony, Melody, Form*, trans. Nancy R. Rodemann (Madrid: Acords Concert, 2004), 20.

²¹⁷ It has been labeled as such by Mast, due to the continued but altered use of the three motives in the Phrygian mode in this section. See note 215 above. Also see Clark, *Portrait*, 228.

Analysis

In order to come to a solid conclusion regarding Arbós's use of Albéniz's manuscript, I focused my comparative analysis on the large-scale formal structure of the pieces, as well as on the application of the three contrasting motives, identified by Paul B. Mast. By following these motives within the three scores, I have found that the differences among the scores fall into three categories: Arbós's incorporation of changes²¹⁹ from Albéniz's orchestration that are not present in the piano score;²²⁰ Arbós's rejection of other motivic elements from Albéniz's orchestration that are not present in the piano score; and Arbós's own unique motivic additions to the piano score.

The table below provides the basic framework for my analysis. It identifies the placement of the large-scale formal structure (ABA') and the three contrasting motives within the three scores. These sections will be used, as well as the measure numbers, to locate the characteristics identified in this analysis. P1 represents the piano score; A1 represents Albéniz's orchestration; and A2 represents Arbós's orchestration.

²¹⁹ An orchestration will necessarily cause changes to a piano score, but by changes I generally mean here the addition of motivic elements that are not represented in the piano part.

²²⁰ These undoubtedly represent many of the "striking similarities" to which Torres and Romero refer.

Table 2: Motivic Analysis of “El Puerto”

“El Puerto”	P1 and A1	A2
A		
Introduction	mm. 1-8	mm. 1-16
Motive 1	mm. 9-17	mm. 17-25
Motive 2	mm. 17-24	mm. 25-32
Motive 1	mm. 25-40	mm. 33-48
Motive 2	mm. 41-54	mm. 49-62
Motive 3	mm. 55-74	mm. 63-80
Transition	mm. 75-82	mm. 81-88
B		
Development ²²¹	mm. 83-108	mm. 89-115
Retransition	mm. 109-122	mm. 115-129
A'		
Motive 1	mm. 123-138	mm. 129-144
Motive 2	mm. 138-148	mm. 145-154
Motive 3	mm. 149-156	mm. 155-162
Intro. repeat	mm. 157-170	mm. 163-176
Coda	mm. 171-187	mm. 177-193

Through the differing measure numbers, this table immediately shows that A2 is by no means an exact replica of A1. As we shall learn, Arbós must have had access to A1, to which he then added his own ideas.

Beginning with the changes made by Albéniz that Arbós also employed, we can immediately identify the key. P1 is in D-flat major, but both A1 and A2 are in D major, no doubt for the ease of orchestrating and performing. Another change that Arbós obviously adopted from Albéniz’s orchestration is the triplet thirty-second note

²²¹ The development section contains, as would be expected, various permutations of all three motives.

pickup into m. 1. Although the instrumentation is different, this pickup is present in both A1 and A2 but not in P1.²²²

Similarities just as striking are found elsewhere. For example, Albéniz wrote a motive 1 echo that is heard simultaneously in a passage of motive 2 material. This echo is not present in P1 (see Example 1 below); A1 contains the motive 1 echo in the oboe 1 and 2 and bassoon 1 and 2 parts (see Example 2 below); and A2 contains a slightly altered version of the motive 1 echo into the flute 1 and 2, piccolo, and trumpet 1 parts (see Example 3 below).

Example 4: “El Puerto,” Version for Piano, mm. 21-24

The image shows a musical score for piano, measures 21-24. The score is in G minor (three flats) and 3/4 time. It features a right-hand part with a complex, rhythmic melody and a left-hand part with a more straightforward accompaniment. The right-hand part starts with a forte (ff) dynamic and includes accents. The left-hand part has a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The tempo is marked 'très brusque' (very brisk) above measures 21 and 23. The score ends with a repeat sign and a fermata over the final note.

²²² In A1, the triplet thirty-second-note pickup is in the piccolo, flute 1 and 2, clarinet 1 and 2, violin 1 and 2, viola, and cello parts. A2's instrumentation is flute 1 and 2, piccolo, oboe 1 and 2, clarinet 1 and 2, violin 1 and 2.

Example 5: "El Puerto," Version for Orchestra by Albéniz, mm. 21-24

21 22 23 24

Piccolo

Flute 1 and 2

Oboe 1 and 2
solo
a2
ff
mf
mf

Clarinet 1 and 2

Bassoon 1 and 2
solo
avec allegresse
mf
mf

Horn 1 - 4

Trumpet 1 and 2
mf
mf
mf
mf
mf
mf

Trombone 1 and 2
Tuba
mf
mf

21

22

23

24

Musical score for measures 21-24, featuring instruments: Timpani, Cymbals, Triangle, Harp, Violin 1, Violin 2, Viola, Cello, and Contrabass. The score is in 6/8 time with a key signature of two sharps (D major).

- Timpani:** Bass clef, 6/8 time. Measures 21-24 show a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes and rests.
- Cymbals:** Treble clef, 6/8 time. Measures 21-24 are marked with a dash (-), indicating no playing.
- Triangle:** Treble clef, 6/8 time. Measures 21-24 show a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes and rests.
- Harp:** Treble clef, 6/8 time. Measures 21-24 show a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes and rests, with a forte (*ff*) dynamic marking.
- Violin 1:** Treble clef, 6/8 time. Measures 21-24 show a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes and rests.
- Violin 2:** Treble clef, 6/8 time. Measures 21-24 show a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes and rests.
- Viola:** Bass clef, 6/8 time. Measures 21-24 show a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes and rests, with a mezzo-forte (*mf*) dynamic marking.
- Cello:** Bass clef, 6/8 time. Measures 21-24 show a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes and rests, with a forte (*f*) dynamic marking.
- Contrabass:** Bass clef, 6/8 time. Measures 21-24 show a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes and rests, with a forte (*f*) dynamic marking.

Example 6: "El Puerto," Version for Orchestra by Arbós, mm. 29-32

29 *avec allegresse*

Flute 1 and 2 *ff*

Piccolo *ff mf avec allegresse*

Oboe 1 and 2 *f*

English horn *f*

Clarinet 1 and 2

Bassoon 1 and 2 *mf*

Horn 1-4 *mf*

Trumpet 1 *To Solo (avec sourdine) et gaiement*

Trumpet 2 and 3 *sans sourdine et 2e et 3e*

Trombone 1 and 2

Trombone 3 and Tuba

29 30 31 32

Timpani

Cymbals/Triangle

Snare drum

Harp

Violin 1

Violin 2

Viola

Cello

Contrabass

In Example 3, we find that Arbós changed the instrumentation and altered the melody slightly, to fall rather than rise in the first measure. He also added accents and staccatos, changing the character of the melody. This shows that he adapted Albéniz's motive 1 echo from A2 in his own way.

A comparable assimilation by Arbós takes place later in the piece. In the transitional passage at mm. 119-120, P1 contains staccato eighth-notes with accents on beats 1 and 4 (see Example 4 below). Albéniz's arrangement also contains these staccato eighth-notes in the flutes, oboes, and clarinets, which he combines with thirty-second-note *rasgueado* flourishes in the piccolo and first violins, and sixteenth-note runs in the second violins (see Example 5 below). Finally, Arbós's adds triplet thirty-second notes leading to the strong beats, 1 and 4, to all of these elements (see Example 6 below).

Example 7: "El Puerto," Version for Piano, mm. 119-120

119 120

cresc. cresc. cresc. cresc.

cresc. cresc. cresc. cresc.

Example 8: "El Puerto," Version for Orchestra by Albéniz, mm. 119-120

125 126

Flute 1 and 2 *cresc. molto*

Piccolo *cresc. molto*

Oboe 1 and 2 *cresc. molto*

English horn *cresc. molto*

Clarinet 1 and 2 *cresc. molto*

Bassoon 1 and 2 *cresc. molto*

Horn 1-4 *f* *>* *naturale* *cuivrez*

Trumpet 1 and 2 *cresc. molto*

Trumpet 3 *cresc. molto*

Trombone 1 and 2 -

Trombone 3 and Tuba -

Timpani

Cymbals *pp*

Triangle

Harp

Violin 1

Violin 2

Viola

Cello

Contrabass

ff *ff* *ff* *ff*

Detailed description: This is a page of a musical score for an orchestral piece, spanning two pages (21 and 22). The score is written for nine instruments: Timpani, Cymbals, Triangle, Harp, Violin 1, Violin 2, Viola, Cello, and Contrabass. The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is 3/4. The music is in a dramatic, low-register style. The Timpani part has a few notes on page 21 and rests on page 22. The Cymbals play a soft (*pp*) roll on page 21. The Triangle is silent. The Harp plays a simple accompaniment. The Violin 1 and 2 parts feature complex, fast-moving passages with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes, often with slurs and accents. The Viola and Cello parts play sustained, low notes with tremolos, marked *ff*. The Contrabass part plays a simple, rhythmic pattern of notes, also marked *ff*. The score is printed in black ink on a white background.

Example 9: "El Puerto," Version for Orchestra by Arbós, mm. 125-126

125 126

Flute 1 and 2 *cresc. molto*

Piccolo *cresc. molto*

Oboe 1 and 2 *cresc. molto*

English horn *cresc. molto*

Clarinet 1 and 2 *cresc. molto*

Bassoon 1 and 2

Horn 1-4 *naturale* *cuivrez*

Trumpet 1 and 2 *cresc. molto*

Trumpet 3 *cresc. molto*

Trombone 1 and 2

Trombone 3 and Tuba

The image displays a page of a musical score for an orchestra. The instruments listed on the left are Timpani, Cymbals/Triangle, Snare drum, Harp, Violin 1, Violin 2, Viola, Cello, and Contrabass. The score is written in a key signature of two sharps (D major) and a common time signature. It features various musical notations including clefs, notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as *mf* and *cresc. molto*. Performance instructions like "preparez re t majeur", "naturele", and "arco" are also present. The score is divided into two systems, with the first system ending at a double bar line.

A general similarity between the two orchestrations is the frequent use of the *rasgueado* flourish throughout the piece, and not only where it was used in the piano score. An example of this is found in mm. 72-82 in A1 and in mm. 81-88 in A2.

While it is evident that Arbós used Albéniz's orchestration, he also clearly referred to the piano score. For example, the four measures preceding the repeat of

the introductory material in P1, mm. 153-156, are *ppp*, with the instructions *poco a poco ritardando* and *perdendosi*. This leads to a *pppp* dynamic for the repeat of the introduction, with the instructions of *et très lointain* (“and very distant”). A1, by contrast, continues *forte* and even *fortissimo*, with the introduction repeat labeled as *fortissimo* as well. A1 also incorporates ascending sixteenth-note runs leading into m. 157, all contributing to a joyous return of the introductory material.

Instead of adopting Albéniz’s altered dynamics, Arbós chose to follow the piano dynamic markings and included the instructions *ritardando e perdendosi* as well in the four measures preceding the repeat of the introductory material, mm. 159-162. Arbós also added a new element to this section; he gave the flutes a motivic element from motive 3: a dotted quarter note rest followed by three dotted quarter notes (see Example 7). This adds thematic unity to the composition.

Example 10: “El Puerto,” Version for Orchestra by Arbós, mm. 163-169



Arbós’s innovations to “El Puerto,” including the one just cited, were numerous. He often changed the instrumentation, only rarely keeping Albéniz’s choices. Besides giving melodic motives or accompaniment to different instruments, Arbós also strengthened lines by adding additional instruments. One example of this is found in the A and A’ sections, mm. 45-54 and mm. 139-148 in P1 and A1, and in mm. 53-62 and mm. 145-154 in A2. In P1, the bass line is a relentless staccato eighth-note melody that drives the music forward (see Example 8 below). In A1, this line is

divided between bassoon 1 and 2, cello and contrabass (see Example 9 below). In A2, however, the line is strengthened by having bassoon 1 and 2, cello, and contrabass all play the entire line, with the first and second trombones playing most, but not all of it (see Example 10 below). Here we see how Arbós found his own solution for bringing out this important melodic line.

Example 11: “El Puerto,” Version for Piano, mm. 45-48

The image shows a musical score for piano, measures 45-48. The score is written in a key signature of three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat) and a common time signature. The right hand (treble clef) features a melodic line with a series of eighth-note chords and single notes, marked with *ff* and *sec.* (secco). The left hand (bass clef) provides a rhythmic accompaniment with a pattern of eighth notes and chords, also marked with *ff* and *sec.*. The score includes dynamic markings such as *ff* and *sec.*, and articulation marks like accents and slurs. The measures are numbered 45, 46, 47, and 48 at the top.

Example 12: "El Puerto," Version for Orchestra by Albéniz, mm. 45-48

Musical score for Example 12, measures 45-48. The score is for Bassoon 1 and 2, Cello, and Contrabass. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 6/8. Measures 45-47 feature a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes and quarter notes, with dynamics *f* and *ff*. Measure 48 features a similar pattern with dynamics *f* and *ff*, and includes the instruction *unjs*.

Example 13: "El Puerto," Version for Orchestra by Arbós, mm. 53-56

Musical score for Example 13, measures 53-56. The score is for Bassoon 1 and 2, Trombone 1 and 2, Cello, and Contra Bass. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 6/8. Measures 53-56 feature a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes and quarter notes, with dynamics *f*, *sf*, and *sf*. The Cello and Contra Bass parts include the instruction *sempre ff e staccato*.

In the process of his revision, Arbós also added several instruments, as is indicated in the following chart:

Table 3: Instrumentation of Scores A1 and A2

A1 instrumentation	A2 instrumentation
Piccolo	Piccolo
Flute 1 and 2	Flute 1 and 2
Oboe 1 and 2	Oboe 1 and 2
-	English horn
Clarinet 1 and 2 in B-flat	Clarinet 1 and 2 in A
Bassoon 1 and 2	Bassoon 1 and 2
Horn 1-4 in F	Horn 1-4 in F
Trumpet 1 and 2 in C	Trumpet 1-2
-	Trumpet 3
Trombone 1 and 2	Trombone 1 and 2
-	Trombone 3
Tuba	Tuba
Timpani	Timpani
Triangle	Triangle
Cymbals	Cymbals
-	Snare drum
Harp	Harp
First Violin	First Violin
Second Violin	Second Violin
Viola	Viola
Cello	Cello
Contrabass	Contrabass

Arbós's international education is evident in his style of instrumentation. The expanded orchestra and greater use of brass instruments suggests the influence of Brahms, whose music Arbós strongly praised in his memoirs.²²⁴ By this time, Arbós

²²⁴ Of Brahms, Arbós writes, "I knew all of Brahms's oeuvre. Its overflowing passion, that strong romanticism and virile expression in a solid and powerful construction, found an echo in my

also had several years experience as conductor of the Madrid Symphony Orchestra, no doubt contributing to a “profound knowledge of the orchestra,” as Franco intimates.²²⁵

One of the major adjustments Arbós made to “El Puerto” was adding and removing measures. P1 and A1 both have 187 measures, while A2 has 193. He added eight measures, essentially a repeat at a lower dynamic of the opening eight-measure phrase, to the introduction; later, in section A, he removed two measures from the Motive 3 section.

Arbós also added a few of his own motivic elements. In mm. 51-52 of A2, we find a descending sixteenth-note run in the flute 1, flute 2, and piccolo parts that is not present in any form in either P1 or A1. Similarly, Arbós added extended sixteenth-note flourishes in the flute from mm. 72-80. Finally, in mm. 107-113, Arbós added several triplet thirty-second note pickups leading to the following measure, harkening back to the opening pickup notes as well as foreshadowing the motive yet to come at the Coda.

nature...For me, I should say that I assimilated and admired Brahms without reservation at a time when he was not recognized outside of Germany, and when even his followers over there were obligated to fight for him. From then, I kept intact here the impression of beauty that I owe to him, notwithstanding the necessary and inevitable transformations of schools [of composition] that have succeeded him. I have always fought, more so in Spain than in anywhere else, to be able to include and to popularize his oeuvre, and I have always wrangled with a systematic opposition...” (“Conocí toda la obra de Brahms. La pasión que en ella desborda, ese romanticismo fuerte y viril expresado en una construcción potente y sólida, encontraba eco en mi naturaleza... En cuanto a mí, debo decir que asimilaba y admiraba sin reservas a Brahms en una época en que fuera de Alemania no se le había consagrado, y aun allí sus adeptos se veían obligados a luchar por él. De entonces acá he conservado intacta la impresión de belleza que le debo, pese a las transformaciones necesarias e inevitables de las diversas escuelas que le han sucedido. Siempre he batallado, y más que en ningún otro sitio en España, por hacer comprender y divulgar su obra, y siempre he tropezado con una oposición sistemática...”).

See Arbós, *Treinta años*, 180.

²²⁵ Franco, “El Maestro Arbós: Aspectos biográficos y críticos,” 550.

A greater familiarity with these scores has also revealed both Albéniz and Arbós's skill in orchestration. Romero points to several of Albéniz's techniques that reveal a high level of mastery. For example, he has the second violins play *col legno*, with the wood of the bow, or he asks the percussionist to tap "with the stick against the music stand" ("avec la baguette contre le pupitre").²²⁶

Nonetheless, the unsuccessful reading of Albéniz's version in Monte Carlo in 1907 may have stemmed from weaknesses in the orchestration. At times, his textures appear too thin or fragmented to support melodic ideas, as in Example 9. He also neglects certain instruments, such as the trombone and tuba, and does not make use of certain orchestral colors, such as muted trumpet or stopped horn. Interestingly, the manuscript used for this comparison exhibits correction markings in several of the parts. Unfortunately, it is not known at what point Albéniz made those markings, whether before or after the readings with the Monte Carlo orchestra.

In response to Torres's stipulation that this orchestration has the potential to demonstrate Albéniz's skill with orchestration, I believe it represents a good effort that was in need of revision. Given additional time, Albéniz probably could have produced a more polished product, but given the limitations of his declining health and his need to finish the piano scores, he did not. To Albéniz's credit, he was aware of the orchestration's flaws, as well as its potential, leading him to turn to Arbós.

Even though Arbós clearly used Albéniz's manuscript of "El Puerto" in making his own orchestration, we must also acknowledge that his revisions were substantial. Moreover, Arbós took ownership of the work he published, and rightly

²²⁶ Romero, *Isaac Albéniz*, 194.

so. He referred to it as “my orchestration” and published it under his own name.²²⁷

Rather than being evidence of subterfuge, this suggests Albéniz disliked his own rendition enough to imply in his request that Arbós make “El Puerto,” and most likely “Évocation,” his own.²²⁸

While we will never know how Albéniz’s version would have fared, had it been published in his lifetime, it is possible that the bias against Albéniz as an orchestral composer would have diminished its popularity.²²⁹ By asking his friend to revise his own attempt, Albéniz would then have ensured the preservation of what was of merit in his orchestration without the risk of a failure.

Overall, the comparative analysis of these scores shows that Arbós had access to and made use of Albéniz’s orchestration, as well as of the original piano score while creating his own. This substantiates my claim that Albéniz requested that Arbós simply revise his orchestrations, and that Arbós only later decided to orchestrate additional pieces from *Iberia*, evidence that this, too, probably did not go against Albéniz’s wishes.

²²⁷ See note 201 above.

²²⁸ See pp. 53 of this study.

²²⁹ Clark, *Portrait*, 251.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

As increasing scholarly interest in Isaac Albéniz has begun to clarify the details of his life, more and more attention has turned to his orchestral and theatrical output, including his orchestration of “El Puerto” from *Iberia*. A greater familiarity with his manuscript has indeed confirmed Albéniz’s abilities as an orchestral composer, as Jacinto Torres has intimated, but it also revealed the process of Enrique Arbós’s orchestration. Furthermore, the comparison of the two composers’ biographies has confirmed that Albéniz requested Arbós to revise his own orchestrations.

In reviewing the roots of their friendship, we find that Albéniz and Arbós very quickly established a habit of mutual personal and artistic support. At the respective ages of 17 and 13, Isaac Albéniz and Enrique Arbós met at the Conservatoire Royal in Brussels. They were introduced by Gevaert, and their interactions included living together with Arbós’s mother, performing together, and playing games together with their fellow-Spaniard, Daniel. Albéniz’s involvement with a ‘wild South American’ strained their friendship, but Arbós supported his friend emotionally afterward so that he could successfully finish his studies. This foreshadowed Arbós’s future care and concern for Albéniz.

When their career paths overlapped in Madrid in the 1880s, their relationship occasionally experienced strain. Albéniz had less orthodox habits, which caused Arbós concern. They did perform together with Arbós’s sextet in Santander, however, with moderate success. Albéniz supported Arbós’s artistic endeavors by introducing

him to Conde de Morphy and by encouraging Tomás Bretón to allow Arbós to perform an all-Bach concert. Albéniz also used Arbós as a performer in concerts of his music. Albéniz particularly struggled with the musical atmosphere of Madrid at that time, especially when Arbós felt obligated to use another pianist, José Tragó, as his accompanist.

Albéniz and Arbós never saw eye-to-eye regarding the role and benefits of having a manager. Arbós, while benefitting artistically from being in London, hardly appreciated the arrangements with Lowenfeld. This was especially evident during their ‘forced’ partnership on *The Magic Opal* and Arbós’s consequent desertion due to the opportunity to perform with Joachim and a family emergency. This left Albéniz to compose and orchestrate the majority of the work, despite his lack of confidence in orchestration generally. Arbós’s ill-feeling toward Lowenfeld carried over to Albéniz’s long years collaborating with Money-Coutts, during which time Arbós continually encouraged him to devote less time to those collaborations and to follow his natural ability and compose Spanish-themed works. The result of this was *Iberia*.

Iberia was an immense undertaking that combined Albéniz’s inclination to incorporate Spanish folk music with his compositional training in Paris. At what point Albéniz decided to turn his piano work into a suite for orchestra is not known, though his intention to do so is clear from the title page of the manuscript of “El Puerto,” which categorized the work as the “1st Suite for Orchestra.” It is also clear from his memoirs that Arbós was well aware of this intention and awaited the orchestration in London in order to conduct a performance of it there.

Albéniz's lack of confidence in the merit of his orchestrations and perhaps his failing health caused him to change his plans from orchestrating the entire work to having Arbós simply revise his two manuscripts. Albéniz certainly suffered from both a lack of confidence as well as poor health through much of his life and career. His choice of Arbós to orchestrate may appear unusual, as Arbós was not necessarily known for composing, and because of the negative experience he had with *The Magic Opal*. Nevertheless, it is a sure indication of their strong relationship, and possibly of Arbós's involvement early on in this undertaking.

Arbós does not share with us the exact terms of Albéniz's request - whether Arbós was specifically asked to revise Albéniz's orchestrations - but he does indicate that Albéniz asked him to orchestrate "Évocation" and "El Puerto" specifically, as they had been unsuccessfully played in Monte Carlo. That Arbós in fact made revisions of these pieces, or at least of "El Puerto," is clear from my comparison of the manuscripts.

Arbós's use of Albéniz's manuscript is also evident from the fact that Arbós premiered his orchestrations of "Évocation" and "El Puerto" shortly after Albéniz's death in 1910, and Arbós did not premiere the next piece, "Triana," until 1917, with the publication of the final two, "El Albaicín" and "Fête-Dieu à Séville," in 1924 and 1925. This even suggests that Albéniz's request may have been for Arbós simply to revise his orchestrations, and that it was only later that Arbós decided to orchestrate additional pieces from *Iberia*. The later orchestrations would have been written in the middle of Arbós's busy conducting career in Spain with the Madrid Symphony Orchestra and abroad.

It is not likely that Arbós held the rights to the orchestration of *Iberia*. This is an erroneous assumption, stemming from Ravel's failed attempt to use *Iberia*'s music for a ballet. The reality is that, as Justo Romero points out, the rights that Arbós held were for creating a ballet from *Iberia*, which is why Ravel's plan was thwarted. Again, here is another compelling intimation that the arrangement between Albéniz was not important enough to entail the general rights to the orchestration.

That all of this evidence from the biographical details of Albéniz and Arbós's lives overwhelmingly suggests Arbós's use of Albéniz's manuscript has been confirmed by my comparison of the two versions of "El Puerto" with the original piano score. While the similarity between the two orchestral scores was intimated by both Jacinto Torres and Justo Romero, a serious comparative study was never made to examine their likeness in depth until now. By comparing the large-scale structure and by following the motivic development of "El Puerto" through the three scores, such a likeness is demonstrated absolutely, eliminating the need for further guesswork.

The comparative analysis of the scores reveals that Arbós adapted features found only in the orchestration by Albéniz, that he rejected some of Albéniz's changes, and that he added his own ideas to his orchestration. All of these elements indicate that Arbós effectively revised Albéniz's score, to which he must have had access. This realization, in turn, is perfectly in line with the time lapse between the publication of "Évocation" and "El Puerto," and the remaining three pieces from *Iberia* orchestrated by Arbós. It is therefore highly unlikely that Arbós was asked to complete the project in its entirety.

The comparative analysis of the scores of “El Puerto” also reveals that both composers were skilled in orchestration. Albéniz is indeed found to have some facility, yet the changes, or revisions, made by Arbós to his work, suggest that it had flaws, such as thin textures and weakly scored melodies. These revisions also demonstrate Arbós’s advanced knowledge of the orchestra, most likely a result of his international training as a violinist and his budding career as a conductor.

Research regarding Albéniz is thriving. As scholars continue to explore the life and works of Albéniz, greater familiarity with the manuscript of “El Puerto,” as well as with the history of its creation, will undoubtedly lead to a better understanding of this composer’s abilities, as Torres hoped. Albéniz’s influence on Arbós’s other compositions, however, has not yet been researched. Nor have other points of intersection in their careers been investigated in great detail, such as their near-collaboration on *The Magic Opal*.

Research regarding Arbós, on the other hand, is still limited, as noted in the introduction. In the unfortunate absence of the second volume of Arbós’s memoirs, we must scour whatever documentation exists to find out more about his personal and artistic life after 1905. This would certainly help us to understand his relationship with the rights to the orchestration of *Iberia*. Let us hope that his far-reaching career as a conductor left its mark in correspondence and other records. Such an investigation would not only fill in the gaps of Arbós’s biography, but it would also help to further explain his compositional choices regarding the orchestration of *Iberia*. A thorough study of Arbós’s compositions, and thereby of Arbós’s abilities as a composer, is also lacking, though the publications and recordings by the Madrid

Symphony Orchestra have done much to facilitate a study of that nature, if it should be undertaken.

Appendices

Appendix A

Table 4: Timeline of Albéniz and Arbós's Lives

Year	Albéniz	Arbós
1860	Born, 29 May in Camprodon	
1863	Moves to Barcelona	Born, 25 December in Madrid
1868	Moves to Madrid; enrolls in the Real Conservatorio	
1869	First published composition: <i>Marcha military</i>	At age 6, receives his first violin; moves to Madrid to enroll in the Escuela Nacional de Música y Declamación; meets Monasterio
1873		Receives first performance review
1875	Tour in Cuba and Puerto Rico	
1876	Returns to Spain; 2 May – 24 June, enrolls in the Hochschule für Musik in Leipzig; meets the Conde de Morphy; receives pension from King Alfonso XII to study at the Conservatoire Royal in Brussels; begins studies at the Conservatoire	Wins first prize in violin at the Escuela Nacional
1877	Meets Arbós while studying at the Conservatoire	Wins first prize in harmony at the Escuela Nacional; receives pension to study at Brussels Conservatoire; begins studies at the Conservatoire; meets Isaac Albéniz, Auguste Gevaert, Henri Vieuxtemps
1879	Complete studies and ties for first prize in piano at the Brussels Conservatoire ;	Wins the Grand Prix d'Excellence at the Brussels Conservatoire in violin
1880	Returns to Spain briefly and travels to Prague and Budapest in search of Liszt; after not finding Liszt, returns to Spain	Meets Joseph Joachim in Brussels; moves to Germany to study with Joachim; stays with Albéniz's family during school vacation
1881	Composes many salon style piano works; visits Granada and is	Meets Pablo Sarasate; leaves Germany for three-year break from

	inspired by Andalusian music	studies; spends time in Madrid, seeing Albéniz occasionally; composes “brahmsianos” waltzes; spends month with Sarasate in San Sebastian
1882		Composes <i>Seis ritmas de Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer</i> with little success; meets Conde de Morphy
1883	Moves to Barcelona; marries Rosina Jordana Lagarriga; studies composition with Felip Pedrell; plays in a sextet with Arbós in Santander	Goes to Paris and meets Gabriel Fauré, others; contracted to play in Lisbon; plays in a sextet with Albéniz in Santander
1884		Returns to Berlin and studies with Joachim
1885	Moves back to Madrid	
1886	Gives successful career-launching concert on January 24	Publishes <i>Trois pièces originales dans le genre espagnol, pour violon, violoncelle et piano</i> ; grand debut with the Berlin Philharmonic; becomes concertmaster of the Berlin Philharmonic for one year; wins position at the Hamburg Conservatory
1887	Asks Bretón to orchestrate his piano concerto and <i>Rhapsodia española</i> ; continues to compose salon-style piano works	Three-month contract with orchestra in Glasgow
1888	Performs successfully in Paris, with Debussy, Ravel, Fauré, and Dukas	Returns to Madrid under contract with the Sociedad de Conciertos; turns down Hamburg Conservatory position and wins violin faculty position at the Madrid Conservatory
1889	Gives marginally successful concert of only his music with the Sociedad de Conciertos in Madrid; organized series of concerts in Barcelona	Composes <i>Cuatro canciones para la marquesa de Bolaños</i> ; with José Tragó, forms the quartet, Sociedad de Musica di camera
1890	Signs contract with London impresario Henry Lowenfeld	First public conducting performance, with members of the Sociedad de

		Conciertos; directs chamber orchestra in Santander;
1891	Invites friends, including Arbós, to participate in tour organized by Lowenfeld in England	First tour organized by Lowenfeld in England
1892	Another tour, successful, including Arbós and cellist David Popper; collaborates with Arbós on <i>The Magic Opal</i> ; Arbós drops out and leave Albéniz to complete the project himself	Second tour organized by Lowenfeld; collaborates with Albéniz on <i>The Magic Opal</i> ; breaks contract due to father's health and performing opportunity with Joachim; father passes away; third tour organized by Lowenfeld
1893	Moderately successful premier of <i>The Magic Opal</i> on January 19; Francis Money-Coutts joins the contract between Albéniz and Lowenfeld	Fourth and final tour organized by Lowenfeld; premiere of <i>The Magic Opal</i> ; wins violin professorship at the Royal College in London; mother passes away; performs with Albéniz in Barcelona
1894	Moves to Paris; enrolls in the Schola Cantorum to study counterpoint with Vincent D'Indy; composes the opera <i>Henry Clifford</i>	Begins teaching at the Royal College of Music; unsuccessful premiere of his zarzuela, <i>El centro de la tierra</i> , in Madrid
1895	Composes the opera <i>Pepita Jiménez</i>	Begins teaching at the Royal Academy of Music in addition to the Royal College; frequently sees Albéniz over the years when he is in town for Money-Coutts
1898	Premier of Act I of <i>Merlin</i> in Barcelona	
1899	Premier of <i>Catalonia</i>	
1900		Composes <i>Tres piezas de concierto, para violín y orquesta</i> , op. 6
1902	Finishes reorchestration of <i>Pepita Jiménez</i>	
1903		Performs as concert master in the Boston Symphony Orchestra; travels around the United States with this orchestra and its quartet
1904		Conducts the Orquesta del Gran Casino in San Sebastian; asked to

		direct the Madrid Symphony Orchestra
1905	Begins composing <i>Iberia</i> which he completes in 1909	Founds the Concert Club in London Begins position as director of the Madrid Symphony Orchestra
1906		Conducts premier of Tomás Bretón's first symphony
1907	Begins orchestration of <i>Iberia</i> in January, orchestrating "Évocation" and "El Puerto" in the next month in Nice	
1908	Complete composition of <i>Iberia</i>	
1909	Dies from kidney failure on May 18	
1910		Premieres orchestrations of "Evocation" and "El Puerto" from <i>Iberia</i>
1911-1930		Tours extensively internationally as a conductor
1915		Helps launch Arthur Rubinstein's career while conducting in San Sebastian
1920		Publishes orchestration of "Triana" from <i>Iberia</i>
1920		Publishes <i>Piezas de concurso</i> or <i>Pieza de repente</i> for cello and piano
1928/29		Performances of ballet <i>Triana</i> , commissioned by ballerina Antonia Marcé, based on Arbós's orchestrations, also conducted by him
1932		Conducts the Spanish premier of the <i>Rite of Spring</i> with the Madrid Symphony Orchestra
1933		Retires from the Real Conservatorio; begins writing his memoirs
1939		Dies of throat cancer on June 3

Appendix B

Table 5: Chronological Listing of Arbós's Compositions

Year	Title	Parts	Instruments
1882	<i>Seis Rimas de Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer</i> , op. 3	I. Asomaba a sus ojos... II. ¿Qué es poesía? III. Si al mecer... IV. Los invisibles átomos... V. Olas gigantes VI. Volverán las oscuras golondrinas	Voice and piano
Ca. 1882	[Brahms-like waltzes]		
1883	<i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i>		Orchestration
1886	<i>Trío</i> , Op. 1, or, <i>Trois pièces originales dans le genre espagnol, pour violon, violoncelle et piano</i>	I. Bolero II. Habanera III. Seguidillas gitanas	Violin, cello, piano
1889	<i>Cuatro canciones para la marquesa de Bolaños</i> , Op. 4	I. Chanson de Fortunio (Alfred Musset) II. Ici bas...! (René Prudhomme) III. Les roses de Saadi (Marceline Desbordes-Valmore) IV. Sur la plage (Edmond Picard)	Voice and piano
1890	<i>Bolero</i> , op. 1	Orchestration of 1886 "Bolero"	Orchestration
1891?	<i>Tango</i> , Op. 2		Violin and piano
1893	<i>Ausencias</i>		
1894	<i>El centro de la tierra</i> , op. 5		zarzuela
Ca. 1900	<i>Tres piezas de concierto, para violín y orquesta</i> , op. 6	I. Zambra II. Guajiras III. Tango	Original for violin and orchestra
Ca. 1900	<i>Tres piezas de concierto, para violín y piano</i> , op. 6	I. Zambra II. Guajiras III. Tango	Piano reduction
1910	"Evocación" (from <i>Iberia</i>)		Orchestration
1910	"El Puerto" (from <i>Iberia</i>)		Orchestration
1920	"Triana" (from <i>Iberia</i>)		Orchestration
1920	<i>Piezas de concurso</i> [op. 7] [or <i>Pieza de repente</i>]		Cello and piano
1924	"El Albaicín" (from <i>Iberia</i>)		Orchestration
1925	"Fête-Dieu à Séville" (from <i>Iberia</i>)		Orchestration

1927	<i>Navarra</i>		Orchestration
1929	“Triana” from <i>Iberia</i>	Parts of “Evocación,” “Triana,” “El Albaicín,” and “El Corpus en Sevilla”, with connecting passages composed by Arbós	Ballet (commissioned by Antonia Mercé)
1932	<i>Pequeña suite española</i> , [op. 7]	<i>Ausencias</i> plus reorchestrations of parts of <i>El centro de la tierra</i>	Orchestral suite

Appendix C

Table 6: Chronology of *Iberia*²³¹

Date	Book-Position ²³²	Title
9 December 1905	1-1	Évocation
15 December 1905	1-2	El Puerto
30 December 1905	1-3	Fête-Dieu à Séville
23 January 1906	2-3	Triana
27 June 1906	2-2	Almería
17 October 1906	2-1	Rondeña
4 November 1906	3-1	El Albaicín
24 November 1906	3-3	Lavapiés
16 December 1906	3-2	El Polo
January 1907²³³	Orchestration	Évocation
February 1907	Orchestration	El Puerto
July 1907	4-1	Málaga
August 1907	4-3	Eritaña
January 1908	4-2	Jerez

²³¹ Final dates of composition are given according to what is written on the manuscript. Dates for the piano version are taken from Torres, *Catálogo Sistemático Descriptivo*, 411. Dates for the orchestrations are from the manuscript.

²³² According to their order in the first print edition.

²³³ This date is assumed, as we know that Albéniz orchestrated both “Évocation” and “El Puerto,” and “El Puerto” was started in January and completed in February of 1907.

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