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SACRED MUSIC IN RURAL CASTILE IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES.

**THE MUSIC CHAPEL OF THE PARISH OF SAINTS JOHNS FROM
NAVA DEL REY (1700- 1890)**

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INTRODUCTION AND OBJETIVES OF THE INVESTIGATION

1.1. PURPOSE OF THE WORK.

In 1991 in regard to one of the editions of the "Edades del Hombre" (Ages of Man), José López Calo warned in his prologue that "The music in the cathedrals of Castilla-León"¹ about our lack of knowledge regarding the music performed in these institutions in the 19th Century. He called it "unjustly denigrated", victim of a "black legend against 19th century religious music in Spain.", that, according to him, had been encouraged by investigators such a Felipe Pedrell and Nemesio Otaño. These two authors, in their search for a more pure religious music, had rejected certain "corruptions and profanities" that had been added to the liturgical music performed during the 19th century. Indeed, we must be aware in mind that the rejection displayed by figures such as Pedrell or Otaño to these "corruptions" were, in fact, what brought about the dark legend in a context that would be the breeding ground for the reforming movement of ecclesiastic music, although it would not give birth, as was the case in other countries, to a cecilianist association as it did produce a series of fruitful conferences which reflected a desire to look back to those authors who had made Spanish music "great": the polyphonists of the 16th and 17th centuries. That is what Calo is referring to by "pure religious music".

It is true that when these remarks were made, in 1991, studies on 19th century Spanish music were very scarce. Spanish musicology was just awakening with regard to the 18th and 19th centuries. However, it is not the intention of this study to refute o

1_ LÓPEZ CALO, José. "La música en las iglesias de Castilla y León". *Las Edades del Hombre. La música en la Iglesia de Castilla y León*. Valladolid: Fundación Edades del Hombre, 1991, pp. 25-42.

confirm the claims of Lopez Calo, but to start from them in order to present a more optimistic vision in respect to the analysis of a situation taking place in the early 90s. Fortunately, in recent years in Spain numerous studies related to the cataloging and research of archives of cathedrals, collegiate churches, convents and monasteries have been carried out. In addition, this type of work, as we will see further on, has also found its evolution from the epic approach through the positivist and to the speculative one. Thus, despite the fact that the exploration of the 19th century music, and particularly ecclesiastical music, is still in "it's infancy", we can state firmly that we have not started from zero when it came to carrying out this investigation, both at the level of the material available, as well as the methodological models to be observed

In the present study, we will analyze and establish a series of music networks of authors, music and text from all over the Spanish mainland from material we have from Nava del Rey. With this we hope to contribute to establish part of those so necessary relations so that, little by little, and with the help of many we can reconstruct the musical life of our country with greater precision, not only at the level of major cities and centers, but also in rural areas that possessed certain degree of wealth that allowed them to develop notable artistic activity.

1.2. JUSTIFICATION OF THE RESEARCH SUBJECT.

1.2.1. Object of the investigation.

When choosing one topic from among many possible in order to delve into an investigation, our choice may be conditioned by our proximity to the object of the study, availability, access to sources, editorial objectives, publication possibilities, the attempt to fill a significant gap in a particular field... In our case, we have relied on arguments regarding the accessibility of sources, the proximity of the subject and the intent to continue to contribute to the task of bringing to light more sources, but with the intention of adopting a more critical focus.

It is a well known fact that in the conservation and recovery of our musical heritage, the cathedral institutions (in addition to the monasteries, collegiate churches and parishes) and priests-masters, who have taken care of their endowment, have played a fundamental role, apart from the methodological discussions.

These buildings, which were in essence self-sufficient small cities in their day, took in the music and its form on paper of all the styles and periods in its architectural surrounding, following a tradition of centuries of patronage. Due to a series of historical factors, in Spain, the role played by the Church in supporting arts has been very relevant and, contrary to what was happening in other European countries, it continued to be so in the 18th century and, even, in part of the 19th century. In our country, the political and economic weight of nobility and the middle class was not so heavy, or at least, was not so extended, as the case in Italy or Germany, where social groups, such as the aristocracy or the wealthy bourgeois, served as courts that functioned as patrons of numerous artistic manifestations.

As a result, a large part of the music documents available for research are found in ecclesiastical archives, and those kept by non-religious institutions, such the Spanish National Library (Biblioteca Nacional) do come, in fact, from cathedral and parish archives, from where they had to moved for various reasons (loss or recovery, private donations, sales, confiscation processes..)

Therefore, as musicologists, we should feel ourselves in debt to the ecclesiastic institutions. In fact, in 1998, a time of numerous efforts in the retrieval of sources, but not enough, Gonzalez Valle proposed the next question:

“To what extent would we have been able to know modern music history or how much of the sacred and secular music concert repertoire would we be able to offer today, if the

vast collection of printed editions, manuscripts and documentation relating to composers' life and musical practice held by the Catholic Church over the centuries had not endured?"²

This question makes even more sense the more documentary materials are found and cataloged throughout the years. Furthermore, since 1998 there have been cases of exceptional relevance, such as in Zaragoza, Cantabria, Coria, evaluation of the holdings of Santo Domingo de la Calzada, Málaga, Orense, The Colegiata of Olivares, Antiquera, Terrassa, or Valladolid to mention some.

Of course, we have not forgotten that the Church also repressed and even annulled many practices that today we consider to be of great musical or sociological³ value, but we mustn't fail to see these measures in their historical, aesthetic, philosophical and religious context. Nor should we forget that these restrictions were always made with the intention of preserving what they considered to be appropriate practice in the church, meant to elevate the faith of the participants in the celebrations.

However, even with all the restrictions that we will discuss in future chapters, the ecclesiastical archives contain a great variety of musical works of numerous styles and genres, ranging from Gregorian Chant, purely instrumental pieces such as overtures or sonatas, to "classical" polyphony, keyboard music and vocal music of all types. In fact, the response to the "tastes" of an era brought about many problems, denunciations, and controversy toward theorists, chapel masters and town councils. As a result, we cannot share Gonzalez Valle's assertion that these library holdings will capture all of the "forms of true art" that combined all the requirements of "dignity, seriousness and sanctity"⁴, due to the fact that, in his time, consider them lacking of all these characteristics was

2_GONZÁLEZ VALLE, José V. "Spanish Ecclesiastical Archives. "Musical Documentation" *Fontes Artis Musicae* 45 (1998), pp. 39.

3_We will refer to the practices of the *villancicos*, and the rejection of the development of instrumental genres such as the sonata in the ecclesiastical musical traditions.

4_GONZÁLEZ VALLE. "Spanish ecclesiastical...". *Op. Cit.* p. 40.

precisely what caused numerous outbreaks and diatribes among the literary and musical figures of the panorama.⁵

Either way, the truth is that thanks to the fact that all this patrimony has been saved, more or less criticized or insulted over time, musicologists can now address many topics about Spanish ecclesiastic music⁶. The question now is, do we have the necessary tools to meet the challenges we propose? And by tools, we are referring to means that could provide information on the material that exists, where we can locate it and what topics we can best work on depending on the variety of documents, that is, elements that help us to decide what topics to choose. The situation has improved enormously in recent years: there are many catalogs and inventories of locations all over Spain. Proof of this proliferation of positivist focuses is that various voices have been raised asking for less cataloging and reconstruction, and more critical and speculative works on Spanish music, that is, more construction of theory.

We share these opinions, and, in fact, the present study endeavors to avoid the comfortable work of presenting another catalog without bringing up other issues of great importance in relation to the music itself. And yet, year after year studies continue to be published about the recovery of our patrimony, and presenting theses related to this topic, which goes to show that there is still much work to be done, and that we still need many more catalogs to continue to extracting or revising conclusions regarding Spanish music.

5_It must also be noted that sacred and secular styles were exchanged due to the fact that professional musicians worked in both areas, but also, as pointed out by Cristina Bordas, because «*inventories of the chapels show frequently as many secular compositions as and religious ones*». See BORDAS, Cristina, “Tradición e innovación en los instrumentos musicales” in BOYD, Malcolm, CARRERAS, Juan José: *La música en España en el siglo XVIII*. Madrid: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

6_ Although studying the Church archives restricts, inevitably, our study to this type of music, it must be kept in mind that both sacred and secular music were closely related during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, since the musicians serving in religious and civic events were often the same. Thus, sacred music and secular music will share certain traits and elements and studying the first will help us to understand the second one.

For this reason we believe that the fact that the argument over about which this study is based is not new at all, does not mean that we should let it be forgotten. We share the defense of Marie Gembero that positivistic approaches to our patrimony can very well blend with speculative and interpretative one(although inevitable a work can have greater inclination toward certain aspects than others) and that both approaches needn't be incompatible in the same research⁷, as long as we do not convert the tools (a catalog, or a transcription of official records documents, for example) for the good of the musicological investigation, or mix them with cataloging and conservation labors.⁸

With these considerations in view, our work aims to be a very specific contribution to musicology in the field of sources for music history in Spain in the 18th and 19th centuries. Our intention is to recover and delve into a relevant portion of our cultural legacy so often forgotten, when no already lost despoiled by wars and other conflicts, and in most cases, unknown, as is the ecclesiastical music in rural areas.

We start from the conviction that, if writing history is essentially interpreting facts, then it is not possible to build good interpretations of our musical patrimony without previous knowledge of a real situation of said legacy. Thus, we have begun building an empirical base, whose sources and methodology we will describe further along, from which we can serve ourselves later on to interpret parameters related to the development of the musical life in the chapel of Nava del Rey during the period documented of the same of this chapel(1750- 1900).

7_ In fact, a challenge put forward by the very young musicologists is to investigate unpublished sources and doing it, at the same time, within the demanding present-day methodological schemes. An initiative supported by Fernando Delgado on demanding research with original sources, meticulously interpreted from hermeneutics. (DELGADO GARCÍA, Fernando. "Tras el chaparrón posmoderno: ¿Qué lugar deben ocupar en los enfoques sociales en la nueva historiografía musical?" *Revista de Musicología* 39 (2006), p. 105).

⁸_GEMBERO USTÁRROZ, María. "El patrimonio musical español y su gestión" *Revista de Musicología* 28 (2005), p. 171.

1.2.2. Objectives.

First, more than 500 musical compositions will be cataloged and divulged. These comprise a representative archive of what cultured/liturgical at the same time, popular music was performed in a Castilian village with a flourishing economy⁹. In addition, various works that initially appeared in catalogs as anonymous works, or works separated from the compositions they belonged to, will be reconstructed and authenticated.

The catalog that will be offered will be the most critical and updated possible, and will include a bibliographic reference section by which you will be able to consult each of the sources possible. The cataloging methodology will be justified not only based on the international norms already published, but also by examining the course of our "working tool", revising that of others cataloging studies carried out by Spaniards and foreigners, looking for the elements that can be most useful to us, and explaining why others are not.

Yet, while there is no intention of remaining in the anecdotal and localism that could appear to be limiting ourselves to the scores and their systematic registration in one particular location, we will look for perspectives that go beyond objective reality and of the present time. We will consult all information on the composers of these works that is available in archives, their lives as musicians and the intercommunication they established during those years, in order to trace a wide view of the musical practices, dealt with in this study, in rural areas. Furthermore, this could provide additional information about the authorship, dating and distribution of vocal and instrumental distribution of the compositions. By locating matches of works found in different

⁹ In 2005, Paulino Capdepón pointed out that the cataloguing of the music archives and libraries holdings, still unfinished, was an essential issue for the Spanish musicology in order to be able to undertake further analytical and critical studies. CAPDEPÓN VERDÚ, Paulino. "La musicología. Razones para el optimismo". *Scherzo* 203 (2005).

cathedrals, we are able to analyze the differences in instrumentation and relate them to the economic capacity of the institutions or other factors. Regarding the corpus of musical scores, the fact that a significant number of these works have already been published and were well known throughout the country (such as those belonging to authors such as Eslava o Doyagüe) does not prevent it from being important and worthy of being observed to show the impact that this repertoire had on rural areas, and how it reached these places.

The history of the musical chapel will be reconstructed based on transcriptions of various sources of which will be discussed further on. These will provide a great deal of data about this institution, in reference to the financing, the chapel masters, the performers and the function carried out by the music in the local festivities. The description of this data will be accompanied by a comparison with other Spanish chapels of similar rank in order to reach more precise conclusions about the music practices in rural areas. Within this comparison, we will look for corresponding data and connections to the compositions and authors from Nava del Rey and other locations.

This search for facts will be accompanied by a historical-sociological contextualization of mentioned chapel, which will be carried out by reading the descriptions of the aesthetic material, monumental, religious and even socio-cultural material of Nava del Rey during the period in which it was most active.

We will also explore complementary means of dating and authentication of manuscripts, such as watermarks. By examining the paper mills of origin of watermarks, we can speculate on the regions from which the paper came from, and examine the areas of Castilla that maintained commercial relations with those regions. On the other hand, if we want to know when a undated manuscript was written, we check the dates during which the watermarks were in effect and in circulation.

Since we have that we have a large number of works in vernacular language, in particular "Villancicos", we will transcribe the texts to make use of the sociological and aesthetic questions.

1.2.3. Some peculiarities of the chosen topic.

This investigation joins list of numerous other contributions carried out in this same area of Cathedrals of Coria, Sigüenza, Ávila, Salamanca, Valladolid, Orense... although it possess a number of peculiarities and characteristics:

a) The archive that is chosen does not belong to one of the more important cathedrals or collegiate churches of Castilla, but to the parish of a rural village with a medium size population, based on craftwork and agriculture, in which there was, however, an intense musical activity during the period analyzed, due to the wealth generated by the production of wine and cereal in the population. The recovery of such prominent figures as Tomás Luis de Victoria, Cristóbal de Morales or Antonio de Cabezón has continued for more than 150 years, and the same is true of the main Spanish cathedrals (Burgos, León, Sevilla, Toledo, Salamanca...). These have been the first to be attended to. Therefore, for some years now, we have observed the necessity of attending to the life, author and works from musical chapel of lesser importance than those of the grand cathedrals, chapels such as those found in medium sized populations such as Ribera del Duero, endowed with collegiate churches or ecclesiastic chapters, and perhaps somewhat forgotten until now, locations such as Berlanga, Medina del Campo, Nava del Rey o Toro, etc. Along this line, and assuming that the importance of the musical contents of a library need not be directly proportional to the city that housed it, various studies have already been done, such as those of the cathedral of Coria (Pilar Barrios Manzano), the cathedral of Burgo de Osma (J. Ignacio Palacios Sanz), the collegiate church of Olivares (J. Romero Lagares), Plasencia (J. Manuel Ramos Berrocoso), or the

present work, in Nava del Rey, among others¹⁰. The difference lies in that not only do we deal with the biographies or music's style of a particular composer, nor do we exclusively catalog material, we also examine the general panorama of the repertoire present in Nava del Rey, the authors who were the architects of this repertoire, and the context that receive it. We analyze other sources, we delve into literary aspects and we deal with complementary sources such as working on watermarks.

In regard to this aspect, we believe that one of the significant features of this work is that, although the qualitative and quantitative levels of the materials may not be up to the large cathedrals such as Burgos, Valladolid or Sevilla (and keeping in mind that these large cathedrals had far more resources to hire musicians of high standing),

10_ See the chronological list of examples of local studies on rural chapels included below. As we can see most of these catalogs or studies, relating to a period or a particular author level of chapels of music, have been carried out in the last two decades.

Cuenca: Instituto de Música Religiosa de la Diputación Provincial, 1985.

BARAZZONI, Juan Pablo. *La música en Paredes de Nava*. Palencia: Diputación de Palencia, 2002.

BARRIOS MANZANO, M^a del Pilar. *La música en la Catedral de Coria. 1590- 1755*. Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, Servicio de Publicaciones, 1999.

CAPDEPÓN, Paulino; LABORDA, José M^a; PÉREZ, Rosa M^a; SCHMITT, Thomas. *La música en la catedral de Segorbe (Siglo XVIII)*. Castellón de la Plana: Fundación Dávalos, 1996.

CARREIRA, Xoan M. "La estancia del compositor Juan Pedro de Almeyda y Motta en Mondoñedo". *Actas del Congreso Internacional: España en la Música de Occidente*, vol 2. Madrid: INAEM, 1987, pp. 99-108.

DÍAZ MOHEDO, María Teresa. *Catálogo musical de la Iglesia Colegial de Antequera*. Málaga: Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura, 2007.

GREGORI I CIFRÉ, Josep Maria. *Fons de la Catedral-basilica del Sant Esprit de Terrassa*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de Cultura i Mitjans de Comunicació, 2007.

LEZA CRUZ, José Máximo. "La música en Guadalupe: de la herencia jerónima a la restauración franciscana". *La Orden Franciscana en Guadalupe: Cien años de vida y servicio a la iglesia (1908- 2008)*. Sevilla: Ediciones Guadalupe, 2009, pp. 248-91.

PALACIOS SANZ, José Ignacio. "Aproximación histórica a la capilla de música en la catedral de Burgo de Osma durante el siglo XIX: de Bernardo Pérez al <<Motu Proprio>>". *Revista de Musicología* 14 (1991), pp. 549- 59.

QUEROL, Miguel. "El archivo de música de la Colegial de Jerez de la Frontera". *Anuario Musical* 30 (1975), pp. 167- 180.

RAMOS BERROCOSO, Juan Manuel. "Los primeros años del magisterio de capilla de Raimundo Luis Forner en Plasencia". *Anuario Musical* 61 (2006), pp. 179-88.

RUIZ PRECIADO, Jorge; VELÁZQUEZ PASQUIER, Isabel. *Catálogo del archivo de música de la colegiata de San Miguel de Alfaro*. Logroño : Insituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2007.

ROMERO LAGARES, Joaquín. *Catálogo de música de la antigua Colegial de Olivares*. Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2006.

SUÁREZ PAJARES, Javier. *La música en la Catedral de Sigüenza, 1600- 1750*. 2 vol. Madrid: ICCMU, 1998.

sociologically the group and the scope that we cover is probably more representative than theirs. This is due to the fact that we are dealing with a rural environment, and the Spanish society of the 18th and much of the 19th centuries was completely ruralized. Consequently, we may find more quantity, quality and more well known authors in the large cathedrals. However, the vision of the population who were able to reach music such as was played in Nava del Rey, and the practices of a chapel like theirs were surely much greater, not to mention the importance of the recovering unknown sources and making known local composers.

b) The chronological boundaries of the period studied were imposed for the same situation of the materials. The starting point was marked by the restoration of music chapel in the middle of the 18th century. Some years ago, the collapse of the church tower, that pulled down great part of the late gothic and the renaissance edifice finished with the archives together with the temple, installations, and probably the previous organ. Thus, the starting point will be marked by the first musical manuscripts that we find at the beginning of the 18th century, once the church has been restored and the new choir and organ constructed. The end point then, came given by the decadence of music's life due to the confiscation and the lack of resources, as well as the appearance of the *Motu Proprio* that points a new direction in musical practice.

I believe it is of interest to point out that the period of time that these primary sources cover could be considered very broad for a doctoral work: from the first that date approximately from 1760¹¹ to the close 1898. This period of nearly a century and a half has obliged us to be knowledgeable not only of the artistic aspects but also of the historical aspects of a very extensive stage with many stylistic changes as well as convulsive historical events. These will be explained very briefly, and only those that interest here to help understand the contextualization of the sources. Perhaps we will have

11_ We have taken scores as chronological reference, even though the books of agreements register earlier periods of the chapel.

to resort to the characterization of the music of very different periods that can go from pre-classicism to the music of the *Motu Proprio*. Nevertheless, we believe that it is necessary to cover all of this space of time, since although the period is very extense, the sources, however, are not so. As I have explained, there are 394 manuscripts, several of which are not autochthonous to this village. Therefore, it may be of more interest to go over the musical history of Nava del Rey from the mid-18th century to the beginning of the 20th century, we will concentrate on only one author or epoch. This way we will be able to see a model example of a rural Castilla chapel, of certain economic resources, and perhaps no so far from the villages of Toro, Medina del Campo o Tordesillas, and by observing its economic and musical evolution (and especially all of the interrelation between both) throughout 18th and 19th centuries mainly.

1.3. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REVIEW

Above all, it must be pointed out that our objective in this section is not to carry out a comprehensive critique of the works and trends that have marked milestones in Spanish musicology, nor do a review of Spanish musical historiography, as various authors have already devoted much time to this task, and will likely lead to a separate thesis. Instead, we intend to do a brief review of some of the Spanish historiography relative to certain aspects that are of interest to us, with the purpose of briefly describing the evolution that the methodology of works of similar characteristics to ours. That is, we show how the collection of sources are processed and for what purpose, and how they are transcribed. Also explained are the strategies followed in order to register the sources found. If there have been any works related to these resources, this information is detailed so that some type of theorizing can be carried out to see the models and contributions that have served to structure the present study. Nevertheless, the methodologies cataloging will be reviewed in depth in the corresponding chapter. Here we will limit ourselves to look for the intentions of these works and the external form in which they will be carried

out so that by re-examining the past and the consequences of certain milestones in music historiography music in Spain, we can situate the present study in a context with a broader perspective.

If we briefly review the main studies done up to now that are related to the task of "making history of music" by means of contact with primary sources, we will observe that the tendencies, when the time comes to bring them into focus, have varied significantly, depending on the ideological, political or religious value that has been placed on the results and what use they want to make of them. When the time comes to make a critical reading of a work, it is advisable to look for the author's motivations. Thus, in a very general manner, we will be able to discern a collector phase that will coexist with another that we will refer to as "epoch", followed by a positivist period, and lastly, another speculative phase, this latter closely related to the area of sociology. Through these phases passed those whose names are well known, the first of whom were usually members of the clergy, such as H. Eslava, Barbieri, H. Anglés, S. Rubio, J. M^a Llorens, J. López- Calo, D. Preciado, P. Calahorra, J. M^a Muneta, J. Pavía, E. Ayarra, P. Aizpurúa, A. Sagaseta, J. Climent, J. V. González Valle... and many others¹².

First of all, it is important to point out that these early approaches (or embryos thereof) of the early stage of musicology were not meant to encourage watertight compartments for the scholars who had protagonized it. The fact that authors tend to be more inclined toward particular areas or tasks does not mean that they do not carry out others as well. In the case of Felipe Pedrell, for example, we will see that, not only did he devote himself to collecting manuscripts, but also to transcribing folk songs in the pursuit of encouraging the resurgence of regionalism, and all of this in addition to being a composer and attempting to synthesize his knowledge various monographs.

12_ In words of Jacinto Torres: "*Spanish musicology has been developed on luminous personal works of big individualities [...] Most of those editions are individual works, created at the expense of the always lowest budgets.*" See TOWERS, Jacinto. "Los trabajos de base en la musicología española" *Revista de Musicología* I. 1978, p. 201-2. This assertion may seem a little exaggerated from today's viewpoint, but it is undeniably that the absence of disciplinary studies in musicology in most Spanish universities made a few pioneering scholars to stand out in the field.

1.3.1. Collecting and anthologies / mythologies.

In a first period, a series of important figures emerge, professors from the Conservatory of Madrid, that took the initiative of studying several aspects of Spanish music. Due to the fact that at that time there was no such figure as a research musicologist, it was a group of various composers who undertook the challenge¹³. Each one of them took care of different musical fields that complemented the others. These fields were related to folklore, the restoration of sacred music, the collection of antiques and the promotion of theatrical music as an example of a musical genre that was exclusively Spanish (although the objective of all of these was aimed at trying to legitimate Spanish music). And thus there began the long endeavor of gathering basic general documentation, and carrying out all-encompassing works. Their studies were heirs of a series of traits that would characterize the nationalist romanticism: the importance of erudition, the antiques treated as relics, and bibliophilism¹⁴. This made it possible for some of the principal music collections to take form, and that fundamental works could be published, thus satisfying a necessity of the moment, a time that was demanding the revaluation of their country's music¹⁵.

This first moment that we named as "collector" is mainly represented by the figure of Francisco Asenjo Barbieri (1823-1894). His disciple Felipe Pedrell writes about such significant texts as the next: "There the little ant that picks up with love the never negligible data and in one piece passion of the bibliophile and the leeway of the bibliomaniac book hunter, digging up and going through bookshelves of archives,

13_ According to Vincent Duckles, this was a pattern at an international level. He describes the old-fashioned researcher as a dilettante person; someone who did not aim at academic professionalism and gathered materials without any methodology (thus, José Carreras's description of his/her work as a kind of "bourgeois entertainment"). See DUCKLES, Vincent, "Patterns in the Historiography of 19th- Century Music". *Acta Musicologica. Revue de la Société Internationale de Musicologie* 42 (1970), pp. 76).

14_ CARRERAS, Juan José. "Los hijos de Pedrell...". *Op. Cit.* p. 132.

15_ An illustrative example of this is the following extract from Mariano Soriano Fuertes's *Historia de la Música española desde la venida de los fenicios hasta el año de 1850*: "I am going to tell those illustrated countries that contemplate us contemptuously: respect us today for what we were for you in the past, because our artists are and will be as good, or even better, as foreign ones". In PERSIA, Jorge de. "Distintas aproximaciones al estudio del hecho musical en España durante el siglo XIX" *Revista de Musicología* 14 (1991), p. 315.

multiplying to take out copies of everything he can get, with the praiseworthy desire of locking it and guarding it the *sancta sanctorum* of his library, where he meticulously and with patience arranges everything... where it's locked... all that cluster of information and annotations that form the document of our musical culture"¹⁶. Pedrell himself carried on with the task of "the little ant" from his predecessor Barbieri, and gathered a great amount of musical documents cataloged by Higinio Anglés in 1921¹⁷. This text describes very well the type of work that Barbieri carried out, apart from the values of erudition and collecting that can be read between the lines. Barbieri focused his efforts on civil and theatric Spanish music, editing the "Songbook of Palacio" and leaving an enormous legacy to the National¹⁸ (Emilio Cotarelo and Mori and Jose Subira would continue with this task later). One could say that he is a humanist. He has been defined as a man that is "highly cultured, studious, a historian, writer, collector, journalist, academic and distinguished investigator"¹⁹. He knew how to discover the value of our archives, thus beginning a path that many would follow after him²⁰.

Another compilation was made by Baltasar Saldoni. But instead of gathering manuscripts, he "collected" authors in his *Biographic- Bibliographic Dictionary of All Time Spanish Musician Events*, published in four volumes between 1868 and 1881. Whereas our previous character devoted himself to gathering manuscripts for a personal collection and withdrawing within them in several ecclesiastical archives, Saldoni directed his work towards the people architects of those musical works, concerned about

16_ CASARES RODICIO, Emilio "Prologue" in GÓMEZ GONZÁLEZ, Pedro José; HERNÁNDEZ OLIVERA, Luis; MONTERO GARCÍA, Josefa; VICENTE BAZ, Raúl. (Ed). *El archivo de los sonidos: la gestión de fondos musicales*. Salamanca: ACAL, 2008, p. 12.

17_ ANGLÉS, Higinio. *Catàleg dels Manuscrits Musicals de la Col·lecció Pedrell*. Barcelona, 1921.

18_ This legacy is particularly interesting for us since it includes several imprints of *villancicos* by the two oldest masters of the Chapel of Nava del Rey, who served in there for over a period of fifty and thirty years respectively: Luis Morales (from 1760 to 1812) and Pío Pérez Luco (from 1816 to 1847).

19_ ROALES- NIETO Y AZAÑÓN, Amalia. "Francisco Asenjo Barbieri y Granada" *Revista de Musicología* 14 (1991), pp. 93.

20_ Juan José Carreras describes this type of work as a kind of "bourgeois entertainment" due, in part, to the fact that "musicology (or what was understood by it at that time) was conceived as the composer's golden retire. In other words, Barbieri and other scholars of his time elaborated the Spanish musical historiography with a dual-interest in their work: that of the composer who must make a living (usually through the zarzuela) and, therefore, explores certain genres; and that of the researcher who wish to seclude in libraries and archives.

safeguarding the maximum amount of data, because these were threatened by "the many turbulences that have afflicted our Spain, the many fires of so many buildings", a situation ratified by Eslava, who spoke about the poor state of religious music in our cathedrals and the carelessness and abandonment of their musical archives²¹.

Studios such as José Inzenga and Mariano Soriano Fuertes introduced themselves in "other musics", referring us to those who could stand on the sidelines of concert halls and music chapels. Relating to the regionalisms is J. Inzenga's venture, who published four volumes with transcriptions of folk chat from Valencia, Murcia, Galicia and Asturias. In turn, Soriano Fuentes inclined towards *Arab-Spanish music*, although he also attempted to make a history of Spanish music.

Nearly at the same time of this collecting, we stumble upon a kind of "mythological musicology" or epic, that needs to investigate the past, not to rebuild it, but rather to build and justify the present, and to mythicize past glories of Spanish polyphony. To return to this style of music, as also was the case of Gregorian, had it a reason was justifiable in the reformist spirit of religious music. One of the main representatives of this view, which consisted in transcribing and editing the "anthologies" of the golden age of Spanish music, was Hilarón Eslava, who published compendiums of such impact, such as the *Lira Sacro Hispana* (1869) and the *Museo Orgánico Español* (1854). However, we will not stop on this matter now, as it will be dealt with in greater detail in its corresponding chapter.

1.3.2. Positivism,

This would be a stage characterized by the fact that, even though there were no regulated studies of musicology at the universities, there were many isolated initiatives that provided the possibility of studying the registering and editing of sources (which gave rise to a hot very homogeneous methodological array). Furthermore, the political

21_ In PERSIA, Jorge de. "Distintas aproximaciones..." *Op. Cit.*, p. 315.

context of the moment favored the continuance of the recovery of the Spanish "musical glories" that were ideologically mediatized, even to the point of publishing some hagiographical style biographies²².

Needless to say, we cannot establish well delimited borders between the methodological practices of some authors. But we can say that Pedrell continued his research along the same path as authors of the previous period, but introducing an element that would be characteristic from there on in the history of Spanish musicology: the interest in ecclesiastical patrimony. However, and contrary to Barbieri's custom, he considered interpreting the repertoires he studied. Thus, his interests were no longer those of an antiquarian who merely accumulates sources, but rather someone who is actually attempting to do something with the data and manuscripts available to him, seeking a synthesis. In fact, although he did not write a history of music, he did write a history of the theater. Nevertheless, from his interests that are reflected in the anthology of authors, such as Guerrero, Victoria or Morales we can still see the spirit of the myth of the Spanish musician incarnate in the polyphonists of the 15th and 16th centuries.

Pedrell's successors, such as Higinio Anglés or Rafael Mitjana, continued to work on the sources, but now sought to introduce value judgments, moving away from the erudite approaches. The first (Higinio) published his "*History of Music*" (*Historia de la Música*), while Anglés stood out for his musicological contributions, transcribing a multitude of medieval sources, and later, editing a significant part of the "*Monumentos de la música española*". Thanks to his drive, musicological works continued to incline toward the recovery of documents and the reconstruction of the distant past by means of the monumental edition. However, it was clear that the tendency to systematically include

22_ The author of the study mentioned below maintains that composers who considered themselves as "mystics", were not such in reality. She undermines the arguments that raised those authors to a state of almost holiness with evidence from their correspondence, repertory and other documents. RAMOS LÓPEZ, Pilar, "The Construction of the Myth of Spanish Renaissance Music as a Golden Age" *Early Music* (2003).

documents, and at the same time display an absence of scarcity of critical reflexion beyond these sources themselves²³.

Simultaneously, with the work of Anglés, whose focus would turn out to be of use for the ideological purposes of the political regime in power, the orientation of other authors was developed, such as Manuel Valls, José Subirá or Adolfo Salazar²⁴. We will not tarry here with these authors, and since their works with type of sources we have been discussing was not very direct. On the contrary, they preferred to occupy themselves with the public reception and social activities, as was the case of Valls, or synthesizing the information they already possessed in the respective "*Historias de la música española*" of Subirá and Salazar, aware that the development of this art was still to be evaluated. Nevertheless, if we allude to the fact that, even still in 1953, Salazar pointed out that despite all of the critical editions of musical text that were being carried out under the aegis of the *Instituto Español de Musicología* (Spanish Institute of Musicology) with Anglés at its head (up to the date of publication of the book we have refereed to, twelve of these volumes had been published), the music documents available were still not enough (insufficient) and our knowledge was too incomplete to be able to carry out this work²⁵.

The tendency to reorganize, investigate and publish the musical sources, impelled and systematized by Anglés from the Spanish Institute of Musicology and the CSIC (*Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas*)(particularly from the 50s onward, when the Church opened its archives to civilians to carry out studies) and continued until the 80s. During this period, studies with titles such as "Music Catalog of..." or "The music in the cathedral of..." abounded. With the discovery of this enormous

23_ CARRERAS "Los hijos de Pedrell..." *Op. cit.* p. 156.

24_ The profile of the researcher of Adolfo Salazar's case has been described as a high level journalistic procedure that contributed to the knowledge of the Spanish musical history. (CURESES, Marta; AVIÑO, Xosé. "Contra la falta de perspectiva histórica (bases para la investigación musical contemporánea en España)" en *Revista Catalana de Musicología* pp. 182).

25_ SALAZAR, Adolfo. *La música de España; la música en la cultura española*. Buenos Aires & México: Espasa- Calpe Argentina, 1953.

goldmine, these studies concentrated on recording the musical materials of the ecclesiastical institutions. Nevertheless, as we will later observe, they lacked a homogeneous methodology, and at times they were without the basic elements necessary to identify a piece, which made verification very difficult, if not impossible. However, little by little we find prologues or introductions gradually begin to appear in these works, which help contextualize the works to be registered. Later on biographies of the Chapel masters were included and further along, the transcripts of other documents that are summarized in order to come closer to the history of the Chapel in question. Names such as Miguel Querol, J. M. Llorens, J. López- Calo... among many others stand out in this task. Further on we will talk about their works and evaluate their characteristics. Suffice it to say, for the moment that their studies still do not have a unitarian approach. Each draws up his own catalog cards depending on the particular needs of the investigator, on the institution in which he works and on the materials that were available.²⁶.

1.3.3. Speculation and interpretation of data.

Thus, we come to another level and another way of studying the sources. Although the work of cataloging sheet music and transcribing official documents continue to be closely linked to the positivist views. Their aim is to build theories around the documents and music they handle. It begins to be clear that the mere realization of lists of compositions, however detailed they may be, belongs to musicology as a tool only, but not as an end of musicological research. We can summarize the intentions of these studies that emerge from the 80s with the words of Jorge de Persia, "the supposed objectivity of scientific knowledge must always be qualified and duly focused on its context. There are different readings of a changing reality that, in the end, will help promote a more and more critical and objective"²⁷.

²⁶_ This practice, one of the most criticized methodological aspects, seems to have been common not only in the Spanish musicological work of the time, but internationally. In 1955, C. L. Cudworth pointed out that English musicology had been developed by enthusiastic dilettante researchers, with the same results as those observed in Spain. See CUDWORTH, C. L. "Music Libraries and the research worker". *Fontes Artis Musicae. Review of the International Association of Music Libraries* 7 (1955), pp. 118.

²⁷_ PERSIA, Jorge de. "Distintas aproximaciones..." *Op. Cit.*, p. 306.

He is but one many voices that began to ask for a different model of musicological research that went beyond the superficial verbal descriptions of the nineteenth-century. Since, in 1985 Joseph Kerman published his groundbreaking book, in which he stated that anyone who criticized positivism as a tendency that gives only data without providing help to understand the context. And so, a new tendency that was born referred to as "New Musicology", that proposed to address deal with social issues, of identity, representation, subjectivity, gender and emotions in music²⁸. The investigation of an historian (of music in this case) it begins to be seen that the facts cannot be presented as isolated phenomena of everything that happens around it before, during or after it happens. Therefore, when they reviewed the outlines they have configured the construction of the study of musicology they found themselves facing two main questions: the crisis of positivism and the need for operational structures that are constantly renewed²⁹. With regard to the positivist trends, Joseph Kerman remarks in the fourth chapter entitled *Musicology and Positivism: the Postwar Years*:

“Much less attention was paid to the interaction of music history with political, social, and intellectual history. And less attention yet was devoted to the attempt to understand music as an aspect of and in relation to culture in the large”³⁰.

And ironically added about the musicologist as a historian:

“A historian in his role as a chronicler or archaeologist, rather than as a philosopher or an interpreter of cultures of the past. In such a situation, needless to say, there

28_ RAMOS LÓPEZ, Pilar. “Nuevas tendencias en la investigación musicológica” en *Revista de Musicología* XXVIII (2005), p. 1397.

29_ CURESES, Marta; AVIÑO, Xosé. “Contra la falta de perspectiva ...” *Op. cit.* p. 171.

30_ Much less attention was paid to the interaction between music history and political, social and intellectual history. And even less attention was devoted to trying to understand music as an aspect of and in relation to culture as a whole. "KERMAN, Joseph. *Contemplating music. Challenges to Musicology*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1985, p. 42.

was a dearth of interest in philosophizing or theorizing about what musicologists were doing”³¹.

Like any study that involves a "crisis", in the sense of the Greek term *κρίσις* as a moment of significant change that comes after a long process of tension, Kerman's work merely systematizes a notion that had already been in effect for a very long time. A clear example could be the writings of the German historian Johann Gustav Droysen, in the mid 19th century. This author tries to show, and make understood the complexity of the historical phenomenon through the hermeneutic a method. This investigating model uses the sources, not to simply leave the research in the mere superficiality of data, as was the case with the positivists. Instead, he uses them to confirm, or to question the hypotheses posed³². His aspiration is neither erudition nor collectionism, but the desire to evaluate how the past affects our acts in the present. This can be seen in clearly by the choice of themes he chose to investigate, as we will observe later with various examples. This idea of studying the added value of facts or writings from the past by viewing the influence the had subsequently was a concept developed by Hans- Georg Gadamer, present in the German term *Wirkungsgeschichte*, that has been translated into Spanish as "effectual history" or "influx history".

More than a century later, and now in the discipline that concerns us, in 1959 Lloyd Hibberd is asking himself whether all musical investigation is musicology. And, in a yet poorly developed fashion, he puts for this historical method of investigation as a series of reasoning regarding the sources and the data that comprise three stages: the first, the search for information sources (heuristics). The second, the evaluation of this material from the point of view of its value as evidence (critical). And finally, the construction of a

31_ A historian as a chronicler or archaeologist rather than as a philosopher or interpreter of past cultures. It is needless to say that in such a situation there was scarce interest in philosophizing or theorizing about what musicologists were doing. "KERMAN, Joseph. *Op. Cit* p. 42.

32_ GARCÍA GÓMEZ- HERAS, José María. *Historia y Razón*. Madrid: La Alhambra S. A., 1985, p. 36-41.

body of historical data and its presentation in terms of objective reality (synthesis and exposition)³³. The succession of these three stages appear to fall short with regard to the ideas previously expressed by Droysen and Gadamer, since it does not seem to include either hermeneutics or evaluation of the "history of influx". Furthermore, the use of the term "objective reality" implies some degree of danger for the historian, whether we talk about the present, or any past time we are trying comprehend³⁴. However, though it may seem a step backward, we note that, even so, it is ahead of most Spanish contemporary works related to the direct handling of sources, since the truth is, that many of them even fail for each the second stage, remaining in the mere display of a list of musical works about giving data (that is not even sufficient for definitive identification).

Thus, little by little, Spain also became aware, as we briefly pointed out in the previous section, that lists alone were not enough, and neither was the relation of chapel masters, nor the reconstruction of their biographies, nor simply the events that took place in some location. Ultimately, the biographies and chronicles were not enough. The necessity of building something with all of this information, theories that will help us understand the music and the diverse aspects its existence in a particular time and place, but without remain indefinitely, but rather also searching for antecedents as well as the consequents. It is evident that the non musical influences that musicians are subject to must be a part of the history of music. However, they must bear this in mind: to undertake music history can be an unembraceable task, in which we reach the dead end of not being able to "see the forest for the trees". Hence, the need of critical work³⁵.

33_HIBBERD, Lloyd. "Musicology reconsidered". *Acta Musicologica. Bulletin de la Société Internationale de Musicologie* 31 (1959), pp. 29.

34_ Having superseded the notion of data as something scientific and invariable in meaning, Johann Gustav Droysen used hermeneutics as a methodological tool. Since this approach focuses on the subject, not in the object, all understanding of the past is mediated by the historian: because he is linked to his time and, thus, conditioned by it (something he must be aware of when reflecting), and because empirical materials do not represent all that happened. See GARCÍA GÓMEZ-Heras, José María. *Historia ... Op Cit.* pp. 36 - 40. Therefore, the researcher knows that he cannot aim at constructing an "objective reality" from the data available.

35_ RAYNOR, Henry. "What is Musical History?". *The Music Review*. 39 (1978), pp. 118.

For many years, not only had a substantial amount of catalogs been published³⁶, but they had also appeared in Spanish journals and in summarized versions, or these had been used as the only means of making themselves known. And, although the work done with sources is still recognized as been essential (in view of the continuous appearance of new materials), a call is made to carry out operations regarding multitude of local studies that have been initiated (the present study itself is one of them, although there will be some differences on the topic of "localism").

In 1997, on the occasion of the celebration of the Fourth Edition of Congress of the Spanish Society of Musicology, Begoña Lolo performed a series of statistical evaluations on all of the musicological studies that had been done, whether Spanish or foreign, on Spanish music. In her article, we were particularly drawn to the parcelation process in which she had entered since the goldmine of ecclesiastical materials that had never been cataloged. This led to a localism that could be of little, or no, interest to the foreign researcher, given the lack of synthesis of the monographic character³⁷ it displayed, particularly when observing the persistence of the "cult of datology".

Due to this proliferation of local studies, related to church institutions without any monograph with which to synthesize, there arose, in the final decades of the past century (and are still with us now) various writings by Spanish authors calling for way to carry out the study of music history that would connect with views held by Droysen, Gadamer and Kerman, among others. For example, we highlight the chapter of Juan José Carreras "Música y ciudad: from local history to cultural history" from the following paragraph: "As not surprisingly, the vindication of the need of local studies does not

36_ However, in 1978 Jacinto Torres described the situation of Spanish musicology as: "Superb editions of vocal and instrumental music transcriptions, abundance of partial data and lesser essays, several good studies on specific issues, a scarce number of catalogues and inventories of documentary holdings and some monographic works. An important legacy but unsupported by the necessary scientific structure for a solid source of data, reference or search..." That is, despite the many cataloguing studies, this scholar vindicates an increase in their number, a more unified and systematic approach in order to facilitate access and research. His complaints were not so much for the excess of studies as for the transcription work.

37_ LOLO, Begoña. "Música en España en el siglo XVIII. Estado de la cuestión." *Revista de Musicología*, 20 (1997), pp. 281.

mean dispensing with a criticism of its own limitations nor to renounce asking ourselves about the sense of what has been done up to this moment: rather the contrary: rather the opposite: it makes those critical operations more necessary than ever, in order to avoid the collapse of a blind production that article after article stack up news and facts”³⁸. Carreras urges researchers to reflect and to assume the discipline of musicology as a changing construction, that is provisional, susceptible to being revised over and over, due to the fact that it must should be based on the interpretation. For that reason he speaks about the need to lay the foundations of the categories of this interpretation in order to establish transversal approaches that go beyond the competence of local institutions, that question cultural processes of a broader nature.

In relation to the statement made by María Gembero expressed earlier, in which she alluded to the fact that studies with a eminently positivist outlook need not renounce speculation, we can connect some ideas expressed Pilar Ramos, another example of the New Musicology in Spain. According to this author, it is clear that the trends will influence the choice of topics. At present it is possible that these topics can be present themes about women composers, the diffusion of music in internet or the opera. Yet, this must not be confused with doing "good" or "bad musicology". The topic chosen may not be "up-to-date" (as for example, the investigation of sources and the reconstruction of the musical activity of a chapel in a particular moment and place). But this doesn't mean that the musicology is "bad" as long as the treatment is up-to-date³⁹. In other words, we need to justify the relevance of the data, since what researchers currently ask for is not so much the relation of data alone, but rather together.

It is interesting that, despite all of the criticism and complaints over the continuous and abundant studies devoted to the cataloging of sources, that even in the

38_ CARRERAS, Juan José “Música y ciudad: de la historia local a la historia cultural” BOMBI, Andrea; CARRERAS, Juan J.; MARÍN, Miguel Ángel (Eds.) *Música y cultura urbana en la edad moderna*. Valencia: Publicaciones Universidad de Valencia, 2005, p. 22.

39_RAMOS LÓPEZ, Pilar. “Nuevas tendencias en la investigación musicológica” *Revista de Musicología* 28 (2005), pp. 1382-83.

year 2005 Pilar Ramos would revindicate the need to continue with these "traditional tasks of musicology". However, she qualifies this statement saying that while we continue to record sources, we cannot affirm the scientificity and objectivity of those methods of cataloging that "are in frank decline, as has been shown, for example, by the weight ideology has had in the cataloging of the 16th century Iberian documentation"⁴⁰. It is evident that Ramos is referring to the political use made of the works published by Anglés and others for the *Monumentos de la Música Española* during the Spanish Franco regime, praising the Spanish polyphony of the "golden age" of Spanish music as national heroes and icons representatives of a "Spanish music" of long tradition. However, in our opinion, objectivity and scientificity of the methods of cataloging lies not so much in themselves (and therefore, the mere reflection of a piece of information can indeed try to be the most objective possible), but rather in how the information is used later. In other words, the registering of sources may be objective, but we must be aware that, probably, the interpretation of these sources at a later time, will not, due to the limited documents that we have to be able to reconstruct the past, as we have already mentioned.

As we can see, there is a common pattern in all of the authors presented. From the very first alarms launched by Saldoni describing a catastrophic situation regarding the state of the sources and his ignorance, and then the positivists, who based their work on the document and on the information it contained, including assertions made by those following the New Musicology who complained about the overabundance of data without summaries, all of them coincided in a series of affirmations. None of these authors doubted the legitimacy of the investigations. These were considered to be the primary pillars of such work: cataloging or editing of unknown sources, usually in relation to ecclesiastical matters. And yet, all of them ask for more complete approaches and more cross-sectional studies, that tackle broader issues that go beyond the mere anecdotal. And, absolutely everyone, for almost two centuries, continued to insist on the same point: that cataloging is necessary. From Saldoni to the assertions made by Salazar in 1985, when he

40_ RAMOS LÓPEZ, Pilar. "Nuevas tendencias..." *Op. Cit.* p. 1383.

said that, due to the lack of sources, that we were still unable to evaluate the history of Spanish music; Jacinto Torres, as early as 1978 complained that there were still to few catalogs , and even, the most recent authors cited here concurred. It is noteworthy that, for almost two centuries, specialists have been affirming the same idea, although with slight differences: there are abundant sources, they are unknown, and their consultation and management need to be systemized.

1.4. STATUS QUESTION.

In order to delimit an investigation on a specific subject, we must first study the state of the question in all of its dimensions, first carrying out a general study of the area of the work, to be able to comprehensively understand the meaning and implications that this research can have⁴¹. At a historiographical level, we have already explored by way of a brief chronological review of how the register studies and the interpretation of sources. We have also evaluated the relative importance that this work may have within the group of similar studies that have been accomplished so far. Therefore, it is time to explore what the state of the question is, regarding the specific sources that we are going to handle at different levels, whether organizational, physical o conservational.

1.4.1. A storage room full of a bundle of papers, sheet music and books.

At the foot of the church of the Parish of Los Santos Juanes of Nava del Rey, there is a single slender tower. If you enter and climb stairs to the third floor, you come to a small room that has no artificial lighting. Inside are store parish documents relating to all sorts of mattes, in different states of preservation: books of confraternities, birth certificates, death certificates, marriage certificates, treatises on theology and, finally, those in which we will focus our research.

41_ CURESES, Marta; AVIÑO A, Xosé. “Contra la falta de perspectiva...” *Op. Cit.* p. 178.

In our case, the writings led to this investigation belong to the category of printed music, and especially handwritten, that is, graphic-musical documents. Thus, on the right side as you enter the room, in the lower part of a bookshelf, 20 folders and 12 choir books (plainchant). Of these, one is on few on the lectern of the choir. The cardboard folders held some 394 manuscripts, most of which were unpublished, and 129 of these are considered to be anonymous so far, although we can propose hypotheses as to the authorship of 77 of them based on certain criteria that we will discuss further on. The majority of these printed sheets of music are in relatively good condition, considering that they probably haven't been out of the tower, nor have they been handed for almost a century.

The format of the vast majority of these documents is that of "*particellas*", or sheet music⁴², particularly in reference to genres such as carols (*villancicos*), and even some arrangements in Latin, such as motets or lamentations. Masses are also often found among the sheets of music, something we will come across more frequently as we move ahead in the 19th century. But in general, it is usual to find the parts on separate pages, for both voices, both for voices and for instruments, and if perhaps they join together in the same score the soloist, or the voice with the highest register, together with bass accompaniment of an organ, carried by a double bass, a violin or a bassoon.

As it happens in many other cases in Spain, the mentioned scores are reasonably well preserved, despite the neglect they suffered for centuries. The fact these documents were stored in private rooms and of restricted access (especially, if stored in the chapel master or chorus singers' homes), reduced the adverse effects that frequent oscillations have on manuscripts. In the case of Nava del Rey, as already said, they were stored in a room located in the church bell tower. When they were deposited there and

42_ The format known as *música a papeles* (literally "sheet music") was adopted in the 17th century. It was used to represent vocal music, generally handwritten due to the poor development of the printing in Spain. In the inventories carried out by the chapel masters, *book music*, *música a papeles* and *música de fasistol* (music to be performed before the stand or *facistol*) were usually separated [BAGÜÉS, Jon. "Archivos musicales: un acercamiento a la historia y tipos de archivos musicales en el entorno hispánico" *El archivo de los sonidos: la gestión de fondos musicales*. Salamanca: ACAL, 2008, p. 65.]

whose decision it was is not known. In any case, it was a wise decision that prevented the speculation, spoil... and, ultimately, that we can study them today.

The repertory accumulated there dates from 1750 to 1940, being dated the most recent manuscript in this year. The distribution of composition work along the period is, however, irregular. The composition date of the 13 choir books or books of *facistol* is unknown, and we do not find any chronological evidence until 1760. As a result, prior to the consultation of other sources, such as the Auxiliary *Libros de Fábrica*, it was assumed that five compositions were from the end of the 18th century and that the rest belonged to the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. However, we know today that many of these works are from the last three decades of the 18th century, basing on the records of payments to the local composer and chapel master Luis Moral in the Auxiliary books of the so-called Fabrica of the cathedral, which are kept in the General Diocesan Archive of Valladolid.

As already said and we will see in more detail, the chronological distribution of the materials is very irregular. We must keep in mind that not all the works of this repertory were created by chapel masters specifically for the parish of Nava del Rey. In fact, we have been able to identify around 200 compositions by chapel masters dating from 1757 and 1898 (plus other probable 77 belonging to the same period). In addition to these, around 29 manuscripts include works created by composers of national renown — to whom we will refer later in these pages—, whose music was copied and performed by itinerant musicians in cathedrals, collegiate and parish churches throughout Spain. This would also explain the presence in the repertory of around 75 works by composers locally known, and of 21 manuscripts containing works created by foreigners (German and Italian composers to whom we will refer later in these pages).

To find such an important number of works in a 140 year gap and such a small quantity in other periods is intriguing. We find a high volume of works (more than 120) by chapel masters serving in Nava del Rey parish during the last and first decades of the

18th and 19th centuries, respectively. In contrast we only find 54 compositions from 1840 to 1898, a time when most of the music played in religious events was composed by renowned authors, what could be attributed to the new economic circumstances in the religious institution linked to the confiscation of its properties. However, this theory is only for the 19th century, given the prosperity experience by Nava del Rey during the 16th and 17th centuries, from which we have no musical legacy. The collapse of the church tower at the end of the 18th century seems a more plausible explanation of this lack of documents.

1.4.2. Previous studies

In the first place, it must be pointed out that there exists an inventory of the greatest part of the manuscripts of the repertory, carried out by a student of the Conservatorio Superior de Música de Salamanca⁴³ several years ago, who ordered and catalogued the scores.

Despite the existence of this previous documentation, a restructuring of the catalogue was necessary due to the inconsistencies in the ordering⁴⁴ and distribution of the scores in folders, using sometimes the term of the musical form as criteria and, others, the name of the author, for example. Nevertheless, this inventory has proved to be very useful as a starting order to undertake the present study, which would be much harder without this previous compilation.

43_ M^a Cruz Alonso Muñoz.

44_ Probably this first order obey a methodology already used in other catalogs, in which manuscripts were first ordered by gender and then by author, as it is explained in the work of SÁNCHEZ Sisco, María Montserrat, & GONZALO LOPEZ, Jesus. *Catálogo del archivo musical de la Concatedral de San Pedro apóstol de Soria*. Soria: Caja Salamanca y Soria, Obra Socio- Cultural, D. L., 1992, p. 7. Therefore, it is possible that this prior inventory constitutes a work in progress.

1.4.3. Planning of stages and measures to be undertaken

Once rediscovered this material, exploiting it required a planning of the measures to be undertaken. In the first place, it was necessary, as already mentioned, to acquire a good knowledge of the historical and socio-cultural context of the *villa* of Nava del Rey during a relatively extended period of time.

Then, we would undertake the study of the material in three levels or stages: conservation, record management and musicology.

Although, as already mentioned, the scores were relatively good conditions ⁴⁵, we cannot obviate the fact that they were scarcely protected from dust, moisture and xylophages insects, whose effects were already perceived in some documents. Therefore, the first measure would be to ensure their maintenance through the application of the basic conservation techniques and scarce resources, as well as their storage in the adequate environmental conditions.

In relation to the last measure proposed, it must be said that, since the parish does not have a depot of its own, the manuscripts will stay, for the moment, in the same tower of the church where they have been stored for so many centuries. On the other hand, little can be done with regard to the intrinsic agents of the paper deterioration, such as oxidation or acidic components of the paper paste. But we can improve, although at a basic level, the physical conditions in which they are kept. We refer, more precisely, to avoid the adverse effects of exposure to light, humidity, rodents and insects, etc.

45_ A document is considered to be in good condition when it maintains its physical appearance and capability to transmit the information it contains. If any of these requirements, or both, are not fulfilled, it is not considered to be in good condition. In the case of the manuscripts object of this study, it can be said that both aspects, physical and informational, are threatened. Physically, they had been exposed to various factors that deteriorated the paper and, as a result, the information content (blurred titles, author names or dates, torn borders...). In spite of this, their physical deterioration could be stopped with the adequate measures.

Once the document has been protected, we must ensure its that its existence is properly recorded. With that purpose in mind, the document management comes into play: extraction of the information of the content, application of description systems and verification of effectiveness, redefinition of parameters of these systems in order to adapt them to the reality of our document collection... The methodology ordering and cataloging of manuscripts will be described in detail later, but we want to give a brief preview of the objectives proposed in view of state of the question. Previously we discussed the criteria used to distribute and separate the manuscripts in groups, and observing them we see that there were various criteria: first of all, the author, when the author is well known, and had sufficient works to fill a folder o more, and in second place, the musical form, of different authors, sometimes even of those that already had a folder of their own, thus creating confusion when it came to locating for sources, despite having the indications of the inventory. With this tasks now completed the purpose of this phase of the project was conceived as a review of various aspects:

- First, check the location of the manuscripts in folders. Although it happens rarely, there are some manuscripts belonging to an author who has his own folder, and yet, are located among the files devoted to the category of Musical Form.
- Next, go over the types of file cards that are in the records. The reason for this is that, although the format designed for a previous inventory may be adequate, it is better to standardize documentation recording with the RISM (Repertoire International des Sources Musicales) which provide much more information and is internationally recognized.
- Another task would be to confirm whether some authors identified as different in the inventory are not actually one and the same person, and vice-versa, those manuscripts that are included in author files when they are actually anonymous should be placed in a section called "Various" and ordered alphabetically according to their musical form.

- The review of authors' names, titles and dates was also recommended..
- The new version of the numbering of the manuscripts would be done, because we do not always follow the same criteria to assign a number to a work. Sometimes, a single manuscript containing several works have a single number, but in others, these works have a number for each one. This will be one of the last tasks, since the revision of the other catalogs is providing new data to identify works that we believe anonymous. In addition, the numbers of works is variable, since as we continue to go through boxes of "Various", we are identifying documents that belong to incomplete works of an identified author.
- Finally, all manuscripts, choir bookstand and prints that aren't would be cataloged.

Finally, the work would be incomplete if we merely made a list of records that embody the characteristics of the documents. We must seek ways of interpreting them, transcribing the documental material reference to the musical activity during a chosen period in which, as witnessed the chapter Acts and factory account books preserved in the Dioceses Archive of Valladolid, Nava del Rey had a relevant musical life. With all these tools (catalogs, transcriptions from other sources...), we will be able to begin to theorize about what, how and why the events relating to the musical life around the parish of this place occurred. It was not intended to address a simple chronological account of the chapel master of the parish alone, but also the interpreters of the parish and the convent of the Capuchin (nuns music, singers, organists, "bajonas", etc.). This reconstruction will be done through various sources that we maintain. Thus, several points were brought up to be discussed that have been included in the section "Objectives".

1.5. SOURCES USED.

We spoke earlier about how the study of Archaeology reconstructs societies through materials remains and documental information. We must first make the distinction between the terms "remains" and "sources". The first are usually not intentional, i.e., they were not made so that future generations would know the lifestyle of a given time, but had a purely functional purpose. On the other hand, sources can have the intention of being the testimony and image of an epoch.⁴⁶ And therefore, this sources tend to be artistic manifestations of various types: literary, musical, plastic, architectonic...

We could also talk about direct and indirect sources, or primary and secondary indirect. According to Josefa Montero, we can define as direct or indirect sources those that have been generated by people or institution to study (manuscript scores, proceedings from meetings of entities that develop musical activities). The indirect sources would be obtained from the primary ones, as a result of a studying process of the same⁴⁷.

Following this classification, in this study we have used both remains and sources, although we have used for more direct or primary sources. The scores that appear in the parish of Santos Juanes of Nava del Rey have been used as primary source. These scores have been delimited both the geographical and the temporal space, whose characteristics we have pointed out.

We have extracted the corpus of watermarks from these scores, although we have also kept in mind the watermarks that are in other types of documents. We could

46_ Inger Enquist establishes the same differences "literature and archives." According to this author, books are intentionally created works whose objective is to produce knowledge, while archives are generated spontaneously and reflect an administrative action whose sole purpose is to inform (Enquist, Inger). "ENQUIST, Inger: "Archives and Music Libraries". *Fontes Artis Musicae: Review of the International Association of Music Libraries* XLIII. (1996), p. 231).

47_MONTERO GARCÍA, Josefa. "La documentación musical: fuentes para su estudio" *El archivo de los sonidos: la gestión de fondos musicales*. Salamanca: ACAL, 2008, p. 94.

consider this element as a secondary source, as a result of the investigation of a specific aspect of the document, in order to study particular aspect of the same, although in relation to the music.

On the other hand, there also been consultation regarding what we can probably refer to as "remains", for example, the account books or *Libros de Fábrica*. As we shall see, in these accounts of annual assignments were for various functions associated with liturgical cult: purchase of materials (candles, carpets ...), vestments for the clergy, bell ringer... and, of course, the music chapel. Although the allocation received annually is not detailed for each member of this institution, we can see the annual amount provided for the chapel master. In fact, in expenses apart, we can see the payments made for the printing of the famous texts of *Villancicos*, as well as the salary of the organ "tuner" or "bellow operator".

The fact that the allotments assigned yearly do not reflect the specific amounts assigned to the members of the chapel could possibly be due to a shortage, but they are reflected in the *Libro de Acuerdos del Cabildo*. These include the proceedings of the meetings held by the clergy and beneficiaries of the parish, and the decisions they took in them. Among these decisions we can cite the call to fill positions for musicians and chapel masters, or the meeting to determine which of two candidates to hire for a position, as well as taking decisions regarding the allotment to be paid (sometimes annually) and in other cases, monthly in "*reales*" and in grain. We can also read juicy testimonials relating to the incidents that took place in the parish, or among the musicians of the chapel that we will relate later, as well as continuous memorials sent by these individuals asking for increments in their allotments.

The *brotherhood books*, although scarce and in many cases present only in the bundles of documents and loose sheets, have also transmitted important information that helps us know more about the income, apart from the music chapel, which musician

received, although the data available figure in intermittent periods, due to loss or destruction of sources. With this information we can reconstruct the complete salary of a chapel musician, verify his social status with respect to the rest of the musicians employed, and also in comparison other professionals of the area.

In the boxes of loose sheets, in which papers have been in storage without apparently any relation among them, it is quite common to find the most interesting information. In the tower of the parish there is a box with a multitude of loose papers probably never bound in their corresponding volumes. They are papers accounting of a factory, brotherhood accounts and memorials of musicians asking higher salary and better working conditions for the chapel workers. It appears to be clear that they should have been together with their respective books of the Factory, of agreement, of notarial protocol, and brotherhoods, and yet for some reason they are located in an isolated place, and this helps us to complete the information that we already have, although the "principle of provenance"⁴⁸ has not been followed when storage. Almost all of these documents are from the second half of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th. As we will see later on, a distinct slackness was seen when keeping the records up to date starting from the given period (probably because of the lack of qualified personnel and the moonlighting that the beneficiaries of cabildo suffered), and probably do to this the binding stopped, or while doing it no special care was taken in checking that it had all the existing documents.

48_ The "principle of provenance" used in archives requires that records be organized and maintained according to their origin or source. It states that the records originating from one institution or individual must be kept together and not intermingled with records of other 'parentage'. The thinking behind this principle reasons that for records to serve as evidence, they must be traceable to their source and be shown to reflect their contexts of origin/creation and initial or primary use. See Enquist, Inger. "Archives and ..." *Op Cit.*, p. 234. So when we found separate sheets that apparently have no value or relation with other documents being managed, we should try to group them by subject, in order to be able to establish an information pattern and draw conclusions, as stated above.



ABSTRACT

This research work, presented for obtaining a Ph.D. from the University of Salamanca with the title *Sacred Music in rural Castile in the 18th and 19th Centuries*.

The Music Chapel of the Parish of Saints Johns from Nava del Rey (1700 - 1890), was supported for four years by the Ministry of Education through a grant from the Teacher Training College and the Heritage Foundation Castilla y León.

The argument on which we base this research was initially Music File Recovery of the Church of Santos Juanes from Nava del Rey (Valladolid), although, like any other inquiry, the roads opened to us during the process were varied and documentation, extensive. During one of many visits to the monument, looking at his magnificent organ damaged, but still bright, and the equally magnificent baroque chorus furniture with 42 seats, raised several questions: What music sounded in so luxurious instrument? What singers performed here centuries ago and were accompanied by that music? What people sat in those stalls? A chorus built for so many people would host a large group of clerics held by the factory of the parish. How many would?, therefore, wouldn't it be possible that the chapel's music had had some glory? And of course to what extent the music performed within the thick walls of the church stayed inside it? That is how people interacted, forces of the clergy and chapel music? All these issues led us to the present Parish priest, D. Hipólito Tabera, who led us into the room where the documents are located. Among them there were a significant number of manuscripts with over 500 musical compositions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which will be described in detail later. This is an important material for the history of music in Spain, in a sector sometimes forgotten or lost as the rural environment, pending documentation and analysis. The reef was there. Only the working intention was needed to exploit it

Throughout the following chapters we will address issues as diverse as the documentary and the methods for catalogue them, watermarks, popular lyric ... The approach of this structure is not new if we isolate the chapters, as there have already been enough work that have addressed these issues on a particular chapel music, and they talk more in detail. However, almost all of them lack any of these points. In some of them Watermarks are obviated, others don't described the methodology of documentation of sources, many do not talk about the texts of works in the vernacular language as a mirror

of society, and others are not talking about music sources . Therefore, putting together pieces of this methodological puzzle and taking into account the sources and amount of material that we have to do this research and that has obviously influenced the topics, has finally established the following structure:

1. The first chapter is a general introduction, which sets out the arguments that lend interest to this issue and a *status* question referred not only to the primary sources with which we work, but also to the way in which this type of tasks have been carried out so far.
2. Then, the historical, cultural, economic and religious context of the music chapel Nava del Rey is presented, addressing the main political and economic vicissitudes that took place nationally and locally during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Since it is a very broad term, they are told fairly briefly, selecting only those that may be of interest for understanding the evolution of the chapel.
3. Thirdly we undertake the reconstruction of the history of the music chapel of Nava del Rey, teachers, musicians, type of work performed, instrumental development, financing, growth and decline, outstanding events, the history of building of the Organ as the main instrument ...
4. Then we devote a chapter to the main instrument of the chapel: the organ. Since this is a remarkable instrument, it has already been the purpose of some previous studies. But they didn't take into account all the available sources used here, and therefore we intend to complete what has been written about the organ.
5. In the section referring to authors and music networks, we make a brief review of the workplace and works of all authors identified in the manuscripts of Nava del Rey, stopping in his biography only if we find it of interest to this study. This list of composers it's not only a list, but a pursuit of their origins and activities in order to explain why their scores exist in this locality, and what it means for the style and musical practices present in the municipality.

6. After reviewing several catalogs, we realized that it might be useful looking for the presence of the authors of the manuscripts of Nava del Rey elsewhere the sources could have already been documented, i. e., investigate the correlations. Thus, this task could strengthen theories on music networks, identify anonymous manuscript here or elsewhere, to discuss the authorship of documents in case of finding differences, see if the music of the indigenous chapel masters had some kind of projection and, finally, to see if the musical tastes of the town had something to do with the presence of other composers do not originate from the same.
7. After working with the composers, the work goes on with a chapter that contend one of our major tasks, which was also prior to any further inquiry, which has been the Music File Recataloging of Nava del Rey's archive, following the methodology and criteria of RISM. We explain in detail not only the strategies for this, but we review previous cataloging works since they began to carry out systematically, and explain why we have taken a few aspects and others, and the reasons for these elections . We list, grouped by theme, the improvements made on existing inventory of these sources. After that, came the reconstruction of incomplete manuscripts, which methodology is also set forth.
8. The section related to the texts of the *villancicos* as a reflection of a society comprises several issues. We transcribe the texts of a very specific vernacular type of work: the *villancicos*, and we analyze, looking at them for aspects as the role of women through the figure of Mary or saints, the values implicit in the lyric, including news, metaphors with which the psalmist addresses his object of worship ... We also explore if in Nava del Rey there was a timeline parallel to the rest of the peninsula as far as for the reform movements of religious music concerns, starting with the prohibitions of the *villancicos* in the eighteenth century to the implementation of the guidelines of the Motu Proprio of 1903 and early twentieth century.
9. As a complementary tool, we performed a systematic study of the watermarks *corpus* of manuscripts. We have looked for history of essays devoted to

watermarks and their use in musicology, and we review its use for reconstructing manuscripts, assign copyright and source compositions. We also explain the methodology used to address this very specific field and seek correlation across monographs already made and the conclusions they lead us.

10. With all this work, we present a number of general conclusions regarding what has been achieved, and proposing open lines of research that can be started, since, as we know, the thesis is just the beginning.
11. Appendixes include varied and extensive documentation that we have handled: models of record cards, the full catalog of music manuscripts, the *corpus* of watermarks, the transcripts of the texts of the *villancicos*, the documents taken from the Account Books, Books of Agreements of the Chapter Church, Books of Brothehoods and other archival materials, and some musical examples that illustrate the text. Along with the transcripts, we describe the criteria followed in terms of retention of the original spelling, as well as a glossary.

CONCLUSIONS

This PhD thesis can be considered as further evidence not only of the fact that there are ecclesiastical holdings that remain to be discovered, cataloged, described and published, the vast amount of material found emphasizes, on the other hand, the importance of continuing this line of research, initiated a few years ago, relating to the musical production in both rural and city parishes.

The catalog offers a virtually unknown material consisting of a collection of more than 500 musical compositions that make up a representative archive of the cultured/liturgical music in a Castilian village with a flourishing economy, based not on patronage bonds with a noble house, cathedral or collegiate church, but on the management of agriculture resources by a small group of landowners and the parish. At the same time, the search of the available information in archives on the musical life and networks that were established during that period has allowed us to trace a wide view of the musical practice in rural areas. Regarding the corpus of musical scores, the fact that a significant number of these works have already been published and were well known throughout the country (such as those belonging to authors such as Eslava...) does not prevent it from being important and worthy of being observed to show the impact that this repertoire had on rural areas, and how it reached these places.

The cataloguing work has been guided by a well-established methodological line⁴⁹, in which the *Repertoire International de Sources Musicales* rules (RISM) are applied, in a flexible way, in order to facilitate the dissemination of the records in case they were included a project of this institution. Flexibility in the criteria is also important to capture the peculiarities of a specific repertoire, not implying lack of rigor.

For our study, not only have we taken into account the primary sources (the scores), but also a number of secondary sources that have provided extensive data on

⁴⁹ Prior to the publication of the RISM rules by Antonio Ezquerro and his team, this cataloguing methodology was adopted (with the necessary modifications) by Sánchez Siscart in her work. SÁNCHEZ SISCART, M^a Montserrat; GONZALO LÓPEZ, Jesús. *Catálogo... Op. Cit.*, pp. 7-10.

economic, social, liturgical... aspects. We refer, more precisely, to *Libros de Fabrica*, *Books of Agreements of the Chapter Church* and *Books of Brotherhoods*. The first two groups are kept in the Diocesan Archives in Valladolid, and the third one has been, by chance, preserved in the church tower.

The examination of the *Account Books (Libros de Fabrica)* have furnished information on income and expenses related to payments, the organ construction, the printing of carols. The contrast of the income data of each year has allowed to obtain a comprehensive view of the economic power of the parish, as well as to make a rough estimation of the number of members it had throughout the years.

The Books Agreements of the Chapter Church (Libros de Acuerdos del Cabildo) contained data about the hiring of the musicians and the exams they had to pass to become members of chapel. They included detailed information such the city and music center of origin, registry status (single, married or priestly), profession and even references, as well as details on incidents, trials or fines imposed on the artists. All this has enriched the view of musical activity and events of everyday life surrounding it: relationships between musicians and between these and the clergy, the functions each one assumed, the structure and components of the chapel...

Finally, the *Books of Brotherhoods (Libros de Cofradías)*, which have been kept fortuitous and irregularly in the tower room, we have provided additional information about a very common practice among the musicians of the chapels: to seek a supplementary wage by interpreting for brotherhoods. This provided an explanation for the fact that, once suspended prelature and lacking the music chapel of income apart that from the parish chapels, music activity, mainly devoted to Virgin, went on up to the end 19th century.

The recovery of a very specific aspect of the history of the village, the musical chapel, demanded a sociological and historical contextualization that has been carried out

by reading the descriptions of the aesthetic material, monumental, religious and even socio-cultural of Nava del Rey during the period in which that chapel was most active. Therefore, this work is not a mere compilation of a data; it goes beyond a historicist stage by providing a framework for many types of these sources⁵⁰.

In this sense, one of most important contributions is the history of the Organ present in the church choir. Although there were studies on this instrument, which we have relied on and have been very helpful, it was necessary to transcribe all documents relating to its construction and thus complement the existing information. Thanks not only to the review of those sources, but to the discovery of some new ones, there has been possible to establish a clear chronology of the recruitment, financing, construction process, the successive masters and conflicts of the eighteenth century body, adding some reform to those already known.

In the course of this study, we have been able to establish a network of relationships at various levels between the components of the music chapel of Nava del Rey and similar institutions. This has been possible by investigating the origins and professional evolution of the musicians whose work is in Nava del Rey, their transit and connections with other chapels, especially Valladolid, Salamanca, Zaragoza ... This suggests an interdependence between these institutions, along with some economic connections, and has helped us to trace a series of lines that marked their movement across the regions.

Following this line, the consult of previously made catalogs has allowed us to find matches of location; that is, to know which archives in Spain have the same works as those found in Nava del Rey. This has furnished information not only on the locations from where the music played came from, but also additional data, previously unknown,

⁵⁰ RUANO CALLEJA, M^a Socorro, Sor. *Novena del Divino Pastor Jesús Nuestro Salvador/ Compuesta por Sor María Socorro Ruano Calleja, Religiosa Capuchina de la Nava del Rey que falleció en noviembre de 1883*. Valladolid: Imprenta y librería de la viuda de Cuesta e Hijos, 1884.

on authorship, dating, chorus and instrumental compositions. The elaboration of maps indicating the location matches has provided the distribution patterns of the major composers.

The review in depth of existing catalogs and inventories has provided us a comprehensive view of the methodology evolution in the area of music primary sources of music, in order to able to establish the contribution of our study. As a result of it, materials that previously scattered or poorly accessible have made available to further investigation, safeguarding them in folders and boxes and a systematic catalog with an international adopted methodology. In the restructuring of the archive, the reconstruction of works, such as the authentication of 60 manuscripts that appeared as anonymous or separated from the composition, has special relevance in our opinion.

As a complementary study from the sources of Nava del Rey, more precisely, of the printed sheets of *villancicos* that traveled to the Royal Academy of History, we have been able to carry out a general analysis of the aesthetics of popular lyric through the transcription of the texts of 45 *villancicos* dating from 1771 and 1780. In all these texts, we have found highly topical issues and a realistic reflection of the rural society at the end of 18th century: description of characters, work habits, picaresque ... Moreover, these lines have shown us a very colorful image of the popular spirituality expression in poetry. In all these forms the texts refer to three entities: Baby Jesus, the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary (plus a few isolated instances of *villancicos* dedicated to a saint such as Santa Clara, probably composed for some convent of the Saint Clare Order like the one in Tordesillas). And to refer to these entities, popular poetry resorted to a series of metaphors that made people feel closer to the worship object, which had their corresponding expression in the arts.

Another complementary aspect that we considered necessary to explore from the sources has been the watermarks. Once created the *corpus* of these designs, we consulted the major monographic compilations of these elements, which include

watermarks from all the countries with the date, place of origin and document where found. By examining the original paper mills that made watermarks, we were able to guess the regions from which the paper came from, and then find out the areas of this part of Castilla that maintained commercial relations with that mill. From these observations we have concluded that paper manufacture spread to Castilla from the south of Catalonia, through Aragon and, finally, Madrid. Moreover, the area of Nava del Rey became, relatively soon, independent from Levante region paper monopoly, what indicates some progress in rural areas. On the other hand, by establishing the chronology of use and circulation of watermarks, we were able to determine the approximate date of manuscripts that are undated, something very common in documents from 18th century. This analysis has proved very useful as contrasting parameter, but it does not constitute a conclusive proof for the authorship or dating of a given manuscript.

In sum, and as a general conclusion, this study presents a global and interdisciplinary view of the development of a local and very specific subject: the music chapel of Nava del Rey. The review of its historical context, the transcription of various sources, analysis of the repertoire to establish for geographical relationships between chapels and the observation of complementary elements, such as watermarks or the *villancicos* lyrics, has helped us build a historical, sociological and stylistically comprehensive view of the phenomenon studied.

Finally, it is known that a PhD thesis is only a starting point in research. The approach a specific topic from all the angles is a task that goes beyond the objectives of this thesis. So, we would like to suggest some future investigation lines starting from solid base as that here presented. First, since this study has focused on the "music chapel", not on "the music of the chapel, we consider it necessary to complement all the exposed here with the transcription of the music of composers who served in the chapel of Nava del Rey. Further analysis of the score would help us to determine the quality of music heard there. This aspect could be undertaken within the framed of the R & D research project "Musical Heritage of Castilla la Mancha" whose principal investigator is Prof. Paulino

Capdepón Verdú. On the other hand, we believe it may be interesting to explore the existence of resources of musical rhetoric in *villancicos* with recitative-aria structure, and the chorus of those with a strophic scheme. Since all of them date from the late and early 18th 19th centuries, we could establish to what extent compositional practices such as the application of rhetorical figures in music were followed. This would be an issue to be addressed within the project R & D in our area "The Popular Song as a Source of Inspiration" whose main investigator is Prof. Matilde Olarte.

All these issues would complete, in sum, this study, provide in the end a comprehensive view of what the musical-cultural panorama was in Nava del Rey during the 18th and 19th centuries, on having been it covered historical, economic, social, artistic and musical aspects from different perspectives and through different sources, all of them related to music there composed.