

**Cultural Identity and Galician Folk
Music**

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Abstract

This study is concerned with the roles Galician folk music has played and plays in the promotion of national/cultural identity in the two revivals, the first of which (*Rexurdimento*) arose towards the end of the nineteenth century and the second (*Recuperación*) in the mid nineteen-seventies.

Events are described which led to the rise of the Galician literary, political and social movement called Provincialism (1840-1885), because it was out of this movement that the first music revival emerged. The two phases that followed Provincialism in Galicia were Regionalism (1885-1916) and nationalism (1916-1936) during which time the musical *Rexurdimento* truly flourished. This study therefore pinpoints the main *galeguista* (Provincialist, Regionalist and nationalist) theories, particularly the ideas of the latter two periods, which shaped the conclusions of the principal musicologists and composers of these three eras. Racial and linguistic ideas were the most influential.

In the late nineteen-sixties, towards the end of Franco's dictatorship, the Galician version of the New Song Movement surfaced in which musicians performed songs in Galician as a way of protesting against the oppressive regime. Out of this movement grew the *Recuperación* that focussed on reviving Galicia's musical traditions. In order to gauge the general attitudes and motivation behind the work of those involved in this project, a significant number of musicians were interviewed regarding their identity and their music. The main findings were that language and music are the principal components of Galician identity today, especially the former, and that race no longer has a place in its definition.

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Introduction

1. Research area

Galicia is generally neglected not only within the political arena in Spain, but also within Hispanic Studies at home and abroad. This has begun to change with, for example, the establishment of centres for Galician studies in some universities like Birmingham (1991), Oxford (1992) and Cork (1998). However, one of the principal ways through which Galicia is being 'put on the map', so to speak, and Galician identity promoted is via her music. The study of the relationship between national or cultural identity and music in general has become a topic quite widely examined in academia today. Due to much emphasis on her music, Galicia is a particularly interesting example to research within this field. In the cultural revival of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (*Rexurdimento*) Galicia's traditional music was analysed in great detail in order to establish certain aspects of the music that could be regarded as purely Galician as one way of affirming her separate identity. Aspects such as history, race and language were studied in order to demonstrate how these manifest themselves in Galician music. Folk music has had an even greater role to play in today's revival (*Recuperación*) in Galicia, which began to take firm root in 1975. However, this time it is employed more as a way of promoting and celebrating Galicia's traditions rather than asserting 'racial' difference.

2. Research question

The main purpose of this thesis is therefore to examine the role, or rather, roles traditional and folk music played and is playing in the promotion of a Galician identity within the *Rexurdimento* and the *Recuperación*.

3. Research pathway

In order to do this general theories concerning the terms 'nation' and 'nationalism', especially those that apply to Galicia, must first of all be investigated. However, the label 'cultural identity' as opposed to 'national identity' has been adopted for the focus of this thesis due to the findings of my fieldwork. This is not to say that Galicians do not see themselves as a nation, but because, in the sphere of music at least, the general motivation is concerned with preserving and celebrating Galicia's cultural heritage rather than with separatist sentiments, the above title is more appropriate. Hence there will be particular focus on 'cultural nationalism' as opposed to 'political' or 'state nationalism'. The former is concerned with the assertion of a collective of people who regard themselves as culturally separate due to certain elements that they feel they have in common (i.e. Galicia, Catalonia and the Basque Country). The latter concentrates on the promotion of a country in which all the individuals are connected simply because they are governed under the same political entity (i.e. Spain). These two terms will be discussed in Chapter 2.

In the eighteen-forties a literary, political and social movement emerged that had three distinct phases. The first stage was 'Provincialism' (1840-1885), the second 'Regionalism' (1885-1916) and the third 'nationalism' (1916-1936). Theories concerning Galician issues of all three eras very much affected the music element of the *Rexurdimento*. Therefore, it will be necessary to examine some of the ideas from these three periods that directly influenced those involved in the music sphere. The main protagonists within the musical *Rexurdimento* were collectors who gathered traditional music from rural areas, composers who took local material as their inspiration and musicologists who analysed traditional music in great detail to pinpoint the aspects that could be regarded as Galician. Thus, the work of such figures will be studied.

Today's revival, the *Recuperación*, is in part a continuation of the *Rexurdimento* as well as a reaction to the Franco dictatorship of thirty-six years. Therefore particular events

that affected the *Recuperación* at the outset will be investigated. As was the case with the previous revival, collecting musical material from rural areas is particularly important in today's movement. The collected material is then interpreted either in the same way as it was performed at the point of collection or in a new manner and composition is not so much 'inspired by the traditional' as written in a traditional style today. It is through these three areas (collecting music, [new] interpretation of the traditional and composition) that Galician identity is often promoted and so will be examined. Little has been written on today's events, and therefore practitioners within the folk-music scene were interviewed to discover how important a role Galician identity plays in their work.

4. Objectives and Structure of the Thesis

In light of this, the specific research objectives, which will help to fulfil the overall aim of the thesis, will therefore be as follows:

1. To review the main general theories concerning cultural/national identity that pertain to the situation in Galicia.
2. To discuss the *galeguista* (Provincialist, Regionalist and nationalist) theories of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Galicia that significantly influenced the work of the music collectors, composers and musicologists of the same era.
3. To examine the principal musicological activities: the collecting of songs and tunes, musical analysis and the work of the main Galician composers.
4. To review the main contextual elements that encouraged the rise of today's folk-music revival and the principal events of the *Recuperación*, with special reference to two groups: Fuxan Os Ventos and Milladoiro.

5. To establish the motives behind the activities of those at the forefront of the current folk-music revival.

The fulfilment of objective 1 will enable us to understand the issues relating to national identity, which will later help us to appreciate the complexities of Galician nationalist thought of the *Rexurdimento* as well as Galician cultural identity today. Consequently Chapter 2 will review literature that deals with cultural/national identity, specifically those ideas that apply to Galicia. Not only will the accomplishment of the second objective provide the context in which the musical *Rexurdimento* flourished but will also show us how the idea of a Galician separate identity arose and how it developed into Galician nationalism during that era (1840-1936). Furthermore, the most influential *galeguista* theories affected musicological analysis to a large extent; therefore one cannot truly understand the latter without a clear comprehension of the former. Chapter 3 will fulfil this objective. The study of the musical *Rexurdimento* (objective 3) will show us how and to what extent nationalistic sentiment affected composition and musicological conclusions as well as how traditional Galician music was employed to support *galeguista* hypotheses. Chapter 4 will consequently review the key activities within the musical element of the *Rexurdimento* and will examine the most important musicological theories put forward by academics at that time. Chapter 5 will cover objective 4 and will describe the events leading up to the present-day folk-music revival (*Recuperación*), which began in the mid-nineteen-seventies. It will study the core activities of the revival and the work of two groups in particular: Fuxan Os Ventos, who represent the song element, and Milladoiro, who symbolise the instrumental component. Particular music examples will be included which will further add to the arguments presented in this part of the study. The purpose behind this is not only to begin to demonstrate the role Galician folk music has played and plays in the promotion of a Galician identity today, but also to put the second revival into context so that the analysis of the themes that arose in the interviews with practitioners within the Galician folk-music field can be better understood (objective 5). The examination of these topics (Chapter 6) will help us to discover if and to what extent the promotion of Galician

identity influences the work of the practitioners. Specific examples of music will also be studied to complement the findings of this section.

5. The Terms ‘Folk’, ‘Traditional’ and ‘Popular’ Music

First of all, however, it will be necessary to discuss the musical labels ‘folk’, ‘traditional’ and ‘popular’ in order to decide on definitions appropriate for this thesis.

Despite the numerous debates concerning the meanings of the terms ‘folk’, ‘traditional’ and ‘popular’ music, precise definitions have yet to be generally approved. The word ‘folksong’ (*Volkslied*) was coined in the late eighteenth century by the German philosopher and poet Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803). A century later, the concept had become closely linked to nationalism as theorists attempted to assert their national identity through various means, one of which was via ‘folk’ culture that includes ‘folk’ music. Songs and tunes were collected from people living in rural areas by transcribing the words and tunes with pen and paper around the turn of the century in many European countries. For instance, the collector Cecil Sharp (1859-1924) concentrated his work on English songs and dances, which led him to also gather material in the Appalachians, since English emigrants had taken many songs with them. Sharp concluded that oral transmission and composition with no known author were what defined ‘folksong’.¹ Such a process of continuity results in there being many versions of a same song within the tradition, another aspect that he believed characterised this genre.

At its conference in São Paulo in 1955, the International Folk Music Council (IFMC), which was established in 1947, discussed what would be an appropriate definition for the term ‘folk music’ that could be applied internationally. It concluded that:

Folk music is the product of a musical tradition that has been evolved through the process of oral transmission. The factors that shape the tradition are: (i)

continuity that links the present with the past; (ii) variation which springs from the creative impulse of the individual or the group; and (iii) selection by the community which determines the form or forms in which the music survives.

The term can be applied to music that has been evolved from rudimentary beginnings by a community uninfluenced by popular and art music and it can likewise be applied to music which has originated with an individual composer and has subsequently been absorbed into the unwritten living tradition of a community.²

The above statement changes one dimension of Sharp's definition, suggesting that the composer of a piece does not necessarily have to be anonymous. However, the composition must be in the 'folk' style of that particular community and must continue through oral transmission. Yet this definition was still unable to fit all contexts, as some places did not actually differentiate 'folk' music from other music types. 'In some parts of the world, especially in Africa, people do not make such distinctions. It is an ambiguous term that has different meanings and shades of meaning.'³ Furthermore, although in the United States a distinction between folk music and other varieties is made, the term is partly redundant since much of the North American population live in industrial and urban areas and are also mobile. Consequently the phrase has taken on a new meaning there. The fact that it was no longer necessary for the author to be unknown is taken into consideration by the Collins Encyclopedia of Music in its definition of folksong. 'A term implying a song of no known authorship which has been preserved in a community by oral tradition. Some songs which have been preserved in this way are by known composers, many more exist also in printed song books, and there are many more still which presuppose an original author.'⁴

In general, it is agreed that 'oral and/or aural transmission' is an important aspect of the tradition. In 1957, Percy Scholes wrote that folksong was that which was 'transmitted orally from generation to generation and sung without accompaniment',⁵ and in 1962

Eric Blom also emphasised this point when he stated that folksong is preserved by 'being handed down aurally from generation to generation, often in several different versions or corruptions'.⁶ Yet this element of folk music changed with technological progress in the form of equipment such as transistor radios, record and tape machines and later compact discs. People were then able to disseminate music at a much faster rate than before and were also exposed to more musical styles. What this also encouraged was that versions of songs tended not to vary to such a great extent, unless this was the result of conscious choice, because one particular version is fixed when it is recorded. In the 'original' aural tradition a song can alter considerably, because each time it is sung it can change and often does, both textually and musically, even if it is performed more than once by the same person. However, what does continue along the same vein is that the songs are still often learnt aurally.

With the assistance of such advances in technology a folk-music revival emerged in Europe and America in the nineteen-forties that grew to be a mass movement by the sixties. As a result, the meaning of the term 'folk music' then also referred to the many new tunes and songs written by known authors and/or performers who composed in a traditional style and even developed it. Such a transformation in its meaning led the IFMC in 1981 to change its name to the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) since its work was concerned with music as defined at the São Paulo meeting. The term 'traditional' now holds the same meaning, or rather, meanings as 'folk' did before the folk-music revival, which greatly altered the significance of the latter.

Like 'folk', the term 'popular' is equally difficult to define as it has not only shifted in meaning over time, but also it differs depending on context. The following definition by Stanley Sadie (1980) neatly sums up what could be regarded as its 'original' significance.

The essence of popular music is that it should be readily comprehensible to (and perhaps also performable by) a large proportion of the populace, and that its

appreciation presupposes little or no knowledge of musical theory or techniques. The music so defined thus comprises pieces of modest length with a prominent melodic line (often vocal) and a restricted and simple harmonic accompaniment. Pieces are often originally planned for performance in a theatrical or other public context and in consequence of their appeal come to be enjoyed domestically either in practical performance or in recorded reproduction. During the 19th and early 20th centuries the principal form of dissemination was sheet music, but after the advent of mechanical reproduction it gradually came to be the gramophone record or tape.⁷

The fundamental differences between ‘popular’ and ‘folk/traditional’ are that the former was widely enjoyed by much of the populace, as opposed to a small (or local) community, and its method of transmission also differed. Another variation, if we use Scholes’ idea of ‘folk’ (traditional), is that popular song was accompanied by musical instruments whereas ‘folk’ was not. However, these three distinctions have since been made redundant for the following reasons: the appearance of machinery, such as radios and recording equipment, has meant that the music is transmitted in a different manner which in turn has encouraged its dissemination to a much wider public; and the performers within the folk-music revivals often interpret traditional songs with a musical accompaniment. The above quote does not affirm whether or not the author of a popular song is anonymous or if indeed this matters.

Arthur Jacobs suggests that a popular piece *does* have an author, for he includes Gilbert and Sullivan’s *The Mikado* as an example, although he does not state that this is essential and describes it as follows. ‘In older usage it carries the straightforward meaning of “appealing to a wide audience”.’⁸ According to Jacobs, since the nineteen-fifties the term has been employed to describe ‘a non-classical, commercially promoted type of American-derived song, whether delivered by a solo or group vocalists’⁹. Thus to distinguish between the ‘original’ and ‘new’ meanings of popular music, the latter is now referred to as ‘pop’ music.

Given the above descriptions of the terms ‘folk’, ‘traditional’ and ‘popular’ music, what they will mean in this thesis shall be as follows. ‘Traditional’ will not only apply to music whose author is unknown, that has been passed on orally and aurally and has been directly collected from the people, but also to those bands who only play such music. This will sometimes take traditional music out of its original context, i.e. rural areas, as these bands also perform in cities and towns. However, it will still be necessary to call such groups ‘traditional’ to distinguish them from ‘folk’ bands whose music and musical objectives are often quite different. As we have already seen, originally the term ‘folk’ held the meaning that has now been given to ‘traditional’, but has since acquired a much wider significance due to the folk-music revivals that emerged in the nineteen-forties. In this study ‘folk’ will have a broader meaning as well and will be employed to describe music that has been composed in recent years that has a traditional influence or style and whose author is known. It will also apply to bands who play such music, even if they also play traditional and popular material. Furthermore, it will refer to the music scene in general to which all the musicians I spoke to belong. ‘Popular’ will take the same significance as Sadies’ definition above, even though the context to which he referred has changed due to technological advances. The fundamental difference, therefore, between ‘traditional’ and ‘popular’ will be the origins of the material, for instance, whether it came from a rural or a concert-hall setting, and not where it is performed today. Whether or not the composer of ‘popular’ material is known, will be irrelevant in this thesis. However, it will also be necessary to bear in mind that the term ‘popular’ in the Iberian Peninsula can have the same meanings that the terms ‘traditional’ and ‘folk’ have in this thesis. Therefore, any quotes in Castilian, Galician or Portuguese which contain this term are likely to be referring to ‘traditional’ or ‘folk’. Furthermore, when the word ‘folk’ appears in any text quoted in English that was first printed before the term ‘folk’ came to mean ‘traditional’, it is likely to mean ‘traditional’. These will be the meanings of the three expressions hereafter within the study, unless otherwise indicated.

Chapter 1

Methodology

1.1 Literature

General theories on the definitions of ‘nation’ and ‘nationalism’ are discussed in Chapter 2. The ideas examined are limited to those that correspond to important developments in Galician nationalist thought during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (*Rexurdimento*) and to the viewpoints expressed by practitioners in today’s cultural revival (*Recuperación*). This will help to give us a clearer understanding of Galician national/cultural identity, not only in the *Rexurdimento* but also in the *Recuperación*. As well as the general theories concerning ‘nation’ and ‘nationalism’, the development of the principal hypotheses during the three phases of *galeguismo* (Provincialism, Regionalism and nationalism) from 1840 to 1936 are studied in Chapter 3, with particular focus on those ideas which affected musicological research in the *Rexurdimento*. In fact, one could not sufficiently understand the musical *Rexurdimento* without being familiar with these three movements since they are all intimately connected. Likewise, the *Recuperación* is better understood after studying the activities of the *Rexurdimento*. Even though many ideas of the previous revival have no place in the music field today, they are nonetheless linked, because some events of the *Rexurdimento* laid the foundations for the present-day revival.

There were many academics involved in developing the *galeguista* ideology of the *Rexurdimento*, therefore it will be more effective to concentrate on the work of certain intellectuals at the forefront of these movements, specifically those whose ideas had a noticeable impact on the music revival. Where Provincialism in Galicia is concerned, the theories of Antolín Faraldo (1822-1853) will represent its first phase (1840- 1846)

and the ideas of the historian Manuel Murguía the second (1857-1885). Furthermore, the general thinking of the time had an affect on the writings of poets active during that period, the three main writers being Rosalía de Castro (1837-1885), Eduardo Pondal (1835-1917) and Manuel Curros Enríquez (1851-1908). Their work is also relevant to this thesis because as well as often reflecting the political and social atmosphere of Provincialism's second phase, some of their poems have been set to music by the principal Galician composers of the musical *Rexurdimento*. In addition, songwriters of the New Song Movement in the late nineteen-sixties and seventies and of the present-day revival have used their texts, not only as song lyrics but also for thematic inspiration.

Murguía's ideology continued to be at the core of *galeguismo* during its following phase, Regionalism, along with the theories of Alfredo Brañas (1859-1900). The work of Murguía and Brañas was developed by various academics during the nationalist period. This study shall therefore focus on certain institutions that were established during the nationalist era, such as the *Seminario de Estudos Galegos* (1923-1936), the main publications, particularly *Teoría do Nacionalismo Galego* (1920) by Vicente Risco (1884-1963) and the journal *Nós* (1920) in which many nationalists published their ideas and research. Only the work of specific *galeguista* theorists have been selected since examining all of them is a task far too large for the purpose of this thesis. Moreover, they were chosen for their closer link to the activities of the musical *Rexurdimento* and of today's folk-music revival, which make up the main focus of the study. As a result, not only has the work of certain figures been excluded, but also the developments in *galeguismo* that occurred in South America, particularly in Argentina, during and after the Regionalist and nationalist eras.

It was during the last two phases of the *Rexurdimento* that music began to play a significant role in the general revival. Music collecting from rural areas, some material of which was published in Murguía's work and in *Nós*, was one of the major activities along with musical analyses that sought to verify Regionalist and nationalist theories in

many instances. As aforementioned, Galician composers set music to some of the texts by leading Galician poets and used elements in their compositions that musicologists agreed were typically Galician, such as certain rhythms.

After the Civil War broke out in 1936, the *Rexurdimento* collapsed within Galicia. It did not completely disappear, however, as there were some indications of cultural activity, although it was very limited. For example, the lawyer and musicologist Faustino Santalices (1877-1960) dedicated much of his time to researching the *zanfona* (hurdy-gurdy). If it were not for his work the *zanfona* may not have been revived and brought back into Galicia's musical traditions. In 1949 he won the first prize in the 'Classic and Traditional Instruments' event which was held in Madrid. He sang the song *Alalá das Mariñas* in Galician accompanying himself on the *zanfona*. He also gave a concert on 27 July 1952 in Santiago in order to demonstrate the potential of this instrument to the general public. Apart from such incidents, during the first three decades of Franco's dictatorship, very little occurred in the folk-music scene, particularly if such work asserted a culture other than that established by the regime. Having said that, local music was encouraged during the Franco era but only if it symbolised the diverse nature of 'Spanish' culture. As a result, traditional music was often altered to suit the ideas of the regime and became associated with the dictatorship.

A great deal of musical activity arose once more in Galicia in the late sixties and early seventies, first of all in the form of the New Song Movement, a phenomenon known throughout Spain and connected to the nineteen-sixties protest-song movement around the world, and then as the folk-music revival. But the revival was slow in emerging mainly due to the negative image that Galician culture had as well as its connection to the Franco regime. However, towards the end of his reign and particularly after his death in 1975 people began to reassess their identity once more. Thus, the main focus in the latter part of the thesis will be on this new surge of activity in the music field, since it coincides with the re-emergence of the promotion of Galician identity.

1.2 Interviews

Literature on the present-day revival is sparse, to say the least, therefore it was necessary to talk in depth with various people involved in the Galician folk-music scene, not only to help fill this gap but also, and above all, to gauge general attitudes towards Galician identity and its possible connection to their work. In addition, I conducted an exploratory survey on the topic of national identity and folk music with members of the general public in Santiago and Vigo, in order to get an idea of how great a role the appreciation of Galician folk music plays in their perception of their own Galician identity. Certain key points that arose during analysis of the questionnaire are included in Chapter 6 concerning the interviews. Further findings of the study can be found in Appendix C and the survey methodology in Appendix B.

Twenty-five people were interviewed who are part of the music scene:

- Twenty musicians, eleven of whom or their groups are generally well-known at least within Galicia and nine of whom are lesser-known, although in their own town they may be renowned.
- Two music managers who are both musicians in their own right.
- Two journalists who often write about the Galician music scene and who have recently published their book '*Crónica do folk galego: 25 anos de historia*' (2000), which celebrates Galician folk music since Franco's death up to the millennium.
- One linguist who transcribed and classified the lyrics of the many songs collected by Dorothe Schubarth in the nineteen-eighties.

All were interviewed individually with the exception of one meeting in which there were three members of the same group present. Each session lasted between thirty and

seventy minutes, was taped and transcribed¹⁰ for later analysis. There was one exception, however, as one interview was conducted via e-mail.

It was my intention to speak with famous and lesser-known musicians whose work concentrated on different areas of the revival, in order to obtain a clearer picture of the folk-music scene in general. I was able to contact many of the interviewees due to the kindness and generosity of Pedro Lucas from the group Fuxan Os Ventos who helped to arrange many of the meetings for me. The work of some musicians (15) is concerned with creating their own sound through using Galicia as their starting point. Others (5) prefer to concentrate purely on collecting material directly from the people and reproducing it as closely as possible to the original. There is quite an overlap between these two categories. I spoke with four members of the group Fuxan Os Ventos who will represent the song element of the folk-music revival, even though they rarely function as a band at present, and one current member and one ex-member of the group Milladoiro who will symbolise the tune element of the *Recuperación*. However, I was unable to establish direct contact with all of the figures at the forefront of the revival, such as the bagpipers Carlos Núñez, Susana Seivane and Xosé Manuel Budiño, the singer Uxía or any member from the group Muxicas. Nevertheless, a sufficient number of the protagonists were interviewed.

Each meeting was basically the same and in three parts. The first section dealt with national identity, the second with language and the third with music. Questions on language were included since *Galego* is the principal marker of Galician identity. Moreover, it is inseparable from much of the work undertaken within the Galician folk-music sphere. The third part of the interview, however, did vary at times depending on who was being questioned. A query concerning the work of a music collector, for example, would be irrelevant to someone who is not involved in such activities, or enquiries regarding composition would be unnecessary to someone who did not write songs or tunes.

It will be essential to refer to other sociolinguistic surveys in order to aid analysis, especially with the second section of the interviews. The '*Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia*' (MSG) and Ana Iglesias Álvarez's '*Falar galego: no veo por qué*' will be of particular use, not only due to the thoroughness of the research involved, but also because two different and complementary approaches are employed. For the research purposes of MSG a questionnaire was distributed in the early nineteen-nineties to 38,897 individuals within the population of Galicia, who were carefully selected according to various criteria including age (over 15), social class, level of education and place of residence (urban, rural etc.). There were 141 questions as well as seven queries that were answered by the interviewer. However, there are limitations with this kind of survey since it is dependent on the respondents to record the information themselves. What they report, therefore, may not be reality but what they perceive to be the case. A focus group approach complements the MSG method of research, and the former type of investigation was adopted by Ana Iglesias Álvarez. The information from her research was collected between February and June 2000. There were nine groups interviewed, each of which had between five and eight respondents and every individual had been selected according to age, level of studies and place of residence. At the end of each focus group a questionnaire was distributed with general questions such as '*¿lingua inicial?*' '*¿lingua habitual?*' and '*¿lingua da nai?*'

A small questionnaire was not necessary for the purpose of my interviews with practitioners of the Galician folk-music scene. However, at the start of each meeting I told the interviewee that my thesis was concerned with 'national identity and Galician folk music'.

Identity

The first section simply consisted in two basic questions, (which were originally in Galician):

1. Is your national identity Galician, Celtic, Spanish, a combination of nationalities or what is it?
2. Is this identity very important to you?

Three nationalities were stated that are often employed to describe Galicians, as I wished to discover with which of these they associated themselves if with any at all. The Celtic identity was included in order to see how prevalent Celticism is amongst musicians in the *Recuperación* since it was one of the aspects that greatly influenced many musicologists in the *Rexurdimento*. The second question will determine how important their national identity is to them.

Language

The section on the Galician tongue is divided into four. The first question asks whether or not they speak more in Galician or in Castilian on a regular basis, as a way of ascertaining how great a role language plays in their lives. To those who answered 'in Galician' the following question inquired if they had always spoken in Galician or had made a conscious decision at some point to speak *Galego* as their first language. This will indicate how great a part language is in their expression of identity, whether it be nationalistic or cultural. The final part asks if they become annoyed when a native Galician does not speak in *Galego*. This question was put to them because it will give an insight into general attitudes towards the two languages of present-day Galicia within the folk-music sphere. There was another query concerning language, but it was connected to song lyrics and therefore was part of the questions on music. During analysis, however, I put it into the language section as it is more fitting.

Music

The first question in the music section asked if they agreed or not that traditional music is a very important part of national identity. The idea behind this question was to gauge

whether or not they believe that there is a connection between the two. However, this does not determine whether their motives for playing traditional music are mostly or purely nationalistic. Therefore they were then asked what their goal was when they first began in the music field and if that goal had changed over the years.

In these interviews I also wished to discover if nineteenth-century musicological ideas from the *Rexurdimento*, such as those of Varela and Tafall, are still influential today. Thus I asked them what characterises Galician music in their opinion to see how much their answers coincide with the nineteenth-century ideas. It will also help to establish if and to what extent the previous revival influences today's movement. Of course this will not prove satisfactorily how great a connection there may or may not be but it will give an indication. Along the same vein I asked the interviewees what they thought of the statement I read to them from a recent article¹¹ that claims one of the influences apparent in Galician music is Arabic. In the *Rexurdimento*, many musicologists denied any Arabic influence in Galician folk music as this would weaken their claim that they are a different people. I therefore asked this question to discover if the rejection of such a notion continues today.

Collected material

The following part of the music section dealt with musical sources. First of all it focussed on previously and recently collected music and then composition. To those who obtain much of their material from collections I asked them to specify from which ones exactly. This will help to determine how valuable the collections of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are today, how much impact they have on the *Recuperación* and also the importance of recently collected data. Some of the interviewees have spent much time gathering musical material and then play the songs and tunes themselves. Hence I asked them if they prefer to imitate the collected material as closely as possible to the original or if they believe in interpreting it as they wish. I asked the same question to those who have not gathered music directly from the people,

but nevertheless use collected material as a source. This will give a possible indication as to their attitudes towards Galician music itself, whether they wish to protect it from the threat of globalisation and therefore want to keep it 'pure' or whether access to other influences is seen as a positive influence on Galician music and its development.

Within the folk-music scene in Galicia it is debated whether or not Galician songs (i.e. those collected in Galicia) that are in Castilian or *Castrapo*¹² should be converted into Galician. They were asked their opinion on this matter, if they consciously translate lyrics and if so why, and if not why not. These questions will become part of the analysis on attitudes towards language.

Composition

Some musicians write their own material and I wished to ascertain how influential Galician traditional music is and how it is reflected in their work. As a result they were asked if they imitate the traditional or if they use other methods when they compose. This question was also designed to establish further if the characteristics that nineteenth-century musicologists deemed as peculiar to Galician music are still regarded in the same light or if such ideas are dismissed altogether.

Concerts

The musicians were asked the general age of their audience. This is important as it determines to whom this type of music appeals, but more importantly it may indicate if this kind of music is associated mainly with political events or if it has a different significance. For example, a person who witnessed the protest-song movement in the sixties, the rise of the folk-music revival in the seventies, the transition from dictatorship to democracy and/or the Statute of Autonomy coming into force in 1981 may associate such political times with the Galician music scene, since the music often reflected (reflects) the political mood. Furthermore, some of those at the forefront of the music

scene during these periods actively spoke up (speak up) against events in Galicia and consequently their music was (is) inseparable from the political. Also I wished to find out how much demand there is for Galician folk and traditional music within and beyond Galicia. Thus I asked them how many gigs they have in general and whether they play more abroad or at home. This will also help to establish if Galician music is enjoying much success internationally as it appears to be at home. However, the answers to these questions were not sufficient for any conclusions to be drawn. Therefore, analysis of the musicians' responses to these topics was omitted.

Directions of music

Finally I asked them in which directions they wish their music to go and also how they see the fate of Galician music in general. The first question was designed to explain further their musical goals and to see if there have been any changes in their outlook since they first began in the field. The second will help to clarify how optimistic they feel about the future of Galician folk music and may also indicate what its future is likely to hold. Is it going down a more international path that may lead to worldwide recognition as Irish folk music has done, for example?

Some problems arose during the analysis of the interviews. On occasions the interviewee did not answer the questions directly. For example, one musician managed to avoid giving a frank response to the question regarding his national identity and instead spoke about his culture and that he felt a greater affinity with Portugal than with the rest of Spain. Another difficulty occurred when deciding how to deal with themes that emerged in the interviews which were not anticipated, like anti-commercialisation. In the end such themes were included in Chapter 5 on the rise of the present-day revival rather than in the following chapter concerning the interviews, as they were more relevant to that section. Finally, some of the responses were quite general at times which made analysis particularly arduous and led to the omission of some themes on occasion. For example,

data obtained concerning the age of the audience has not been included for the above reason.

1.3 Concluding Comments

This chapter presented the methods employed to reach the objectives outlined in the introduction. The major part of the methodology section was devoted to explaining the purpose behind the interviews, despite the fact that they will not make up the main body of the thesis, although they are an essential contribution.

Chapter 2

Theories of Nation and Nationalism

The meanings of the terms, 'nation' and 'nationalism' have never been satisfactorily agreed upon to date. No doubt this is due to the various types of nationalism that have emerged, especially since the nineteenth century. This chapter shall therefore principally focus on theories that either directly affected *galeguista* ideas in the *Rexurdimento* or that were and/or are relevant to Galicia. However, other theories will also be included because, although they may only reflect the Galician case in part, they will be vital in understanding the topic in general.

For the purpose of this thesis, I feel it would be useful to place the various theories concerning the above two terms, that will be described shortly, into two types: cultural nation and nation-state, both of which can be further divided into two. A cultural nation is one that sees itself as a people due to factors the members of that group have in common. These elements may include territory, language and history, to name but a few. A nation-state, on the other hand, refers to all the individuals that are governed under the same political entity. The 'cultural nation', such as Galicia, may strive for an amount of political autonomy, or, like the Basque Country, for its own nation-state through obtaining complete independence from the nation-state to which it unwillingly belongs. Two types of nation-state can also be distinguished. The first is a nation-state that reflects the cultural nation and the second is one that 'unites' two or more cultural nations or even nation-states under one name in order to gain greater political power. These classifications will help when Galician nationalism and its development are discussed in the following chapter.

2.1 Nation

The origins of the term 'nation', according to Walker Connor, come from the Latin *nasci*, the past participle of the verb to be born, and *nationem* which means 'breed' or 'race'.¹³ Yet its meaning has changed over time and now many different elements can be incorporated into it. By the early seventeenth century, it also came to denote the population of a country. Louis L. Snyder observes that 'in the late eighteenth century, the word 'nation' began to be used interchangeably with 'country'.'¹⁴ However, during the nineteenth century, writers often used its Latin significance, 'race', as a synonym for 'nation', and thus a nation was frequently perceived as people of common ancestry.

As well as race, language was also a prominent factor in the theories on what constitutes a nation. The ideas of Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) were influential in this field and later had a profound effect not only on Galician Regionalist (1885-1916) and nationalist (1916-1936) thinkers but also across Europe in general. He believed that language was the key element to defining a nation¹⁵. Barnard describes the importance of language in Herder's hypotheses and underlines the immense impact these ideas had on future nationalist ideology and movements.

...even when Herder did recognize that factors other than language partook in fashioning national character, he never ceased to regard the linguistic element as the decisive determinant. The view that only those who share (or at least did once share) a common language and literary tradition were worthy of recognition as a nation, and as such should constitute a State, not only laid the ideological foundation of nationalistic doctrine; it also led to the prodigious philological research which accompanied nationalistic agitation.¹⁶

Ernest Renan was another European thinker whose theories affected early Galician nationalist doctrine, specifically the left-wing element. In 1882, Renan wrote the essay *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* He saw the nation as a soul and this soul comprises two

elements: the past and the present. In the past the nation finds a common history and in the present it is the 'will' to live together. He describes the nation as 'a grand solidarity constituted by the sentiment of sacrifices which one has made and those that one is disposed to make again. It supposes a past, it renews itself especially in the present by a tangible deed: the approval, the desire, clearly expressed, to continue the communal life. The existence of a nation is an everyday plebiscite.'¹⁷ He believed that to be divided into nations was a necessity in order to secure freedom from one ruler of all.

Certain Galician right-wing nationalists were influenced by Joseph Stalin's ideas. Lenin had requested Stalin to write a study concerning nationalities in Eastern Europe and the work was published in 1913, four years before the Russian Revolution (1917). Stalin concluded that the elements that constituted a nation were a common history, language, land, economy and character which are reflected in a shared culture. However, if one of these components is missing within a group of people, he insists they therefore do not comprise a nation. He wrote, 'a nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on a basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture'.¹⁸ One of the motivating factors behind Stalin's study was to discredit the Jews' status as a nation, since at the time he was writing the Jews lacked a vital aspect: territory. This was also evident in the writing of Risco, one of the most influential Galician nationalists of the early twentieth century.

All the above ideas concerning what constitutes a nation veer more towards a definition of cultural nation. But the nation-state or political nation is also an important element to consider as Galician theorists also distinguished between the two, although they did not use the same terminology. The cultural nation was simply called 'nation' (Galicia) and the nation-state was termed 'State' (Spain).

Walker Connor (1978) distinguishes clearly between these two types of nation. According to him the term 'state' (nation-state) is easily defined because it is tangible,

whereas 'nation' is far more complex. He describes a state as 'the major subdivision of the globe' and nation as essentially 'a psychological bond that joins a people and differentiates it, in the subconscious conviction of its members, from all other people in a most vital way'.¹⁹ He acknowledges that 'nation' now also has political connotations attached to it and suggests that it began to acquire this meaning in the late seventeenth century with the emergence of the idea of popular sovereignty. 'In identifying *the people* as the font of all political power, this revolutionary doctrine made the people and the state almost synonymous.'²⁰ Thus the nation-state is often perceived as the cultural nation.

In his book *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity* (1991), James Kellas detaches the term 'nation' from its modern political meaning. That is to say he, like Connor, makes a distinction between nation and state. 'A nation is a group of people who feel themselves to be a community bound together by ties of history, culture, and common ancestry.'²¹ These ties do not necessarily all have to be present, however, and can also include other characteristics such as territory, language and religion. The state is the political union of a people or peoples. Although nation and state are different in meaning, there are times when the two coincide and are therefore indistinguishable.

The idea that the nation-state and cultural nation may overlap is also apparent in Anthony D Smith's work (1991). After exploring 'common assumptions' concerning the term national identity, which include elements like territory, culture and economy, he proposes that a possible definition of nation could be: 'a named human population, sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members'.²² This description suggests that 'nation' and 'state' are different concepts, although they may coincide in some instances, since the latter concerns itself with public institutions that are separate from other social institutions and that implement their authority over people within a particular section of territory. The former refers to a collective of people who have in common a cultural past and birthplace and who are connected both

culturally and politically. Nevertheless, he acknowledges the point Gellner²³ and Kedouri²⁴ are making who both argue that nationalism, and therefore nations, are in fact inventions. But he suggests that, although this may be the case to a certain degree, it does not go far enough in shedding more light on the topic or in understanding it better, as such an idea can likewise be applied to other aspects.

Nationalism does, indeed, help to create nations, many of them apparently or in aspiration 'new'. As an ideology and a language nationalism is relatively modern, emerging into the political arena over a period in the late eighteenth century. But nations and nationalism are no more 'invented' than other kinds of culture, social organization or ideology. If nationalism is part of the 'spirit of the age', it is equally dependent upon earlier motifs, visions and ideals.²⁵

'Imagined' rather than 'invented' is how Benedict Anderson prefers to describe a nation. In his much-discussed work *Imagined Communities* (1991), the nation 'is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign'.²⁶ Most people of a nation, however small, never meet, know or hear of all the individuals of that community, yet believe that they are somehow united as one. Its limitations lie in the fact that even the largest of nations has its frontiers and does not think beyond them. Furthermore, these perimeters are the result of carefully selecting elements, such as historical events which are perceived in a deliberate manner and language, in an attempt to prove that there are such facts as nation and nationality that correspond to a particular section of land. For instance, in the United States 'a vast pedagogical industry works ceaselessly to oblige young Americans to remember/forget the hostilities of 1861-65 as a great 'civil' war between 'brothers' rather than between – as they briefly were – two sovereign nation-states'.²⁷ The notion that a language coincides with territorial limits was a European idea that only began to take hold in the nineteenth century, hence it is not at the forefront of North American nationalist theories. Anderson carefully chooses the term 'imagined' to distinguish it from the 'invented' of Gellner's theories, because Gellner 'assimilates "invention" to "fabrication" and "falsity", rather than to

“imagining” or “creation”.’²⁸ Certainly in Galicia, motifs, particularly historical events, were carefully selected in order to ‘prove’ what the *galeguistas* ‘imagined’ to be the Galician nation in the early twentieth century. However, today *galeguistas* regard language and culture rather than history as the key uniting factors of their ‘imagined community’.

From looking at various viewpoints as to the meaning of the term ‘nation’, it becomes clear that there is no clear set of rules that can be applied to the term which also fits all settings. Its definition changes considerably depending upon context and, in many instances, on how it is convenient to perceive it. For instance, earlier theorists, particularly Stalin, deliberately developed a definition that suited his own beliefs and political objectives. More recent theorists, on the other hand, have attempted to advance an appropriate description that would help to shed light on the concept since it has shaped a great deal of the modern world. Furthermore, they take into consideration the various forms a nation can take within both the cultural and political (state) senses of the word.

With these ideas in mind concerning the definition of the term ‘nation’, it can be loosely placed into two types: cultural nation and nation-state. The cultural nation is especially difficult to define in exact terms as it varies from one community to another. I feel that Kellas’ definition is relevant here which shows a nation as a group of individuals who regard themselves as united through various factors that may include territory, language, common history, ancestral ties and religion, to name but a few. Even though this nation may be ‘imagined’ as Anderson describes, it is real in the minds of its members and therefore these selected elements that unite a people as an imagined nation become paramount in the expression of its identity. Two paths of action are likely to emerge from such a conscious unity: 1) to create an autonomous community and 2) to work towards complete independence and form a nation-state that mirrors the cultural nation. The nation-state is simply the people who are members of a polity. There are two kinds of nation-state. The first is a nation-state whose boundaries coincide with those of the

cultural nation and the second is one whose desire it is to bring together various cultural nations and/or nation-states and create a larger, more powerful political state. As stated at the beginning of this chapter, Galicia fits the description of the first type of cultural nation.

Our next task is to define the term 'nationalism' bearing in mind the types of nation that have been established.

2.2 Nationalism

Like nation, agreement on the definition of the term 'nationalism' has yet to be reached. Peter Alter (1991) brings this to our attention: 'Even the academic world, which has been studying nationalism for decades, has failed to agree on a generally acceptable definition.'²⁹ No doubt this is due to the various forms a nation can take. Alter affirms that the term 'nationalism' was first employed in Herder's writing in 1774, but it was not until almost a century later that the word became part of general usage. Yet Walker Connor believes the term was first coined over two decades later in 1798. He suggests that the ideology at first implied identification with the (cultural) nation and not with the state.

However, Elie Kedourie (1960) regards nationalism more as a political than a cultural phenomenon and, what is more, he considers it to be an 'invented doctrine'.³⁰ Ernest Gellner (1964) also connects nationalism to the political rather than the cultural. He believes that nationalism is loyalty to the nation-state. He does not see it as something that lay dormant until it was aroused in the nineteenth century but as an invention of the privileged classes. 'Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist – but it does need some pre-existing differentiating marks to work on, even if, as indicated, these are purely negative.'³¹ But in order to become a nation-state in the first place they (the privileged classes) need the assistance of other social groups, thus there tend to be two elements involved in

nationalism of this kind: the proletariat and the intelligentsia. These, he feels, are essential ingredients for a national movement to achieve its goal: political independence. Yet once national independence has been obtained, their roles separate once more and the intelligentsia benefit from its newly won power whereas the workers' standard of living does not noticeably improve. Tom Naim (1977) also believes that nationalism requires the support of all classes in order for it to thrive. The intelligentsia, who desired to gain political and economic freedoms, realised the co-operation of the people was needed and therefore encouraged their involvement. 'The new middle-class intelligentsia of nationalism had to invite the masses into history.'³²

A similar view is held by Paul Brass (1979). He sees nationalism as a modern creation due to the invention of nations by the élite as if they were ancient communities. Symbols are deliberately chosen to represent the history of a group of people, and these emblems are of fairly recent election.

Consequently, whether or not the culture of the group is ancient or is newly-fashioned, the study of ethnicity and nationality is in large part the study of politically induced cultural change. More precisely, it is the study of the process by which élites and counter-élites within ethnic groups select aspects of the group's culture, attach new value and meaning to them, and use them as symbols to mobilize the group, to defend its interests, and to compete with other groups.³³

The careful selection of cultural elements, which were then employed as symbols of Galicia's separate identity, was evident before and during the rise of the Galician nationalist movement. For example, Galicia's Celtic past began to take on a great significance amongst intellectuals. The irony of using the ancient past to verify a modern idea is underlined in Eric Hobsbawm's work (1983). He also believes that nations and nationalism are modern inventions. 'We should not be misled by a curious, yet understandable, paradox: modern nations and all their modern impedimenta generally claim to be the opposite of novel, namely rooted in the remotest antiquity, and

the opposite of constructed, namely human communities so “natural” as to require no definition other than self-assertion.’³⁴

John Hutchinson (1987) focuses on the difference between a cultural and a political nation. He believes that although many of Kedouri’s theories³⁵ are valid, they tend towards an interpretation that does not properly distinguish between the two varieties. In response, Hutchinson differentiates between ‘two quite different types of nationalism – cultural and political – that must not be conflated, for they articulate different, even competing conceptions of the nation, form their own distinctive organizations, and have sharply diverging political strategies.’³⁶ The cultural nationalists deal with the aspects they believe form their nation and therefore look to their history, culture and geography for proof. They see the nation as natural and view political nationalists with suspicion. They believe that ‘the glory of a country comes not from its political power but from the culture of its people and the contribution of its thinkers and educators to humanity.’³⁷ However, they do not entirely reject the idea of state independence and in fact often use it to promote their cultural ideals. The political nationalists’ aim, on the other hand, is to unite the people with common laws that best suit their ways of life and transcend cultural differences through creating a nation-state. The political nationalists believe in representing every individual of a nation and guaranteeing his/her individual rights. Hutchinson’s cultural nationalism coincides with Galician Regionalism and nationalism to a large extent. Although local culture was an important element of *galeguista* thought in the *Rexurdimento* and today it is increasingly significant in defining Galician identity, independence predominantly was and is not on the agenda.

James Kellas acknowledges three types of nationalism: ethnic, social and official. The first deals with common descent and is exclusive, and the second with a shared national culture and not descent therefore making it inclusive. The third is neither cultural nor ethnic and is associated with the state. In other words, ethnic and social nationalism could fit into the cultural-nation category, and official nationalism into the nation-state grouping, particularly the second sort. Galician nationalism began as ethnic in that it

was based on theories concerning race, but later it moved towards Kellas' social nationalism as racial arguments were rejected and language and culture became crucial in defining Galician identity.

As we have already seen, Benedict Anderson sees nations as imagined communities. He believes the concept of nation (and therefore nationalism) arose with the help of 'print-capitalism'. Print-capitalism along with technological advances, which enabled travel to become more commonplace between 1500 and 1800, began to encourage the 'imagining of communities' as it allowed people to become aware that they shared the same or similar religious beliefs, language and traditions with people in other regions. This made it possible for people to feel a connection to others who they would probably never meet. Anderson sees print-languages as contributing to a national consciousness in three ways. First of all print enabled speakers of different types of the same language to understand one another, thus, 'these fellow readers, to whom they were connected through print, formed, in their secular particular, visible invisibility, the embryo of the nationally-imagined community.'³⁸ Secondly it helped to fix the language, which added to the idea of something the nation shared in the past, and thirdly the print-languages became the language of power and the dominant groups. In this way print-capitalism 'set the stage for the modern nation.'³⁹ Although language was and is a vital element of *galeguista* thought, *Galego* has never become a language of power. A language of power tends to correspond to a political nation hence Anderson's observation is redundant where Galicia is concerned. However, his theory that a nation is 'imagined' can apply to either type of nation and is therefore relevant to the case of Galicia.

2.3 Concluding Comments

What emerges out of the various descriptions of 'nation' and 'nationalism' is that early theorists, such as Renan and Stalin, manipulated the term in order to suit what they wished to believe and prove. Likewise, early twentieth-century *galeguistas* took up the same practice. Later classifications, like those of Connor, Kedouri and Hutchinson,

suggest no political purpose to their conclusions, but rather they attempt to show how the terms have many definitions that apply to different contexts. What is particularly noticeable in the work of Smith and Anderson is that the reason for the study of national identity and nationalism is primarily to understand them better, since they are ‘likely to remain powerful and proliferating forces in the foreseeable future’⁴⁰ around the world. Many see the whole concept of nation as an invention, (i.e. Kedouri, Gellner, Brass, Hobsbawm) which discredits nationalist movements and their motives. Anderson prefers to describe ‘nation’ as an ‘imagined community’ since the people of a given (so-called) nation are simply connected by a label and carefully selected aspects and not by anything that truly unites their lives. Although many elements on which *galeguistas* of the *Rexurdimento* placed great importance in defining Galician identity have been rejected today, certain factors continue to play a key role in expressing that identity, namely language and culture. These are now employed as Galicia’s common denominators and contribute to the imagining of a Galician community.

Nationalism has been described in numerous ways, such as imagined, invented, social, official, cultural, political etc., yet they all have one thing in common: they all seek ‘to defend and promote the interests of the nation’⁴¹, however ‘nation’ is classified. Nevertheless, I would still differentiate between cultural and state nationalisms, despite their common thread, in order to help define Galician nationalism in the following chapter of this thesis. Cultural nationalism is concerned with the promotion and protection of the *cultural nation*, as previously described in its two forms, and state nationalism with the two kinds of *nation-state*.

Thus, when the terms ‘nation’ and ‘nationalism’ relate to the situation in Galicia and Catalonia within this dissertation, they will take the first description of cultural nation and nationalism, which seek an amount of political autonomy rather than complete independence. Of course there are those in Galicia and Catalonia who desire total independence for their respective countries, but since they are in the minority the above definition will apply. Where the Basque Country is concerned, the relevant

classification will be that of the second type of cultural nation which desires total independence. If the terms are employed when referring to Spain, then they will adopt the significance of the second description of nation-state that unites two or more cultural nations or nation-states. Finally, the term 'Celtic nations' is mentioned a few times within the thesis and in these instances the expression will simply refer to Brittany, Cornwall, Ireland, the Isle of Man, Scotland and Wales, each of which may or may not fall into one of the four kinds of nation described above. But since placing each into a particular category would not add to the study in any way, it will be unnecessary to do so. Henceforth these will be the meanings of the two terms throughout this thesis, unless otherwise indicated.

Chapter 3

Galeguismo (1840-1936)

The purpose of this chapter is to establish some of the key figures, theories, publications, institutions and events of the *galeguista* movement between 1840 and 1936. This will determine the principal differences between the three periods of *galeguismo*: Provincialism (1840-1885), Regionalism (1885-1916) and nationalism (1916-1936), but more importantly it will provide the context in which the musical *Rexurdimento* flourished. Thus, there will be particular focus on the theories that influenced musicological research and musical composition of this period. The following chapter will then show how the events described in this chapter affected the music revival.

3.1 Provincialism in Galicia (1840-1885)

3.1.1 The First Phase of Provincialism

Provincialism was a literary, political and social movement which began in 1840 and developed until 1885 in Galicia. Most of the Provincialists were part of the Academia Literaria of the University of Santiago where the initial theories of Provincialism were discussed in order to find the most effective ways to solving what they saw as Galicia's key problems. The young Antolín Faraldo (1822-1853), a figure at the forefront of this movement, began to outline the theories of Provincialism in the first Provincialist journal, *El Recreo Compostelano*, which was established in 1842. Even though Faraldo is considered to be the leader of the Provincialist movement, it was not only his ideas and his enthusiasm that contributed to its development. His work reflects the thinking, aspirations and prophecies of the group in general.

Along with *El Recreo Compostelano* (1842-3), other important newspapers and journals were established, all of which were published in Santiago or Corunna. The material of these journals was quite varied and topics included history, literature, philosophy, politics and folklore. According to Fernández del Riego perhaps the most important aspect of these articles is that many are concerned with the past. ‘Pero o máis significativo do seu acerto foi, quezáis, a atención que os seus redactores e colaboradores lle adicaron ao pasado galego.’⁴²

Studying the past of individual communities was a Romantic obsession that significantly helped to shape Provincialist thought. Historical events were used as a way of examining the individuality of past and present peoples, which also included the study of language, traditional institutions and folklore, in order to discover the specific nature of a people. In Galicia this was now evident as academics began to analyse the aspects they believed contributed to the personality of Galicia and her people. History was thus an important element and as a result there were five important publications on Galician history in the nineteenth century, the largest of which comprised seven volumes. Through researching the various stages of Galician history the *galeguistas* came to the conclusion that Galicia was once a separate country with her own nationality. For instance they regarded the time when the Suebians occupied Galicia (411-585 A.D.) as a period when she was independent. ‘Galicia en el tiempo en que estudiamos se extendía más allá de lo que hoy forman sus lindes naturales, como hemos dicho ya; y tres gobiernos por decirlo así se distinguían a un tiempo en nuestro suelo, el trono vándalo, el suevo, y los gallegos que conservaban su independencia y libertad.’⁴³ The Provincialists then began to examine the aspects that distinguished their province from the rest of Spain, in order to answer the frequently asked question ‘¿Qué es Galicia?’

Religiosity was another element of Romanticism that affected Provincialist ideas. In fact it was greatly influential in Europe as a whole. German Romantic theories in this area, particularly those of A.W. Schlegel (1767-1845), had a major impact throughout Spain. Schlegel believed that the roots of European literature lay in the Middle Ages

and the Golden Age. These two periods in Spanish history were seen as representing the Spanish *Volksgeist* (national spirit) in its purest form. Spain's chivalrous past teaches us of faith, love and honour which are a result of religion and monarchy, the two fundamental elements of the Spanish spirit. The influence of such ideas in Spain are described by Derek Flitter:

Romantic historicism as formulated in Germany - and now popularised in Spain principally on account of its particular reference to the medieval Spanish ballads and to the figure of Calderón - acquired trenchantly conservative ideological overtones that the Spanish Romantic movement as a whole would at no point entirely shed. German Romantic theory, or, more precisely, the calculated ideological uses made of it by a range of historians and literary critics, would intimately shape the internal structures and thought-patterns of Romantic imaginative expression and its most typical historical constructs as enunciated in Spain in the course of almost half a century...⁴⁴

Faraldo adopted as part of his theories the Romantic idea of religiousness being a fundamental characteristic of a people. It is one of the factors that he felt united Galicians, made up part of their nationality and would continue to unite them in the future. A significant number of his articles are dedicated to this theme and in one of them he writes:

El instinto religioso, que se pinta y se refleja en todas las acciones, tiene profundas raíces en la sociedad gallega [...] Así nosotros proclamamos para el porvenir de nuestra patria el dogma de la unidad religiosa; y lo proclamamos con tanta más convicción, cuanto el aislamiento entre las poblaciones y la falta de un cambio recíproco de ideas y de intereses, difíciles de apreciar en este momento, han sido la causa de la postración y nulidad de Galicia que nosotros lloramos.⁴⁵

A further aspect that the Provincialists were struggling against was Galicia's image as a backward people. They wished to change this attitude by promoting Galicia's assets in a positive light, assets such as the beauty of the landscape, her literature and traditions. Another concern of theirs was how they could make people, especially the youth, aware and proud of Galicia's distinctive personality and her qualities.

Despite the fact that Faraldo and his contemporaries were concerned with Galicia's welfare and her separate identity, they still very much wished to be part of the Spanish nation and saw themselves as one of the entities that make up Spain. According to Beramendi and Seixas the words '*patria*' and '*reino*' frequently occur in the writings of the nineteenth century to describe Galicia whereas '*nación*' appears when referring to Spain. However, the latter was also often used to describe Galicia in the past and the future, as nineteenth-century intellectuals looked to the time when she was once a nation in her own right but over time lost her nationality⁴⁶ and hoped to regain her national status in the future. The fact that many of the articles published between 1840 and 1846 in the three main journals, *La Idólatra*, *El Recreo* and *El Porvenir*, were dedicated more to the history of Galicia than to her ethnicity suggests that the *galeguistas* did not see Galicia as completely separated from the rest of Spain where her culture was concerned. They even regarded Portugal as being part of the Spanish nation.

Cando os primeiros provincialistas falaban de '*patria galega*', non a concibían como unidade étnica diferente. Por iso, tampouco fan a penas mención a Portugal, e cando o fan, encadranse totalmente no iberismo progresista, e consideran que o país luso '*fue parte de la nación española, i cuando por la traición de un ministro se separó de nuestra comunidad política, no por eso dejó de seguir atada al carro español [...] pensamos que la España venidera se apoderará de Portugal que por ningún título puede estar separado de ella.*'⁴⁷

On a political level Provincialists were fighting against centralisation, the neglect of Galicia by Central Government and the poor agricultural system. They believed that

centralisation could not deal with Galicia's struggle properly and that the Government in Madrid was both physically and psychologically too far removed from the realities Galicia was facing, that it could not and did not govern them appropriately. In fact, the Provincialists felt that the Government ignored Galicia's problems. For example, in their view Madrid was not addressing the problems concerning agriculture, which was the main economic activity of Galicia. Galician agriculture was so impoverished that it had led to large numbers of people emigrating to South America in search of work or migrating to the south of Spain during the harvest season. All these factors emphasised the need, as far as the Provincialists were concerned, for Galicia to have more of a say in the running of her affairs and would thus deal with her situation more effectively.

In order to put their ideas into practice, the Provincialists decided to take an active role in politics. For example, the lawyer Pío Rodríguez Terrazo and the doctor Hipólito Otero took the lead in the Junta de Santiago which had been established on 24 July 1840. The creation of the Junta de Santiago and many other juntas around Spain was due to Progressive uprisings which occurred in response to the municipal law proposed by the Moderates.

The Progressives and the Moderates were two factions of Liberalism.⁴⁸ The principal differences between the two concerned the proportion of the population to whom political freedoms were to be extended and the amount of restrictions on the power of the Church. The Moderates leaned towards conservative ideas and were largely the wealthiest of the bourgeoisie and landowning aristocrats, who were in favour of granting political freedoms to a much smaller section of society and limiting the influence of the Church to a lesser extent than the Progressives believed. The Progressives were a more revolutionary and radical group who were particularly against the powerful advantages the aristocracy had and proposed to reduce the king's duties to purely executive ones. However, their radical ideas were limited as, like the Moderates, they believed that only a minority of men were entitled to vote, although suffrage would be extended to a wider

section of the population than it would under a Moderate government. Carr points out another fundamental difference between these two factions of Liberalism.

What distinguishes the two groups most clearly was the Progressives' theory of the legitimacy of revolution; the Moderates rejected the radical tradition of revolution while the Progressives were its embarrassed dependents. Thus the *exaltado* heritage within the Progressive party lay not in doctrine but in political technique: the sovereign nation could be called to the barricades when no 'legal' means existed by which the Progressives could come to power.⁴⁹

Thus the interests of the Junta de Santiago lay with Spanish politics rather than the Galician Provincialist movement despite the involvement of Rodríguez Terrazo and Otero, who were both Progressives as well as Provincialists. Other local juntas were established as a result of Army revolts in various cities around Galicia in September 1840, all of whom agreed to form a Junta Superior Central that would deal with the affairs of Galicia. Once again these uprisings were Progressive and not Provincialist events since Spanish political and not Galician cultural issues were at the heart of them as Beramendi and Seixas, who have studied this period in Galician political history in particular detail, point out. 'Non hai na súas manifestacións nada que poida ser interpretado como galeguismo, como acontecerá no 1843, o seu referente nacional explícito e sempre España.'⁵⁰ These events of 1840 demonstrate how the Progressives attempted to secure the local support they needed in order to gain power, which they did through concealing their centralist tendencies and implying that their concerns lay with local issues. Such ploys not only occurred in Galicia but throughout Spain.

The establishment of these juntas, a movement known as *juntismo*, failed in 1843 due to internal conflicts and the Moderates seized the opportunity to govern Spain once more. This caused the Galician Progressives to make various attempts to resist the regime although they did not result in an uprising of any significance until 1846.

In Lugo on 2 April 1846 a military revolt took place which then spread throughout most of Galicia and lasted until the twenty-sixth of the same month. Although the rest of Spain was barely aware of this event, its significance to the *galeguistas* in particular was paramount. Despite the fact that it was predominantly a military uprising, it was regarded as the marker of the beginnings of *galeguismo*, due to the involvement of certain Provincialists in the event. The uprising was led by Major Miguel Solís y Cuetos (b.1816), who was a fervent believer in Progressive Liberalism and was not in any way part of the Provincialist movement. This emerges in his speech to the troops on 2 April, during which he reveals the reasons for the revolt in Galicia, that are clearly for the Progressive and not the Galician cause.

Soldados: Un puñado de ambiciosos indignos del hombre español han invocado el apoyo del ejército para sostener sus planes liberticidas para arrancar al país sus instituciones, para tener en opresión la voluntad de la reina constitucional y para humillar la dignidad de la nación.....llenaré mi deber satisfecho con contribuir a la reconquista de la libertad española y su trono constitucional. [...] Esos tiranos que quisieron convertir la nación en su patrimonio, los ciudadanos en esclavos y los soldados de la patria en verdugos de sus hermanos, en instrumentos ciegos del despotismo...y nosotros tenemos la honra, la gloria de ser los primeros que se lanzan a la nueva lucha entre el despotismo y la libertad...Soldados, ¡Viva la libertad! abaja la camarilla y el dictador Narváez, abajo el sistema tributario!⁵¹

The revolt failed and was brought to an end with the executions of the main military leaders in Carral on 26 April. Thereafter they became known as martyrs to the Galician cause, even though they were not *galeguistas*. This occurred because some of the Provincialists were part of the Progressive juntas that had organised the uprising and who were in contact with exiled Progressives. The Provincialists' interest lay in the desire to change Galicia's situation and to promote the idea of Galicia running her own affairs within Spain. Thus they saw the event as a Provincialist one or at least painted it in this way, whereas in reality it was primarily a Progressive uprising against the

Moderate Government. The Provincialists who were part of the Progressive Junta Superior wrote about the revolt in the Junta Superior's publication *La Revolucion* of 17 April 1846. The following extract from the article demonstrates how they gave the impression that this was a Provincialist 'achievement'.

Esta Junta, amiga sincera del pais, se consagrará constantemente á engrandecer el antiguo reino de Galicia, dando provechosa direccion á los numerosos elementos que atesora en su seno, levantando los cimientos de un porvenir de gloria. [...] Despertando el poderoso sentimiento de provincialismo, y encaminando á un solo fin todos los talentos y todos los esfuerzos, llegará á conquistar Galicia la influencia de que es merecedora, colocándose en el alto lugar á que está llamado el antiguo reino de los *Suevos*.⁵²

After the uprising a time of dejection followed and all freedoms which existed were curtailed by the Moderate General Ramón Narváez, whose rule was similar to that of a dictator and who remained in power until 1854. The Provincialist group who had established itself in Santiago fell apart, not helped by the premature deaths of Faraldo, Neira and Martínez Padín or by those who had felt it necessary to flee the country for fear of persecution. However, it was not the end of the Provincialist movement as others were ready to take up its cause once more in 1857.

3.1.2 The Second Phase of Provincialism

Towards 1857 a new generation of Provincialists emerged, most of whom were part of the Liceo de la Juventud de Santiago. Among them were Manuel Murguía (1833-1923), Eduardo Pondal (1835-1917), Rosalía de Castro (1837-1885) and Benito Vicetto (1824-1878). They saw themselves as the ones to continue the work of their predecessors and used the events of 1846 as their reference point. This period saw a fresh wave of publications as once again the *galeguistas* communicated their ideas through writing.

History continued to play a central role in Provincialist thought and consequently the movement soon came under the influence of José Verea y Aguiar (1775-1849) who had published his *“Historia de Galicia”* in 1838. He suggests that Galicians are of Celtic origin due to the descriptions and names given to the inhabitants of Galicia by classical writers like Herodotus and Pliny. Distinguished historians of this era, such as Benito Vicetto and Manuel Murguía, adopted and developed Verea’s Celtic ideas in their versions of Galician history which were published between 1865 and 1873 (seven volumes) and 1865 and 1891 (five volumes) respectively. They used their Celtic past to assert their claims of Galicia’s separate identity. Murguía took this idea a step further and used racist ideology, especially Aryanism, in an attempt to show that Galicia was not only separate from but also superior to the other peoples of the Peninsula.

3.1.3 Manuel Murguía

Manuel Murguía studied Celtic and Galician folklore in order to find similarities between the two as a way of promoting Galicia’s Celtic roots. According to Vicente Risco (1884-1963), a younger contemporary and great admirer of Murguía, he wished to prove that Galicians and Celts were the same mentally and psychologically with the same, or at least similar, superstitions, traditions and customs. Whenever he could find no similarities between the two cultures he looked for them in the Germanic traditions. The Suebians, the Germanic element, who entered Galicia in the fifth century, remained there for less than two centuries, whereas other peoples, such as the Romans, inhabited Galicia for a much longer period of time. Even the Moorish raids continued for three hundred years, so why did Murguía want to prove the Suebians to be their true ancestors along with the Celts?

The reason is that Murguía was very much inspired by the myths of Aryanism and the notion that there are superior and inferior races of people, which were rampant throughout Europe at that time. In the late eighteenth century, Sir William Jones had demonstrated a relationship between the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Persian, Celtic and

Germanic languages, which led to the assumption that these speeches must have derived from one mother tongue belonging to a single superior group of people, this group being the mythical Aryans. As far as Murguía was concerned, the Celts and the Suebians were of purer Aryan stock and their physical characteristics could still be found in the Galicia's inhabitants. He expresses this theory in his *Historia de Galicia* (1865) through his personal observations of the Galician people's physical characteristics.

La población gallega, es céltica con algunas bolsas ó golpes romanos, allí donde estos fundaron colonia ó tuvieron puestos militares ó políticos de importancia. En cuanto al elemento germánico (los suevos) que de un modo tan intensivo ocupó el país gallego, se halla difundido entre la población rural mostrándose conforme con el celta: apenas se le distingue. Es más, si en algo se percibe su influencia es en lo que informa la parte tradicional é intelectual. Puede por lo mismo afirmarse que por muy afin al celta, se confundió por entero con este último y con él vive en íntimo consorcio no formando, en definitiva, más que una sola familia.⁵³

The paper *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* by Arthur Gobineau (1816-1882) published in 1855 greatly enthused Murguía. In this article Gobineau proposes that the degradation of white Europeans, (who are apparently of Aryan extraction), is due to interracial mixing particularly with peoples who he considered to come from inferior lineage, namely non-Aryan. Murguía was convinced by Gobineau's theorising and the notion that the white European race is somehow superior and therefore has the right to total domination over the earth, but this would not happen unless the mixing of races ceased, an idea which is also evident in his *Historia de Galicia*.

Si Dios ha prometido, con gran razón por cierto, a los hijos de Japhet el dominio de la tierra, es necesario que se cumpla su promesa, que la raza blanca viva y domine con vida enérgica, y no que llegue al término de su viaje, después de mezclar sus límpidas ondas, con las de todas las corrientes impuras para caer por

último, aguas completamente muertas y corrompidas en los ilimitados abismos de la nada.⁵⁴

Manuel Murguía was also one of the first to regard *Galego*, the Galician tongue, as the core of Galician identity and was very much involved in its restoration, even though he never wrote in the language himself. This concept, however, was not entirely new since Herder had already published his widely acclaimed essay on the subject in 1772 called *Über den Ursprung der Sprache (On the Origin of Language)*, in which he considers language to be at the heart of a people's character, as has been noted in the previous chapter.

The Galician tongue or Galician-Portuguese, as it was first known, derived from Latin during the late Roman occupation. By the Middle Ages, it was flourishing as a language in its own right and it was during this time that the Galician-Portuguese troubadour songs were very popular in the courts, not only in Galicia but also in other parts of Spain. Around 1350 Portuguese and Galician then developed differently to form separate languages. In the early sixteenth century Castilian became the dominant tongue due to the expansion of religious teaching in Castilian, and *Galego* grew to be a peasant language until the nineteenth-century revival, when it once again became recognised as a literary tongue.

Murguía was neither a philologist nor a linguist yet formed his own theories concerning the origins of the Galician tongue and also used them to prove Galicia's superiority to the rest of Spain. He agreed that it stemmed from Latin, claiming that it still held traces of the ancient Celtic languages spoken there during and after the Celtic occupation yet denied any Arabic influence.

El dialecto gallego es uno de los que en España conserva más puro su origen latino, y en el cual se advierte a cada paso las huellas poderosas de los antiguos idiomas célticos, que se hablaban en Galicia antes y durante la dominación

romana. A poco que se observe, nótase que sus voces, en la mayor parte, son débil corrupción del latín, sin que se vean en el gallego, como sucede en el castellano, esas ásperas palabras que ha tomado del árabe, como un signo de su pasada servidumbre.⁵⁵

He rejects the idea that there are traces of Arabic elements in Galician, no doubt because he believes this would lower its status, as Arabic was considered to be a non-Aryan tongue. However, there are quite a number of Galician words that are of Arabic origin, such as *tarefa* (task), *azucra* (sugar) and *almofada* (pillow/cushion), and according to Entwistle, there is only one remaining word of Celtic derivation in Galician which is *tona* (rind).⁵⁶

These were some of the main ideas through which Murguía set out to assert and prove Galicia's national status and which had an impact on others at that time, such as his wife Rosalía de Castro and particularly the poet Eduardo Pondal.

3.1.4 Rosalía de Castro, Eduardo Pondal and Manuel Curros Enríquez

Murguía claims to have published the first section of a poetry book written in Galician by his wife, Rosalía de Castro (1837-1885), without her consent, in order to make her complete the project⁵⁷. In 1863 *Cantares Gallegos* was published and came to mark the beginning of the literary revival as it was the first work of great significance to be published in *Galego* since the Middle Ages. In 1880 her second work in Galician, *Follas Novas*, was published. She, along with Eduardo Pondal (1835-1917) and Manuel Curros Enríquez (1851-1908) who wrote *Queixumes dos Pinos* (1886) and *Aires da Miña Terra* (1880) respectively, are the three poets mainly associated with Provincialism. Their work greatly encouraged the development of the language as a literary tongue as well as elevating the status of Galicia through celebrating her

geography and cultural traditions. Much of their work was written in the style of local folk (traditional) literature and would later be employed by the principal Galician nationalist composers who set music to their poems. We shall examine this particular aspect in the following chapter.

Not only did the local folk traditions inspire these three poets but also political issues. As already established, this phase of Provincialism began to view Galicia as distinct from the rest of Spain. This sentiment comes to light in Rosalía de Castro's poem *A Gaita Gallega*:

Probe Galicia non debes
chamarte nunca española,
que España de ti se olvida
cando eres, ¡ai!, tan hermosa.
Cal si na infamia naceras,
torpe, de ti se avergonza,
i a nai que un fillo despresa
nai sin corasón se noma.

Naide porque te levantes
che alarga a man bondadosa;
naide os teus prantos enxuga,
i homile choras e choras.
Galicia, ti non tes patria,
ti vives no mundo soia.⁵⁸

It would seem that this statement was in fact a nationalistic sentiment rather than a Provincialist one. Beramendi and Seixas see this assertion as more of a desire not to be associated with Spain any longer, just as the child breaks away from her mother denying any connection to her, rather than the political statement it was later interpreted to be. 'A afirmación de Galicia acada nela intensidade de abondo para se traducir en negación da súa españolidade. Unha negación aínda sentimental, de rompemento dorido coa nai ingrata, mais negación ó cabo, que fica aí para que no futuro outros lle aporten contidos máis nacionais e políticos.'⁵⁹

We must also bear in mind that during Rosalía's time women were not expected, or rather, allowed to have political thought, therefore her above statement could possibly

have been an expression of complete exasperation with the Spanish Government for ignoring the plight of Galicia. John C. Wilcox captures what was expected of women writers of Rosalía's time when he states: 'There is implicit in the criticism leveled against Rosalía an assumption that women should not write profound, metaphysical poems; they should not be inquiring into the nature of existence but should merely paint scenes in nature.'⁶⁰

Social protest is evident in Rosalía's work and particularly in the section entitled *As viudas dos vivos e as viudas dos mortos* of her *Follas Novas*. She highlights the misery felt by the women left behind when their loved ones have to emigrate in order to survive.

Este vaise y aquel vaise,
e todos, todos se van;
Galicia, sin homes quedas
que te poidan traballar.
Tes, en cambio, orfos e orfas
e campos de soledad,
e nais que non teñen fillos
e fillos que non tén pais.

E tes corazóns que sufren
longas ausencias mortás,
viudas de vivos e mortos
que ninguén consolará.⁶¹

Through writing in Galician, Rosalía began the struggle to revive *Galego* as a literary tongue and in turn to raise its status. The language she uses comes mainly from the Sar and Ulla regions where she spent much of her life and during her childhood she learnt her Galician from the peasants who worked on the land in those areas. Her language does not have a set orthographical system as Carballo Calero notes, 'es una lengua viva, pero no pura, muy influida por el castellano.'⁶²

On the other hand, the Galician of Eduardo Pondal follows a more regular spelling scheme. He made a significant contribution to the Galician orthographic norms,

according to Raña, and many spellings used nowadays come directly from his work. ‘Tanto é así que, en boa parte, o modelo actual do noso idioma deriva do de Pondal.’⁶³

Pondal considered *Galego* to be a marker of Galician identity that had to be preserved and, through his writing, set out to encourage others to use the tongue. What is more, he regarded those who had abandoned Galician for Castilian as slaves of the Colonisers. He therefore calls upon the women of the land to speak to their children in Galician in order to maintain their native language.

A nai afluxida
da escura miseria,
ós propios tomara
por xente extranxeira,
e espantada escuitara dos fillos
a plática serva.⁶⁴

Not only does Pondal promote Galicia in his work through the use of *Galego* but also by painting her as Celtic. His friendship with Murguía was particularly significant because Murguía introduced him to the idea that Galicians are of Celtic extraction and also to the Ossianic ballads of James Macpherson⁶⁵. The influence of Murguía’s Celtic theories are evident in his work *Queixumes dos Pinos* (1886) where he attempts to capture what he believed to be Galicia’s Celtic past in his poetry. One of the obstacles Pondal encountered was that Celtic traditions were passed on orally and were not written down, therefore it was impossible to know what they had been or if they still continued to be part of Galicia’s traditions. To overcome such problems Pondal not only imitated material from other Celtic nations, such as the Ossianic ballads from Scotland, but also invented local Celtic heroes, for instance Cou-d’Indo and Ouco.

Salvaxe val de Brantoa,
patria do forte Cou-d'Indo,
onde a garrida Rentar
trougo o paso fuxitivo,
os corzos, co curvo arco,
animosa perseguindo;
na túa soedá recibe
este bardo peregrino:
oh, vale das vagas brétomas
e dos rumorosos pinos.

- Nobre Gundar, fillo de Ouco,
fillo de Celt, de Rou fillo;
ouh, bardo dos negros ollos,
de nobre andar e garrido...⁶⁶

Pondal saw himself as the Celtic bard of his Galician people and his task was to tell them of their glorious Celtic past and to foretell their future. He regarded his duty as bard to be particularly arduous and lonely.

Que hai tempo que neste mundo
anda o bardo peregrino,
desexando chegar ó cabo
dun traballo escurecido,
e samente repousar
desexa do seu camiño.⁶⁷

Conversely, the work of Manuel Curros Enríquez is not concerned with Galicia's Celtic past, but rather with her social and economic condition. In this respect he forms a contrast with Rosalía de Castro as Raña points out. 'Convén subliñar aquí que a actitude de rebeldía social no celanovés é radicalmente distinta á da poetisa de Santiago. Rosalía, como xa vimos, indentificábase emotivamente coa masa traballadora do país, mentres que Curros arremete contra a oprobiosa situación dos desfavorecidos encadrando a súa protesta nun ideario político concreto.'⁶⁸ But what Raña fails to take

into consideration is that a woman in Rosalía's time, as aforementioned, was not regarded as capable of holding political thoughts, let alone expressing them.

Explicit social protest is the keynote of Curros' most celebrated work *Aires da miña terra*. However, its publication was met with contempt by Don Cesáreo Rodrigo who instigated a campaign in an attempt to ban the book, claiming it to be heretic, blasphemous and scandalous. As a result, the judge Mella Montenegro condemned Curros to two years and four months in jail. Fortunately, the lawyer Don Xoán Manuel Paz Novoa managed to overturn all the charges against Curros in front of the Audiencia Territorial da Coruña in 1881. The Bishop took exception to his work because of its anticlerical nature. Furthermore, the Church was completely against the social and political reforms with which Curros concerned himself as it would stand to lose much of its power and economic benefits if these reforms were to be enforced. Curros greatly criticises the wealth and privileges of the Church as can be observed in his poem *A igrexa fría* where the monk is portrayed as a criminal in disguise:

De monxe vestido	As virxes, forzadas,
como eles o reo,	os probes, valeiros,
de répobo a santo	pedían namentres
pasou nun día mesmo;	socorro e romedio;
e da gorxa que ser debería	i a Xusticia, escudeiro mal pago
tallada nun cepo,	do crime sanguento,
a pauliña saíu que escomulga	do sagrado na porta quedaba
ó insine Colombo i ó gran Galileo.	de rabia e de cólara os dentes batendo. ⁶⁹

Another example of his anticlerical stance can be found in his poem *Na chegada a Ourense da primeira locomotora* in which Progress is promoted as the new religion. Curros argues in favour of Progress and Liberty, as he believed that Galicia's future lay in the defence of democracy under the form of a Liberal Republic. This poem therefore celebrates the arrival of the first locomotive in Orense because he saw the train network

as the link between Galicia and the rest of Spain, which would consequently encourage Galicia to improve her economic situation by selling her produce to other regions of the Peninsula. Up to this point, most of Galician agricultural goods were used for personal consumption and were not commercialised due to the lack of means to transport them. Curros satirises religious imagery to highlight its futile contribution to Galicia compared to that of Progress, the new religion, which would bring greater advantages.

<p>Velahí vén, velahí vén tan oupada, tan milagrosiña, con paso tan meigo, que parece unha Nosa Señora, unha Nosa Señora de ferro.</p>	<p>Catedral, demagogo de pedra, dun pobo fanático erguida no medio, repinica esas chocas campanas en sinal de alegría e contento. [...]</p>
<p>Tras dela non veñen abades nin cregos; mais vén a fartura ¡i a luz i o progreso!</p>	<p>Bon samaritano, dálle auga ó sedento; que a máquena é o Cristo dos tempos modernos.⁷⁰</p>

To sum up the events of the Provincialist era, Galician academics established what characteristics they believed were inherently Galician. They concluded that Galicia's Celtic past, her religiousness and her native tongue were the key traits that marked her as possessing a distinct identity. Murguía employed the Celtic theories not only to prove Galicia's national status, but also to demonstrate her superiority to the other regions of Spain. Some Provincialists also involved themselves in the Spanish political arena within Galicia, in order to try and achieve their objectives. Such ideas influenced the work of Galicia's three main Provincialist poets who wrote in *Galego* and, as a result, revived it as a literary tongue.

Provincialism continued to develop politically and culturally and to push further for self-rule until around 1885 when the movement merged into Regionalism, a project that sought more seriously for political autonomy, before it eventually reached the stage of

nationalism. It was during the Regionalist phase that the cultural revival truly began to take root.

3.2 Regionalism in Galicia (1885-1916)

During the Regionalist era which began around 1885, the theories of Provincialism, particularly those of Murguía, were revisited and developed further. The fundamental difference between Provincialism and Regionalism is that the Provincialists wished central government to recognise and deal with the problems Galicia was facing and therefore they involved themselves in 'Spanish' politics in order to begin to tackle these difficulties. The Regionalists, on the other hand, started working towards limited autonomy through creating a Galician political arena in which they could decide the political action that best suited Galicia's needs. Thus the first Galician political organisations were established in order to reach their goals. However, like the Provincialists, the Regionalists still wished Galicia to continue to be politically part of Spain.

The press was once more the medium through which the *galeguistas* communicated their ideas. They created their own Galician journals, some of which published the first articles in *Galego*. For instance, *O Tío Marcos da Portela* (1876-1919) published in Orense, was entirely in Galician, even the advertisements. It enjoyed the most success within the working population and sold 4,000 copies fortnightly (on 7th and 22nd of each month) and only nine months later it came out on a weekly basis (Sundays). It covered areas concerning politics, language, prose and verse⁷¹ and both Curros and Pondal contributed to it.

During the period of Regionalism, which continued until around 1916, different types of Regionalism developed, the most influential being what Beramendi and Seixas term 'Traditionalist and Liberal'.⁷² This section of the chapter shall therefore first of all establish the main differences between these two groups as well as what they had in

common. It will then briefly comment on the main organisations that were created during this era that helped to set up a political arena in Galicia in order to deal with Galician issues.

3.2.1 Two Main Strands of Regionalism

Of the two strands of Regionalism listed above, the Traditionalists were led by Alfredo Brañas (1859-1900) and the Liberals by Manuel Murguía. Although they all had Galicia's welfare at heart, were opposed to *caciquismo*⁷³ and centralisation and believed that limited regional autonomy would help to solve Galicia's problems, the two Regionalist circles could not agree on certain issues. They all had varying ideas with regard to the strength of Galicia's national status, which in turn affected their beliefs concerning the type of administrative system that would most benefit Galicia. Furthermore, other fundamental differences within the ideology of each group encouraged greater divisions.

To Brañas, the leader of the Traditionalists, there was a substantial difference between the meaning of State and nation. The State was 'relación de derecho, un vínculo puramente legal que enlaza a los ciudadanos entre sí, y a todos ellos con el poder público', and nation that which 'expresa una idea más amplia, comprendiendo a las familias que viven en determinados territorios, reconociendo un origen común, a través de accidentales transformaciones, y tienen historia, lenguaje, tradiciones y costumbres comunes.'⁷⁴ However, within his works he has called Spain both a State and a nation. He does not confirm clearly whether or not he sees Galicia as a nation, only that she has a nationality. Brañas' definitions of State and nation could fit into the categories of 'nation-state' and 'cultural nation' respectively that were outlined in the second chapter of this thesis. However, it is not clear into which type of nation-state and cultural nation his descriptions would be included.

Brañas believed that nationality is more than language, race, traditions and territory, although they are often part of it. Above all, it is something that is consciously felt by the people. His idea concerning nationality is very similar to Ernest Renan's theory regarding what constitutes a nation (see Chapter 2), although Renan's ideas do not directly influence his thinking. Renan suggests that it is the 'will' of the people to continue living as one that ultimately forms a nation and Brañas defines nationality as follows:

Los regionalistas no admitimos ningún factor común á que tiendan, jerárquicamente dispuestos, los elementos constitutivos de la nación, tales como las fronteras naturales, la raza, la lengua, las costumbres y la religión ó las creencias. Para nosotros, la nacionalidad resulta de la combinación misteriosa é incomprensible de todos esos factores, enlazados por el derecho, la historia y la conciencia íntima de una personalidad característica, propia, individual y distinta, por lo tanto, de otras entidades análogas. El gallego no se dice y se cree hijo de Galicia porque haya estudiado y comprenda cual es su procedencia etnográfica, ni porque hable un lenguaje que no se parezca a los demás, ni porque sepa que salvando las fronteras se encuentra con otros individuos desemejantes, sino que se siente gallego porque tiene conciencia de su personalidad típica, intereses creados y derechos adquiridos á la sombra protectora de seculares instituciones y porque aprecia y conoce la diferencia específica que de los demás le separa. Y esta conciencia que los pueblos tienen de su libertad natural, este sentimiento de identificación con unos y desemejanza con otros, es lo que constituye y forma el concepto de *nacionalidad*.⁷⁵

Murguía, on the other hand, saw Galicia as a nation and Spain simply as a State that held together various nations. Already in 1865 when the first edition of his *Historia de Galicia* was published, he was intent on showing that Galicia had all the elements that made up a nationality. '...este antiguo Reino tiene todas las condiciones que se necesitan para formar una completa nacionalidad.'⁷⁶ In his paper *El Regionalismo*

Gallego given in Havana twenty-four years later in 1889, it is clear that he still has no doubt as to Galicia's national status. He emphasises the features that he believes constitute a nation, which are territory, origins, language, history and common aspirations of the people. 'Es un hecho, pues, que por el origen, por el territorio y el lenguaje, de igual manera que por su historia y la comunidad de sentimientos y deseos, estos pueblos del noroeste forman una nación con caracteres propios, distinta de gran parte de las que constituyen el Estado español.'⁷⁷

An aspect that the two strands had in common, however, was admiration for the cultural vitality of Catalonia which can be witnessed in their writings. Brañas admired how Catalonia had elevated her status as a nationality and this gave him much hope for the same to be accomplished in Galicia. Her achievements were reflected in the successful restoration of the *Jocs Florals*⁷⁸ and Galicia's *Xogos Florais* should also aim to do the same. In 1891 he wrote, 'Cataluña ha llegado á ser grande y poderosa y á penetrarse de que era una nacionalidad con elementos propios y exclusivos merced á ese culto magestuoso y solemne de los *Juegos Florales*: Galicia sabrá imitarle, seguir sus huellas y llegar por los mismos caminos al término ansiado de tantos sufrimientos y de tan crueles humillaciones.'⁷⁹ In his speech in Barcelona in 1890 to Catalan Regionalists, Murguía stated that Catalonia's example gave Galicia much encouragement. 'Será eterna en mi alma la memoria de los obsequios recibidos, y la del entusiasmo que por la idea regional sienten todos los catalanes, y yo desearía verla extenderse á mi país con la misma energía y virilidad que aquí'.⁸⁰

Murguía saw national diversity as an historic characteristic that was impossible to completely destroy. In other words, independence may be taken away from a nation but the fact that it is a nation will always remain. 'Cómo un territorio, una raza, una vida común consciente y continuada durante siglos, pueda hacer de una región –haya sido o no independiente- una nación cuya vida nadie puede ya anular por entero.'⁸¹ While he continues to place much emphasis on race in his theories concerning nationality, language also remains a vital component. In his opinion, the coming together of a race

and a territory gives life to a specific language, and a distinct language is a sign of a distinct nationality. ‘Lengua distinta, se ha dicho siempre, distinta nacionalidad’.⁸²

Liberal Regionalism led by Murguía became the most influential of the two types of Regionalism. Beramendi and Seixas describe in what sense Murguía’s ideology was Liberal, as it seems to be a term that does not best describe his theories, particularly the racist ones. ‘Murguía alicerza claramente o seu rexionalismo nun liberalismo entendido como refugo das formas políticas caducas do *Ancien Régime* e como defensa do progreso socioeconómico e da modernidade...’⁸³

Murguía’s ideas on race, language and history, especially Galicia’s Celtic past, were employed by both strands to prove her separate status and therefore her right to regional autonomy. This is evident in Brañas’ landmark book entitled *El Regionalismo: Estudio Sociológico, Histórico y Literario*, (1889), in which he claims that the Celts and the Suebians were the peoples who gave the Galicians their physical features as well as their character.

El país gallego ha constituído, desde los tiempos más remotos, un círculo social independiente dentro de la nacionalidad española: dominado sucesivamente por celtas, suevos, romanos, godos y árabes, pudo conservar á través de los siglos la fisonomía especial á cuya formación contribuyeron celtas y suevos, los únicos pueblos, las dos únicas razas que constituyen la personalidad, el carácter y el tipo esencial de los habitantes de Galicia.⁸⁴

Galician customs and traditions are also Celtic and, although they have been exposed to other influences over the years, they are still apparent within the Galician people. ‘Por lo tanto, las costumbres celtas y muchas de las gallegas que hoy existen, siquiera se vayan adulterando por las influencias extrañas, las corrientes de la emigración y la ausencia de patriotismo y de espíritu regional, se parecen tanto entre sí que no es posible negar lógicamente su filiación y parentesco.’⁸⁵ He was also convinced by Murguía’s

theory that the Galician language is Celtic: 'De todos modos, lo que creemos que está fuera de duda es la procedencia céltica del gallego.'⁸⁶ However, Brañas does not go as far as Murguía and use these ideas to prove Galicia's superiority, but simply as a way of validating their claims of separate identity.

A further difference can be found in the fact that Traditionalist Regionalism centred much of its ideology on fundamentalist Catholicism, which was considered as the highest order and as the font of all true knowledge. Brañas saw religion as the supreme order and not connected to the social or the political. Nor could it be one of the characteristics that make up a nationality, as the Provincialist writer Faraldo had claimed, because it transcends such a notion. 'El orden religioso es superior e independiente del orden social y político: no reconoce fronteras, ni razas, ni idiomas, ni códigos, ni costumbres y tradiciones; la religión no puede jamás constituir ni servir de base á las nacionalidades y así lo reconocen la filosofía y la política más ortodoxas.'⁸⁷ The loss of Christianity in society he believed would bring about its ruin. 'Cuando la sociedad se aparta del cristianismo, las naciones se debilitan, los pueblos se conquistan y los Estados se disuelven.'⁸⁸ Brañas managed to adapt traditional Catholicism to *galeguismo* and this aspect was later to be one of the influential factors of nationalist ideology.

After Brañas death in 1900, Vázquez de Mella led the Traditionalists, although he did not have such a great impact on the thinking of the time as his predecessor. Thus the influence of Traditionalist Regionalism declined after this date, albeit aspects of it, religiosity for instance, would be revisited and developed after 1920. By the time the transition from Regionalism to nationalism was underway between 1916 and 1918, Murguía had become more involved in cultural affairs. His interest and work in this field continued until his death in 1923.

3.2.2 Political Organisations

Like the Provincialists, the Regionalists involved themselves in politics in an attempt to deal with Galician issues . But this time they began to build a Galician political arena rather than simply taking an active role in Spanish politics. Figures from both strands of Regionalism were involved in creating the first political organisations. For example, Murguía was the president of the *Comité Central Regionalista* in Santiago which was at the core of the first Regionalist political institution, the *Asociación Regionalista Gallega* (1890-3). However, the political activity of the *Asociación* was limited to little more than the publication of its official journal *La Patria Gallega* (1891-2), to having candidates in the municipal elections in Santiago in 1891, two of whom, Cabeza de León and José Tarrío, went through to win posts, to organising the *Xogos Florais* in Tui in 1891.

Murguía was later involved in another political organisation, the '*Liga Gallega*'. He had moved to Corunna for professional reasons towards the end of the century, where he became president of Corunna's *Liga Gallega*. The goal of the *Liga* was to defend the moral, economic, political and social interests of Galicia. It was responsible for the creation of the monument in 1904, which was dedicated to the Martyrs of Carral who were killed during the 1846 uprising, and also set up the *Real Academia Gallega* in 1906. The first edition of its journal, *Boletín de la Real Academia Gallega*, was published that same year under Murguía's leadership. The *Liga* never really made much impact, even less so than its predecessor, the *Asociación*, and those involved eventually dedicated themselves to cultural work.

A third important institution was the the *Solidaridad Gallega* (SG) founded in 1907, inspired by the success in the elections of that year of its Catalan counterpart *Solidaritat Catalana* (SC), an organisation which was established in 1906⁸⁹. The *galeguistas* hoped to achieve similar electoral success so that the regeneration of Galicia within the Spanish State could advance, which would also allow her to climb out of her secondary status.

The SG's work did not do as well as they had hoped, although it did have some affect on the farming community. For example it inspired the creation of 400 agrarian societies, 85 of which were still affiliated with the SG by 1911.

Regionalism continued in the same vein for another decade with little change in ideas and not a great deal more political progress. Part of the reason why it barely advanced was because of the great divisions within the movement due to the two types of Regionalism that had emerged: Traditionalist and Liberal. The *galeguistas* were thus unable to work efficiently together to make a greater difference for Galicia and to tackle her problems.

However, compared with Provincialism, the Regionalist movement took a greater step forward on the road to autonomy. The Provincialists had involved themselves in the politics of Spain in order to improve Galicia's circumstances economically and socially, whereas the Regionalists decided that the only way to make a difference was to create a political platform within Galicia and deal with her problems directly without first having to answer to Madrid. Their efforts were not phenomenal but neither were they futile as they did begin to clear the way for a Galician political arena to be properly established and this began to bear fruit in the following phase of *galeguismo*, nationalism.

3.3 Galician Nationalism of the Early 20th Century

One of the theories of Regionalism that increased in importance during the nationalist period was the role language played as a component of Galician identity. This is reflected in the establishment of the *Irmandades dos Amigos da Fala* in 1916, which was a milestone in the history of *galeguismo* and is therefore seen as marking the beginning of Galician nationalism. The motivation behind this organisation was both political and cultural and the impact its work had on Galician nationalism and the spread of the Galician tongue was immense. For once it was not an imitation of a Catalan movement as was the Galician *Solidaridad*. In fact Catalonia was becoming less of an influence as

galeguistas recognised the need for Galician nationalism to make its own path. The *Irmandades* communicated their ideas through their newspaper *A Nosa Terra* that became one of the main sources through which nationalists shared their theories until 1936. They held conferences in order to discuss the way forward for Galicia, not only politically but also where language and cultural studies were concerned, and drew up their own manifestos.

In 1920, Vicente Martínez Risco e Agüero (1884-1963) published his *Teoría do Nacionalismo Galego* which was the most influential expression of Galician nationalism from that date until the Civil War. It inspired both types of Galician nationalism, Neo-Traditional and Liberal-Democratic, that emerged from 1916. However, these two strands were not as far apart in ideology as were the two factions of Regionalism. As a matter of fact, *galeguistas* recognised early on that uniting Galician nationalists of all political persuasions would strengthen their cause, and this became one of their goals around the beginning of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship (1923). Various political and cultural publications and institutions were established that were purely dedicated to the Galician cause. The first edition of the journal *Nós* appeared in 1920, a cultural magazine that also published many articles with a political content. It was as important as *A Nosa Terra* in terms of its contribution to the Galician cause. The *Seminario dos Estudos Galegos* was created in 1923 and sought to increase research on all aspects of Galician culture and played a vital role in the promotion of the Galician language. That same year, the dictator Primo de Rivera came to power and tried to crush political activity concerned with regional autonomy. However, cultural studies were not affected by his policies; in fact, they increased in Galicia as *galeguistas* moved from the forbidden political sphere to concentrate on cultural matters. The Second Republic (1931-36) renewed hopes for autonomy in Galicia and those at the forefront of *galeguismo* once more entered the political field to fight for home rule. The political body, *Partido Galeguista*, appeared on the scene towards the end of 1931. Furthermore, a Statute of Autonomy was drawn up by *galeguista* groups around this date, but was not voted upon by the electorate until 1936.

This section of the chapter shall therefore focus on the two nationalist tendencies that arose during this period and on the principal organisations and publications mentioned above that appeared between 1916 and 1936, which had a significant impact on Galician nationalism. Furthermore, it shall specifically concentrate on the theories that affected the work of those involved in the music field.

3.3.1 As Irmandades dos Amigos da Fala

The *Irmandades dos Amigos da Fala* were a network of clubs who involved themselves both in cultural and political matters of the country. They were purely Galician unlike *La Solidaridad* which was a copy of the Catalan organisation *La Solidaritat*. This implies that the *galeguistas* had now begun to acknowledge the possible inappropriateness of Catalan solutions for Galicia's problems and therefore they would have to find the answers that best suited her situation. On 18 May 1916 *galeguistas* in Corunna established the first *Irmandade* and only ten days later another was set up in Santiago. Eventually many more towns and villages followed suit and by 1923 there were a total of 28 groups around the country.

The principal objective of the *Irmandades* was to encourage the spread of Galician, not only orally but also textually, in all areas of Galician life: the political, social and cultural. The *galeguistas* hoped this would encourage Galicians to perceive themselves as a collective, or rather, a nation. Furthermore, they anticipated it would raise the status of the language and rid it of its backward image. They defended their indigenous culture in all its manifestations and promoted the knowledge and love of Galicia's past and present, including the great personalities of *galeguismo* of the previous era, especially Murguía. On the political level, they argued against centralisation and attempted to solve the socio-economic problems of the country through involving themselves in Galician politics.

The *Irmandades* communicated their ideas in Galician through their gazette *A Nosa Terra* which, at the outset, was directed by Antón Villar Ponte (1881-1936). It first appeared on 14 November 1916 and in its initial year attracted 2,000 subscribers. Moreover, it was the first newspaper organisation to define itself as nationalist. In the opening edition Antón Villar Ponte wrote an article entitled *Bandeira Ergueita* in which he argues that the Galician language is an important marker or ‘flag’ of Galician identity. He writes, ‘Toda a nosa personalidade está na nosa lingua’ and insists that ‘cando morre un idioma morre un pobo’.⁹⁰

In order to put their ideas into action the *Irmandades* held a meeting in Lugo on 17 and 18 November 1918 called the *Asamblea Nacionalista*. Many members of all the then established *Irmandades* groups were present. They came together to discuss their political aspirations, which included their proposals for the dissemination of *Galego*, and to write up their conclusions in a manifesto. They decided that their theories were now *nationalist* ideas as opposed to *Regionalist* ones, a sign that Galicia had now truly entered her nationalist period. ‘Tendo a Galicia tódalas características esenciais de nacionalidade, nós nomeámonos, de hoxe para sempre, nacionalistas galegos, xa que a verba ‘rexionalismo’ non recolle tódalas aspiracións nin encerra toda a intensidade dos nosos problemas.’⁹¹ The Manifesto of the *Asamblea Nacionalista* also set out the form politics would take in an autonomous Galicia, including a section on artistic promotion. In the introduction it is already clear that the *galeguistas* are not fighting for independence but for autonomy whilst still being part of the Spanish State.

Os persoeiros das ‘Irmandades da Fala’ reunidos en Asamblea magna tida na cidade de Lugo nos días 17 e 18 do mes da data [novembro] para conquistar do Goberno da súa Maxestade El Rei a autonomía integral da Nación Galega e fixar nun programa concreto as que coidan testas solucións aos problemas que interesan dun xeito fondosísimo á vida nacional de Galicia.⁹²

On a cultural level, autonomy would bring the creation of a Galician music school, which suggests that the *galeguistas* saw music as an important part of Galician national expression. This is hardly surprising since the *Irmandades* were both cultural and political groups. Where this music school would be or what it would entail exactly was not stated.

3.3.2 Risco's 'Teoría do Nacionalismo Galego'

Language was one of the principal aspects that Risco believed contributed to the definition of the term 'nation', which is outlined in his *Teoría do Nacionalismo Galego*. It was published in 1920 and became the fundamental thesis of Galician nationalism until 1936. However, although language is an important element in his hypotheses, he places race and land above all factors in defining what constitutes a nation. Race and territory are the components that he believes, as did Murguía, give rise to a nation, its language, culture and history. A race without territory is not a nation because 'a nacionalidade supón a terra.'⁹³ He therefore claims that the Jews are not a nation as they had no land [at the time he was writing] and thus were a race with aspirations to create their own nationality through gaining a territory of their own. Stalin had also used the lack of territory as a way of discrediting the national status of the Jews in his 1913 article, referred to in the previous chapter. Land is a fundamental element, according to Risco, because it contributes to the spirit of a nation and therefore is part of its nationality. 'Eu insisto no valor da terra, pimeiramente, pol-o fondo sentimento da terra que distingue á y-alma galega y que é algo ben noso, cecais o mais noso; e segundamente pol-o meirande cada día que lle dá a moderna ciencia xeográfica.'⁹⁴ It is land that affects the customs and traditions of the people who are surrounded by this territory. Risco compares the geography of Galicia to that of the Mediterranean parts of Spain, describing Galicia's misty, rainy and Atlantic climate as opposed to the exotic nature of Mediterranean areas. He declares this makes Galicia 'unha terra xeográficamente autónoma.'⁹⁵

Risco continues to keep Murguía's racial theories alive by insisting that Galicians are mainly of Celtic extraction and thus somehow superior. The main physical characteristics of the Galician 'race' are, according to Risco, white skin and blonde hair, which he claims is a central European trait that originates from the Celtic and Germanic peoples. But it is the Celtic strand above all that is most predominant in Galicians. 'A raza galega sigue sendo a vella raza céltica, mesturada con iberos, romanos e xermanos, mais imponéndose os caracteres dos celtas por riba de todol-os demais. É pol-o tanto a menos ibérica da Península e con estreitos parentescos étnicos fora da Hespaña.'⁹⁶

According to Risco, Europeans are either Mediterranean or Atlantic people. He believed in the superiority of the latter and their right to dominate, or rather, their 'duty' to take over from the peoples of Mediterranean areas. 'A civilización atlántica ha ser, pol-o tanto, outra cousa do qu'a civilización mediterránea. O mediterraneismo hemos opoñer un atlantismo. Eisaminemos o qu'esto pode ser. [...] O europeísmo mediterráneo debe ser superado.'⁹⁷ The opposition to Mediterraneanism is their future mission. These ideas were no doubt a continuation of Murguía's racial theories that were, to a large extent, based on the ideas Gobineau had outlined in his *Essai* in 1855. Hitler and his officers were also enthusiastic about Gobineau's writing and developed some of these theories to justify their atrocious plans of genocide. However, Risco never advocated taking the actions that Hitler's regime was later to take.

History plays a fundamental role in Risco's nationalist theory. By referring to Murguía's *Historia de Galicia*, he examines the various times in the past when Galicia was a nation functioning separately from Castile in order to underline his conviction of Galicia's national status. There is no doubt in his mind that Galicia is a nation. 'Non discutimol-o dereito de Galicia a ser unha nación: *Galicia é xa unha nación*; a nacionalidade galega é un feito xeográfico e histórico que se non pode negar.'⁹⁸ Despite occupation from others such as the Romans, the Galician national spirit, which is predominantly Celtic, is still alive. Galician is different from Castile and he blames Castile for all of Galicia's problems due to her domination over the years. Spain is not a nation but a State which

he sees as only able to serve the needs of Castile and not those of Galicia, Catalonia and the Basque Country, the other three nations within the Spanish State. However, despite Galicia's national status and her political independence from Castile in the past, separation is not part of his nationalist agenda. He believes Galicia makes a valid contribution to Spanish life as a whole. 'Nós queremos formar parte de Hespaña e contribuir, *co noso xenio nacional galego, á vida hespañola.*'⁹⁹

Language is also at the heart of Risco's ideas. A particular language, which emerges with the combination of territory and race, helps to form the thinking of a people and consequently distinguishes one community from another. In Spain there are three Romance languages: Galician, Catalan and Castilian. Risco sees Galician and Portuguese as two dialects of the same language and therefore Galician is connected to Portuguese and not to Castilian, not only in language but also in civilisation. 'Tres falas, tres civilizacións; nós pertencemos á civilización da banda oucidental, e culturalmente, pois qu' esí é filóxicamente, nada temos que ver co'as outras duas. Queiramos ou non, esto trábanos fortemente, estreitamente con Portugal e co'a civilización portuguesa.'¹⁰⁰

To sum up, Risco believed a nation derives from the union of race and land which in turn give rise to a specific language, culture and history. Although his theories were fundamental to Galician nationalism, his racial ideas, which very much leant in a fascist direction, did not convince the Liberal Democratic strand and in the end did not characterise Galician nationalist thought in general.

3.3.3 Two Strands of Galician Nationalism

Regardless of the impact Risco's *Teoría* had on Galician nationalism in general, two main strands of nationalism nevertheless emerged that Beramendi and Seixas term 'Neo-Traditional' and 'Liberal-Democratic'. However the divisions did not cause such great problems as they had formerly during the Regionalist era because the nationalists' ideas often overlapped. For instance, language was particularly important within the

nationalist theories of all factions. Also, they both agreed that Galicia is a nation and that Spain is not. The Galician nation is a natural fact and her nationality is inherent in her ethnicity. Despite the invasions of various peoples over the centuries, the nationalists believed Celtic elements had remained within the Galician people. They both hoped for the creation of a future Iberian confederation which would include Castile, Catalonia, the Basque Country, Galicia and possibly Portugal. They felt ethnically similar to Ireland and Portugal and politically affiliated with Catalonia. All concurred that Galicia's backward state and economic dependence were two of her main problems. The central Government ignored Galicia's plight and her disadvantaged state of affairs which included poor communications, services and education. These had encouraged negative consequences in Galicia, such as mass emigration and miserable living conditions, above all of farm workers and fishermen. The main obstacles to development were *caciquismo* and the lack of investment in Galicia. What Galicia therefore needed to raise herself out of her underprivileged situation, as far as the *galeguistas* were concerned, was autonomy within the Spanish State, so that Galicians could have a greater say in their own affairs and deal with them appropriately.

There were certain areas where the two factions disagreed, however. Although they were convinced of Galicia's national status, the amount of value they placed on the various elements that made up their nationality differed. The Neo-Traditionalists emphasised the importance of land and race in the creation of nationality and the Liberal-Democratic nationalists viewed language, national spirit and culture as the most vital aspects. The Neo-Traditionalists were convinced that Catholicism was inseparable from the Galician character whereas the Liberal-Democrats rejected such a notion, and this was to be one of the main areas of contention when the Statute of Autonomy was being drafted in the early thirties.

Neo-Traditional Nationalism

Catholicism was at the heart of Neo-Traditional nationalism since this faction saw it as forming the only genuine base of the national character of Galicia. The Neo-Traditionalists believed the source of all the modern world's problems to be moral and that the only cure for them was through morality or religion. This strand was, in this area, the continuation of Brañas' Regionalism, although it now claimed, like Faraldo, that religiosity was part of the Galician character, whereas Brañas had stated that it transcended nationality. On 25 October 1931, the group, which included Risco, Ramón Otero Pedrayo (1888-1976), Paulino Pedret (1899-1969), Xosé Filgueira Valverde (1906-1996) and Ramón Cabanillas Enríquez (1876-1959), published the article *Afirmación Católica dun Grupo de Nacionalistas* in which it was written that Catholicism is the true foundation 'do ser íntimo e tradicional da nosa Terra'.¹⁰¹ In other words the Galician soul and Catholicism are inseparable, and consequently Catholicism becomes the fundamental element of Galician nationality. Later Risco would also underline this notion in 1936 in the manifesto of the *Dereita Galeguista*.

Nós afirmamos a consubstancialidade da nosa cultura enxebre, da nosa estrutura social autóctona e dos intereses morales e materiais do noso pobo labrego e mariñeiro coa concepción católica do mundo e da sociedade humana, que forma o cerne e a raíz da auténtica tradición galega, e por iso programamos xuntamente a liberdade e a supremacía espiritual da Igrexa, a autonomía cultural, política e económica de Galiza e a afirmación da súa personalidade étnica e lingüística.¹⁰²

Risco's ideas concerning race and land also played an important role in Neo-Traditional nationalism. As we have seen, he was convinced that the combination of a race and a territory produces a national spirit (*Volksgeist*) which in turn manifests itself in a language and culture. These ideas along with his theories of history were generally accepted as reality. He believed that the Galician nation was a natural and biological fact and was therefore unconnected to the political events of history or Renan's idea of

the will of the people. Risco further developed Murguía's ideas concerning superior and inferior races, which were also influential. Otero Pedrayo, however, held different views concerning the importance of race. Although he believed that each race had its own way of perceiving reality, he was not completely persuaded by Risco's arguments on racial superiority and inferiority nor did he use anti-Semitic views in his theories as did Risco. Consequently, Otero Pedrayo focussed more on the importance of Catholicism and geography and how they manifest themselves in the Galician nation and her culture. Like Pedrayo, certain academics within the music revival of the early twentieth century were later to adopt a more tolerant stance, as we shall see in the following chapter.

Liberal-Democratic Nationalism

The Liberal-Democratic nationalists perceived nation in a similar way to the Neo-Traditionalists, as a fact determined by nature. The fundamental differences, however, were that they believed religiosity of the people did not contribute to the forming of a nation, but what did play a part was Renan's idea that the will of the people gives rise to a nation. 'Pero a meu xuicio [...] o que caracteriza á nación - e así o entenden Renan, Jelinek e outros - é unha unidade espiritual.'¹⁰³ Furthermore, within the Liberal-Democratic sphere language, national spirit and culture took precedence over race and land in the establishment of a Galician ethnicity.

Os países son expresións xeográficas e os Estados equilibrios de institucións. Unha patria é moito máis aínda, é outra cousa: sincronismo do espírito e do corazón; uniformidade para o esforzo e disposición somellante para o sacrificio; comunidade nas arelas de grandeza, nas vergoñas da humillación e no desexo da gloria. Cando falta isto non hai patria, e non pode habela; a patria xurde nos ensoños comúns e nas comúns esperanzas; no areláremos xuntos grandes cousas e sintírmonos decididos a realizalas, tendo a seguridade de que ao camiñar todos

tras un ideal, ninguén ficará no meio da estrada contando os cartos. A patria é a solidariedade sentimental da raza, e máis nada.

O da nacionalidade é un concepto moderno. A cultura é o millor e máis fortalecemento da nacionalidade. Sin a cultura os homes non chegan, endebén, a poseeren o verdadeiro sentimento de patria. Somente, pois, no nome da incultura, pode combatírsenos, irmáns nacionalistas.¹⁰⁴

History also played a part in Liberal-Democratic nationalism despite the fact that there was no one historian within this faction who formulated an historical theory. On occasion one or another from the group would write an article on the matter. However, the Liberal-Democratic nationalists did not employ history in the same manner as the Neo-Traditionalists had done which was to justify the revival of the old Galician socio-political structures, but used it to help form a definition of 'nation' which was more important to this group.

To sum up, the main area of agreement between the two factions was the national status of Galicia which therefore gave them the right to home rule within the Spanish State. However, the Neo-Traditionalists put emphasis on land and race in determining what constituted a nation whereas the Liberal-Democratic nationalists focussed more on language, national spirit and culture. The latter group did not agree that religiosity contributed to their ethnicity and this difference of opinion in turn led to disputes concerning the form which autonomy should take. The Neo-Traditionalists viewed the Liberal-Democrats' modernisation ideas as capitalist in nature and therefore secular, and a laic form of government would not suit Galicia since it went against her traditional ways.

3.3.4 Nós

Figures from both strands of Galician nationalism contributed to the cultural magazine *Nós*, which was dedicated to Galicia and her traditions. Vicente Risco directed the magazine, which appeared for the first time on 30 October 1920, the same year that he published his *Teoría*. *Nós* was written purely in Galician, even the advertisements, and included articles on ethnicity, history, culture, traditions, politics and philosophy, and also published poetry and prose. Furthermore, it often printed the texts of songs that had been collected by various figures of the movement and sometimes published articles on musicological research. The contributors would also write about other peoples who they perceived as suffering similar fates to them, mainly the Irish and the Portuguese. It was published on a monthly basis but was unable to continue after the outbreak of Civil War in 1936. In the introduction to the first issue it was stated that the intentions of the journal were to devote the content to Galicia and Galician values. ‘Ha de ser un estudio piedoso e devoto, cheo de sinceridade, de tódo-los valores galegos: dos nosos valores tradicionais, e máis dos valores novos...’¹⁰⁵ *Nós* became one of the main publications through which *galeguistas* communicated their ideas.

3.3.5 Seminario de Estudos Galegos

Many of those who contributed to the magazine *Nós* were also very much involved in the *Seminario de Estudos Galegos* (SEG), which was established on 12 October 1923 and was active for over twelve years until it ceased work in 1936. It was founded by students of the University of Santiago de Compostela, who included Fermín Bouza Brey (1901-1973) and Xosé Filgueira Valverde, and its first president was Armando Cotarelo Valledor (1879-1950). The idea behind this venture was to concentrate on investigating Galician cultural reality. The *Seminario* focussed on research but in order to keep in touch with the general public, it published its work and organised lectures, conferences, exhibitions and libraries. It did not pay salaries and by 1936 relied on around 500 of its

members to support it. According to Núñez Búa¹⁰⁶, the dedication of its members earned the institution much respect within and beyond Galicia.

The SEG's work began by concentrating on history but it soon expanded to many other fields of research, which included: archaeology, philology, literature, art, geography, prehistory, ethnography, folklore, social, legal, economic, natural and applied sciences, geochemistry, pedagogy, genetics and music. Within the Folklore department headed by Bal y Gay, more than 4,000 songs were collected and published in various works such as *Terras de Monforte* (1926) and *Terra de Melida* (1929) which were then put into the *Seminario's* archives. Much of their work was published in the *Boletín da Real Academia* and in *Nós*. From 1927 the *Seminario* brought out its own publication *Arquivos* each year until 1934 in which it published a great deal of its research. For example, Fermín Bouza Brey contributed to the third edition the 352 songs he had collected from the area of Arousa (*Cántigas Populares da Arousa*) with abundant notes on each song and giving information concerning their origins. This was the first serious attempt to dedicate resources to the study of Galician traditional and popular music, not only for musicological reasons but also to celebrate Galicia's heritage. Previously research in this area was purely for literary and musicological analysis in order to determine Galicia's separate status through examining the characteristics found in her traditional and popular lyrics and music. Now, possibly due to the open-minded approach to the subject by Bal y Gay, musical analysis became detached from racial notions.¹⁰⁷ We shall study this in greater detail in the following chapter.

Because the SEG was a cultural institution it was not directly affected by the Spanish dictatorship led by General Miguel Primo de Rivera from 1923 until 1930 and then by General Dámaso Berenguer until 1931. Although Primo de Rivera came to power hoping to unite Spain as one, he did have some sympathy for the Regionalist cause, for he saw Regionalism as the promotion of folk traditions and literature which were simply a reflection of the diversity within Spain as a whole. For this reason cultural activities in Galicia did not diminish during his time in power, if anything they increased, thus it did

not impinge on the SEG's work. But *galeguistas* did have to reduce their writing or at least take out the political content due to the censorship rules. This affected *A Nosa Terra* which had to moderate its publications to monthly editions and *Nós* which was forbidden to go to print for two years between 1923 and 1925.

3.3.6 Partido Galeguista

Once the dictatorship was at an end and the Second Republic (1931-6) established, hope was renewed for the *galeguistas*, as they felt they could once more push for the political autonomy they so desired. The political organisation *Partido Galeguista* (PG) was founded in 1931, the members of which involved themselves in campaigns to persuade the voting public to elect candidates who concerned themselves with Galician issues. They also continued the fight for home rule and were involved in the drafting of the Galician Statute of Autonomy between 1931 and 1932, but it was not until 1936 that the electorate voted upon it.

The PG was neither of left nor right persuasion, although Beramendi and Seixas note that 'se mantivo en todo caso máis devorcado cara á esquerda republicana que cara a dereita'.¹⁰⁸ The Party's *galeguista* ideas were outlined in its publication called *Ideas que defende e fins que se propón o Partido Galeguista* in November 1933. Its fundamental purpose was to defend Galicia and all that is Galician regardless of political belief, wealth or social class.

O Partido Galeguista defendendo á Galicia defende os intreses comúns de todos os galegos. Por eso, pra os galeguistas, tanto son os probes como os ricos, os artesanos e os peisanos ou labregos como os señoritos, os obreiros como os patronos, os da dereita como os da esquerda. En sendo galegos, todos somos irmáns, porque todos somos fillos da nosa única e mesma patria común, que é Galicia.¹⁰⁹

Language and autonomy are given the most attention in the document. It states quite clearly that it is in favour of promoting Galician on an equal footing with Castilian, that the PG wishes all Galicians to be able to know how to speak, read, write and understand both languages well. What is interesting about this is that although the party believes that Castilian was forced upon Galicians over the years by Central Government, the PG members are by no means opposed to the language or against speaking it themselves.

En fin, os galeguistas queren que en Galicia o idioma galego valla tanto como o castelán e sirva pra as mesmas cousas, e se lle teña tanta consideración como ao castelán, e que nas escolas se adeprenda tamén á lêr e á escribir en galego, porque o galego é a nosa lingua, e os maestros, os xueces, os notarios, os rexistradores, e todos os empregados do Estado deben sabelo, pra entender ás nosas xentes, que son as que lle pagan.¹¹⁰

With regard to political success, the PG grew in strength until 1936. In order to increase its electoral prospects, the party agreed to join forces with the *Frente Popular* in January 1936. The *Frente Popular* was an organisation that united Spanish Republican parties towards the end of 1935 in an attempt to oppose fascism or extreme right-wing forces in general. This strategy seemed to prove successful for the PG in the elections of February 1936 since three of its candidates were elected: Castelao in Pontevedra with 104,436 votes and Suárez Picallo and Antón Villar Ponte in Corunna with a total of around 150,000 votes. Within the whole of Galicia, the *galeguistas* attracted 286,000 of the votes which was more than double those they had gained in the 1933 elections.

3.3.7 Estatuto de Autonomía

The PG saw some of its objectives realised in the Galician *Estatuto de Autonomía* which was drawn up with the collaboration of some of its members. There were three attempts to write the document between 1931 and 1932. Those involved in the initial draft were Alexandre Bóveda, Valentín Paz Andrade, Vicente Risco, Lois Tobío Fernández and

Ricardo Carballo Calero. In Santiago de Compostela on 19 December 1932, the final draft was approved by the *Asamblea de Concellos de Galicia*. In Article 2 it recognises Galicia as a territory with its own historical, cultural, economic and geographic characteristics. Language is an important aspect within the document. Article 4 states that both Castilian and Galician would be the official languages of State in Galicia. However, Castilian must be employed in cases when communication with other parts of Spain is necessary. All written texts in Galician presented to the courts or authorities must also be produced in Castilian if requested. Furthermore, civil servants must prove to have knowledge of Galician. Article 15 deals with language in education and affirms that both languages would be taught in schools along with Galician literature, history and geography. In special State schools and the Santiago University, professorships and institutions concerning Galician cultural studies would be subsidised.

But it was not until the 28 June 1936 that it was finally voted upon by the public. For it to be put into motion, at least two thirds of the electoral roll had to vote for it, a goal which was achieved. Unfortunately *A Xunta*, the autonomous Government of Galicia, was unable to establish itself due to the outbreak of Civil War three weeks later, which saw Galicia fall under the control of the Franco forces almost immediately since they were not met with any great measure of resistance.

The Civil War put an end to many of the *galeguistas*' hard work and achievements, for example the *Irmandades*, *A Nosa Terra* and *Nós*, and the *Seminario de Estudos Galegos* was suspended. Although there were no battles within Galicia at any time during the Civil War, certain people were singled out and assassinated such as Bóveda, Nogueiro, Camilo Díaz, Casas and Casal, others were persecuted like Gómez Román and Otero Pedrayo and some fled into exile. After the Civil War in 1939 there was an attempt to re-establish the SEG, but to no avail. Risco, who was one of the principal figures at the forefront of Galician nationalism, renounced his *galeguismo* and joined the Franco regime, apparently for fear of his life.

Nevertheless, during the nationalist era much more was achieved on the long road to autonomy compared with the Provincialist and Regionalist periods. The nationalists had improved the situation of *Galego* by writing most of their material in the language instead of employing it solely in literary works. Racist theories continued to influence many academics, but there were signs that a many were also rejecting such notions. Politically the nationalists made some progress with the establishment of the PG and particularly with the Statute of Autonomy.

3.4 Concluding Comments

Galeguismo from 1840 to 1936 was a cultural, political and social movement that experienced three significant stages of development: Provincialism (1840-1885), Regionalism (1885-1916) and nationalism (1916-1936). The protagonists from all three eras attempted to explain what elements gave Galicia her distinct character, which eventually led them to conclude that Galicia was a nation in her own right and therefore deserved political autonomy within the Spanish State.

The first phase of Provincialism sought to overcome the obstacles Galicia was facing at that time, such as the impoverished state of the agricultural system, which impeded her economic growth. The central characters of this era believed that political autonomy would be the cure to Galicia's ills, although they had no intentions of becoming independent from Spain. The second phase, nonetheless, took further steps down the road that eventually led to nationalism by forming theories that the Provincialists believed proved Galicia's separate identity, not only through her history but also through her ethnicity and language. As a result a cultural revival developed towards the end of the nineteenth century as a way of expressing Galicia's individuality.

However, unlike the Basque Country and Catalonia for example, Galicia hardly possessed any of her own home-rule institutions, fiscal, administrative or judicial, before the nineteenth century. Therefore Provincialists began to elaborate and talk about lost

regional liberties as a way of affirming their right to political autonomy. Nor had Galicia had her own regional government in the fairly recent past (historically speaking) as had Catalonia,¹¹¹ and this greatly affected the speed at which Galician Provincialism would finally develop into nationalism.

Compared with the previous eras of *galeguismo*, Provincialism and Regionalism, the nationalists achieved far more for Galicia in terms of autonomy, language and cultural research. The Provincialists and Regionalists had often spoken of autonomy but never took the necessary action to reach their goals, unlike the nationalists who formed their own political party, the *Partido Galeguista*, and were involved in the drafting of the Statute of Autonomy. Their hopes for their own regional government would have been realised had it not been for the outbreak of Civil War. The Regionalists came to the conclusion that language was an important element of Galician identity, yet continued to write their theories in Castilian. The nationalists, on the other hand, greatly encouraged the use of Galician, mainly through simply speaking and writing in *Galego*. As a result, many more literary and theoretical works were published in Galician mainly through the nationalist newspaper *A Nosa Terra* and journal *Nós*. Furthermore, institutions were established that greatly encouraged the revival and study of Galicia's cultural heritage, such as the *Irmandades dos Amigos da Fala* and the *Seminario de Estudos Galegos*.

Although they were impressed and motivated by the political work of the Catalan nationalists, the *galeguistas* had at last moved away from imitating organisations set up in Catalonia, realising that Catalan solutions were only suitable for Catalan and not Galician problems. Another reason for their accomplishments was due to their recognition that the Regionalists had not achieved as much as they could have due to the divisions between them. Thus they made the conscious decision to put political differences aside and concentrate on the cause they had in common: Galicia. This greatly improved their chances of success in reaching their goal of autonomy but unfortunately progress towards approval of the Statute of Autonomy was particularly slow. Therefore, when the electorate voted for it in 1936, they had no time to enjoy their

success, as any chances of establishing an autonomous government in Galicia were crushed by the Civil War a few weeks later followed by the dictatorship that lasted until 1975.

This chapter has established the context in which the music revival of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries began to flourish. It has also concentrated on those theories that were particularly influential within the music sphere, which were principally the racial notions of Murguía and Risco and, to some degree, Brañas' and Risco's religious hypotheses. The following chapter will therefore refer to such ideas and will show how they affected musicological research and musical composition of the *Rexurdimento*.

Chapter 4

The Traditional Music Revival of the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries

Given the context out of which the traditional music revival emerged in the late nineteenth century that has been documented in the previous chapter, this chapter shall examine how it affected composition and musical analysis. Did the enormous leap forward that *galeguistas* made in reaching their goals between 1916 and 1936 change the direction in which the music revival was heading? The musical element of the cultural revival can be divided into three movements: music collecting from rural areas, composing cultured music using traditional music elements and analysis of Galician traditional music. Composers often set music to texts written in a traditional folk style, particularly the poems of Rosalía de Castro, Manuel Curros and Eduardo Pondal, rather than to collected folk literature. A small section on poems that imitate traditional Galician folk literature will be included in this chapter. However, this part of the thesis shall mostly focus on the main music collectors, composers and musicologists of the musical *Rexurdimento* as well as demonstrate how the thinking of that time shaped their work.

4.1 Music Collectors

Towards the end of the nineteenth century academics embarked on the arduous task of collecting traditional music from rural areas. There was no fancy recording equipment so the only way they could record their findings was with pen and paper. Two figures who involved themselves in this sphere, although not to any large degree were Marcial Valladares (1821-1903) and Manuel Murguía. They were part of the *Asociación del*

Folklore Gallego which was established in Corunna in 1884 with Emilia Pardo Bazán as President. This society was a direct result of the *Asociación del Folklore Español* founded in 1881, an organisation that sought to collect samples of traditional culture from around the whole of Spain. Valladares, who wrote Galician dictionaries amongst other activities, also collected songs but unfortunately all of his work in this field has since been lost. Some of his collections, however, were used in Murguía's small songbook which he published in his *Historia de Galicia* (1865).

The first scholar to compile traditional literature on a large scale was José Pérez Ballesteros (1833-1918). He also worked for *El Folklore Gallego*, which published his collections of around 2,500 songs in three volumes in 1886, most of which came from the area of Corunna. These collections also correspond to volumes 7, 9 and 11 of the work *Biblioteca de las Tradiciones Populares Españolas*¹¹² published in 1883 by the organisation *El Folklore Español*, which was directed by the writer Antonio Machado y Álvarez (1875-1939). Although Ballesteros' work made a significant contribution to the study of Galician traditional song, it displays certain limitations in methodology and approach. According to the musicologist Dorothe Schubarth and the linguist Antón Santamarina, he and some of his contemporaries possibly 'galicianised' the lyrics of romance songs. Schubarth and Santamarina noticed that the ones they recorded were generally in Castilian whereas the collected romance texts of the *Rexurdimento* were in Galician.

Does this mean that the nineteenth-century music collectors tried to erase evidence of any Castilian traits by translating the texts into Galician? If this was the case, a possible reason for such a practice could be that their interest not only lay in saving a tradition that they felt was threatened with extinction, but also in verifying Galicia's separate identity. After all, one of their main arguments for Galicia's different national character concerned language, thus if Galician traditional song were in fact principally in Castilian, this would weaken their claim of a separate identity. Furthermore, in the prologue of Ballesteros' collection, Theophilo Braga implies that proving cultural

individuality was one of the motivations of Ballesteros' work. 'A obra do snr. Ballesteros é a primeira pedra para a reconstrucção d'este primeiro monumento da cultura entre as nacionalidades hispanicas.'¹¹³

At the end of the first volume of Ballesteros' collection, Antonio Machado y Álvarez adds an appendix in which he writes his observations concerning the Galician *cantigas* and Andalusian, Castilian and Catalan *coplas*. He notes that there are many Galician songs that correspond to songs from other regions of Spain, either through their themes or their words. Those that are textually the same he suggests have been translated. Whether he means that they have changed over time or that the collectors have consciously adapted them is not clear. 'Entre las coplas que cito á continuación, hallarán los lectores muchas completamente iguales á las del texto, hasta el punto que parecen unas mismas ó traducidas literalmente, y otras que, iguales por su contenido ideológico, varían sin embargo por su forma de expresión'¹¹⁴ Later in the appendix, Machado y Álvarez observes two songs from Galicia and Andalusia that are textually similar, which are cited below.

A Castilla van os homes	A las Indias van los hombres,
A Castilla por ganar,	A las Indias por ganar,
Castilla queda na terra	Las Indias aquí las tienen
Para quen quer traballar.	Si quisieran trabajar

The question he then asks is: '¿Cuál de estas coplas debe considerarse como original y cuál como traducida y acomodada?' The song, he believes, is originally Galician due to its content that deals with the topic of emigration, as emigration is something considered more as part of Galician reality. 'En este caso los castellanos ó andaluces han copiado á los gallegos.'¹¹⁵ The way he phrases this statement implies that the collectors have not translated the songs but the singers themselves. Nevertheless, it does seem odd that the Galician versions of songs, which are also found in other Castilian-speaking areas, are virtually Castilian-free and this suggests that some adaptations may well have occurred.

Below is an example of a romance song collected by José Pérez Ballesteros in the eighteen-eighties, versions of which can be found throughout Spain. His version, however, hardly displays any Castilian influence, except perhaps for the word ‘calle’ instead of ‘rúa’.

Indo doña Silvela
Por un corredor arriba
Tocando n-unha vigüela
n-a calle d’a Figuría
ergueuse seu pai da cama
co o estrondo que facia:
-¿Qué téndes, doña Silvela,
qué téndes a vida miña?¹¹⁶

As mentioned above, evidence for this process of galicianisation has been discovered by Dorothé Schubarth, a musicologist who collected vast amounts of songs from around Galicia during the nineteen-eighties, and by Antón Santamarina, a linguist who transcribed and categorised the lyrics. They found that many of the romance songs or *narrativas* she collected are inconsistent with those transcribed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as the ones written down by Murguía, Pérez Ballesteros and Casto Sampedro y Folgar (1846-1938). They note that the previous collections are recorded in ‘acceptable’ Galician whereas the ones she collected are not in *Galego* but instead are full of what they term ‘galicianisms’.

Hai, de todos modos, un fenómeno que nos sorprende: os romances de orixe castelá transcritos por outros colectores precedentes están nun galego bastante aceptable; ver por exemplo os transcritos por Sampedro ou Carré e xa antes por Murguía, Pérez Ballesteros e outros. Polo contrario, os que nós recollemos non teñen de galego senón os galeguismos que provoca a interferencia lingüística por ignorancia do castelán.¹¹⁷

This suggests that they were either castilianised during Franco's dictatorship when Castilian was enforced as the only language of Spain, or that the earlier collectors adapted them into Galician. According to Schubarth and Santamarina, the latter theory is more likely. A version collected by Schubarth of the song *Doña Silvana* previously cited, is shown below in which the Castilian influence can be clearly discerned.

Estando doña Silvana
Do corredor para cima
Tocando nunha guitarra
Que mui ben a repartía
Despertara a su rey padre
Con el estruendo que hacía
¿Tú qué tienes ay Silvana
Qué tienes Silvana mía?¹¹⁸

Furthermore, if romance songs are taken into consideration that are not only found in Galicia and Spain but also in other Spanish-speaking areas beyond the Peninsula boundaries, then the theory that nineteenth-century collectors did galicianise the texts is strengthened. For instance, the romance song *El Señor Gato* appears in both Ballesteros' and Schubarth's collections, as well as in Zarita Nahón's songbook collected in Tangier in 1929. Although the ending is quite different in Nahón's version from the Galician ones, Ballesteros' example varies the most linguistically out of the three, as it is entirely in Galician. Of course, in the song will be signs that reveal in

which areas the song is sung, hence Schubarth's version has some Galician words in the text. Cited below are three versions of the same or similar verse of *El Señor Gato*, all taken from Ballesteros', Schubarth's and Nahón's collections respectively, which show that Ballesteros possibly adapted the words.

Mandóu logo chamar curas pra dar conta d'o roubado: "sete varas de chourizo, outro tanto d'adubado unha xerriña d'aceite pra facer millor guisado" ¹¹⁹	Mandó llamar el cura Y también el zurujano para hacer el testamento de todo cuanto tenía robado cuatro libras de tocino y otras tantas de pescado siete palos de lloriças para los viernes del año ¹²⁰	-¡Pronto, pronto, mis doctores, doctores y cirujanos!- unos le miran el pulso y otros le miran la mano unos dicen a una boca: -Señor Gato está muy malo -Ya se murió el malogrado, que nos tenía arrastrados ¹²¹
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This demonstrates that the evolution of Galician traditional music is by no means clear or consistent and this is also borne out by the kind of adaptations introduced by composers like José Inzenga (1828-1891). Inzenga, who came from Madrid, was another academic involved in the sphere of song collecting. His collection *Cantos y Bailes Populares de España* (1888), the first section of which is dedicated to Galician traditions, is not entirely reliable because he openly admits putting harmonies to the tunes as he wished to leave his own stamp on them and frequently added a piano accompaniment. A further possible reason for his adaptations was that, although he found much inspiration in traditional music, he believed it to be somewhat inferior. 'En todas las naciones del globo existe un género de música, conservada tradicionalmente por las clases bajas del pueblo, muy distinta de la que constituye el verdadero arte.'¹²²

He was also convinced by Murguía's Celtic theories which is particularly evident in the introduction where Inzenga refers to the musical traditions of Galicia, such as the muiñeira dance tune in 6/8 time, claiming that the Celtic element has survived the ages and can be observed in them. What these aspects are however, he does not say. 'Así

pues, tanto en el característico baile de la *Muiñeira* como en el tradicional grito del *aturuxo*... fácil es observar, que a pesar del trascurso de los siglos, no han desaparecido los reflejos del elemento céltico que se descubre en los gallegos.’¹²³ Similarly, he assumes the *gaita* and its name to be Celtic in origin. ‘La gaita, tan semejante a la cornamusa del bajo bretón, es una reminiscencia céltica por el nombre y por el uso, acompaña el coro unísono de los campesinos.’¹²⁴

Another important figure in this field in Galicia was the lawyer Casto Sampedro y Folgar (1848-1937) who began collecting material from his area of Pontevedra around 1900. The collection was published in 1942, a few years after his death, under the title *Cancionero Musical de Galicia*, a name that is misleading since the contents only came from a few areas of Galicia. Sampedro’s intention was to preserve Galicia’s musical traditions that he felt were dying out, thus he believed it imperative to remain as faithful as possible to the original. But he found great difficulty in transcribing the material because much of it did not correspond to the modern tonalities and rhythms to which he was accustomed. The rhythms were particularly arduous to transcribe as many of the songs had no time signatures and often the singer would change the length of the notes with each rendition of the song. Despite its possible inaccuracies, his work has nevertheless proved invaluable to the protection of Galician traditional music as he had hoped, because his collection is still used as a source of material by folk musicians today.

Between 1928 and 1936 the Galician musicologist Jesús Bal y Gay and the Asturian musicologist Eduardo Torner (1833-1955) collected over three thousand songs and melodies. Unfortunately, much of the material intended for publication was destroyed during the Civil War and the rest was lost, until years later when it was miraculously discovered lying in a shed. Bal y Gay then continued to work on the collection before it was finally published in Madrid in 1973. In the introduction he acknowledges the obstacles they encountered at the time they collected the music. They experienced the same hardship as Sampedro concerning transcription due to the Galician musical

tendency towards free rhythm, and this problem was accentuated by the lack of recording equipment. The difficulties they faced in transcribing music in this manner illustrate the major problems involved in preserving material which does not fit conveniently into modern tonalities and rhythms.

En esa tarea, para registrar las melodías que se nos cantaban o tañían no contábamos con más ni mejores instrumentos que el oído, el papel y el lápiz. Quiere ello decir que elementos tales como el *tempo* exacto, el *rubato*, los matices dinámicos poco enérgicos y las entonaciones que no se ajustaban a la escala temperada, aunque nuestro oído los percibía, no podían ser anotados, tanto por la imperfección de la notación musical en uso, como por la norma que nos habíamos fijado de no fatigar al comunicante con el excesivo número de repeticiones. Otra cosa hubiera sido si contáramos con las máquinas grabadoras o los magnetófonos que hoy se utilizan en esta clase de trabajo.¹²⁵

Despite the difficulties encountered concerning the transcription of melodies and the possible lyrical adaptations that may have occurred, the music collectors made an immense contribution to the music revival. Traditional folk verse and music greatly inspired Galician poets and composers in the late nineteenth century and also provided material for musical analysis. Furthermore, many musicians still use these collections today as a musical source, particularly those of Sampedro and Bal y Gay.

4.2 Traditional Folk Literature and Composers

During the second half of the nineteenth century Galician poets began to imitate the textual style of local traditional songs in order to express the spirit of their region in their work. But the imitation of traditional song was by no means a new phenomenon as it was already common practice throughout much of Europe. It was an important Romantic feature that had originally emerged in Germany towards the beginning of the century. The idea that the spirit of a nation is reflected in traditional music comes from

Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) as Nigel Reeves tells us. 'The belief that in folk-culture and particularly in the folk-song one finds the genuine character of a people, a character which has been distorted and overlaid by inauthentic cultural accretions of later, more reflective prosaic, and eclectic ages derives in Germany from Herder.'¹²⁶ The Germans collected and analysed folk songs and tales and writers would use these as models for their compositions. 'They consciously modelled their lyrics on folk-songs which they collected with such enthusiasm, and they were indeed remarkably successful at capturing their atmosphere in the ballad-like lyrics that tell in direct, unadorned, musical language of millers, shepherds, soldiers, wanderers, mothers at the cradle and maidens at the spinning-wheel.'¹²⁷ Furthermore, traditional song was not simply an inspiration to German writers, it also helped to revive the culture and literature of their land. 'Like Herder their interest in folk-song was far from directly antiquarian: their songs had the specific function of rejuvenating German literature and the German people.'¹²⁸

Heinrich Heine (1797-1856) was an important German writer who found great inspiration in traditional song, particularly from the collection of songs by Arnim and Bretano called 'Des Knaben Wunderhorn' (*The Boy's Magic Horn*), although he did not involve himself in the collecting of material. He felt that 'es kömmt darauf an, den Geist der Volksliedformen zu erfassen und mit der Kenntnis desselben nach unserem Bedürfnis gemodelte, neue Formen zu bilden.'¹²⁹ (*It is essential to capture the spirit of folksong styles and with this knowledge create new forms to suit our needs*). Rosalía de Castro was later inspired by Heine's work and was the first to take up this practice in Galicia with her *Cantares Gallegos*, as noted in the previous chapter, but not until the early eighteen-sixties, after Heine's death.

In *Cantares Gallegos* Rosalía reflects the oral tradition by incorporating a whole or part of a traditional song into her poem, which appears at the beginning, the end or is woven into the entire poem itself. In order to intensify the meaning of a poem, she uses repetition of whole lines or words, an aspect often evident in the traditional *cantar*.

Furthermore, the poems have a specific number of syllables per line, a trait that can be observed in the examples below which are octosyllabic.

Poem by Rosalía de Castro:

Sin ela vivir non podo,
non podo vivir contenta;
que adonde queira que vaia,
cróbeme unha sombra espesa.¹³⁰

Cantar collected by Pérez Ballesteros:

Airiños, airiños, aires,
airiños d'a miña terra;
airiños, airiños, aires,
aires, ¡volvédem' á ela!¹³¹

However, many of Rosalía's *cantars* tend to be of a great length, some around a hundred lines, which is not characteristic of the traditional *cantar* but can be attributed to the influence of Romanticism. She also imitates the oral tradition in *Follas Novas* (1880), although this time she employs brevity. This period of her writing¹³² reflects the changes in Romantic thought as Late Romanticism reacts to the epic poem of Early Romanticism by using concision.

Manuel Curros also found inspiration in the metre and style of local traditional song and, like Rosalía, he employs the art of repetition of lines and words in various ways. This is evident in his *Unha boda en Einibó*, part of which is cited below. It is one of his few poems with a theme dedicated to the traditions of Galicia:

Cando hai danza no turreiro
e, Bras ó turreiro sai,
é sempre Ádega a primeira
que coel se pon a bailar.
Se ela vai á romaría,
el á romaría vai;
si ela dá un ichavo on cego,
el outro ichavo ha de dar;
i espello de namorados,
do seu cariño en sinal,
si ela un caravel na boca
leva, por cuaselidá,
el outro caraveliño
ha de, por forza, levar.

Envexa de tod'as mozas,
cando xuntos ven ou van,
moitos ó són do pandeiro¹³³
cantábanlle este cantar:

“Non te chegues moito ó lume,
volvoretiña real,
non te chegues moito ó lume,
mira que te vas queimar”.

Mais fan tanto caso desto,
tanto desto se lles dá,
como si rousara un carro,
como si ladrara un can.¹³⁴

Works like those cited immediately above were of great inspiration to Galician composers. They would set music to the pieces and employ traditional music motifs and aspects in their compositions. However, this style of composing did not necessarily arise out of a respect for or a desire to preserve the traditional, but rather because of the trend to localise musical pieces, which was an exercise in vogue throughout Europe at that time. We have already seen a similar practice occurring with the collector-composer José Inzenga. He did not regard the traditional music as an art, only when such music had been adapted into ‘cultured’ music did he accept it as respectable. Inzenga was assisted with his collections by the Galician composers Marcial del Adalid y Gurrea (1826-1881) and José Baldomir (1861-1947). Neither is regarded as being truly part of musical *galeguismo* since their music was not always inspired by Galician elements. Nevertheless, they still occupy a small place in the field of Galician composition. The composers principally linked to Galician cultured music of the late

nineteenth century are Juan Montes Capón (1840-1899), Pascual Veiga (1842-1906) and José Castro Suárez (Chané) (1856-1917).

Further evidence of elitism is found in the composers' choice of texts, to which they would then set the music, and the type of instrumental accompaniment. Often they would select texts written by highly regarded poets of the day, such as Espronceda and their own Rosalía de Castro, Pondal and Curros. On occasion, some composers would even alter the texts. This may have been for the simple reason that the rhythm of the words did not fit the rhythm of the composed melody. The accompanying instrument would frequently be the piano rather than an authentic traditional instrument, which would have altered the overall sound considerably. The tone of the piano would have given the music a gentler, more cultured sound than the traditional *zanfona* (hurdy-gurdy), for instance.

Marcial del Adalid was well known for writing songs in the style of *Lieder*, in other words, for voice and piano. In 1877 he began work on a project that was later published under the title of *Cantos Viejos y Nuevos de Galicia*, in which he set music to collected traditional literature as well as poetry written by poets such as Espronceda and Campoamor. According to Margarita Soto Viso¹³⁵, the songs in Galician can be divided into two categories: those with texts written by his wife Fanny Garrido and traditional songs that had been collected from the people. The music of the former was not composed in a Galician traditional style and to that of the latter category Adalid added his own arrangements and harmonisation. The practice of arranging and harmonising traditional songs in a cultured style significantly changed the original sound of the songs. It also reflects the general attitude of his day that considered traditional music to be of a lesser status and therefore needed the skill of the composer to change it into something more respectable. Having said that, Soto Viso has also observed that his earlier arrangements of traditional songs were written in a classical style, whereas the later ones often had a pedal note in the bass-line to imitate the *gaita* as a way of adding a more traditional flavour to it¹³⁶. Soto claims that he was the first composer of the

nineteenth-century revival to set music to Galician texts. ‘Estas cancións son – desto a súa importancia – as primeiras cancións galegas da historia do noso rexurdimento.’¹³⁷ Adalid also set music to poems in other languages, particularly French, and no doubt this contributed to his reputation as a ‘European’ rather than a ‘Galician’ composer.

Like Adalid, José Baldomir was inspired by the German genre of *Lieder* and wrote songs for voice and piano using Galician themes, one of his better-known pieces being *Meus Amores*. Furthermore, he helped with the work of Felip Pedrell (1841-1922), a Catalan musicologist who was involved in traditional music collections around Spain, and who published *Cancionero Musical Popular Español* in Barcelona between 1918 and 1922.

Juan Montes Capón (1840-1899) is regarded as one of the greatest Galician nationalist composers of his time. He wrote music for choirs and bands, composed songs with a piano accompaniment using traditional music motifs in his work and set music to the work of poets such as Rosalía de Castro and Curros. His most famous piece, which is still much sung today, is an *alalá* tune he collected in Cruz do Incio¹³⁸ that he adapted to the Rosalía poem *Negra Sombra*¹³⁹ from her book *Follas Novas*. The poem contains quatrains of octosyllabic lines, a feature that is found in various types of Galician traditional song, including the *alalá*. However, Rosalía’s text lacks a particular feature of an *alalá* and that is the *ai la las* at the end of each verse. Montes’ adaptation of the *alalá* tune, like the words, is full of *morriña* (melancholy), a trait considered to be peculiar to many Galician traditional songs. It would appear that Montes altered the text slightly and this occurs on the penultimate line of the poem. The original is written, ‘nin m’abandonarás nunca’ whereas Montes’ version reads, ‘nin me deixarás ti nunca’. This minor modification does not change the content, only the rhythm of the melody line. In the former version the emphasis lies on the sixth syllable while in the latter it falls on the fifth. Montes could have kept the word ‘abandonarás’ and ensured that the emphasis fell on the fifth syllable, as changing the stress of a word occurs frequently in traditional song. However, in this instance it would have changed the verbal tense. With the stress

on the fifth syllable the word becomes 'abandonaras' (had left) which is the pluperfect tense in Galician. The slight textual alteration, therefore, is not due to elitist motives but to necessity.

Negra Sombra (Montes' version):

Cando penso que te fuches	Si cantan es ti que cantas
Negra sombra que me asombras	Si choran es ti que choras
Ó pé dos meus cabezales	I es o marmurio do río
Tornas facéndome mofa	I es a noite i es aurora
Cando maxino que es ida	En todo estás e ti es todo
No mesmo sol te me amostras	Pra min i en min mesmas moras
I eres a estrela que brila	Nin me deixarás ti nunca
I eres o vento que zoa	Sombra que sempre me asombras.

Montes was also involved in music collecting. Not only did he contribute to Inzenga's work but also to Sampedro's *Cancionero*, nearly fourteen percent of which was made up of Montes' collections. But, according to Groba González¹⁴⁰, he would sometimes write the melodies as he felt they should be rather than as they really were. This may have something to do with the fact that many collectors found great difficulty in transcribing the music because they had to do so simply with pen and paper. Furthermore, some of the melodies did not fall into modern scales and rhythms and the notation system they employed was not adequate to cope with this, which was not helped when the singer or musician had to repeat the piece numerous times, as has already been observed in this chapter. As a result they were unsure how to put their discoveries into a notation that would reflect the tunes as faithfully as possible. Whether or not Montes transcribed them as he thought they should be because he knew of no other way of capturing the tunes loyally or because he believed the singers had sung the melody incorrectly is unclear. He may also have altered the pieces for elitist reasons, such as he might have

felt his modifications improved them. How much the melodies were changed during the process of transcription is hard if not impossible to tell.

Another principal Galician nationalist composer was Pascual Veiga (1842-1906), who is famous for writing pieces such as the popular *Alborada Gallega* (1880) and his rhapsodies. He also set the music to the first four verses of Pondal's *Os Pinos* (below) which has often been used as Galicia's national anthem. As a song it is known as *Himno Galego*.

1. ¿Qué din os rumorosos
na costa verdecente
ao raio transparente
do prácido luar?
¿Qué din as altas copas
de escuro arume harpado
co seu ben compasado
monótono fungar?

2. Do teu verdor cinguido
e de benignos astros
confín dos verdes castros
e valeroso chan,
non des a esquecemento
da inxuria o rudo encono;
desperta do teu sono
fogar de Breogán.

3. Os bos e xenerosos
a nosa voz entenden
e con arroubo atenden
o noso rouco son,
mais só os ignorantes
e féridos e duros,
imbéciles e escuros
non os entenden, non

4. Os tempos son chegados
dos bardos das idades
que as vosas vaguidades
cumprido fin terán;
pois, donde quer xigante
a nosa voz pregoa
a redenzón da boa
nazón de Breogán.¹⁴¹

The third main composer of the nationalist era was José Castro Suárez (Chané). He is known for writing songs such as *Un Adiós a Mariquiña* and *Os Teus Ollos* and also set music to Galician poems, his favourites being those by Curros. Along with Montes and

Veiga, he was one of the promoters of the *orfeones* (choral societies) whose songs were not truly traditional or popular in style, despite the fact that most were in Galician. They were purely cultured songs in *Galego* and appealed mainly to middle-class audiences.

These choral societies were simply an imitation of what had been happening in other European countries, such as England, France and Germany, since the beginning of the nineteenth century. In Catalonia and the Basque country the movement had already begun to take root in the eighteen-fifties but did not reach Galicia until the eighteen-seventies and by the eighties had grown in popularity. The movement was therefore a European one rather than specifically Galician. There was one exception, however, and that was the choir set up in Pontevedra in 1883 by the bagpiper Perfecto Feijoo. He disagreed with the arrangements composers were giving the songs and therefore his intention was to reproduce traditional songs as closely as possible to the original.

Cando no ano 1883 creei o coro galego, que anos máis tarde levou o título de Aires da Terra..., tratei de levar ó ánimo e ó gusto de todos aquela música que eu oín un cento de veces nos campos da miña terra, e que me fixo amar os cantos do pobo acompañados da miña adorada gaita. Nin daquela, nin nunca, pretendín modificar con adornos musicais postizos o que só o meu oído e a miña memoria trasladaban á miña gaita e ó meu coro...¹⁴²

By 1910 the *orfeones* were in decline throughout Spain. In Galicia this fall in popularity came hand in hand with the establishment of the *Irmandades da Fala* in 1916, an organisation dedicated to reviving Galician culture in its original forms. The adaptation of cultural elements was no longer in vogue and the traditional was regarded with greater respect as it truly reflected the Galician national spirit. Antón Villar Ponte, who was the editor of the journal *A Nosa Terra*, the main voice of the *Irmandades*, conveys this sentiment in his writing, as has been mentioned in Chapter 3 of this thesis. ‘A cultura é o millor e máis forte cimento da nacionalidade. Sin a cultura os homes non chegan, endebén, a poseeren o verdadeiro sentimento de patria.’¹⁴³

4.3 Musical Analysis

A further aspect in the musical sphere of the revival was analysis of the data collected from rural areas. Musicologists were eager to pinpoint the elements of Galician traditional music that gave it its character and sounds. There were three genres generally accepted as the most characteristic of Galician traditional music amongst academics of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: the *alborada*, the *muiñeira* and the *alalá*. The *alborada* is a bagpipe tune played in the mornings to open festival days and the *muiñeira* is a dance as well as a tune that has a 6/8 time signature. The *alalá* is a song whose main characteristics are free rhythm and verses of four octosyllabic lines. There are many types of songs that are *alalás* and they have acquired this name due to the *la la las* that often appear at the end of each verse. The people who sang them, however, did not give them this name, it was the collectors and musicologists who termed them thus.

Some musicologists were also anxious to prove Galicia's separate identity and therefore looked for evidence to verify their theories rather than approach the task with an open mind. One such musicologist was Indalecio Varela Lenzano (1856-1940) who studied with the Galician nationalist composer Juan Montes. In 1892 he wrote a paper entitled *Estudio sobre los Orígenes y Desarrollo de la Música Popular Gallega* in which he analyses Galician music in order to identify the elements of traditional music that could be regarded as particularly Galician. Although he displayed much enthusiasm for traditional music his attitude towards it was nevertheless patronising, as was the case with Inzenga which we have already seen. He saw it as possessing both beautiful and underdeveloped elements, its beauty being its 'originalidad, frescura, energía de las ideas' and its flaws 'incorrección, grosería de las formas, y pobreza en los medios de expresión'. But only through the medium of cultured music did he believe its status could be raised: '...las riquezas que lleva en su seno y que, mediante el verdadero arte, forman la materia de las más elevadas y sublimes concepciones musicales.'¹⁴⁴

Varela relies on Murguía for his historical information without questioning it and simply accepts it as fact. He is particularly convinced by Murguía's racial hypotheses concerning the Celts that were greatly influential at the time he was writing, which comes to light in his musical analyses.

No se han limitado las investigaciones de Sr. Murguía á buscar en segura fuente, la procedencia de Galicia. Una constante observación, así de los rasgos fisiológicos que presentan los naturales de cada pueblo, como de sus costumbres, carácter y tradiciones, ha llevado a su ánimo el fundado convencimiento de que la preponderancia céltica, no sólo es un hecho evidente, sino que supera a la romana, en proporción considerable.¹⁴⁵

His belief in Murguía's Celtic theories led him to assume that the Celtic element must somehow be reflected in Galician traditional music. As a result he concludes that the most characteristic tune types of Galicia are most probably Celtic. What is more, he denies the Arab influence in Galician traditional music, an idea that is also a legacy of Murguía's theories. 'En efecto: esas cualidades peculiares de la música gallega no campean en la del Centro de la Península, de ritmo alegre y animado, ni en la de Andalucía que, aunque sentimental como la nuestra, sin embargo exhala un ambiente de voluptuosidad propio de la raza árabe.'¹⁴⁶

The Celtic origins of Galician music, Varela believes, can also be found in the *alborada*, a bagpipe tune which he claims to be as old as the instrument itself. The bagpipe was, in his day, thought to be purely Celtic in origin and therefore he assumes that the tune is also of the same root. 'Sí pues, la *Gaita*, por el parecido que guarda con la *cornamusa* del bajo Bretón, es de origen céltico, hecho evidente patentizado por muchos escritores y corroborado por la autoridad de Chateaubriand, ella nos ofrece vislumbres de que nuestra clásica *Alborada* reconoce igual procedencia.'¹⁴⁷

Varlea agrees with Antonio de la Iglesia¹⁴⁸ (1822-1892) who is convinced that the Celtic triad can be adapted to the muiñeira dance tune. ‘Antonio de la Iglesia asegura que á la música de la *Muiñeira* adaptan con facilidad las cantadoras la *triada celtica*, por algún tiempo, cubrir el espacio de triada a triada con un jocoso estribillo, aunque el pandero, con sus acompasados golpes, pueda suplirlo y lo supla perfectamente.’¹⁴⁹ The song type *cantar de pandeiro* also known as *ruada* consists of verses of three octosyllabic lines and this literary form is what nineteenth-century writers are referring to when they mention the Celtic triad. Varela cites Milá y Fontanals who studied Galician traditional poetry and who claims that such a literary style cannot be found in any other part of the Peninsula, not even Portugal. ‘Esta forma que no observamos en las demás poesías populares en España ni en la de Portugal, recuerda naturalmente el ternario céltico.’¹⁵⁰

The alalá, Varela suggests, is also Celtic, but he fails to provide us with a satisfactory explanation as to why he believes this to be the case. Instead he remarks that simply by listening to an alalá, the Celtic spirit can be heard in this genre.

Conviénese unánimemente en que la melodía del *Alalá* reconoce una antigüedad que no alcanzan la *Alborada* y la *Muiñeira*. Si tal data no se estimara bastante para encarnarla en el espíritu céltico, las incertidumbres que ha suscitado su origen se desvanecerían en nosotros escuchándola en la soledad de los campos y al caer de la tarde, cuando en misteriosa y vaga penumbra se sumerge la Naturaleza.¹⁵¹

Although, in his paper, Varela explores theories that suggest the origins of Galician traditional music may come from other sources than the Celtic, he seems intent from the outset to conclude that they are Celtic, despite the clear lack of evidence to support his ideas. There is no doubt in his mind that the roots of Galician traditional music derive from the Celts. ‘De todos los datos y razonamientos expuestos para finalizar la primera parte del tema á que se ciñe nuestra tarea, surge como la más segura consecuencia, que de los celtas arrancan los *Orígenes de la Música popular gallega*.’¹⁵²

Like Varela, the musicologist, Santiago Tafall Abad (1858-1930) was very much influenced by Murguía's racial theories. This comes to light in his landmark paper called *La Tonalidad y el Ritmo en la Música Popular de Galicia*, published in 1901, which was the first major attempt to characterise Galician traditional music. The musical analysis is more thorough than that of Varela, yet when Tafall allows himself to be influenced by the racial hypotheses of his day, his conclusions become less convincing.

In this article Tafall sets out to discover whether or not there are certain aspects in Galician music that have remained unchanged over time, which can be regarded as belonging to the Galician 'race'. He examines the tonalities and rhythms and comes to the conclusion that the heart of Galician music lies in its melodic structure. 'Nada más cierto que lo que constituye el fondo, la esencia de la música popular de una región, es la sucesión melódica, la cual es eco fiel de los sentimientos que la inspiran y le imprimen un carácter especial é invariable que la distingue de toda otra.'¹⁵³

Tafall deduces that Galician songs are essentially diatonic and also that they often fall into the scales of the plagal and the Mixolydian modes. A diatonic scale is 'based on an octave series consisting of five tones and two semitones in which the semitones are maximally separated. [...] The major and natural minor scales are diatonic, as are the church modes.'¹⁵⁴ The intervals between each note of a major scale are identical to those of the others. Equally all minor scales share the same interval pattern with each other. Modes are the type of scales often found in indigenous traditional music that can be separated into two categories: authentic and plagal, each of which contains eight modal scales. The Mixolydian, which Tafall observed occurs quite frequently in Galician traditional music, is an authentic mode. What differentiates the modes from the modern major and minor scales is that each authentic mode has its own distribution of half and whole tones. The interval pattern of each plagal mode coincides with an authentic one, but with a difference; a melody produced in a plagal mode will end on the

middle note of its scale. So, for instance, the range of the Hypodorian (plagal) mode runs from the note A to A as does the Aeolian (authentic) mode, but the final note of a tune in the former would be a D. It is therefore regarded as being closer to the Dorian (authentic) mode which begins and ends on D. Thus a melody played in any of the major or minor scales will sound the same (unless the listener has perfect pitch) whereas a modal tune will produce an overall sound peculiar to a particular mode. The exception is, however, the Ionian and Aeolian (authentic) modes whose interval patterns coincide perfectly with the modern C major and A minor scales respectively. Given the modal nature of Galician traditional music, Tafall concludes that Galician songs from all over the region are entirely diatonic as opposed to chromatic. Chromaticism includes notes that do not pertain to any of the diatonic scales, therefore a chromatic scale is made up of semitones and such tonality cannot be found in Galician music, according to Tafall.

Que los cantos populares de Galicia y los de todas las regiones, puede añadirse, son puramente diatónicos. [...] Además, en todos los cantos de Galicia se halla perfectamente determinado el *modo* a que pertenecen, contándose muchos entre los plagales, que llevan la extensión de su escala a la cuarta inferior de la tónica. Muchos podríamos citar también que recorren el *ambitus* del Myxtolidius, que comenzando en *sol* sube a la octava superior.¹⁵⁵

This conclusion does not appear to agree with the findings of Bal y Gay, who found great difficulty in transcribing music whilst the singer sang due to the types of scales within the tune that the musical notation of his day was unable to reflect. If the melodies were indeed entirely diatonic, then the music collectors would have encountered fewer transcription difficulties. It is not entirely clear from where Tafall obtained the music that he analysed. At one point he mentions an alalá that he collected directly from ‘un campesino de la Ulla’,¹⁵⁶. He also refers to other music collections and states that ‘la mejor colección de cantos gallegos que conocemos, por la fidelidad con que éstos están transcritos, es la publicada por el Sr. Inzenga’,¹⁵⁷ which suggests that he used examples that he himself gathered as well as other music collections. Perhaps the collections he

chose to consult had been adapted to such an extent that the musical ambit of the songs had become diatonic once they were in written form. We know that Inzenga added harmony to his collected pieces, but whether or not he actually changed the melody line is unknown.

One of the main reasons why Galician tonality is diatonic, Tafall believes, is due to the influence of Galicia's principal instrument, the *gaita* (bagpipe), which has a diatonic scale. What is more, he is convinced that the Celts brought the instrument to Galicia, despite the lack of satisfactory evidence, and even claims that it has not changed over the centuries. 'En primer lugar, la Gaita gallega, el instrumento clásico de nuestra tierra, el mismo que sin duda alguna nos legaron los celtas y ha llegado hasta nosotros en idéntica forma que ellos lo conocieron...'¹⁵⁸

Murguía's influence is evident here as Tafall assumes his Celtic theories to be correct without even examining them. There is no hard evidence that proves how the *gaita* was introduced to Spain, although various theories have been formed on this topic. One such hypothesis suggests that the Suebians in fact brought it to Galicia circa the sixth century A.D., and another that it arrived there centuries before with the Greeks, Romans, Phoenicians or the Celts. However, if it did come to Galicia with any of the latter four peoples, it is unlikely that it was in the form they knew it to be in Galicia at the beginning of the twentieth century, because the first most likely evidence of the existence of the pipes with a bag comes from Alexandria in the first century B.C.¹⁵⁹ Moreover, in an interview in 1998, the Galician bagpiper, Carlos Núñez, acknowledges that there has been a change in the scale of the *gaita* at some point. He has studied the instrument and its history in great detail and claims that its scale used to be modal. 'Nowadays, we Galicians use the normal scale but old pipers used the modal scale, as the Scots.'¹⁶⁰

The Gregorian chant or plainsong is diatonic and has also had an impact on the tonality of Galician traditional song, according to Tafall. Not only do the songs often fall into the same modal scales but they also share similar melodic lines and cadences.

Aduciremos una prueba más en favor del diatonismo de nuestros cantos populares: ésta, que nosotros consideramos decisiva, es la identidad absoluta que sus melodías tienen con el canto gregoriano; no sólo en cuanto á la constitución de sus *modos*, sino también en las cadencias, en los giros melódicos y hasta en frases enteras, que parecen tomadas al pie de la letra de nuestros cantos litúrgicos.¹⁶¹

Many, such as Murguía, considered religiousness to be a Galician trait, although not to extent as did his contemporary Regionalist Alfredo Brañas. But given the fact that Murguía's theories influenced Tafall's conclusions, it may be that Tafall was intent on linking religious music with Galician traditional song to prove religiousness was indeed part of the Galician character. Having said that, liturgical music is known to have had some effect not only on the development of Galician traditional music but also European music in general. The Church's influence on Galician rural life was and still is especially notable, therefore it would not be surprising to find strong links between traditional and liturgical music.

Free rhythm is another aspect that Tafall regards as particularly Galician and the *alalá* specifically reveals this characteristic, thus leading him to the conclusion that it is the most typical song type of Galicia. Once more he assumes that there is Celtic influence in this genre. 'Allí [en la montaña] es donde hay que irle a buscar para oírlo en toda su céltica pureza.'¹⁶² Tafall even refers to a remark made by Murguía concerning Galician song, despite the fact that Murguía was not a musicologist. He claims that the old melodies sung by the Celts have survived the centuries, even though it would have been impossible for Murguía, or Tafall for that matter, to have known how Galician music sounded when the Celts inhabited Galicia. 'En sus soledades daban al aire aquellas

dulces canciones, cuya melodía ha llegado hasta nosotros como un eco de aquella vida y tiempos legendarios.’¹⁶³

Due to Tafall’s work, free rhythm and diatonic tonality were then taken as the two principal inherent qualities of Galician traditional music. However, as mentioned above, the latter is questionable where many songs are concerned. This has recently been highlighted once again owing to the work of Schubarth. She discovered that the scales of Galician traditional music often do not fall into the modern scale system or even the medieval ones - they are older than these. Many songs do not even use all the notes in the octave and are frequently only made up of four or five notes within a small melodic range, although these seldom correspond to the modal pentatonic scales that contain two intervals of one and a half tones and therefore lie within a greater melodic scope. ‘Por non teren unhas características específicas, tanto na escala como no desenrolo do aire, o etnomusicólogo Béla Bartók chámalles tonos de “escala sin nome”. Son máis antigos có noso sistema clásico.’¹⁶⁴

Tafall’s insights concerning tonality were taken up by Jaime Quintanilla (1898-1936) in 1920, who published an article called *O Nazionalismo Musical Galego* in the journal *Nós*. In this paper he argues that although music is a language that all human beings can understand, there are different kinds of music that are undoubtedly from a particular place in the world. This he demonstrates by asking the question: ‘¿Quén pode confundire o nóso *alalá* c’unha malagueña?’¹⁶⁵ He adheres to the view, once stated by the Catalan musicologist Pedrell, that the term ‘Spanish music’ is invalid, because Spain is so rich in traditional song that there is more than one musical style. Quintanilla points out that this is so because Spain is not one country but a collection of nations and therefore Spain does not have one nationality nor a national music. ‘Hai música galega, vasca, asturiana, andaluza, aragonesa, castelá, catalana ... Pro non hai nin pode haber música hespañola.’¹⁶⁶

Quintanilla describes the elements that he believes make up Galician music. He is convinced by Murguía's Aryan theories and therefore links Galician music with this mythical race through the plagal and authentic modes found in the music. These modes are similar to Greek scales which, according to him, originate in Asia from where the Aryans apparently came. The music is diatonic, he believes, due to the modes that are also found in liturgical music which avoid the influence of the modern 7th tone in musical scales. He maintains that '*toda música na que non apareza o acorde de 7a, a nota sensible, é música antiga.*'¹⁶⁷ Thus for him Galician traditional music is not only religious but also ancient. The most characteristic rhythm is free rhythm, another feature that is ancient according to Quintanilla. Concerning these two traits, diatonic tonality and free rhythm, he even goes as far as saying that '*istes dous carateres non-os tén ningunha outra da Iberia.*'¹⁶⁸ For him they sum up what Galician nationalistic music is, the two very characteristics that Tafall marked as particularly Galician almost twenty years earlier.

The idea that free rhythm and tonality determine Galician musical sound was also taken up by J. B. Trend in 1925. He states that Galician traditional song contains certain characteristics that have remained invariable over the years, although he does not say why he believes this to be so. He sees the old Galician songs with their free rhythm as essentially the same as the more recent ones with fixed time signatures and feels that the most important aspect is the melodic line, as did Tafall in his paper. '*No hay realmente diferencia entre las antiguas melodías gallegas de ritmo libre y las melodías similares que surgieron más tarde con ritmos de 6/8 o 3/4. Lo esencial es la línea melódica poseedora de ciertos giros y cadencias típicas.*'¹⁶⁹ He adds that Galician melodies are undoubtedly influenced by the main instruments of Galicia, the bagpipe and the zanfona, with their diatonic scales.

Trend compares the alalá to the Gregorian chant, and affirms that the similarity between the two can be found in their modes, melodic forms and cadences and the differences in their rhythms. However, he does not say whether or not he believes there to be a direct

link between the two. Varela, whose work we have seen earlier, also observed a relationship between the two types of music that he felt manifested itself in their cadences, but he does not agree that this proves their origins are the same. 'Esta leve semejanza no puede, empero, invocarse como argumento para deducir que en las primeras hayan influido los cantos de nuestra Iglesia.'¹⁷⁰ On the other hand, both Tafall and Quintanilla do consider Galician traditional music to be influenced by Church music, as has already been noted.

A contrasting view, however, is proposed by the Arabist historian Julián Ribera (1858-1934). In 1925 he published his article *De Música y Métrica Gallegas* in which he examines three periods in Spain's musical history principally through three sources: the songs of King Alfonso the Wise from the thirteenth century, the *Cancionero de Palacio* from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the traditional music collected towards the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. Ribera was different from other folklorists of his time because he did not try to prove that a particular music came from one specific place, but rather was more interested in finding the linking elements between various styles of music. He believed his contemporaries' work was biased and therefore thin and inconsistent. Nor was he convinced by their Celtic hypotheses.

Ribera studies the characteristics of the muiñeira with its 6/8 rhythm and proposes that it derives from two fundamental melodic themes which are found in the songs *La Molinera* in a 2/4 rhythm and *Tantarantán, que los higos son verdes*¹⁷¹ in 3/8 timing. He believes the molinera song, both in words and tune, is not peculiar to Galicia as it is also popular in other areas of Spain, such as in Asturias, León, Castile, Burgos and Santander. 'Por todo lo expuesto se ve que la melodía de *La Molinera* no es gallega exclusivamente, sino patrimonio común de varias regiones españolas.'¹⁷² Even though the molinera is not popular in Andalusia, he nevertheless believes there is a connection, emphasising that the differences are due to evolution and individual preferences in the various regions. In other words it is style that gives it its local flavour.

Pero hay una particularidad digna de ser notada: la melodía de *La Molinera*, asturiana o castellana, ha conservado mejor la sobriedad melódica y el ritmo primitivo de las antiguas soleares andaluzas; mientras que en la muiñeira gallega y en las soleares andaluzas actuales se ha alterado con melismas y cambios de ritmo que la separan del tipo clásico: en Andalucía, por el virtuosismo de los cantantes; en Galicia, por influencia instrumental de la gaita.¹⁷³

To create a tune of a 6/8 timing by amalgamating two tunes with 2/4 and 3/8 rhythms would be fairly straightforward and therefore it is possible that the Ribera's two tunes did indeed merge. When each beat of a bar can be divided by two, it is known as simple time, and both the 2/4 and 3/8 time-signatures fall into this category. For example, a 2/4 rhythm has two crotchets (or quarter notes) to a bar, each of which can also be represented by two quavers (or eighth notes). The three quavers in a 3/8 bar are each divisible by two semi quavers (or sixteenth notes), hence the former is regarded as 'simple duple time' and the latter 'simple triple time'. If one crotchet of the 2/4 rhythm was made to equal the three quavers of the 3/8 time, two groups of three quavers would be created, that is to say a 6/8 timing. But to do this we would have to make the two crotchets dotted because with a 6/8 timing we enter into what is considered to be 'compound duple time', in which there are two dotted beats to a bar that are each divisible by three. Thus the three quavers of the 3/8 rhythm can now equal one of the two dotted crotchets of the newly created 6/8 timing.

Ribera's findings are similar to those of Schubarth concerning the *new* muiñeira. However, when Schubarth uses the term 'muiñeira' it does not necessarily correlate to the muiñeira of a 6/8 rhythm previously described. She discovered that the traditional terminology used to describe Galicia's musical genres is not the same as the nomenclature used by her interviewees and singers. They recognise two types of muiñeiras, the old and the new, which are two distinct genres. The origins of the new muiñeira are uncertain although Schubarth believes it may have derived from cultured music that was adapted to the form of the ancient Galician traditional song. The earliest

written evidence she has found that uses the term 'muiñeira' comes from 1786 where it is used to explain the tempo of the third carol of Melchor López, which is in a 3/8 rhythm. Schubarth believes this suggests that the muiñeira was already widespread in Galicia at that time. This might have a connection to the 3/8 time signature of *Tantarantán* that Ribera is convinced is one of the sources from which the muiñeira developed. Schubarth has also observed two predecessors of the new muiñeira in Galician traditional song: the old songs from the east of Lugo and the muiñeira vella / the molineira (moliner). She also notes that the molineiras from Ancares and Courel are indistinguishable from the coastal muiñeira vella. It may be the case that this corresponds to the first song, the *moliner*, that Ribera believes partly makes up the Galician muiñeira.

The second melodic theme, *Tantarantán, que los higos son verdes*, is also assumed to belong solely to Galicia, yet once again Ribera disagrees because similar versions have been discovered in other regions of Spain, particularly in Castile where the song can be found in the *Cancionero de Palacio*. He also links this melody to Andalusian tunes through its rhythm. He is of the opinion that the blending and development of these two themes as one and the change of time signature possibly occurred sometime between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Schubarth also thinks that the rhythm of the muiñeira has changed over time through new rhythmic patterns that have been amalgamated with the old song tunes of a small melodic range. Trend hinted that there had been rhythmic changes in this genre as well. However, Ribera is not saying that the muiñeira as it was known then is not Galician, but that the elements that have been merged to form the muiñeira are not. 'Lo particular de Galicia hemos dicho que es la amalgama de esos temas y las variaciones que en ellos han introducido los músicos gallegos.'¹⁷⁴

Like Ribera, the musicologist and collector Jesús Bal y Gay also approaches the field of musical analysis with a more open mind and does not display a patronising attitude towards the subject. In fact he is the first to value the knowledge of the people who play and sing Galician traditional music. He believes that they are the ones who would be

able to tell what is Galician and what is not. They may not be able to give a definition or pinpoint what elements make a song Galician, but they will be able to recognise it. Bal y Gay led the music research in the SEG (*Seminario dos Estudos Galegos*) during the time Liberal-Democratic Nationalists were casting doubt on the validity of racial arguments. He too questions such notions within the sphere of musicology thus encouraging the nature of musical analysis in Galicia to go down a less restrictive and more celebratory route. In his paper *Panorama de la Música Popular Gallega* (1940), which was published in the Journal *Galicia* in Buenos Aires, he admits that there are no clear answers to the question ‘¿cómo es lo gallego en música?’ and that his conclusions ‘no pretenden, desde luego, ser definitivas.’¹⁷⁵ Thus he questions previous methods of musical analysis, particularly the Celtic ideas in which musicologists searched for a complete explanation of Galician music through the previous inhabitants of Galicia, particularly the Celts. He sees this as a Romantic ideal and points out that if Galicia is Celtic then it is also many other things due to all the other invasions that Galicia has encountered. ‘Si Galicia es celta, también es otras muchas cosas que las diversas invasiones han podido dejar en ella; es también -¡y cómo! – Europa medieval, con todo lo que le trajeron las peregrinaciones jacobeanas; y es, finalmente, una resonancia del mundo romántico.’¹⁷⁶

Rhythm is one of the elements of Galician music that Bal y Gay examines, separating it into two: the music of free and regular rhythm. The first type of rhythm can often be found in the traditional alalás and various working songs, although this rhythm is certainly not exclusive to Galician song. Earlier, Quintanilla affirmed that free rhythm was one of the Galician traits that cannot be found in any other part of Spain, yet Bal y Gay notes its existence in Asturian music, for instance. This highlights the limitations Quintanilla’s research displays. Those of a definite rhythm tend to be lullabies, romances, *aguinaldos*, *maios* and *muiñeiras*, the rhythms of which can also be found in other musics of Spain such as dactylic, anapaestic and trochaic rhythms¹⁷⁷. However, Bal y Gay believes that some rhythms tend to be particularly Galician, one of which is in fact anapaestic, known locally as the ‘rhythm of the Galician bagpipe’ and often

characterises the *muiñeira*. Another rhythm that he deems to be Galician is that of many *pandeiradas*, *regueifas* and *desafíos* and which consists of a 3/4 rhythm followed by a 2/4 one. The general rule is that the 3/4 timing is represented by six quavers and the 2/4 rhythm by two crotchets. He adds that this rhythm has nothing to do with the Basque musical tendency of a 5/4 rhythm since the rhythmic emphasis of Galician music is more precise and falls on the first note of each of the two rhythms. It could be that the alternation between the 3/4 and 2/4 rhythms in certain Galician song types has a connection to Ribera's theory concerning the amalgamation of 3/8 and 2/4 timings.

Bal y Gay believes the *foliada* derives from the *jota* but in Galicia it is played with a distinct Galician style. It is a dance tune that is sung and 'en esta dualidad de funciones se fija lo que, a nuestro juicio, le da un aire peculiar.'¹⁷⁸ Many are in a 3/4 time yet the accompaniment on percussion beats out a rhythm of 3/8. Schubarth also notes that the *muiñeira vella* (old *muiñeira*), which 'non tén nada que ver coa *muiñeira nova*.'¹⁷⁹ has a binary rhythm. This suggests that either what Bal y Gay called a *foliada* is in fact what is now named a *muiñeira vella* or the tendency towards binary rhythms appears in more than one genre of Galician music.

According to Bal y Gay there have been various opinions given on the topic of tonality. He has noted, however, that more than half of the melodies that he had collected are in modern major modes, most of which are vocal pieces but there are some that are derived from or are solely bagpipe tunes. He suggests the reason for this is due to the tuning of the bagpipe as well as the fact that many of the tunes are of recent creation. Nevertheless, a reasonable amount of their collected melodies corresponds to medieval modes that he observes contain dominant clauses and also end on the dominant note of the scale. The most common mode that he found in his studies was the Phrygian mode and its plagal form. He suggests that this finding links Galician with Andalusian music which is considered to be greatly influenced by Arabic music, although Bal y Gay believes the Galician tonality is essentially a European medieval trait that was brought to Galicia with the pilgrims of the St James' Way. Thus he does not deny that there could

be possible Arabic influences in Galician music, unlike many of his older contemporaries.

Style is one of the aspects if not the aspect that distinguishes Galician traditional music from the others of Spain. He states that it is impossible to confuse the Galician *alalá* with the Asturian *vaqueiro* despite the fact that they both have the same tonal base and are rhythmically free, because the style of playing differs. He says of Galician musical style: ‘Lo gallego en música, sea vocal o instrumental, es sencillo, sólido, de buena ley; huye de la ornamentación excesiva ... apenas unos mordentes y apoyaturas repartidos con parsimonia...; pero la línea melódica no es seca, recta, sino jugosa y ondulante.’¹⁸⁰ Ribera also remarked that style plays a significant role in characterising regional music.

Bal y Gay believes the *muiñeira* to be of recent creation due to the lack of written evidence in previous centuries on the dance. ‘Parece, en efecto, mentira que el baile más típico de nuestro pueblo sea un producto de asimilación relativamente reciente. Pero hay que creerlo así dada la carencia absoluta de testimonios escritos acerca de su existencia anteriores al siglo pasado.’¹⁸¹ The absence of written data, however, does not prove that the *muiñeira* is therefore fairly new within the tradition, it simply reveals that very little has been written down concerning Galician traditional dance music prior to the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, both Schubarth and Ribera maintain that the new *muiñeira* with its 6/8 timing is quite a recent product, but they come to this conclusion for different reasons, as previously noted.

4.4 Concluding Comments

Academics of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did a tremendous amount of work in the revival of Galician traditional music. However, there are some question marks over the value of the work of certain individuals. Inzenga, for example, openly admitted to altering the music he collected and added piano accompaniments, thus devaluing the merit of his collections by interfering with the authenticity of the music.

By looking at the observations of Schubarth and Santamarina in the nineteen-eighties, it would seem that two of the main music collectors, Pérez Ballesteros and Sampedro, sometimes adapted the words of the data they collected, from Castilian into Galician. Although the evidence presented in this chapter suggests there were nationalistic motives for galicianising the lyrics, whether this really was the incentive for the alterations is inconclusive, especially if Casto Sampedro's example is taken into consideration. It is impossible to come to any conclusion as to why he would have changed the lyrics since he states that the intention behind his work was purely to preserve a tradition which he felt was vanishing. If some of his collection had been altered, it may not have been due to Sampedro himself. After all, the Galician nationalist composer Juan Montes contributed around fourteen percent of the material to the *Cancioneiro* and he was certainly known to adapt traditional music. Nevertheless, the earlier contributions were generally more positive than negative as they have helped significantly in the restoration of Galicia's traditional culture. For instance, Pérez Ballesteros' collection is still used today as a lyrical source and Sampedro's *Cancionero* supplies much musical material for folk groups. In this respect, Sampedro achieved what he had intended, and that was to save the traditions from dying.

The composers of that era took Galician traditional music motifs and adapted them into their compositions. They believed this raised the status of Galician traditional music which they saw as a lesser art form than their own. This patronising attitude, I believe, is not only due to the thinking of that time, but also to a lack of understanding of the function of traditional music. First and foremost its purpose is to share. Thus the songs and tunes are not meant to be overly complicated and clever as they must communicate in a manner that everyone can relate to as well as to allow others to join in the performance. Furthermore, the nationalist composers often set their music to cultured literature, such as the poems of Rosalía, Curros and Pondal, rather than to the local traditional literature and their creations were enjoyed by a limited section of society, namely the middle classes. On the other hand, some of their compositions are still played and sung today and have since reached a far wider audience.

In the field of musical analysis musicologists can be put into two categories: those who analysed music in order to prove their theories on Galician identity and those who were simply interested in traditional music and its preservation. In the first grouping are Varela, Tafall and Quintanilla who were clearly influenced by Murguía's racial ideas and, as a result, assumed that Galicia's Celtic past must somehow be reflected in the music and searched for proof of this in order to verify Galicia's separate identity. They also adopted the popular belief that the bagpipe is undoubtedly of Celtic origin, despite the lack of evidence. Ribera and Bal y Gay, on the other hand, could be placed in the second category since they were not convinced by racial arguments and therefore their work was unaffected by them. Rather their interest lay in tracing the development of Galician music over time as a way of also preserving it, and consequently, they approached their work with a more open mind. Similarly in the nineteen-eighties Schubarth's motivation did not arise out of trying to prove Galicia's separate identity but out of the desire to preserve a song tradition on the brink of extinction. Not surprisingly, Ribera's and Bal y Gay's hypotheses are closer to those of Schubarth than are Varela's, Tafall's and Quintanilla's observations regarding the scales, modes and certain rhythms found in Galician music.

The dubious and limited findings of the figures involved in the music revival prior to the mid-nineteen-twenties were being questioned during the last decade of the nationalist era. This new attitude within the music sphere occurred around the time that the *galeguistas* no longer felt the need to prove their national status, as this was a fact, and therefore began to celebrate their traditions in their authentic rather than adulterated forms. The change in direction from 'proving' Galicia's national status to 'celebrating' it was to set the stage for the second cultural revival (*Recuperación*) that would begin to take firm root after Franco's death in 1975 and in which traditional and folk music would play a major role.

Chapter 5

The Present-Day Cultural Revival

The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) followed by nearly 40 years of dictatorship sought to eradicate regional activities that expressed a culture other than the 'Spanish' culture established by the regime. In order to ensure local traditions were employed to represent the 'Spanish nation' and not a separate identity within a region, certain traditions were carefully selected and reinvented by the Francoists to represent the cultural wealth that the Spain possessed. Spanish unity was also promoted through linguistic measures. Castilian was enforced as the only mother tongue of Spain and the use of local languages in public was forbidden.

During the nineteen-sixties in Galicia, the *Movemento da Nova Canción* (New Song Movement) emerged that opposed these cultural restrictions. The roots of the movement in fact began in the early sixties with a handful of musicians who sang songs in Galician. Such a phenomenon had already begun in the late fifties in Catalonia known as *La Nova Cançó* and no doubt this had some impact on the development of the Galician movement. Towards the end of the sixties Galician musicians became greatly influenced by the protest-song movement of the Americas and began to write their own political material in a similar musical style. Some were detained for their work as were musicians in the United States and Latin America.

There was also a section of the Movement called *canción lixeira* which emerged in the early seventies and that veered towards commerciality. The singers of these songs appeared to be more concerned with the saleability of their material than its content, thus they sang in Galician not so much as a form of protest but because it was what sold at that time, abroad as well as in Galicia. Nevertheless, it was still quite an important part

of the era because it proved that songs in *Galego* could sell outside a Galician setting and also helped to change the backward image the language possessed.

1975 was a significant year not only because Franco died but also because it was then that the New Song Movement entered a new phase. Many musicians working in the music field made a conscious decision to concentrate more closely on Galicia's musical traditions rather than looking to outside material for their inspiration. This change in direction was the beginning of the traditional music revival (*Recuperación*).

Unlike the *Rexurdimento* of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, the current revival is not purely academic as people from various walks of life are involved. The *Recuperación* has spread further afield due to the great advances in communication technologies, although during the Franco years, Spain's music industry was limited and performance often had to take place clandestinely, as the regime was in charge of all media. The Basque musician, Antton Valverde, who set music to the work of great Basque poets during the time of the general New Song Movement, recalls how the music industry was before and after the death of Franco.

Por entonces no había ninguna industria musical; todo lo que se hacía antes de que surgiera Herri Gogoa¹⁸² era semiclandestino. En el País Vasco continental había una editorial llamada Goiztiri, cuyos discos se pasaban aquí escondidos. [...] Las condiciones de grabación no eran las óptimas, evidentemente, por lo que los resultados también eran modestos, artesanales, realizados con pocos medios. Los discos se editaban tal como salían. Tras morir Franco, y a medida que las cosas empezaron a normalizarse y calmarse, surgieron otros estudios de grabación, casas de discos, etc., y poco a poco la industria musical empezó a levantarse.¹⁸³

This chapter shall therefore give examples of how local cultures were not only oppressed during the Franco regime but also 'abducted' and reinvented to represent Spanish

traditions. In addition it will describe the elements that contributed to the rise of the revival. It shall then analyse the role two groups in particular, Fuxan Os Ventos and Milladoiro, have played and still play in this project. There are a great number of musicians and bands who have contributed to this revival, therefore I have decided to concentrate on the two groups mentioned above because they are regarded as the pioneers of the music revival, Fuxan Os Ventos for their songs and Milladoiro for their tunes. Anxo García Pintos sums up the significance of these two groups.

O itinerario marcado por “Fuxan Os Ventos” deixa tras de si a transcendencia das sendas abertas polos pioneiros ao descubrir o valor da música popular como compoñente esencial, como elemento presente no imaxinario colectivo dunha parte importante da sociedade que se identifica e se reconece na música reelaborada. [...] Desde o seu nacemento “Milladoiro” ten logrado establecer un fondo vínculo cunha variada e importante parte da sociedade galega que olla no seu traballo a dignificación, a calidade e a coherencia artísticas que convirten a “Milladoiro” nun clásico do presente.¹⁸⁴

Because a great number of elements have contributed and still contribute to the revival, this chapter will not be able to include them all. It shall therefore specifically concentrate on the following factors. The ‘Conservatorio de Música Tradicional’ and the ‘Obradoiro de Instrumentos Musicais Populares Galegos’ have taught various musicians who are now well-established in the music scene and also some of the tutors are at the forefront of the revival. There has been a vast amount of music collecting, the material of which is much used by groups and soloists. The Banda de Gaitas da Diputación de Ourense, by contrast, is an element considered as damaging to all the work achieved in the revival. Since, however, it has caused much discussion in the Galician bagpiping world, it too will be included. Furthermore, there will be a section on the commercialisation of Galician folk music, as it is a theme which emerged in the literature of the New Song Movement and in my interviews with figures involved in the revival. The system of public performances in Galicia will also be considered, because

music managers regard it as preventing opportunities for musicians to become professional.

5.1 Cultural Oppression during the Franco Regime

During its time in power (1939-75) the Franco government prohibited activity that expressed a culture other than the 'Spanish' culture established by the regime. Franco's intent was to create an autarchic Spain that was united with one language, one religion and one culture, although the latter could possess diversity so long as it still symbolised Spain. The State had control over all forms of communication: television, cinema, radio and the press, in order to ensure that anything that they considered to be 'non-Spanish' would not filter through and influence, or rather, corrupt the thinking of the people of Spain. The autonomy statutes that the Second Republic (1931-6) had granted to Catalonia and the Basque Country were quashed.

Artículo único.- Quedan sin efecto y, por tanto, dejarán de aplicarse desde esta fecha, todas las leyes, disposiciones y doctrinas emanadas del Parlamento de Cataluña y del Tribunal de Casación, restableciéndose en toda su integridad el derecho existente al promulgarse el Estatuto.

Así lo dispongo por la presente Ley, dada en Burgos a ocho de septiembre de mil novecientos treinta y nueve. –Año de la Victoria.

FRANCISCO FRANCO¹⁸⁵

Galicia's statute of autonomy had only just been approved by the voting public less than a month before the Civil War broke out in 1936 and therefore was never put into practice. Castilian was enforced as the official and only language of Spain and the use of any other tongue in public, such as Catalan, Basque and Galician, was strictly prohibited. Catholicism was the sole religion to be practised and to be taught as an inherent part of Spanish culture.

In 1945 the Fuero de los Españoles was drafted stating the rights of the Spanish people. In Article 12 it maintained that all were free to express their opinions, but this assertion was annulled by the statement that followed which forbade any criticism of the underlying values of the State. In other words no other opinions were allowed if they did not coincide with those of the regime. ‘Artículo doce.- Todo español podrá expresar libremente sus ideas mientras no atenten a los principios fundamentales del Estado.’¹⁸⁶ What the regime saw as opposing its fundamental principles was any action that it believed threatened Spanish unity. ‘Artículo treinta y tres.- El ejercicio de los derechos que se reconocen en este Fuero no podrán atentar a la unidad espiritual, nacional y social de España.’¹⁸⁷

Although cultural activity regarded as asserting a particular region was prohibited, the regime paradoxically used local cultural elements to promote Spanish unity. For instance the *Sección Femenina* (SF) of the *Falange Española Tradicionalista* (FET) would teach selected regional dances and songs to women, as part of their education and training to become wives and mothers. However, the women were taught that their regional songs and dances were a symbol of Spain’s cultural diversity and in that way the SF encouraged the notion that the local traditions were to be regarded as essentially Spanish. Furthermore, only certain cultural elements were chosen, such as the *jotas* and *muiñeiras*, because they were seen to be ancient and therefore authentic and indigenous to Spain. On the other hand, the *sardana*, perceived as an expression of specifically Catalan identity, was officially discouraged. Popular dances and music that had become part of Spanish customs at a more recent date, such as polkas, were considered to represent ‘other’ traditions that came from beyond Spanish borders. Such notions were articulated in 1942 in the *Frente de Juventudes*’ journal *Mandos*:

En los campamentos¹⁸⁸ hay prohibición absoluta de toda canción que tenga forma de cuplé, la decadencia más manifiesta del gusto musical, que por tener una letra, la mayoría de las veces, inmoral, perjudica o podría perjudicar la formación espiritual de nuestras acampadas. Por el contrario, nuestras canciones

regionales son un reflejo de nuestra raza. Oyendo cantar una jota se ve reflejado el ímpetu del alma aragonesa, pues en sus acordes recordamos las canciones guerreras, mientras que en una muiñeira vemos impresa la nostalgia de la tierra gallega y la dulzura del paisaje.¹⁸⁹

In his essay *El Uso del Folklore en la Sección Femenina: el Caso de Granada*, Miguel Ángel Berlanga suggests that the SF not only selected regional traditions but also changed them to suit their ideas and what they wished to promote. In this way the women ‘reinvented’ Spanish cultural aspects. Berlanga compares the themes and structures of the *fandangos del sur* that inspired the SF with the ones they taught and promoted. In doing so he concludes that ‘las mujeres de la Sección Femenina de Falange realizaron una verdadera y propia reinvención del folklore, tanto en los contenidos semánticos y significaciones de esos bailes como en la ‘sintaxis’ musical...’¹⁹⁰

The result of the conscious selection of local material and the adaptation of it to support the Spanish nationalist ideal was the homogenisation of regional culture, which Berlanga discovered to be the case with the *fandangos*:

Un rasgo que distingue bien a unos *fandangos* de otros es la casi desaparición de variantes locales en los *fandangos* folclorizados tipo *Coros y Danzas*¹⁹¹. Mientras en la práctica tradicional cada pueblo o aldea tenía su estilo o variante local, que los hacía (y aún los hace) inconfundibles, los *fandangos* de los *Coros y Danzas* se convierten en productos casi homoglados que comenzaron a circular de un lugar o otro con la única variación de algún detalle de las letras.¹⁹²

In Galicia, the *gaita* was adopted by the regime to represent Francoism within that region. Bagpipes were played at official gatherings and the colours of the Spanish flag became an integral part of the bagpipe design. The image of the *gaita* was later to

become a significant obstacle in the *Recuperación*, as people had difficulty in dissociating it from the Franco regime.

Despite the cultural restrictions that were in place, the assertion of regional identities began to arise once more during the nineteen sixties. It coincided with a boom in the tourist industry and Spain suddenly found herself more vulnerable to criticism from beyond her borders. The Francoists therefore tried to improve the image of Spain abroad and the contribution to this process from the Minister of Information, Manuel Fraga Iribarne¹⁹³, was the Press Law of 1966 that modified the censorship regulations. This was a clever ploy that in reality did virtually nothing to allow any amount of freedom of expression. It claimed that the prior censorship law had been nullified but cunningly left scope for exceptions. ‘Artículo 3.º De la censura.- La Administración no podrá aplicar la censura previa ni exigir la consulta obligatoria salvo en los estados de excepción y de guerra expresamente vistos en las leyes.’¹⁹⁴ The new regulations in fact meant that writers and performers now had the choice whether or not to submit work intended for publication, but if the authorities found the material to be objectionable after publication, it could be impounded.

Artículo 4.º *Consulta voluntaria*.- 1. La Administración podrá ser consultada sobre el contenido de toda clase de impresos por cualquier persona que pudiera resultar responsable de su difusión. La respuesta aprobatoria o el silencio de la Administración eximirán de responsabilidad ante la misma por la difusión del impreso sometido a consulta.¹⁹⁵

As a result, many dared not risk the confiscation of their work and so this new law in effect led to a form of self-censorship. Although this law did not specify that it also applied to public performances, it was implicit. ‘Artículo 43. Agencias informativas.- Se consideran agencias informativas las Empresas que se dediquen en forma habitual a proporcionar noticias, colaboraciones, fotografías y cualesquiera otros elementos informativos.’¹⁹⁶ Nevertheless, in the music scene, for instance, it did seem to further

encourage some artistes to defy the restrictions on freedom of expression, despite the threat of being fined or imprisoned for doing so.

In December 1978, only three years after Franco's death, the Spanish Constitution was ratified. Article 20 of this document states that freedom of opinion through artistic and cultural expression is permitted and that there are no censorship restrictions on such lawful practices.

Artículo 20

1. Se reconocen y protegen los derechos:
 - a) A expresar y difundir libremente los pensamientos, ideas y opiniones mediante la palabra, el escrito o cualquier otro medio de reproducción.
 - b) A la producción y creación literaria, artística, científica y técnica.
 - c) A la libertad de cátedra.
 - d) A comunicar o recibir libremente información veraz por cualquier medio de difusión. La ley regulará el derecho a la cláusula de conciencia y al secreto profesional en el ejercicio de estas libertades.
2. El ejercicio de estos derechos no puede restringirse mediante ningún tipo de censura previa.¹⁹⁷

However, there were still instances of cultural oppression subsequent to Franco's death in November 1975 and even after the 1978 Constitution was agreed. For example, the singer-songwriter Jai Nogueroles was fined in 1977 and Suso Vaamonde sentenced to six years in prison in 1980 for the content of certain songs they had sung in public.¹⁹⁸ Still, such incidents did not deter those in the New Song Movement from continuing their work, which exemplifies the fact that the Franco regime did not succeed in stamping out all other forms of cultural expression than those set out by the State as 'Spanish'. Carr believes that 'in the end repression proved ineffective; it intensified nationalist movements and broadened their base of support'.¹⁹⁹ In the Galician music scene, it

strengthened the determination of the musicians to assert their right to express themselves in their own way, and due to this resolve the *Movement da Nova Canción* went from strength to strength and contributed to the beginnings of the music revival in the mid-seventies.

5.2 Events which Contributed to the Music Revival

5.2.1 The Rise of New Song Movement.

During the early sixties, there were already signs of the New Song Movement emerging with a few musicians who began to sing publicly in *Galego*, although this practice was prohibited during Franco's dictatorship, as we have already seen. One such musician was Pucho Boedo (1928-1986) who was renowned for his voice in his locality of Silva in Corunna. In 1961 he joined the group Os Tamara (then called Los Tamara) and became well known in other areas of Spain, Europe and even South America. In 1964 they recorded the song *Galicia Terra Nosa*²⁰⁰ which, according to Xurxo Souto 'foi un éxito sen precedente'.²⁰¹ They sang the work of poets such as Rosalía de Castro (1837-1885) and Celso Emilio Ferreiro (1912-1979) and in 1970 were the first to record a whole album in the Galician tongue called *Na Fervosa Galicia*.

Although the movement grew out of a reaction to Franco's dictatorship, Galician musicians found much inspiration from beyond their native soil, such as from the nineteen-sixties' music of the Americas, Britain, Catalonia and Portugal. The Galician journalist Xosé Manuel Estévez, who witnessed this era at first hand, lists the main outside influences that contributed to the character of the Galician movement.

Todos eran debedores de músicas de procedencia foránea: que se a pegada de The Beatles e todo o mundo anglosaxón conseguinte, outros interésanse pola canción sudamericana –cos Chalchaleros acaso como nome sobranceiro-, desde

Catalunya alumeaba o facho poético-musical en forma de *nova cançó*, e o máis próximo era o Portugal de, sobre todo, José Alfonso, habitual compañeiro de fatigas de varios compoñentes de Voces Ceibes –nomeadamente Benedicto-...²⁰²

La Nova Cançó in Catalonia, that Estévez mentions above, began in the late fifties, yet how great an impact it had in Galicia is not clear. According to material written on this topic (which is sparse), most of the influences appear to come from beyond Spanish boundaries, such as the Americas, and *La Nova Cançó* is less frequently mentioned. Nevertheless it seems likely to have played an important part in the Galician music scene. For example Raimon, one of the most famous figures of *La Nova Cançó*, came to Santiago in May 1967 where he gave a concert, the very year that marks the beginning of the New Song Movement in Galicia. Estévez also makes this observation and states that in fact it was seen as being at the centre of the entire movement. ‘Tamén se aludiu á *cançó* catalana como cerne de todo aquel movemento.’²⁰³ Furthermore, both movements shared the same influences, principally singer-songwriters from North America, such as Bob Dylan, Joan Baez and Pete Seeger. Pete Seeger and Joan Baez, particularly the former, involved themselves in the protest movement in Spain. Seeger brought the song ‘Viva la Quinta Brigada’, a Republican piece from the Civil War, to audiences outside Spain. He was especially popular in Catalonia and in 1992 was invited to return to Barcelona to participate in the concert that celebrated the 30th anniversary of Raimon’s song *Al Vent*. An example of Baez’ involvement occurred in 1977 when she ignored the prohibition laws, described above, that were still in effect. She sang the protest song *We shall not be moved* (*No nos moverán*) in Castilian live on national Spanish television at peak viewing time. Even though the producer of the show had known what songs she would sing beforehand, he had taken no action to prevent her from performing them. He was immediately fired after the event.

Songs from North America, above all the protest songs, were translated into Galician. For example, members of Voces Ceibes, a collective of singer-songwriters, sung *Venceremos Nós*, the translated version of *We Shall Overcome* for the first time in

Santiago in 1968 when Franco's dictatorship was still very much in force, although the censorship laws had supposedly been relaxed. Though the English version of the song was made famous by Pete Seeger and Joan Baez, it had previously been used by African-American Food and Tobacco Union workers in Charleston, South Carolina, in their strike in 1945. According to Guy Carawan²⁰⁴, it was originally an old African-American Church song called *I'll Overcome Someday*.

Some of the protest-song singers of North America and Galicia, such as Baez and Voces Ceibes' Benedicto García, were detained because of what they stood for politically and the content of their work that often expressed political ideas and criticised those then in power. During the Vietnam War Joan Baez was actively involved in anti-war protests which included promoting draft resistance. In October 1967 she was arrested and detained for 10 days for taking part in the blocking of the entrance to the Armed Forces Induction Center in Oakland, California. Two months later she was imprisoned again for the same 'offence' and the following year there was a ban on the sale of her recordings in Army Post Exchanges due to her anti-war actions. Benedicto was detained for a night in a cell in Pontevedra after participating as a guest singer and judge in the 'Festival Galego da Canción Moderna' on 17 July 1968. During his recital two police officers, without the audience being aware, tried to intimidate him through their presence in order to pressurise him into finishing the performance. Benedicto then announced to the audience that there were certain people who were trying to prevent him from singing and he was immediately escorted to a police cell. The following day he was released but six days later received a fine of 1,000 pesetas from the *Gobernador Civil* for the crime of 'interpretar canciones prohibidas en el Festival Gallego de la Canción Moderna y dirigir frases subversivas a los asistentes.'²⁰⁵ Many times the Civil Guard would cut short Benedicto's and his contemporaries' performances for employing *frases subversivas* in their songs.

South American material also contributed to the beginnings of the Galician movement, mainly due to the social content of the songs to which Galician singer-songwriters

responded. For instance, the work of the Argentine poet and musician Atahualpa Yupanqui (1908-1992) had quite a significant effect on Galician musicians as he concerned himself with the social realities of the everyday people. He also frequently relied on Argentine traditional music for his musical inspiration just as Galician musicians would later take their native music as their stimulus. His work started to have an impact towards the end of the nineteen-thirties in Argentina. In 1945 he joined the Communist Party, which, along with his anti-Peronist attitude, led to his work and concerts being censored and also to his imprisonment on eight occasions. During the late nineteen forties his music was becoming recognised in Europe where he often gave concerts.

5.2.2 Protest Song and the New Song Movement in Galicia

The year 1967 marks the beginning of the New Song Movement in Galicia; a movement that is much characterised by protest song, as has already been noted. The singer-songwriters Xerardo Moscoso, Xavier del Valle, Vicente Araguas, Guillermo Rojo, Bibiano Morón, Benedicto García²⁰⁶, Tino Álvarez, Chuspe Barreiro, Suso Vaamonde²⁰⁷ (1950-2000) and Miro Casabella began singing anti-fascist songs in Galician in order to protest against the oppressive regime in Spain that did not allow freedom of expression, especially if it asserted a separate culture. They were a collective known as Voces Ceibes whose motto was ‘unha terra, un pobo, unha fala’ and they started by performing in university settings. At first musicians simply set music to the work of famous Galician poets, but afterwards many within Voces Ceibes began to write their own lyrics as well as music. Voces Ceibes are therefore seen as the initiators of the New Song Movement in Galicia.

Despite the supposed abolition of ‘*censura previa*’ the previous year, there were still restrictions in place that led to a form of self-censorship, as previously noted, and consequently the music scene had to continue underground to a large extent, which Vaamonde affirms, ‘naqueles anos, a música galega era completamente clandestina.’²⁰⁸

The performers were still obliged to show the lyrics of the songs they intended to sing before their concert to allow the authorities to ban material they deemed to be unacceptable. This practice resulted in many songs or simply certain verses or lines of songs receiving the ‘*PROHIBIDO*’ sticker. ‘Había que apresentar as letras para as actuacións e case sempre che denegaban todo porque o que buscaban claramente era que non se celebrasen concertos.’²⁰⁹ This testimony demonstrates that Fraga’s change in the censorship law was completely ineffectual where performers were concerned. Therefore, in order to overcome the censorship obstacle they would write songs that hid the real meaning. For example Bibiano wrote a song entitled *Vello Can de Palleiro* (*Old Hayrick Dog*) in which the dog is a synonym of Franco and the final line, although written as ‘*abaixo a dentadura*’, would often be sung as ‘*abaixo a dictadura*’. In this way some of their songs managed to escape the prohibition stamps.

Vello Can de Palleiro

¡Ai!, rabioso e vello can de palleiro	Caer un tras doutro
Daste conta de que vas morrer,	Verás caer
E non poderás trabar,	Até que caia toda a túa dentadura
E non poderás morder	A túa forte dentadura
E os teus podridos dentes	Virase abaixo,
Verás caer.	Abaixo a dentadura. ²¹⁰

Even though some of them were singled out and detained, Benedicto being one of them, they still had a great desire to continue with their work because they saw it as an essential tool for fighting oppression. ‘Daquela si había unha inmensa gana de cambialo todo, de poñer todo patas para arriba.’²¹¹ Even as late as 1980, two years after the Spanish Constitution had been signed and when Spain was apparently a democracy, the persecution continued with Vaamonde being condemned to six years and a day in prison for singing a popular verse at an antinuclear event in Pontevedra the previous year. His crime was for ‘insulting the Mother country with the lyrics:

Cando me falan de España
Sempre teño unha disputa
Que se España é a miña nai
Eu son un fillo de puta.²¹²

As a result, Vaamonde decided to escape into exile, first of all to London, then to Germany and finally to Caracas. Four years later he gave himself up and was imprisoned for forty-six days in Orense after which time he obtained a pardon from the socialist Government. This had not been his first attempt to clear his name as he had in fact previously asked Felipe González, the then leader of the Spanish Government who came to power in 1982, for a pardon when González was visiting Caracas.

5.2.3 Contributions from outside Galicia

Miro Casabella, who formed part of Voces Ceibes, and Jei Nogueroles were both Galicians who had emigrated to Catalonia but were very much interested in their native roots and expanding their Galician song repertoires. Although he was not imprisoned for his work, Nogueroles was fined on one particular occasion for singing the song *Romance dos Trovadores* in Madrid in January 1977, when Spain was in a state of transition from dictatorship to democracy.

Romance dos Trovadores

Érase unha vez rei
E unha reina en terra allea,
Unha coroa de lata
Un principiño e dúas nenas.

Tiñan un pazo fermoso
Con xardín, ou ti que pensas?
Que lle deixou un xeral
Que din que ganou na guerra.²¹³

Despite Franco's death fourteen months previously, the censorship laws, although apparently relaxed, were clearly still in force. This was because the Código Penal had not been reformed, even after the Constitution was approved, hence Vaamonde's six-year sentence in 1980. Moreover, there were still Francoists in important posts which encouraged a repressive form of government to continue.

Amancio Prada was also a figure involved in Galician song from a distance, although he was not born in Galicia himself. He was from Dehesas in the province of León and later emigrated to Paris where he studied harmony, composition and the guitar. He was not part of the protest-song movement but was simply interested in the language, which on its own was a great contribution. During the late sixties he put tunes to many Rosalía de Castro poems, one of which, *Pra Habana*²¹⁴, won first prize in the 'Festival de Juventud' celebrated in Alar del Rey, Palencia in 1969. His first Galician-Castilian bilingual album, *Vida e Morte* was recorded as late as 1974, some years after his interest in Galician began. The following year he recorded an album of poems by Rosalía to which he had set the music. He used the *zanfona* (hurdy-gurdy) in his arrangements, an instrument that was particularly popular in the Medieval courts in Galicia, and by doing so he helped with its revival.

5.2.4 Canción Lixeira

Just as the seventies began a new element of the Movement emerged called the '*canción lixeira*'. This branch is seen as geared more towards commerciality than towards any type of political stance. The leaders in this field were the singers Xoán Pardo²¹⁵, (known as Juan Pardo at that time), and Andrés do Barro²¹⁶. They sang songs in *Galego* but because the content of their work tended to avoid the political they were not hounded to the same degree as Voces Ceibes. However, one of the reasons they risked singing in Galician was because they saw it as a way of preserving the Galician tongue, changing its backward image and celebrating Galicia's cultural traditions. In other words, although they were criticised for being commercial this was not entirely fair. They

wished to contribute to Galicia's situation, and so they did, but only where language was concerned. Xoán Pardo states his reasons for singing in Galician which do not suggest pure commercial interest.

No meu caso, o rexionalismo non o vexo como unha tendencia, senón como un xeito de conservar unha tradición. Tento apuntar para que non se perda unha riqueza nacional que é o galego. Cando canto nesta lingua emociónome e lembro a miña nenez. Ademais non viría mal que a partir de agora se deixase de desprezar o galego.²¹⁷

According to the music critic Nonito Pereira,²¹⁸ singing in Galician commercially reaped its benefits at that time, as it was very much in vogue to contextualise material through language and local references. However, the performers did not use Galician traditional music to localise their songs, just simply language. 'A falta de imaxinación social conduce á mediocridade utilizando o vehículo do idioma como elemento de localización rexional, pero sen que os seus matices culturais, as súas especiais características, o seu sentido e o seu estilo aparezan en absoluto.'²¹⁹ Apparently Xoán Pardo was able to sing material that Voces Ceibes had been forbidden to perform, although, in his interview, Pereira fails to inform us why this was so. No doubt this was due to association: for example, Voces Ceibes had political agendas and were therefore viewed with greater suspicion, whereas the content of Pardo's work was overlooked because of his general non-political connections. It was not simply certain actions that the authorities tried to curb, but also certain individuals whose anti-Francoist reputations preceded them.

However, Andrés do Barro did suffer from some harassment which often led him to obey the language laws and to sing in Castilian through fear of being punished. A 'crime' such as singing in Galician could result in a hefty fine or even detention. He was watched over by the police during his concerts to make sure that he did not use Galician and they would frequently remind him that such a practice was forbidden. 'Hai dous anos estiven retido pola policia en dúas vilas galegas porque quería cantar en

galego. Non me deixaron até que pasou a hora de recital. E aquí moi perto dixéronme “non se pode cantar en galego, está prohibido”.²²⁰ Although he had not decided to dedicate himself to singing purely in Galician as had some of his contemporaries such as the members of Voces Ceibes, he always asserted his right to sing in *Galego*. According to Nonito Pereira²²¹ he was the most successful abroad and proved that songs in Galician also had a place outside of Galicia, despite the fact that he was apparently not a great live singer.

There is no doubt that the *Movemento da Nova Canción* in Galicia arose out of a reaction to Franco’s dictatorship and was greatly influenced by the protest-song movement of the sixties. Voces Ceibes, the collective of singer-songwriters, led the field in Galicia. They often translated American protest-song into Galician, set music to the poems of famous Galician poets, particularly from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and wrote their own songs. The New Song Movement was by no means peculiar to Galicia, but occurred throughout Spain and although Catalonia was more famous for the event, Galicia and her language still attracted musicians from other parts of the Peninsula to join her struggle, such as Jei Noguerol and Amancio Prada. The *canción lixeira* was a branch of this movement that was often criticised for veering towards the commercial rather than the political. Yet through singing in Galician, the musicians in this sphere attempted to encourage a more positive attitude towards the tongue and in this way made a valuable contribution. This whole phenomenon, which, in effect, was a world-wide movement, led to the *Recuperación*, a great cultural revival, that began in Galicia in the mid nineteen-seventies and still continues to this day.

5.3 The Present-Day Revival

In 1975, a collective of musicians came together to discuss in which direction the Song Movement should go. They agreed that a much greater emphasis should be placed on the promotion of Galicia’s cultural heritage, in order to ensure that it would once more become part of Galician life, and discussed what they should do to guarantee this

happened. They felt it necessary to decide on specific goals because they believed that far more work was required in Galicia than in any other region of Spain with regard to her musical traditions. In the meeting were: Rodrigo Romaní and Antón Seoane, who would both later form part of the group Milladoiro, Manoel Hermida, Emilio Cao, Miro Casabella, Xurxo Mares, X. Quintas Canella, Xoxé Manoel and Agustín Maroñas. According to a newspaper article published in *La Voz de Galicia* on 26 September 1975 there were five goals they had in mind:

1. The songs should be based on traditional Galician song.
2. To give performances in order to share Galician music with Galician people before it became forgotten.
3. To try and overcome the three main obstacles in their way, a) the lack of money to support their work, b) the administration that still forbade much cultural activity and c) the fact that the people in general were more interested in music from elsewhere rather than in their own music.
4. To revive traditional instruments that had almost been forgotten, such as the *zanfona*, and to collect songs before they were completely wiped from Galicia's memory forever.
5. To make sure that when they played in *festas* (festivals) or in concert halls that they had a proper contract.

That very year a festival was held in Santiago to celebrate Galician music and instruments with many of the aforementioned figures involved, including some members of Voces Ceibes. The idea of this event was to bring Galician music into the forefront of the music scene in Galicia, to rid it of its negative associations and thus encourage people to regard the music in a more positive light. Galician music was generally considered as inferior as the two bagpipers from the group Milladoiro testify. 'Cando chegamos nós a xente que se dedicaba á música de forma séria non tiña como centro a música tradicional porque tiñan complexo de inferioridade ou por outras cousas que

todos sabemos e facían que non fose unha música atractiva, mesmo costaba coller moza se eras gaitero.’²²²

The Santiago festival marks the beginning of the *Recuperación*, and the principle of promoting Galician culture as something of which to be proud rather than ashamed, was one of the fundamental driving forces behind the entire movement. Since then, many music groups have formed and have raised the status of Galician music, the two principal ones being Fuxan Os Ventos and Milladoiro.

5.3.1 Fuxan Os Ventos

One of the most prominent groups who emerged out of the New Song Movement and is seen as one of the pioneers of the music revival was Fuxan Os Ventos. They were originally called Folk 72 and won a competition with the song *Fuxan Os Ventos*²²³ by J. Mato, subsequently naming themselves after the song. The reason for this was the impact the content of the song had on them as a group as well as the positive reaction it received in Galicia at that time. It is concerned with Galicia's future and 'é un canto de esperanza'²²⁴:

<p>Queremos cantar, queremos berrar, Coa forza da fé, que a nosa Galicia <i>Aínda está de pé.</i></p> <p>Fuxan os ventos dos agoreiros, Dos vinculeiros de tempos vellos; ¡Fora lembranzas, tepedas noites que esfaragullan os tempos de hoxe! Veñen os homes rexos e fortes Cos ollos limpos traballadores Que espallen xuntos sin refolgar, O desenrolo do noso fogar. Mirada pra diante sempre sin medo Nenos e nenas, mozos e vellos, Galicia enteira que eiquí representa Esta xuntanza que non ten medo.</p>	<p>Anque choren os campos na súa orfandade, Morran soios os vellos afogando as penas; Anque non soe a gaita na romería, Fuxan mozos e mozas á terra allea. Na fondo da ialma do noso pobo, Latexa a forza dun mundo novo. Por eso queremos cantar: (fuxan os ventos...)</p> <p>Co traballo, a xuntanza e a fé Coas escolas, leiros, prados i o mare Queimaremos penas mortas hastra o fin O carón desta espranza Que xa brila nesta terra: loitaremos. Por eso queremos cantar: (fuxan os ventos...) ²²⁵</p>
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The rhythm and musical arrangements of this piece are particularly interesting because they reflect Galician rural musical traditions. The first part (left column) is sung in a ‘*muiñeira nova*’ rhythm. This rhythm is that of the dance tune of the same name and certain working songs, such as ‘*tróupele-tróupele*’²²⁶. In this section of the song Fuxan Os Ventos are singing about how they envisage the future of Galicia could be, suggesting that Galicia’s past has already laid the foundations for an optimistic future. The following part (‘*aunque choren...queremos cantar*’) paints a bleak picture of what may be the reality now and to reflect this the tune changes and becomes slow, melancholic and rhythmically free, despite the faint guitar accompaniment in the

background with its solemn 4/4 timing. Once more it is an imitation of rural song, for example the tune is like an *alalá* without the ‘*ai la las*’ and the metre of the lyrics similar to a ‘*canto de seitura*’. Concerning the latter songs, Dorothé Schubarth and Antón Santamarina noted that although many are octosyllabic, the amount of syllables can also vary from eight per line to seven and five, and this is virtually true of the above song. However, the line ‘*no fondo da ialma do noso pobo*’ is endecasyllabic and the tune returns to the *muiñeira nova* rhythm of before, although at a slightly slower pace, implying that underneath the present misery, might is nonetheless building up that will guarantee the hopeful future described in the first part of the song. The last section is recited with the rest of the group singing ‘*Loitaremos nós, así loitaremos*’, which tells us how such a future will be secured.

In the early seventies the group simply sang any songs that they liked, but towards the middle of the decade, they, as well as others in this field, decided to dedicate themselves to Galicia, her traditions and culture and to sing solely in Galician. They were the first group to promote Galicia’s musical traditions rather than only the language and a change in the political situation as had done Voces Ceibes. Having said that, much of Fuxan Os Vento’s earlier work is noted for its political content. Another difference is that many of the members came from a rural background whereas the protest-song movement emerged from a university setting. Their rural roots are of particular importance because much of their inspiration derives directly from this source, which comes to light in the themes found in many of their songs. For example, *O Lelo*²²⁷, which was written by the group member, Mini (a.k.a. Xosé Luis Rivas Cruz), and recorded in 1976, is concerned with a young rural boy who goes to school for the first time and the problems he encounters there. The only language he has ever known is Galician and therefore struggles to understand what is being said at school, but worst of all he is punished for speaking in his mother tongue and not in Castilian. By describing Lelo’s way of life at the beginning of the song, it is highlighting how far removed the imposed school system is for rural children such as Lelo and that in their world Castilian is in fact useless. This song not only protests against the oppression of Galician in favour of Castilian but also

against the fact that Castilian is seen as the language that would make a proper man of Lelo, 'seña home feito'. In other words it is underlining a negative attitude surrounding the Galician tongue. Tereixa from the group believes that the messages in this song are still valid today, 'aínda hoxe esa letra segue vixente'²²⁸.

Pra onde vas Lelo co aro de ferro
no día que fai de mañán cedo.
E un cabás novo e uns libros vellos,
nos zocos anos de lama cheos.
Vou a sere outro pra aquil cortello,
de días de escola, iste é o primeiro.
Hei estudar temos maestro
pra que mañán seña home feito.

¿Como che foi? Conta meu neno
de certo que hoxe xa trás proveito.

Bah! Non é nada, eu non o entendo
pois abofellas, que no meu testo
non sei que fala o meu maestro.
Di que vostede, chámase: abuelo,
miña nai: madre, e o chan: el suelo.
Tamén zorrega capós a eito,
se dis que é mouro en ves de negro.
Mañan a escola non vou de certo.
Eu non entendo, non vallo pra eso.
Falas estranas, estranos lerios.
Do meu non falan. Falan de lexos.
Pra endurecere as maus no leiro
aínda non compre iste maestro.²²⁹

In the above song there is not a great deal of musical variation as there is in the previous song example: Fuxan os ventos. However, the first four lines, which briefly describe Lelo before he goes to school for the first time, are sung in free rhythm. The words are a mixture of those that refer to his present traditional way of life and those of his new foreign future at school. Schubarth noted that many labour songs do not in fact fit into a specific time signature and by beginning the song in this way, the words as much as the melody line set the rural scene. Furthermore, the tune falls within a narrow musical range and is unaccompanied. These are characteristics that Schubarth also observed with many labour songs of free rhythm: '...case todas teñen un ámbito estreito, carecen de acompañamento...'²³⁰ The remainder of the song has a simple guitar accompaniment and the melody line has a fixed rhythm.

As a group Fuxan Os Ventos have collected much material from rural areas which they then perform using their own interpretations. However, they did not simply roam around the country gathering data, but would also interact with the people and teach them songs. Furthermore they would write their own material, often imitating the lyrical forms found in traditional song, and at times take a collected song and adapt it to express their ideas concerning the social situation of Galicia. Surprisingly they were never really persecuted for their work and the reason for this was, according to Mini, ‘o feito de que non adoptasemos partido político e de que non fosemos a manifestacións’.²³¹ Their example has saved much material from extinction and has since inspired others to continue their work.

It was not until 1976 that they released their first album called *Fuxan Os Ventos* which contains some popular material, songs written by others and many of their own compositions. One item on this recording, *O Lobo*²³² (the wolf) by D. Cabana and A. González, is a good example of one of their political songs as it is full of metaphors to disguise the anti-dictatorship message. However, it did not always slip through the censorship net and was consequently banned on occasions between 1974 and 1976.

Por unha noite de séculos
Corrían tres feros galgos,
Tres feros galgos da noite
Afiados coma dardos.
Un lobo de ollos de lume
Tras deles iba avanzando;
Levaba luz nos seus ollos,
Luz de días agardados.
Entrando en terra de soños,
Iban os soños cantando;
Corre lobo de esperanzas
Brinca muros e valados,
Que eses tres galgos da noite
Quedan vencidos e escravos.

Ponte de luz as estrelas
Con nova forza alumaron;
Os galgos corrían ben,
Mais o lobo iba airado
E nun recanto de lume,
Matounos de tres zarpazos.
E os ríos cantaron a coro
Un canto nunca cantado
O horizonte abriuse en cantigas
Por un craro navallazo,
E o ceo foi outra vez
Un ceo azul e máis branco.²³³

Usually the wolf is a synonym for the bad yet in this song it symbolises the good. The three hounds (*galgos*) are the cruel oppressors who disguise themselves as the ‘good guys’. The light in the wolf’s eyes (*luz nos seus ollos*) and the bridge of light (*ponte de luz*) created by the stars symbolise the hope that Galicia will one day be free from tyranny. In order to overcome their suppression a force of iron is necessary and the wolf is the embodiment of this much-needed might that the Galician people must possess to fulfil this goal. The wolf kills the three hounds (*matounos de tres zarpazos*) and this represents the end of their subjugation. However, they are not suggesting that Galicians should take up arms to face their problems; it is purely symbolic. The last verse describes the day Galicians are free to express themselves through their own culture, which is further highlighted in the final line, (*e o ceo foi outra vez un ceo azul e máis branco*), in which the colours of the sky, blue and white, are mentioned. These two colours make up the Galician flag.

Although Fuxan Os Ventos had achieved a great deal in the promotion of Galicia's musical heritage, by the end of the seventies there was a missing element in the revival since there had not been much focus on traditional tunes. However, this was all about to change as the group Milladoiro would not only fill this gap but later become symbolic of Galician music.

5.3.2 Milladoiro

The members of Milladoiro met during the height of the New Song Movement but did not actually form as a group until 1978. In 1976-7 the band 'Roi Xordo' was formed with Rodrigo Romaní and Antón Seoane being two of its members. They participated in festivals and it was at these musical events that they met the traditional bagpipe and percussion group called Faíscas do Xiabre, who had formed in the early seventies. 1978 saw Romaní and Seoane record an album called *Milladoiro* with the collaboration of Xosé Vicente Ferreirós (a.k.a. Pepe), a member of Faíscas do Xiabre. The recording contained many traditional pieces interpreted with instrumental combinations rarely heard in Galician music, such as the zither with the bagpipe. In the autumn of that year the group Milladoiro was finally born with Rodrigo Romaní, Antón Seoane and three members of Faíscas do Xiabre including Pepe. A year later, two more musicians they had met in the Galician music scene joined the group.

One of their objectives, as was the aim of the movement in general, was to promote Galicia's traditional music in a positive light and to rid it of its inferior image. An obstacle they encountered was changing the negative attitudes towards the Galician bagpipe. During the *Rexurdimento* the *gaita* was employed as a positive symbol of Galician identity in literature and nationalist theory. However, during the Franco years, the *gaita* was used to represent Galician regional culture which was not seen as a danger to Spanish unity. Bagpipers took part in institutionalised affairs and some organisations had their own pipe bands. The bagpipe thus became associated with the Franco

Government. Although Milladoiro's bagpipers were involved in the struggle for cultural freedoms, they were often assumed to be representing what the Francoists had promoted as their native traditions. Frequently they were patronised and not taken seriously when they shared the stage with the singer-songwriters. 'En moitos recitais tennos pasado que cando iamos subir o cantautor metia a pata dicindo "agora van subir uns gaiteiros para facer pouco tempo"'.²³⁴

Due to much hard work, Milladoiro have had a significant amount of success in reasserting the *gaita* and Galician traditional music in general as something positive which has encouraged pride in Galicia's musical heritage. The journalist Oscar Losada describes the impact Milladoiro's work has had on Galician music.

A reelaboración que facían do tradicional, percusión, o gaiteiro, que era o máis coñecido, se podía presentar a música doutro xeito, máis cun cariz moderno, reelaboraban a música tradicional e chamou moitísimo a atención. Á xente chegoulle moito ó corazón a nosa música. E o fenómeno de Milladoiro foi tremendo. Hoxe en día falar de Milladoiro, calquera galego aínda que non teña comprado un disco, nin teña asistido a un concerto, nin lle gusta a música folk, creo que unha porcentaxe enorme de galegos sabe quen é Milladoiro. É unha porcentaxe moi grande desa sabe o que representa Milladoiro dentro da cultura deste país.²³⁵

Not only has their work successfully promoted Galician traditional music in a positive light, it has also encouraged a change in attitude towards *Galego*, because during their performances they communicate with the audience in Galician. Xoán Manuel Estévez related an anecdote concerning Milladoiro, which reflects the negativity associated with *Galego* in the early Milladoiro years and how their work possibly began to change such attitudes. A neighbour from his town went to see Milladoiro playing which she enjoyed very much and afterwards said, 'hablaban en gallego pero me gustaron'.²³⁶

Some of the music collectors of the *Rexurdimento*, namely Sampedro and Bal y Gay, embarked on the task of gathering traditional music in order to save Galicia's musical heritage from disappearing. Their endeavours have not been in vain as their collections have proved invaluable to the *Recuperación*. For instance, many groups, particularly Milladoiro²³⁷, have obtained a significant amount of their material from these *cancioneiros*. Without the work of these music collectors, the *Recuperación* would have been in a much poorer state, which is acknowledged by the two *gaiteiros* of Milladoiro. 'Se non fose por eles nestes momentos non estaríamos falando da riqueza da música tradicional galega porque non existiría, só quedarían algunha muiñeira e nada máis e grazas ao seu traballo, que pasou sen pena nen glória, hoxe temos un acervo musical enorme.'²³⁸

An interesting example of a traditional piece taken from the Sampedro collection and interpreted by Milladoiro is the set of tunes entitled '*Auga das Bailadeiras*'²³⁹. The first melody in this suite is first of all played on non-traditional Galician instrumentation, but towards the end old traditional Galician instruments (*gaita* and *tambor*) are employed. Finally it finishes with the bringing together of both types of instrumentation. The first part reflects the tradition as it often is today, particularly in non-rural settings. The second section is played as it is still likely to be performed at a local *fiesta de pobo*, which symbolises the old tradition. The amalgamation of both types of interpretation at the end demonstrates not only how the tradition has developed but also how the two are relevant to today.

Milladoiro became a group very much dedicated to the revival of traditional tunes, although they also play their own material and melodies from other countries, such as Ireland and Brittany. In fact they sometimes include a tune from elsewhere, such as Scotland, with a Galician one in the same set, for instance, *Jiga –Pandeiretada*.²⁴⁰ Their reputation rapidly spread to the Americas and other parts of Europe with concerts in Lorient (1979), Venezuela (1980), Edinburgh (1980+81) and New York (1989). They have also made their mark in Japan where they gave concerts in 1987 and more recently

in Australia where they performed in 1999. As a group they have recorded various albums, at least fifteen, and have won various prizes recognising their work, including the prestigious cultural award *Pedrón de Ouro* in 1984. Yet it was not until 1991 that they managed to build their own recording studio. Prior to this they had to go elsewhere, particularly Dublin, to record their albums. This demonstrates how poor the music industry must have been and how much effort was put into such ventures, even many years after Franco's death.

Since their formation in 1979, Milladoiro have led the way in the music revival and, like Fuxan Os Ventos, have inspired many other musicians to actively involve themselves in reviving and developing Galician traditional and folk music. Montse Rivera from the group Leilía describes Milladoiro as the parents of Galician folk music today and states that everyone is influenced by them. 'Hai grupos como Milladoiro que son bandeira, son mitos, que siguen aí, que son os pais de todos, o que o negue está mentindo. Todos beberon de Milladoiro, todos coñeceron este tipo de música por Milladoiro e todos, nun intre da súa vida, admiraron e quedaron obnubilados con Milladoiro.'²⁴¹

Milladoiro's work does not stop at performance; some of the members are also involved in passing on Galicia's traditions through education. For example, Rodrigo Romaní (who has now gone solo) is the director of the 'Conservatorio de Música Tradicional' which gives classes in various aspects of Galician culture.

5.3.3 The 'Conservatorio de Música Tradicional' and the 'Obradoiro de Instrumentos Musicais Populares Galegos'

The 'Conservatorio de Música Tradicional' is based at the Universidade Popular de Vigo and is connected to a school called 'Obradoiro de Instrumentos Musicais Populares Galegos' which is dedicated to the craft of making and developing musical instruments.

Although the Conservatorio and the Obradoiro are part of the Universidade Popular de Vigo they are non-academic. The initial objectives of the School were:

1. A formación de novos e bos artesáns coa intención de unificar e mellora-lo nivel de calidade dos nosos instrumentos.
2. A investigación, recuperación e conservación de instrumentos propios do país, ou ben alleos, pero polo seu interés histórico ou etnográfico encaixan na filosofía que preside toda a actividade do Obradoiro.²⁴²

As a result of the Obradoiro and the Conservatorio, many musicians who are now part of well-known folk bands in Galicia have been connected to this institution whether it be as a student or a teacher. For example, Carlos Núñez attended the Obradoiro, Rodrigo Romaní teaches harp, Anxo Pintos (multi-instrumentalist from the group Berrogüetto) gives *zanfona* classes there and Felise Segade (from the group Leilía) teaches singing.

The whole project is subsidised by the local council, therefore, students do not pay for their education. This encourages many to sign up for the classes but also means that several drop out of the courses. This is acknowledged by Xaquín Xesteira who teaches the bagpipe and Galician percussion at the Conservatorio. ‘É unha enseñanza gratuíta, entón cando é a matrícula hai moitísima xente pero despois pasa un mes e deixa de vir, despois deixan de vir outros, como non lles costa nada.’²⁴³ Nevertheless, it still manages to attract more students each year who complete the entire course. In the year 2001 there were 300 students who were registered in the Conservatorio. That year Rodrigo Romaní gave classes on the harp to 30 students and Xaquín Xesteira taught 97 people the bagpipe and percussion. The ages of the students vary quite dramatically, from 12 year-olds to people in their fifties. As the director of the Conservatorio, Rodrigo’s main objectives are: ‘difundir a música galega, orientar os músicos, abarcar todos os recursos da música galega, moitos obxectivos doados de adiviñar dende o punto de vista oficial. Persoalmente, dóume por satisfeito se a xente aprende ó mesmo tempo que se divirte.’²⁴⁴

The Conservatorio and the Obradoiro in Vigo have made, and still do, a significant contribution to the revival and development of Galician traditional music and instruments. Many of the musicians involved in the revival have learnt many of their skills from this institution.

5.3.4 Music Collecting

Another significant factor of this revival is collecting music from rural areas, an important aspect which was also part of the *Rexurdimento*. However, this time it is not only academics who are involved, but also musicians. Furthermore, the collectors gather material in order to keep Galicia's musical heritage alive as well as to learn from the collected data, rather than for musicological analysis. For the purpose of this study, I shall mainly concentrate on two collections that have both been published in written form: the 'Cancioneiro Popular Galego' compiled by Dorothe Schubarth and Antón Santamarina and the 'Cantos, Coplas e Romances de Cego' collected by Xosé Luis Rivas Cruz (a.k.a. Mini) and Baldomero Iglesias Dobarrio (a.k.a. Mero).

In 1978, the Swiss musicologist, Dorothe Schubarth, came to Galicia to search for material to study Galician traditional music. She felt the data she found were unsatisfactory for her studies and therefore began collecting Galician traditional songs from the country in order to fill the gap in this area of Galician cultural studies. The fruits of her work are the *Cancioneiro Galega da Tradición Oral* (1982), *Cántigas Populares* (1983), but most significantly the *Cancioneiro Popular Galego* (CPG), which was published between 1984 and 1995 and comprises seven volumes. The linguist Antón Santamarina sometimes accompanied her when she was on a collecting trip, but his involvement was mainly with the transcription and classification of the song lyrics. Antón remarks that this work was done just in time as many of the reliable informants have since passed away and therefore it would be impossible to do such a task nowadays. 'Non se podería repetir ó día de hoxe unha obra dese tipo, moitos dos informantes bos que atopamos daquela hoxe xa non existen.'²⁴⁵

Schubarth classified the melodies so rigorously that it changed the face of Galician historiography as Groba González describes. ‘Así, os criterios de clasificación estrictamente musicais aplicados no CPG revolucionan a nosa historiografía tanto por seres esta a primeira vez que se intenta unha clasificación do corpus do canto tradicional dende dentro, como polo voluminoso dos materiais que se barallan.’²⁴⁶

Schubarth’s collections are highly regarded in Galicia and musicians use them as a source for their material. For example, the group, Na Lúa²⁴⁷, has made use of Schubarth’s *Cántigas Populares* on their CD ‘Feitizo’ (1999). The singer Uxía has also taken songs from the collection and then interpreted it in her own style, even translating the lyrics from Castilian to *Galego*.

Version in Schubarth’s CPG:

El día del nacimiento
de la virgen sale un niño
détente el sol
que toquen esos violines
que alegran al mundo
que ha nacido Dios.²⁴⁸

Uxía’s version:

O día do nacemento
da Virxe sae un neno
detente o sol
que soen eses violíns
que alegran ó mundo
que naceu o amor.²⁴⁹

Interestingly, although Uxía has changed the words from Castilian to *Galego*, presumably to give the piece a more local flavour, the musical arrangements of the song would not be classed as traditionally Galician. However, the melody line does remain rhythmically free, therefore, in this instance, the language and melody line of the song are what give Uxía’s interpretation its Galician stamp.

Another example of invaluable work in this field is the songbook *Cantos, Coplas e Romances de Cego* (CCRC). Mini and Mero from the group A Quenlla began gathering

material for the collection as early as 1972 and continued until 1998. It was finally published in two large volumes a year later in 1999, accompanied by 5 compact discs with most of the original recordings²⁵⁰. The publication won the ‘Premio ONCE Galegos da Solidariedade’ (literatura) that same year. This immense work was achieved in their own time, between their professional and music careers, unlike Dorothé who eventually managed to attract enough funding for almost ten years from the ‘Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, Conde de Fenosa’ in order to pay for her living expenses so that she could complete her work. The motivation behind the CCRC was not so much for the purpose of musicological research or only to collect songs so that they would be remembered, but to also spread the songs further afield. ‘Así foron escollidas e así tamén estimadas e, agora, na tentación de difundilas.’²⁵¹

There are also other collections that are used as a musical source, like the Aires da Terra compiled by José Luis Calle. The importance of such work as a way of keeping the traditions alive is acknowledged by many musicians, not all of whom involve themselves in this field, like the musician and composer, Emilio Cao. He greatly esteems the work of Dorothé, Mini and Mero.

Tamén hai xente de fóra que tiña feito libros, como Dorothé. Coincidín un par de veces cando estivo facendo o seu traballo que é moi importante. Admiro moito a Mini, o fundador de Fuxan Os Ventos, que agora ten un grupo que se chama A Quenlla. Mini é un home increíble, había que facerlle un altar, unha homenaxe, a el e a Mero, os dous son unhas bibliotecas viventes de cultura popular.²⁵²

Other groups and individuals have also collected music from rural areas, such as Leilía, Pallamallada, Ultraia and Mercedes Peón, who then perform the material themselves as a way of spreading the music further afield. For instance, some of the music played by the bagpiper Xosé Manuel Budiño²⁵³ comes from Peón’s collections and Leilía’s musical archives have proved invaluable to groups such as Muxicas²⁵⁴. Mercedes Peón,

however, has since gone down the route of composing her own material for performance, but some of the original material she has been collecting for the past twenty years or more was finally released in compact-disc form called *Raiceiras* in the year 1997. More from her collections are expected to be released in the coming years. Such work has been and still is important not only in the preservation of the traditions but also as a source of inspiration for Galician folk groups and soloists.

5.3.5 The ‘Real Banda de Gaitas da Diputación de Ourense’

The ‘Real Banda de Gaitas da Diputación de Ourense’ is not regarded favourably in the revival. However, because it has caused much heated debate and because some of the musicians I spoke to volunteered their views on this pipe band, I will include its example in this chapter. Musicians feel that the Real Banda de Gaitas da Diputación de Ourense is an insult to Galician culture. It is militarised and is more like a Scottish pipe band than anything that reflects Galician musical traditions.

O peor de todo é que hai corrientes, como as de bandas de gaitas, a Real Banda de Gaitas de Ourense, que ademais está moi promovida polo poder político actual, que si que está totalmente mimetizada. Ti ves a Banda e pouco lle falta para confundirse cunha escocesa. O que fan é tocar unha peza galega coma se a tocara unha banda escocesa. Adoptan ese esquema. E logo queren vender que é algo tradicional.²⁵⁵

The pipers wear kilts, which are not part of Galician traditional costume, and their bagpipes have three drones that rest on the left shoulder of the piper. Traditional Galician bagpipes only have one drone that lies on the left shoulder of the player. Some *gaitas* also possess two smaller drones one of which rests on the piper’s right arm and the other on the chest. The band has often been referred to as *gaita marcial*.

The Real Banda also infuriated many within the ‘Asociación de Gaiteros Galegos’ (AGG), which was formally opened on 17 February 1989. As a result, the founder and director of the band, Xosé Luís Foxo, was eventually expelled from the *Asociación*. The AGG felt that the Real Banda did not represent Galician traditional bagpipe music for various reasons:

En conclusión nin o que sona, nin o que se escoita, nin o que se ve é representativo da tradición musical nin se inspira nela. Non se pode considerar unha evolución, xa que, tristemente, só consiste nunha fotocopia doutra cultura, e polo tanto unha colonización cultural que nada interesante aporta á cultura mundial, nin por suposto á galega.²⁵⁶

At first Foxo claimed that the outfits the pipers wear and the bagpipes they play were traditionally Galician as he based them on iconography he had found in various pictures and sculptures around Galicia. However, later in an AGG meeting he admitted that he had invented it all as he was embarrassed to go to the Lorient Festival in traditional Galician dress and with their bagpipes. ‘Argumenta Foxo na súa defensa que a el dáballe vergoña asistir a Lorient coa banda de gaitas da Diputación cos seus “traxiños folclóricos” e as súas “gaitiñas”, e por iso inventaba unha nova vestimenta e lle daba unha nova disposición á gaita para facela “máis maxestuosa”.’²⁵⁷

This example demonstrates the embarrassment and the lack of pride some feel about their cultural heritage in Galicia. The hard work that had been achieved to change negative attitudes towards Galician culture was now being undermined by such projects. Montse Rivera expressed her dismay at what the band represents for Galician culture and the damage she feels it is causing. ‘Eu non entendo formacións como a “Real Banda de Gaitas” de Foxo que é esto cuadrado marcial, ríxido, hierático, sin expresión. A nosa música é expresión, é forza, é vida. Cousas como a Real Banda de Gaitas de Ourense me rompe por dentro. Penso que está facendo moito, moito dano.’²⁵⁸ Since

Foxo's expulsion from the AGG, many protests have been staged by traditional bagpipers at military pipe band events against the formation of such groups.

5.3.6 Commercialisation of Galician Folk Music

It is not only military bands that many musicians feel greatly misrepresent Galician traditions, but also the imitation of other folk music and promoting it as Galician. Music from countries seen as Celtic, such as Ireland and Brittany, have been of great inspiration in Galicia and its influence can be found particularly in some of their earlier musical interpretations. As a result, the term '*celta*' has often been employed to describe Galician folk music as this has proved to attract commercial benefits. It therefore does not necessarily mean that musicians believe their music to be Celtic.

Entronque co mundo celta: a estas alturas non se lle escapa a case ninguén que isto chamado celtismo non é máis que unha maniobra comercial do mercado do folc saxón. A gaita non é un instrumento exclusivo do entorno "celta": existe no mundo eslavo, no mundo mediterráneo, na África, India, Oriente Próximo, etc. tratar de circunscribi-la gaita a un entorno concreto é actuar ou con parcialidade ou con falta de rigor.²⁵⁹

This suggests that although much work has been done to promote Galician culture as something to be proud of, there still exists a lack of confidence to actually promote it as specifically Galician. Rather it is disguised under the term '*celta*' in order to achieve greater credibility and commercial penetration. In other words, it reveals that Galician culture is still regarded as inferior to some degree. Mini disapproves of the fact that musicians claim they are performing something traditionally Galician when in fact they are playing in an Irish or Scottish style and that Galician music is commercialised under the label of '*música celta*'.

A jiga pódese interpretar cun pandeiro galego pero con ritmo de jiga e a muiñeira pódese interpretar cun bodhran pero con ritmo de muiñeira, pero muiñeira, non unha muiñeira ajigada. E evidentemente eu podo tocar música irlandesa, escocesa. Podo interpretala lexítimamente, pero non podo dicir que é música galega, nin podo mover a torpeza de que a xente identifique iso como música galega, e eso é o que me molesta, o feito comercial da música celta e o encandilamento.²⁶⁰

In the New Song Movement, commercialisation of Galician music was criticised by musicians and this attitude appears to have persisted in the revival. However, it is very difficult to earn a living in this field without economic support from businesses. These sponsors do not back groups or individuals to contribute to the continuation of Galicia's musical traditions, but for their own benefits. A business will only back groups or soloists as long as they are selling discs and are of assistance to that company. Martín from the group Saraibas complains about this situation that forces groups to search for sponsorship if they wish to turn professional.

Está todo comercializado. [...] Ten que seguir habendo uns apoios determinados das casas e tal. Viña hoxe un anuncio nun periódico sobre a xira de Luar Na Lubre patrocinado por *Estrella de Galicia*²⁶¹. ¿Iso vai habe-lo outro ano, e outro ano máis? Depende de que se siga vendendo moitos discos.²⁶²

The bagpiper Carlos Núñez has been criticised for turning Galician folk music into something commercial, but he believes he is not. Before he interprets a piece of music it has always been researched, according to his manager. Simply because his discs, the first two at least, have become 'best-sellers', does not mean he is purely after commercial gain. In an interview with Xosé Manuel Estévez, Carlos defends his position.

“A irmandade” foi un disco ‘supervendas’ e non era comercial, “Os amores libres” xa é ‘supervendas’ pero non é comercial, non é un disco normal feito para vender. É un disco que me levou dous anos facelo e no que me deixei levar polas miñas inquedanzas. Moitas veces é ir contracorrente, sería comercial se aproveitase o “boom” para facer máis do mesmo. Creo que teño a responsabilidade de ir sempre por diante. Foi un disco de investigación, feito con moito traballo, pero iso non quita que aparte da investigación non desexe que lle guste a moita xente.²⁶³

A possible interpretation of what these examples that oppose commercialisation demonstrate is that Galician folk music is more than a human expression as it also represents the battle to keep local traditions alive. When Galician music is seen to be employed purely for economic gain, it suggests a lack of respect for what the music initially symbolised at the outset of the revival. This opposition to commercialisation arose during the New Song Movement in the late sixties. Furthermore, the early stages of the *Recuperación* were also characterised by protest song and therefore the saleability of material was not at the top of the agenda in the Galician folk-music world. Although much of the music now performed has moved away from being a tool of protest, the political still plays a part as it represents Galicia’s past struggle for freedom of expression. Thus, any ‘contempt’ shown towards the music in this manner (i.e. encouraging its commercialisation), in effect reveals disrespect for the recent struggle as well as the Galicia’s cultural heritage.

5.3.7 The System of Public Performance

Despite the general feelings opposed to the commercialisation of Galician folk music, both managers I interviewed stated the need to charge people to attend a concert. This would not commercialise the music but would persuade people to appreciate the work of the artistes. Vítor Belho stated that the trend of free concerts and festivals has only emerged in the last ten years due to an innovation by the Government to support cultural

events. However, he believes that the Government is not really interested in Galician culture, but simply wishes to appear as if it is promoting it, in order to attract votes.

O feito de pagar non é atentar contra a liberdade de cada individuo, é un xeito de valorar un espectáculo e de esixir unhas condicións mínimas dese espectáculo. [...] Se eses costes destes festivais só se pagan o que se ingresa dunha barra, o que estamos incitando á xente é a que se poñan cegos, que despois non van desfrutar do concerto, para poder recaudar os suficientes fondos para que o concerto se poida facer. É un círculo vicioso.²⁶⁴

Concerts that take place in the *pobos* as part of their annual festivities are different. Nobody is charged to see the performances because the people in that village have already paid in advance. A collection is made prior to the festivities from all of the households in the village in order to raise money for the celebrations, thus an entrance fee has in effect been paid. What Vítor Belho is referring to are the large concerts and festivals that bring in media attention. For example, each year in July the small town Ortigueira in the north of Galicia celebrates a festival called 'Festival Internacional do Mundo Celta' in which all concerts are free. It was established by the Escola de Gaitas in 1984 and has since grown into one of the most important festivals in Galicia as it attracts hordes of people each year. For example, according to a Folk World review²⁶⁵, in 2001 more than 70,000 visitors went to the festival, which is more than the town can realistically manage. Therefore a basic campsite is set up about two miles outside the village that is also free in order to cope with the great numbers. The festival is followed closely by Galician television (TVG) and clips are shown of the main performances each day as a news item.

Fernando Conde, the manager of Carlos Núñez, also agrees that people should pay to see concerts and shares the view that governmental support is purely for political gain and not to promote Galician culture.

Nos ha tocado vivir una época de vacas flacas que tienes que buscarte la vida y tocar para un público que paga una entrada y tú ganas lo que pague tu público, no de lo que te pague el ayuntamiento o el ministerio de cultura. En Galicia eso sigue bastante por la Xunta, que tiene un sistema de captación de votos que es lo de los Xacobeos famosos, que ahora vuelve a entrar en acción porque tenemos elecciones, entonces montan unos festivales.²⁶⁶

Fernando predicts that most groups will disappear once Galician music ceases to be fashionable due to the present system. The local councils will still have to support concerts to some extent, but they will only choose the ones that are particularly well-established.

Yo creo que en cuanto pase la moda de la música gallega desaparecerán [estos grupos], y sobrevivirá Milladoiro, porque todos los ayuntamientos tienen que cubrir un cupo de cultura propia y seguirán contratando a Milladoiro. Que por otra parte es un grupo que funciona muy bien y tiene un espectáculo fantástico. Pero todos estos millones de grupos que han aparecido ahora están condenados a desaparecer con este sistema.²⁶⁷

These comments suggest that those in the music field do not believe political strategies that claim to promote Galician culture. The revival began as a struggle against governmental policies that greatly limited cultural expression, particularly if it symbolised something other than 'Spanish'. Although the political regime has changed considerably since the New Song Movement and the beginning of the music revival, politicians' motives are not trusted, especially since the president of the Xunta is none other than Manuel Fraga Iribarne, the only minister in power in the whole of Spain who was part of the Franco government. He was responsible for the Press Law of 1966 that did little to change the laws governing freedom of cultural expression, as described above.

5.4 Concluding Comments

The New Song Movement of Galicia emerged when the question of local identity resurfaced towards the end of Franco's dictatorship. But rather than employ songs in *Galego* to promote Galician traditions, principally they were used to protest against the Franco regime. Out of this movement arose the *canción lixeira* that was often criticised for its tendency towards the commercial outlet. However, despite their claims to have sung in Galician in order to help preserve Galician traditions, the work of the '*canción lixeira*' singers did little to oppose the dictatorship as others in the New Song Movement were doing. Neither they nor the political singers really encouraged the defence of Galicia's musical traditions since their music was influenced by British, North and South American styles rather than Galician traditional music. Nevertheless, they did contribute to attempting to change the backward image of the Galician tongue.

A new phase in the development of Galician folk music began with the death of Franco in 1975. In that year a collective of musicians made a conscious decision solely to concentrate on Galicia and on reviving her musical traditions. The collections of the *Rexurdimento* have proved invaluable to this project as many musicians have obtained much of their material from this source. Furthermore, music collecting has also been a major part of this revival; a task now made simpler due to modern recording equipment. In both revivals the music was gathered in order to save it from disappearing. However, previously it was also used to prove Galicia's separate status through musicological analysis whereas today the motivation is simply to preserve it, to learn from it and to bring it into the forefront of Galician life.

The individuals who have dedicated much of their time and life to Galicia's traditions have achieved a great deal. They have helped to change the backward image Galician traditional music possessed to a positive one in general. Furthermore, they have managed to preserve many Galician songs and tunes through their vast collections and bring them to a wider audience through faithful and personal interpretations. It can

therefore be said that the present-day revival has been a great success in that it has achieved its principal aims: to change negative attitudes towards Galician culture and to spread Galician traditions to a larger public. However, it could be argued that the former goal has not been entirely reached as some musicians complain that they are still fighting this battle, which we shall see in the following chapter. Nevertheless, success in this area appears to be greater than failure, especially given the impact groups like Fuxan Os Ventos and Milladoiro have made.

Chapter 6

Cultural Identity and Folk Music in Contemporary Galicia

One of the aspects that is predominant in today's cultural revival in Galicia and that differs from the nineteenth-century revival is the part music plays. Furthermore, involvement in *galeguismo* is no longer confined to academic circles as it was over a century ago. For this reason I spoke with various people during the summer of 2001 who work or have worked in the Galician folk-music scene to discover how great a link there is between their work and the assertion of a separate cultural identity. I also conducted an exploratory survey in Santiago and Vigo on the same topic, some points of which appear in this chapter and further findings can be found in Appendix C.

One of the ways nineteenth-century scholars asserted their separate identity was through history, particularly through Galicia's Celtic past, claiming that Galicians still displayed many Celtic characteristics, physically and psychologically. Therefore many of the questions were designed to see if and to what extent Celticism manifests itself in their identity.

Language was another principal marker of Galician identity in the previous revival as it still is today. In fact, the 'Ley de normalización lingüística de Galicia' of 1983 encapsulates this in the preamble which states that *Galego* is the marker of Galician distinctiveness, not only for those living in Galicia, but also for those who have emigrated.

...La Constitución de 1978 al reconocer nuestros derechos autonómicos como nacionalidad histórica hizo posible la puesta en marcha de un esfuerzo constructivo encaminado a la plena recuperación de nuestra personalidad colectiva y de su potencia creadora. Uno de los factores fundamentales de esta recuperación es la lengua, por ser el núcleo vital de nuestra identidad. La lengua es la mayor y más original creación colectiva de los gallegos, es la verdadera fuerza espiritual que le da unidad interna a nuestra Comunidad. Nos une con el pasado de nuestro pueblo porque de él la recibimos como patrimonio vivo y nos unirá con su futuro porque la recibirá de nosotros como legado de identidad común. Y en la Galicia del presente sirve de vínculo esencial entre los gallegos afincados en la tierra nativa y los gallegos emigrados por el mundo.²⁶⁸

Since language is regarded as being at the core of Galician identity, I wished to find out how important a part it plays within the music scene today. The practitioners were therefore asked their opinions on *Galego* and were questioned about their use of the language in their personal lives but more specifically within their musical careers. To assist with this section other Galician language texts will be referred to, particularly the Real Academia Galega's 'Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia (MSG) Volumes II and III and Ana Iglesias Álvarez' survey: 'Falar galego: no veo por qué', the details of which are described in Chapter 1. In addition, the exploratory poll that Bernadette O'Rourke undertook in Spring 2000 will prove useful.

Language is not the only chosen cultural emblem employed to promote a specific region; local music also plays a part. These cultural symbols are carefully selected in order to mobilise a nation or 'imagined community', as theorists of nationalism, such as Brass, Hutchinson and Anderson, have shown²⁶⁹. Galicia is no exception to the rule. In the *Rexurdimento* composers found inspiration in Galician traditional music to express their 'Galicianness' through their art. Music had a small but valuable place in the promotion of a Galician nation. Today, music has taken on greater importance in this field, largely

aided by the advances in communications technology that is now able to disseminate information much further afield.

Therefore, the principal aim of these interviews was to ascertain how great a link there is between traditional and folk music and the expression of Galician identity. Also I hoped to discover how, if at all, nineteenth-century musicological ideas influence the practitioners today. Some of the findings are further highlighted through the analysis of the lyrics and/or music of some of the interviewed groups' and soloists' songs.

6.1 Interviews

As stated in Chapter 1 concerning methodology, I interviewed 20 musicians, 11 of whom or their groups are generally well known at least within Galicia and 9 of whom are lesser-known throughout the region, although in their own town or village they may possess an amount of fame. Furthermore, two of the musicians had worked in radio and one in the promotion of Galician folk bands. In order to obtain a better understanding of the music scene in general, I deliberately chose to talk with musicians of greater and lesser fame, although not all of those I wished to speak with were available. Also interviewed were two managers who are both musicians in their own right, two music journalists and one linguist who had worked with Dorothe Schubarth with her vast song collections. A typical interview began with questions on the practitioners' national identity, then language, followed by their views on Galician music and finally and most extensively on their own work.

6.1.1 Identity

First of all I simply asked whether their national identity was Galician, Spanish, Celtic or another nationality. I named three terms that are often used to describe Galicians, as I wished to discover if they associated themselves with these identities. All but one, who

avoided answering the question directly, identified themselves with being Galician, but more in the cultural sense of the word than the national. For instance, Mini (a.k.a. Xosé Luis Rivas Cruz) from the group A Quenlla (and previously Fuxan Os Ventos) stated that he is Galician not in the sense of flags and armies, but because of the world that immediately surrounds him. Above all, he is a citizen of the world. The one who avoided the question hinted that he feels an affinity with Portugal because he sees Galician and Portuguese cultures as similar. Another, Xaquín Xesteira, added that ‘a música ten moita importancia na miña identidade nacional.’

The practitioners’ Galician identity is a result of various elements but it became clear that above all it is language that gives them a sense of being part of a different culture, closely followed by music. In fact, language is inseparable from the musical element, particularly the songs. Some only discovered the Galician tongue through their involvement in the music scene and it was then that they began to think about the meaning of their identity. Landscape, history and ancestry also have a place in the definition of their cultural distinctiveness. Furthermore, because Galicia has been invaded by various peoples through the ages, ‘Galicianness’ has been established as being made up of numerous factors and is therefore extremely rich. Many of these ideas concerning the range of elements that contribute to the Galician identity are particularly noticeable in the following song *Nación*²⁷⁰ (1980) written by Miguel Angel Sanjurjo Sixto from the group Saraibas, since it lists several aspects regarded as typically Galician. Each verse ends with their motto, ‘unha terra, un pobo e unha fala’, thus emphasising the importance they attach to Galicia and her language in the expression of their identity.

1. Unha flor, un amor, unha alborada,
 unha fonte, un río, unha praia,
 unha estrela, un camiño, unha alma,
 unha terra, un pobo e unha fala...

2. A maneira de busca-lo noso pan,
 unha forma de bailar no noso chan,
 muiñeiras, alalás ou foliadas,
 unha terra, un pobo e unha fala...

3. Un viñado, un carballo, unha gaita,
a morriña espallada polo mundo,
a muller que na casa está emigrada,
unha terra, un pobo e unha fala...

5. O mareiro vento desta costa,
o batir das olas en Fisterra,
un ardente corazón que sinte e cala,
unha terra, un pobo e unha fala...

4. Castiñeiros, carballeiras, romerías,
eirexados, mosteiros, gandeiría,
rebordelas, corredoiras embruxadas,
unha terra, un pobo e unha fala...

6. A maneira de busca-lo noso pan...
7. Castiñeiros, carballeiras, romerías...
8. Unha terra un pobo e unha fala.

Much of Galicia is rural and surrounded by the sea, therefore the land and sea with their farming and fishing traditions, as one would expect, play a particularly important role in Galician life, hence their inclusion in this song. Traditional music too is an important theme as it mentions the *muiñeira*, the *alalá*, the *foliada* and the bagpipe. As previously noted in this thesis, the *muiñeira* is regarded as a typical tune type and dance of Galicia and the *alalá* as particularly characteristic of Galician song. *Foliadas* are festive gatherings where people sing and dance and any piece played or sung at such an event is also called a *foliada*, even if it falls into a different musical category, such as a *muiñeira*. The *gaita* in its Galician form is generally considered as the most emblematic instrument within Galicia.

Despite the song including many aspects associated with Galician traditional life, it is not played in an entirely traditional style. This is perhaps due to the fact that the group's initial intentions were to create a new folk sound that could be regarded as Galician rather than reproducing traditional pieces. However, the lyrics have adhered to the tradition in that each line possesses an equal amount of syllables. The song is, for the most part, endecasyllabic.

Almost all the interviewees do not see themselves as Spanish because they feel that there is no such identity since Spain encompasses so many different cultures. This is also the

case with the term 'Spanish music'. However, one commented that she did not mind being called Spanish although the word is unreal, because it does not mean anything to her. Another stated that he was both Galician and Spanish because Galicia is part of the Spanish State, although he is Galician first of all, then Spanish, then European etc. One musician felt very strongly that the political boundaries of Galicia do not reflect the borders of their culture, which extend south into Portugal and east into Asturias, Zamora and León. In fact cultural perimeters are very difficult to define as cultural aspects gradually change across the land. He sees Galician culture as more Mediterranean than Atlantic because he believes the similarities with such cultures are far greater. Therefore he identifies himself with the culture to which he belongs, which extends beyond the political borders. Although many recognise the influences from the rest of Spain in Galicia, he was only one of two who associated Galician culture with being Mediterranean.

Where Celticism is concerned, only one saw himself as Celtic. He feels a great connection to other Celtic nations, or Atlantic cultures as they are also described in Galicia, in that their music and ways of thinking are similar. He also believes that the archaeological evidence unearthed in Galicia strongly suggests a Celtic people once occupied much of Galicia. At least six felt there was no significant connection since the Celtic element in Galicia occurred so long ago that its impact on Galician life today would be minimal if anything at all. They also pointed out that the Galician language is of Latin and not Celtic origin. However, around the same number of interviewees expressed an affinity with other Celtic nations through similar ways of thinking, culture, climate, landscape and parallels in the music. Around twenty-eight percent felt a closer link to Portuguese culture.

An interesting aspect emerged out of this question which was that around a quarter of the practitioners saw the term 'Celtic' as something that sells commercially, predominantly where music is concerned. One pointed out that at first it was necessary to label the music as Celtic to promote pride in their identity, but this is no longer the

case. All the above comments on Celticism strongly suggest that the Celtic element does not make up a great part of their identity at all. Furthermore, not only is the rejection of Celticism apparent amongst the practitioners but also to a great extent amongst my survey respondents, as only four percent considered themselves to be Celtic.

By and large, the above responses of the practitioners reveal that they differentiate between the cultural and political nations which were discussed in Chapter 2. The cultural nation is Galicia, (and Galicia may transcend the physical perimeters established by the political world), and the political nation or State is Spain. This is further highlighted in the following question which asked if they felt the identity they had just described was important to them. Generally it was and many explained why this was the case so that I would not confuse their cultural pride with nationalistic fanaticism, or at least that is what came across to me, as the following statement from Rodrigo Romání reveals.

No meu caso foi determinante, e penso ademais que non pode haber progreso social, cultural e económico se os membros dunha comunidade non teñen presente na súa vida a pertencia á mesma. Pero tento fuxir de conceptos como “Patria”, “Construcción Nacional” ou outros que teñen unha connotación non real, que se moven nun mundo imaxinario e que ademais convírtense en lanzadeiras do lado máis oscuro da humanidade.

In fact the above statement also suggests that Romání, like Benedict Anderson in his work entitled ‘Imagined Communities’²⁷¹, sees a ‘nation’ as an imaginary concept. But Romání also makes a valid point when he highlights that a sense of *belonging* to a community is vital. Feeling part of a group of people is what inspires the practitioners to continue the work they do to promote Galician culture and to share its riches. The importance of being a member of a community comes to light in the following comments which the interviewees made in response to the question on the significance

of their identity. In their opinion, national identity, or rather cultural identity, marks a way of being and is part of their lives just as their families are. It is essential to know where their roots lie in order to understand themselves better and also effectively protect their culture from dominant ones, especially in this world of globalisation. Variety is important and Galician culture contributes greatly to this human diversity. Cultural identity plays a significant role in their work, since they feel they could not do their job properly without a clear idea of their past and who they are, because this gives them a sense of belonging and purpose. Thus it is necessary to define their identity since without a definite past they have no present or guarantee of a future. Language is vital in determining their identity and, as a result, many feel it is imperative to keep the language alive otherwise they will lose their sense of self. Bieito Romero from the group Luar Na Lubre is very much concerned about the latter point. He himself revealed that his Galician identity is of utmost importance to him, whilst emphasising that his pro-Galician sentiments are not expressions of opposition to other cultures but part of the struggle to preserve their cultural heritage, which he feels could otherwise disappear.

Eu considérome galego porque o meu idioma é o galego, a miña cultura é galega e afortunadamente temos a sorte de que aquí en Galicia se conserva todo, pois con relativa forza, non, polo tanto, sen renegar de ningún outro tipo de cultura. [...] A miña identidade ten moitísima importancia. Eu teño tres fillos pequenos e o único idioma que lles ensino é o galego, porque para min é prioritario. Eu sei que é un idioma acosado, un idioma e unha cultura acosados, e desgraciadamente coma tódalas culturas minoritarias con menos capacidade política e económica, a tendencia é desaparecer.

The theme of losing one's identity is also evident in Bieito's song *Nau*²⁷² (1999), which emphasises that 'o que esquece as súas raíces, perde a súa identidade.

Nau de vento, nau dos homes
que vogan na inmensidade
somos xente de Galicia
onde a terra bica o mar-e.

Nau de soños, nau de espranzas
nau de infinda veleidade
o que esquece as súas raíces
perde a súa identidade.

The song celebrates Galician identity, not only through its theme and its language but also through the elements that highlight this identity, specifically the sea in this case. Since the western and northern parts of Galicia are surrounded by ocean and the majority of the population lives in coastal areas, the sea naturally plays a major role in Galician life. As a result, it has become a significant element of Galician identity. Furthermore the song expresses Galician distinctiveness by taking lyrical and musical aspects considered to be traditional. For example, the text has octosyllabic lines and each verse ends with *ai la las*, two characteristics that can be found in many traditional Galician songs. Instrumentation also adds to the song's 'galicianness', especially with the use of the bagpipe which is traditionally employed to play dance tunes. It is used here to introduce and end the piece, to let us know that it comes from Galicia, before the message is finally communicated by the singer.

To sum up so far, the various people I spoke to involved in the Galician folk-music scene generally felt their Galician identity plays an important role in both their personal and professional lives. However, this identity is more cultural than nationalistic, a significant aspect that also emerged in my survey with the general public. Any pride the respondents expressed towards their Galician identity was concerned with their culture and not with nationalistic sentiment. Furthermore, possessing a cultural identity is important to the practitioners because it gives them a sense of belonging and not because it differentiates them from others. The Celtic element hardly plays a role today but language is still fundamental in determining this identity. The following section therefore concentrates on the role language plays in their lives, personally and

professionally, in order to help us to understand better the importance of their Galician identity.

6.1.2 Language

The Galician language plays a significant part in the expression of cultural identity within the present folk-music sphere. Every single interviewee except one said they speak Galician on an everyday basis. One attitude that particularly struck me was that their being in favour of Galician did not mean that they were opposed to Castilian but simply against its imposition as their first language. They were happy to speak in Castilian to anyone, be they Galician or from outside Galicia, who could not understand *Galego*. For instance most volunteered to speak in Castilian during the interview to assist my understanding, even though I had suggested they spoke in whichever language they preferred. During the interview with Martín Sanjurjo from the group Saraibas, he, like Bieito (see quote above), stressed that his pro-Galician attitude is by no means an anti-Castilian one.

Temos a suerte de que en Galicia temos un idioma propio e aparte temos outro idioma máis, pero o idioma propio de Galicia é o galego co cual me sinto totalmente identificado, o que non quere dicir que esté en contra da outra lingua, ó contrario estou en favor dela, de feito eu manéxome nas dúas, e os castellanos deberían estar orgullosos da súa lingua porque tamén eu estou da miña, sin menospreciar ás demais linguas.

Furthermore, bilingualism is seen as positive because it allows them to communicate with and learn from other peoples and their cultures, which is expressed by Óscar Losada. ‘Eu estou moi contento de coñecer outro idioma que me permite falar con xente de toda América e con xente de todo o estado co que evidentemente está integrado Galicia, co estado español. Eu estou moi contento de sabe-lo castelán tamén.’

Similar attitudes appear to be widespread amongst the general public as well. If we look at the ‘Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia’ (MSG), it shows that the majority responded to the questions: ‘which language should children learn at home?’ and ‘which language should Galicians speak?’ by ticking the ‘both languages’ box, (72% and 58.1% respectively)²⁷³. With the former question they were also asked why they responded as they had and 76.4% of those who believed both languages should be learnt at home remarked that it was for usefulness.²⁷⁴ Although these answers correspond to different questions from what my interviewees were asked, a similar attitude is nonetheless evident. In Iglesias Álvarez’ survey, she also notes that linguistic plurality is seen as positive by her respondents but purely for cultural reasons. ‘...a pluralidade lingüística se valoraba positivamente na medida en que implicaba “ampliar la *cultura*”, supoñía “una *cultura* muy rica” ou “riqueza *cultural*”.’²⁷⁵

However, if we consider O’Rourke’s exploratory linguistic survey we find that linguistic prejudices underlie these positive attitudes expressed towards bilingualism. The poll took place in April and May 2000 and comprised 54 questionnaires that were completed by second and fourth-year students within the Department of English Philology in the Corunna University, 18 of whom also took part in in-depth interviews. Although 80% of the questionnaire respondents said they would be in favour of educating children in both Castilian and Galician, the reasons why are revealing. O’Rourke discovered that they saw Galician as being useful in local settings and Castilian as having more value internationally and in the rest of Spain, and in that sense Castilian as more important. Such attitudes are summed up in the following statements from two of the respondents. ‘Intentaría que fosen bilingües porque considero que ámbalas dúas linguas son necesarias, o galego para comunicarse na nosa comunidade, e o castelán para fácelo no resto do país.’ ‘Aínda que gústame a idea de defendelo galego e chegar a súa total normalización, o castelán é un idioma mundial e que de momento ten máis prestixio que o galego.’²⁷⁶

But bilingualism was not the normal state of affairs for many of the practitioners in the Galician folk-music world. Only five were brought up with *Galego* as their mother tongue since they came from rural areas, whereas the rest had made a conscious decision to speak habitually in Galician. Despite the fact that many chose to employ *Galego* as their principal language, they displayed no animosity towards fellow Galicians who have not made the same decision. They were asked whether or not they become annoyed whenever they meet a native Galician who does not speak *Galego* and predominantly the response was that they did not mind in the least. The main reasons for this were:

- Everyone is entitled to choose which language they use.
- A language should not be imposed upon anyone.
- The history of Galicia and the political situation are at fault not the people, as most, if not all, had no choice but to be formally educated in Castilian and therefore cannot be blamed.

This respectful attitude seems to extend beyond the boundaries of the Galician folk-music world. The first two points also arose in the survey by Iglesias Álvarez. Her respondents believed that people, and in particular their children, should be free to elect which tongue they employ and that a language should not be imposed. ‘...que sea una elección libre de ellos [os seus fillos] que no sea una cosa (...) impuesta que ellos utilicen cualquiera de los dos.’²⁷⁷

Those in my interviews who did express some frustration, however, all added that it entirely depended upon the situation. The principal circumstances were with:

- Those working in the public sector who have influential posts, such as local government ministers.
- Those working in Galician television.
- Those whose work is concerned with Galician culture yet still choose to speak in Castilian.

- Couples who regularly converse in Galician but speak to their children in Castilian.
- Those who claim they find it too difficult when there are foreigners who are able to make the effort to speak in Galician.

A significant amount of people outside the folk-music sphere also shares the penultimate frustration. The respondents of the MSG survey were asked what they thought about parents who speak amongst themselves in Galician yet speak to their children in Castilian. A little over 53% did not agree with this practice whereas only 21% did and around 25% neither agreed nor disagreed.²⁷⁸

The overwhelming consensus of the practitioners within the Galician folk-music sphere was that the most annoying aspect is not Galicians who do not speak *Galego* but the negative attitudes many still display, not only towards the language but also towards their culture in general, and this is something the musicians are trying to change. They are battling against notions such as Galician is a lesser language due to it being kept alive by the peasantry and is thus less useful because, unlike Castilian, it is not the language of business and fields of work that have high status. As a result Castilian is regarded as the language of success. But what can be done to change a centuries-old attitude and to encourage people to be proud of their language and to use it as their first tongue? It cannot be imposed because people would then begin to hate the language and rebel against it. As Martín Sanjurjo pointed out ‘tes que quere-lo, se non o queres non o falas’. In order to change such ideas they believe that the domains in which Castilian is spoken within Galicia should not only include the use of *Galego*, but that Galician should be the principal language in these areas. For instance, Galician should be the language of administration, the language through which all subjects are taught in the schools and the language of business within Galicia. This, they hope, will help to maintain Galician, promote bilingualism instead of the predominantly diglossic situation of the region at present and deter the current trend of language shift to Castilian.

The negative attitudes against which the musicians are struggling are noted in O'Rourke's survey. She observed that despite the encouraging views which young university students displayed towards *Galego*, they still associated Galician with certain domains, namely rural life and lower social roles. Castilian, on the other hand, was linked to advancement and the modern day. This mind-set is reflected in the following comments made by the respondents in her in-depth interviews. 'En la aldea utilizo gallego y castellano en Coruña.' 'Con mis amigos de pueblo utilizo gallego y con los amigos de la universidad, castellano.'²⁷⁹ While they are not overtly displaying negative attitudes towards Galician, the above statements suggest that there are certain domains which they feel are more appropriate for Galician than for Castilian, principally those of lower social status.

A further negative language stereotype was discovered by Iglesias Álvarez. According to her research, some young Galicians regard language choice as connected to nationalism. They see nationalists as extremists and therefore as something negative, thus choosing to speak in Galician is tarred with the same brush. Iglesias Álvarez points out that this new language stereotype could significantly add to the prejudices expressed towards *Galego*.

Este tipo de asociacións poden adquirir gran relevancia, xa que contribúen a crear novo estereotipo, galego = ideoloxía nacionalista, que se asocia ademais en moitos casos con connotacións negativas (radicalismo, extremismo), converténdose así nun prexuízo: Galego = Ideoloxía nacionalista = Radicalismo, extremismo = Galego.²⁸⁰

Negative attitudes towards *Galego* are what the musicians feel are damaging to the survival of the language and consequently also to Galician culture and identity. In order to facilitate a change in such attitudes and to send out the message that *Galego* is a rich and useful language, all of the songwriters I interviewed write their material in Galician. To help reinforce that message, all but one of their album sleeves²⁸¹ are written in

Galego, at least fifty percent of which are solely in Galician and the rest have translations in Spanish and English but with Galician usually as the main language. Furthermore, they told me they speak *Galego* during their concerts within Galicia when they introduce each piece and indeed that was the case with all the concerts I have personally attended. Parts of certain songs by Saraibas, however, are written in Castilian but this is for a specific reason. For instance, in their song *Os Dereitos Humanos* (1981) the protagonist goes to the office of a lawyer, to a doctor's surgery and finally to the Department of Social Security. The lawyer, doctor and civil servant all conduct their business in Castilian, so whenever they have a line in the song it is cited in Castilian. This is to illustrate and protest that Castilian is used in areas of business, even though Galician is perfectly suitable, but since Castilian is seen as the finer of the two languages, it is the language employed in these kinds of settings. There are a few songs in Castilian that appear on some of the interviewees' albums, but they tend to have a Galician theme. For instance, Rodrigo Romaní has set music to a poem in Castilian by the Cuban writer Rafael M. de Mendive, that was written in memory of Rosalía de Castro on her death in 1885. The song can be found on his album, *Albeida* (2000).

The practitioners were also asked if and why they translate the lyrics of traditional or popular songs written in Castilian or *Castro*²⁸². There were various interesting responses. Let us first of all look at the reasons why some (28%) do not agree with changing traditional or popular song lyrics. Those in this category are mainly song collectors and part of their aim is to show the social reality of Galician musical culture. Therefore, if they were to translate the words it would be a lie and not reflect Galician traditional song's true state of being as it is today in Galicia. Furthermore, at least three of them commented that you cannot change history and Castilian and *Castro* are part of Galician reality and are therefore part of the culture. A song not in Galician does not make it any less Galician. Mini from the group A Quenlla says of the topic, 'Se canto unha canción tradicional que está en castro ou que ten castelanismos, eu canto con castelanismos e en castro ou en español, non me preocupa. A verdade é a verdade... A realidade é a realidade'.

Those in favour (52%) of this practice or who openly admit to translating the words where possible also have their reasons. Four said that they feel their traditional songs have been 'taken over' by Castilian therefore it is necessary to change them back again. Of course it is very difficult if not impossible to tell which songs were in Galician in the first place and have linguistically changed over time, but nevertheless they believe there is a requirement to 'galicianise' them. Even though it is by no means straightforward to determine whether or not the origins of a song lie in Galicia, two stated that they only translate if they are sure that the song has Galician roots. Three of the musicians see translating traditional and popular lyrics into Galician as a form of positive discrimination, of giving the language self-esteem and of raising its status in order to help change the negative attitudes towards the tongue. Once more, this demonstrates that their pro-Galician attitude does not stem from an opposition to Castilian but rather from a desire to preserve and celebrate their own language and culture.

Fuxan Os Ventos made an interesting statement on this topic. At first they did not believe it necessary to take up such a practice and would sing a song in the language it was sung in at the point of collection, as they saw it as still being very much part of the Galician tradition. However, more recently they have changed their minds and see this procedure as part of the normalisation of the language, something they feel is an important aspect for its survival. Xosé Luis Freire and Tereixa Novo from the group said on the matter:

Normalmente cantámo-las letras como se recolleron. Hai elementos que están en castrapo e outros en castelán. [...] Nós falabamos un galego de Lugo que é un galego moi característico de Galicia ... e nunca nos preocupamos demasiado de dicir pobo en vez de pueblo, porque non eramos puristas no idioma. Hoxe sería distinto. A normalización lingüística ten que chegar a todo e temos que ser capaces de facer un país normalizado.

The general struggle to keep the language alive is portrayed in some of the musicians' own material. Below are four such examples from Fuxan Os Ventos, Saraibas, A Quenlla and Mercedes Peón.

The Song of Fuxan Os Ventos

In the song, *Cantiga de Berce*²⁸³ (1977) written by Félix Otero and Fuxan Os Ventos, a mother is singing to her child, telling him about the country he will live in and warning him of the fight he has ahead to be allowed to speak in his own language. In order to put this song in its context, it is important to remember that it was recorded only two years after Franco died. However, much of the subject matter is still relevant to the present day.

Durme meu neno, durme, sen máis pranto, que o tempo de chorare, vai pasando. Que a terra na que vives, no quer bágoas, percisa homes enteiros, pra libertala. Durme meu neno, durme, colle forzas, que a vida que che agarda, pide loita. Recollera-lo froito sementado, no inverno escuro e frío, no que estamos.	(recitado) Semente feita en sangue por un pobo que xurde dende a hestoria, dende o sono, un sono cheo de aldraxe e miserento, un sono de inxusticias e silencio. Mira a língoa que falo, despreciada, por ser língoa de probes, língoa escrava, son o orgullo que temos, língoa de probes. Só neles hai verdade e máis honores. Durme meu neno, durme, niste colo, que esta terra de escravos non ten odio. Ten séculos de espranza, agardada, que pon hoxe nos fillos que amamanta.
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This song highlights the problem that Galician is considered to be an inferior tongue: 'mira a língoa que falo, despreciada, por ser língoa de probes, língoa escrava'. But by

saying that a language of the poor is something of which to be proud because the poor are honourable people, ('son o orgullo que temos, língua de probes. Só neles hai verdade e máis honores'), they are beginning to offer a solution to the problem as well as trying to change the negativity associated with the language.

The Song of Saraibas

The focus of Miguel Sanjurjo Sixto's *Galego Na Escola*²⁸⁴ (1980), as the title suggests, is concerned with the role of Galician in schools or rather the lack of it. The main message of the song is repeated at the end of each verse '¡e os nenos galegos, galego falare!' in order to emphasise the point that Galician-speaking children should be allowed to speak and be taught in their mother tongue in educational settings.

Deixaron ó neno deprender a andare,
deixaron que o peixe puidera nadare,
e legalizaron que o trono tronare,
¡e os nenos galegos, galego falare!
Ai la la...

Deixaron que a lúa na noite brilara,
e legalizaron mareas no mare,
e con un "decreto" os Ministros mandaron
¡ós nenos galegos, galego falare!
Ai la la...

Xa pode na fonte a auga nacere,
pode no campeiro a herba medrare,
e legalizaron que as froles frorecen,
¡e os nenos galegos, galego falare!
Ai la la...

Quedoulles a testa moi ben descansada,
oitocentos anos oíndo unha fala,
ensino en galego prós nenos que o falan,
¡ise é o "decreto" que facía falla!
Ai la la...

Certain musical aspects of the above song are worth noting. The rhythm is that of a *muiñeira nova*, (described in the previous chapter with the song 'Fuxan os Ventos'), otherwise known as 'versos de gaita galega'²⁸⁵. Not only does the rhythm communicate to us that this song is from Galicia but also the traditional *ai la las* at the end of each verse. By playing in the Galician musical language, which comes naturally to someone

surrounded by the region's traditional musical rhythms, the group are emphasising that speaking the Galician tongue is also what comes naturally to those brought up conversing in the language. With great wit and satire, the song therefore underlines the absurdity that when a child goes to school in Galicia, this 'naturalness' is discouraged and the children are not educated in their mother tongue. This is equal to not allowing the fish to do what is natural to a fish and that is to swim, the grass and flowers to grow and the sea to have tides. Furthermore, the song offers a concrete solution to this problem. Rather than simply announcing that Galician children have the legal right to speak in Galician a law needs to be passed declaring *Galego* as the language of education in Galicia, as this would encourage its normalisation. It would seem that the possibility arose for their wish to be granted only a year after the above song was recorded. In 1981 Estatuto de Autonomía was approved, Article 5 of which affirms *Galego* to be the '*lingua propia*' of Galicia and both Galician and Castilian as the official languages of the region.

'A lingua propia de Galicia é o galego. Os idiomas galego e castelán son oficiais de Galicia e todos teñen o dereito de os coñocer e de os usar. Os poderes públicos de Galicia garantirán o uso normal e oficial dos dous idiomas e potenciarán o emprego do galego en tódolos planos da vida pública, cultural e informativa e disporán os medios necesarios para facilita-lo seu coñecemento.'²⁸⁶

Even though the document states that the public bodies of Galicia will encourage the use of *Galego* in *all* areas of Galician life including official domains, they do not seem to have succeeded in placing the language on an equal footing with Castilian. Certainly if we take into account the respondents' testimonies in the various surveys that have been referred to in this chapter so far, the increased (but by no means exclusive) use of Galician in official spheres since the death of Franco has not significantly changed the traditional attitudes towards the tongue.

The Song of A Quenlla

In 1988 A Quenlla produced the album, *Romance: Historia da Lingua Galega*, which, as can be imagined, is completely dedicated to the theme of *Galego* and comprises six songs. The words were written by the writer and poet Darío Xohán Cabana and put to music by Mini. Originally the six pieces were one lengthy poem written in the style of a romance song which takes us through the history of the language. The example below, *Arriba Lingua Galega*²⁸⁷, is the final song on the album.

En Santiago canta o Galo, loce o Facho na Coruña e en Ourense, Vigo e Lugo dase nova testemuña. A enseña da democracia ten o brasón en galego e na fábrica e nas aulas soa a lingua dos antergos. Mozos sabios e patriotas ordenan a lingua nosa; fana culta e ordenada, fana lóxica e fermosa. Entra a lingua nas escolas e se inda non é señora ten dereitos proclamados, anque ten máis a de fóra.	Xa se fala nos lugares onde lle era antes vedado, inda que hai quen a discute porque hai moito desleigado. Inda hai pais que son contrarios a que a aprendan os seus fillos sexa porque o pensan ou que os movan catro pillos. Este noso antigo idioma é unha lingua de cultura e é vergoña pra un galego non falala con soltura. “O galego que no fala na lingua da súa terra, nin sabe o que ten de seu, nin é merecente dela.” ²⁸⁸	Así falaba un poeta noutro tempo deste asunto, e agora vai sendo hora de poñerlle a historia punto. Esta historia é diferente doutros romances de cegos; non se sabe inda o remate, pois depende dos galegos. Nenos, homes e mulleres desta terra adormentada, rematouse xa o romance, escoitade o pandeirada: ¡Arriba pobo galego Arriba lingua galega, Que se morre a nosa fala Non hai pobo nin hai terra!
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This song talks of the present circumstances concerning the Galician language and how they hope that the day will come when *Galego* is spoken in all areas of life, such as in schools and factories. Like in the previous song, the need to normalise the language is also highlighted here as a way of preserving the tongue. It quotes the words written by a

poet in the nineteen-twenties which say what a great shame it is when a Galician cannot speak his/her own language fluently, that s/he is not deserving of it as s/he does not know or appreciate what is his/hers. The lyrics also point out that this *romance de cego* is different from other songs because it does not have a conclusion, since its ending solely depends on the Galician people. The normalisation process is also the responsibility of the people in this song and not only of those in power. It encourages Galicians to finish the story by joining in the struggle to keep *Galego* alive since the death of a language is the death of a people and a land.

Not only is Galician identity expressed through the theme of language, but also through instrumentation and imitating the traditional. The song is written in the style of a *romance de cego*, which comprises verses of four octosyllabic lines. From the fifteenth century this song type used to be accompanied by the *zanfona* (hurdy-gurdy), although nowadays other instruments are used, such as the violin²⁸⁹ or it is sung unaccompanied. The instrumental accompaniment of a *romance de cego* follows the melody line and this also occurs in A Quenlla's song, which is accompanied on the *zanfona*.

The choice to compose the music in the style of a *romance de cego* highlights the inferior status that *Galego* currently possesses, because like Galician a *romance de cego* has suffered a similar fate. Furthermore, the employment of the *zanfona* emphasises this point. After the fifteenth century the *zanfona*, once a highly esteemed instrument in the courts, began to lose its prestige due to the growing popularity of the violin. The *zanfona* then became associated with blind beggars and wandering minstrels and consequently lost its high status. Another aspect which can be heard in this piece that is also considered to be of a low rank is the 'gheada'. The *gheada* is the pronunciation of hard 'g' [g] as a soft Spanish 'jota' sound [x]. The pronunciation of the hard 'g' in this manner is deemed uncultured and is often ridiculed. In the above song all these elements that are regarded as inferior are brought together in an attempt to raise their status by showing that they play a significant role in Galician culture and are therefore an important part of Galician identity.

The Song of Mercedes Peón

*De Seu*²⁹⁰ (2000), written by Mercedes Peón and Xosé Bugliot, reveals that one of her preoccupations lies with the survival of the Galician tongue. As she stated herself: ‘a lingua é importantísimo conservala’.

O galego que non fala a lingua da súa terra non sabe o que ten de seu, non sabe o que ten de seu perdidiño polo mundo sen saber o que xa é meu.	Perdidiño pola vida, rexeita a súa lingua sabendo que ven de atrás, sabendo que ven de atrás da nosa xente querida ¡aínda hoxe falámo-la! Falámola naturalmente falamos como a nosa xente, non nos podemos queixar.	O galego que non fala a lingua da súa terra non sabe o que ten de seu, non sabe o que ten de seu perdidiño polo mundo sen saber o que xa é meu. O galego que non fala a lingua da súa terra non sabe o que ten de seu, non sabe o que ten de seu nin é merecente dela, galego da túa TERRA.
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She too has taken the statement of Taibo²⁹¹ and uses it to say what a great shame it is that some Galicians do not know their own language as they do not know what riches they have. She maintains that the song is not aggressive, although it may at first appear to be, and is not intended to mock those who do not speak Galician, but rather to make people think about the status of the *Galego*. ‘É simplemente para facer pensar, pero non é para marxinar.’

In the above song, Mercedes does not compose in a specific traditional style, but, as she said herself, she takes as her inspiration the rhythms and melodic phrases that she has learnt through her work collecting and reproducing traditional material. For the most

part the song is octosyllabic, although the verses do not have the same number of lines in each, making it impossible to conclude which song types have been her inspiration in this piece.

To conclude this section on language, the role it plays in the contemporary folk-music scene is significant and inseparable from the expression of cultural identity. During the interviews it became clear that in the practitioners' opinion the fundamental obstacle with the linguistic normalisation process is the negative attitudes still surrounding *Galego*, and through their work they have been and are trying to change this very aspect. Every single songwriter consciously composes in the Galician tongue not only because it is his/her language but also as a way of encouraging the use of *Galego* in all areas of life, for example at the doctor's, in the shops, amongst friends, in education and particularly in high-status realms. Although small and possibly futile, it is their contribution to the normalisation process, an issue that some felt is particularly important for the future of Galician and consequently their cultural identity too.

The following section shall further explore how much their Galician identity inspires them in their musical careers.

6.1.3 Music

I asked all of the interviewees what their ambition was when they began in the field of music and if that goal had changed over the years. Naturally people play music for enjoyment and that is often their main if not sole motive and this is certainly the case with the musicians I interviewed. The harpist Emilio Cao stated that 'eso é o que máis me gusta. E o meu acercamento á música é para seguir con eso, seguir emocionándome cando compoño algo que me gusta'. The bagpiper Xaquín Xesteira earns his living through music because he simply loves playing the bagpipe. 'Eu cando tiña catorce ou quince anos quería vivir de toca-la gaita.' But there are other elements driving their

musical goals and these can be put into three categories: revival of the traditional, cultural promotion and experimenting with Galician music.

The first category deals with those whose objective it is to concentrate on the traditional music and songs of Galicia through collecting such material and reproducing it as faithfully as possible to the original. Therefore, when the term 'traditional' is employed here it is purely with the Galician context in mind and refers to the music that is played and sung in rural areas, which has been passed on orally and aurally from person to person, on instruments used in such a setting today. Instrumentation naturally changes over time and in some areas they play instruments like the clarinet and accordion but not the hurdy-gurdy, thus the music collectors will also employ such instruments. Groups who fall into this category are *Ultreia*, *Pallamallada* and *Leilía* who have dedicated a great deal of time and effort to this type of work. Xoán Rivera from *Pallamallada* states the principal objectives of the group: 'Entón cando xurde *Pallamallada* con esa intención, intentar mostrar todo o abanico posible de tipo de música, ritmos, instrumentos que podemos atopar no folklora galego, e non ceñirmos só ó que era a música para o baile, música lúdica, para a diversión, ou para o canto das pandeireteiras'. According to Montse Rivera, the aim of her group *Leilía* was 'facer que esa música que nalgún tempo fora parte do pobo, volverá a ser parte que a coñecerán, porque estaba completamente esquecida'.

The second category includes those whose aim it is to promote Galicia's music through taking traditional material and interpreting and developing it as they see fit. Furthermore, they compose their own tunes and/or songs using Galician traditional music as their starting point. The group *Fuxan Os Ventos* fall into this category and they explained to me their initial intentions. The group formed in 1972 but it was not until 1975 that they determined their focus and this was to concentrate solely on Galicia, her traditions and culture, whereas before they had sung all types of music. As Tereixa Novo said: 'Houbo un momento determinado en que ese colectivo²⁹², porque ademais era un colectivo numeroso, variable e non estable, decide unánimamente adoptar un

compromiso claro coa lingua, coa cultura e tamén coa música dese país, seguramente por ese orde.’ The aspirations of Pepe (a.k.a. Xosé Vicente Ferreirós) from the group Milladoiro also fall into this category. He began his musical career with the intention of raising the status of Galician music. ‘Eu empecei a traballar desde moi novo nese terreno por reivindicar-la música do meu país como algo realmente importante en pé de igualdade a outras músicas.’ The group, Saraibas, also promotes Galician identity and culture in their work and a significant part of which is dedicated to highlighting the social realities Galicia faces, in particular the situation of *Galego*. However, they are a group that concentrates more on composition than on reproducing traditional music in their own style as Martín Sanjurjo points out:

O grupo naceu porque lle gustaba a música, pero a música empregámolo coma un vehículo para defender a nosa postura na sociedade, non coma un grupo comercial... Era un grupo para comprometerse cunha política cultural dentro do país, a través dos nosos textos feitos por nós mesmos, a través de textos de poetas tradicionais galegos, a través de poetas totalmente descoñecidos, sen deixar tampouco as letras tradicionais que tamén temos no noso traballo. Esa é fundamentalmente a base do grupo e insisto: somos un grupo comprometido non politicamente senón socialmente coa nosa cultura e sobre todo coa nosa lingua.

There is a very thin line between the second and the third grouping as they too use the traditional as their muse but also look to other music for their inspiration, more so than those in the second category. As a result it is virtually impossible to put their music into a specific musical classification. For example, Berrogüetto’s first recording veers very much towards the traditional, whereas with the second and third albums the group focuses more on creating its own sound. This has not been a conscious progression, rather a natural one that is noted by Quim Farinha from the group. ‘Para min é dar a coñece-la cultura galega, unha música recoñecida como tal, cunha identidade propia. Penso que a cada paso que vas dando a túa música vai cambiando, vai chegando a distintos sitios.’

Rodrigo Romaní states that the aim of his music is not to imitate but to take elements from the traditional. ‘A idea primeira non é procura-la imitación, pero un síntese máis satisfeito se o que lle sae ten cousas do tradicional.’ An example of such a synthesis can be heard in his song ‘Miña Nai’²⁹³.

(Chorus)	Axudádeme a cantar	Dis que non canto ben
Miña nai e maila túa	axudádeme o que quixer	para ti canto bastante
entrambas van de romaría	axudádeme a cantar	se non me queres oír
levan o traxe de gala	senón vou enrouquecer.	¡arre burro para adiante!
deixan o de cada día.		
	Canta compañeiro, canta	Este cantariño novo
	canta que Deus che deu gracia	quen o soubera levar
	a miña cando nacín	as nenas da miña aldea
	quedou no fol da liñaza.	sábeno repenicar.

The verses are traditional and were taken from José Pérez Ballesteros’ *Cancionero Popular Gallego*, the songs of which were collected in the late nineteenth century.²⁹⁴ The expression of the Galician in this song can be mainly found in the text, but the most interesting aspect is the choice of verses. Originally they were not published in this order, so the composer had to select each verse individually from the collection. The end result is a set of traditional verses that contain a Galician musical theme. Although the text is traditional, the song is not arranged in a traditional manner except perhaps for the *pandeireta* (tambourine) that is employed towards the end after the final verse in which it mentions ‘as nenas da miña aldea’. It is with the womenfolk of rural areas that the *pandeireta* is associated, therefore the inclusion of the instrument at this point in the song not only highlights the words but also contextualises the piece.

Some artistes are included in more than one grouping and this makes the distribution fairly even, although a slight majority fall into the first two categories (the traditional

and inspired by the traditional respectively). But what this indicates is that some form of cultural revival and/or promotion is one of the principal motivating forces behind most of the musicians. The assertion of Galician identity is also a factor that lies behind the work of the music managers, the linguist and the journalists I interviewed. The primary goal of the manager Vítor Belho was to use his idea of what it is to be Galician and manifest it in his company *Nordesía* that manages various groups and soloists.

A existencia de Nordesía... está basada nesa reflexión, ou sexa a necesidade de dotar ó país de estruturas empresariais, organizativas ou políticas doutro tipo para empezar a crear unha idea de nós como galegos que non se plantexa só no papel e nas manifestacións e tal, senón que empezemos a tomar conciencia de aqueles pasos que podemos ir dando. Nordesía é un reflexo deso no ámbito da cultura e especialmente na disciplina musical e no xénero da música da raíz..

The other manager, Fernando Conde, who works only with Carlos Núñez became involved in this line of work because he was so impressed with the musicianship of Carlos. He is also a bagpiper himself and loves Galician and traditional music which contributed to his decision to work in this type of management. Together he believes they are bringing Galician music to a much wider audience, to a world-wide public. The goal of Antón Santamarina, who was involved in the literary side of the great *cancioneiros* compiled by Schubarth, was to do this important work while it was still possible so that many songs would be saved from extinction. One of the journalists, Xosé Manuel Estévez, commented that he became engaged in the field of music, although he is not a musician himself, as he wished to be a witness of the time in which he was living. What is currently happening in the world of Galician music he feels is incredible. He is also a fervent promoter of the Galician tongue as is the other journalist, Oscar Losada. Together they have recently written the book *Crónica do Folk Galego: 25 Anos de Historia* (2000) that is concerned with the Galician folk-music scene since 1975 to the year 2000.

The response to my question concerning the importance of Galician traditional music as a marker of national identity was in almost all cases positive. They see traditional music as part of culture and culture as one of the elements that shapes national identity. Some underlined that traditional music is also very much connected to language, another aspect which many agreed determined their individuality. Ramón Maril from Rumbadeira gave an interesting reply in which it became clear that when the term 'national' was used he saw this as referring to Spain rather than Galicia. Therefore he suggested that traditional music was not so much a marker of national identity, just simply identity. 'Eu creo que quizais nacional non, depende da zona. Por exemplo, un madrileño non se vai identificar nunca coa música galega, igual que un andaluz non se vai identificar con nós, igual que nós non nos identificamos con Andalucía.' However, one interviewee disagreed. Antón Santamarina revealed that at first he believed it to be the case but since working with Dorothé Schubarth he had changed his mind. Now he realised that there is not in fact a particular Galician music as all its musical elements can be found in other types of music around Europe. Nevertheless, he did agree that maybe it was style that distinguishes one music from another, since one can often identify from which part of Spain a music comes.

Eu pensaba que si, que había unha música tradicional galega que tiña uns trazos comúns con toda a música europea pero específicos en algúns aspectos só nosos. E a verdade é que non é así. Se estudias musicolóxicamente o folklore galego, as melodías son comúns a toda Europa, de aquí a Suecia e a Noruega, e especialmente determinado tipo de melodías moi arcaicas son comúns a toda Europa. O que si hai é un tipo de autorización desa música que é un pouco noso. De feito ti cando sintes música española sabes se é asturiana, andaluza, ou catalana.

What could be deduced from these responses is that the assertion of a Galician national, or rather, cultural identity and traditional music are in many ways inseparable. Even if many are playing Galician traditional music or base their music on the traditional simply

because that is what they enjoy and what comes naturally to them, the promotion of the Galician is still very much attached.

The above question was also put to my survey respondents, eighty-three percent of whom answered positively. However, active participation in the Galician music scene, such as listening to the music, buying recordings, going to concerts that are free and to those with an admission charge, is quite low. On average twelve percent involve themselves on a regular basis, fifty-nine percent sometimes and twenty-nine percent never. Despite these findings, the overwhelming positive response to the question concerning traditional music as a marker of national identity indicates that Galician music at least plays an important symbolic role in the respondents' perception of their Galician identity.

The following question was designed to see if the musical elements that nineteenth-century musicologists, such as Varela and Tafall, regarded as giving Galician music its character are still considered as specific aspects of Galician traditional music. I asked the interviewees what characterised Galician traditional music in their eyes. Of course each person was answering from his/her perspective of what traditional music is and some offered an explanation concerning the difference between traditional and folk music. The following definitions are basically how many of the interviewees regarded the music although there were some variations on these ideas. Traditional music is that which has been preserved in its original context, (in rural areas in the case of Galicia), the lyrics and tunes are anonymous and have been passed on orally. As Mercedes Peón stated: 'A tradición e outra cousa, é a transmisión oral e visual no seu propio contexto'. Some, for instance Xoa Rivera, also differentiated between folklore and folk, the former having the same meaning as traditional. 'A definición do folklore é anónimo, aínda que poida ter un orixe culto.' Folk music, on the other hand, is that which has been recently composed by a known author which takes traditional music as its starting point. Pablo Carpintero said that 'a música folk agora é unha cousa que se estende a tódolos campos simplemente chamándose música folk que se interpreta con

instrumentos tradicionais dalgún país’, and Mercedes Peón that ‘folk é unha mestura entre o antigo e o contemporáneo’.

However, for some there are no clear-cut lines between traditional and folk music. As Bieito Romero remarked, traditional music is not only that which has been collected, but that it continues through composition based on the forms and styles found in traditional Galician music. ‘Nós pensamos que a música tradicional non acaba no momento en que ti recolles esa melodía, a música tradicional é unha continuidade aínda que teña autor, se ti compós inspirándote na música que facían os teus antepasados, non deixa de ser tradicional, aínda que ti lle poñas a túa firma.’ Paco Barreiro implied that using an instrument not regarded as traditional does not therefore make the music played on it non-traditional, so long as the traditional musical forms are maintained. He plays the guitar, and even though many groups have a guitar as their accompanying instrument, it is still not considered to be part of the tradition. ‘Que hai canción de autor e arranxos de pezas tradicionais e con incorporación da guitarra, que é o que eu toco, sobre todo dunha maneira respetuosa, é dicir, trato de que a guitarra fale galego, pero sobre todo respetando o que é a música tradicional, ou a raíz da música tradicional.’ It is important to bear these ideas in mind when analysing the responses of the interviewees.

Some refrained from stating what characteristics they believed gave Galician traditional music its particular sound as they said they were not musicologists and therefore not qualified to answer such a question. The responses of the rest of the interviewees convincingly suggest that nineteenth-century musicological theories are no longer influential, with the possible exceptions of the *alalá* and *muiñeira*²⁹⁵ as emblematic song and tune types of Galicia. The characteristics that they stated were in general non-specific because, as quite a few admitted, they had not given it much thought. Furthermore, many expressed that they did not feel they knew enough about other music to know how Galician music differed. For example, Paco Barreiro’s answer, which follows, reveals his reluctance to pinpoint specific traits as he has never studied music in such detail.

Podemos falar de alalás que son cantos espontáneos, que teñen que ver, para min, moito cos estados de ánimos concretos, e claro sería unha música, é que tampouco son un estudioso das características musicais, pero si o sabería recoñecer, sabería dicir, isto sóname de aquí ou de fóra, pero creo que o alalá é libre.... Supoño que iso haino en tódolos pobos, pero este é un deles e digamos que o alalá é propio de aquí... E despois a muiñeira con tódalas súas variantes, como ribeiranas, e que son compases ternarios e binarios, e en tódolos pobos os hai.

Others suggested instrumentation, the sound of the *gaita*, the *pandeireta*, the cheerfulness of bagpipe tunes, muiñeiras, pandeiretadas, pasacorredoiras,²⁹⁶ lyricism, the words of the songs, alalás, the melancholy of the alalás, cantos de cegos, labour songs, the choirs and certain rhythms, (nobody specified which ones), are all characteristic of Galician music. Emigration was also mentioned as one of the aspects likely to have had an effect on the evolution of Galician traditional music, as emigrants return after having been surrounded by different musical sounds which have become a part of their musical expression. One musician commented that he believed the music of the choirs that emerged in the late nineteenth century, which have been described in a previous chapter, have also played their part. Certainly whilst listening to the music of his group, Fuxan Os Ventos, the choral influence can be heard as much harmony is employed. But, above all, the majority agreed that the most characteristic element of Galician traditional music was the variety found in it. Its diversity is a direct result of the influences from the different types of music that have affected Galicia's musical traditions over the centuries, such as the music that the pilgrims brought via the *Camiño de Santiago*, and this is seen as one of its most positive aspects. Emilio Cao said on the topic: 'A miña opinión é que a música galega é un compendio de moitas influencias empezando polas Cantigas do Rei Alfonso X, o Sabio, polo Camiño de Santiago que foi unha maneira de introducir moitas músicas de moitos músicos de toda Europa.'

This revival has clearly moved on from the previous one as the focus is on celebrating Galician culture and music, rather than on what specific elements give Galician music its flavour in order to differentiate it from other music traditions. Even those who have done some ethnographical work did not do so in order to analyse the nature of the music, but simply to demonstrate to others the wealth of traditional music that Galicia possesses. Perhaps they were not interested in such theories as they had never intended to go down the path of musical analysis, but what it does imply is that nineteenth-century musicological ideas are not seen as gospel, and what is more, have little if no effect on the work of those involved in the music scene today.

A musical influence which nineteenth-century academics generally denied was the Arabic. As we have already seen in a previous chapter, this was due to intellectuals believing in the inferiority of the Arabic 'race' and therefore refused to accept its possible impact. It was also seen as part of the Flamenco tradition, an image from which they were desperately trying to escape because they were determined to prove their separate identity from the rest of Spain. Fortunately these ideas appear to have no effect anymore, as nobody denied its influence outright, although some did doubt that there was much if any influence from this source in Galician music. For instance Antón Rodríguez stated: 'Eu creo que as influencias desas culturas [the Arabic, Jewish and Celtic cultures] tamén ten algo que ver, pero agora que sexa flamenco como o flamenco se coñece hoxe en día, eu teño as miñas dúbidas'. It could be inferred that their scepticism on this topic is not due to racially-motivated ideas but to their belief in Galicia's distinct culture, therefore they would rather that their music were not linked to that which is internationally seen as typically Spanish. The following statement by Óscar Losada concerning Flamenco and Galician music certainly indicates that this is a possible reason. 'Eu non creo que sexa a máis clara influencia, pero pódense facer esas cousas, [fuse the Galician with the Andalusian]. A min paréceme moi ben que fagan flamenco en Andalucía. A min, o que me molesta é que o flamenco sexa representativo de todo o estado.' A few of the interviewees agreed that there is likely to be influence

from the Arabic element and Fernando Conde was the only one who asserted that there is a definite connection between the two.

Carlos conoció a un laudista que se llamaba Omar Metioui que grabó con él en “Amores Libres”,²⁹⁷ y le sorprendió muchísimo que este hombre al grabar, las improvisaciones que hacía eran ritmos, escalas muy parecidos a los que pueden haber en la música gallega. ¿Qué explicación puede haber en eso? La música andalusí era música que tocaban los musulmanes en España islámica antes de la expulsión y esa música se ha conservado hasta nuestros días teóricamente intacta, aunque supongo que tendrán influencias, como todos... Lo que es cierto es que es una música muy parecida a la gallega.

The responses to the above question also reveal that the biased nineteenth-century ideologies have no, or at least very little, impact on modern musical thought in Galicia. Having said that, towards the end of the *Rexurdimento* a more open-minded approach to musical research had emerged and a similar attitude continues to thrive today. Whether or not there is a connection is difficult if not impossible to determine. Another explanation for the *Rexurdimento's* lack of influence on the present-day revival could possibly be due to the fact that the *Recuperación* has been initiated largely from a non-academic setting. Moreover, although there are various reasons why the musicians I interviewed have chosen to play Galician traditional and folk music, the main motive is simply enjoyment, thus academic theorising about music has little influence on their work.

The aforementioned broadmindedness towards other cultures is also reflected in the welcoming of outside stimuli within musical composition. In this area, I wanted to discover how much the Galician tradition is influential and if and how it is reflected in their music, whether it be through instrumentation, melody lines, rhythms, harmonies etc. Few actually try to capture the traditional in their music by rigidly keeping within the boundaries of the tradition. Naturally, those boundaries vary depending on the

individual's perspective on what is traditional. Camilo Regueiro said of his compositions: 'As composicións que teño, si, van básanse en esquemas tradicionais, máis que eso, non só esquemas, ese toque que soñe realmente a galego'. But most stated that they simply compose as comes naturally to them, although Galicia is often the starting point, whether consciously or unconsciously, as Rodrigo Romaní pointed out. 'Todo o que fago ten que ver, conscente ou inconscentemente con Galicia, a través de texto, forma musical ou instrumentos utilizados.' The ways through which they express the Galician in their music is through using particular rhythms, instruments and musical forms and styles. For example, they may compose a tune using a *muiñeira* rhythm or consciously employ musical instruments regarded as part of the tradition, such as the *gaita*, the *zanfona* and the *cunchas*. However, many do use other instrumentation, such as the oboe in the case of Milladoiro, and others fuse what they regard as a Galician style with other established styles from outside Galicia. For instance, Luar Na Lubre are very much enthused by Irish traditional music and often both the Irish and the Galician can be heard in their music. Having said that, Galician traditions are their main source of inspiration as Bieito from the group explains: 'sempre inspírome na métrica, nas cadencias, nas melodías de Galicia. ... Esa é a política que ten o grupo, traballar sempre sobre melodías que están aí nese fondo de baúl que temos aquí na cabeza e que nos permite ser galegos.' Some remarked that it is impossible in this modern age not to be influenced by other music and this often comes to light in composition. For example, Pepe commented that sometimes while composing a *muiñeira* it will turn out to be a jig, due to them having the same time-signatures. 'Vou facer unha muiñeira e como sean 6/8, pódeme saír unha jiga irlandesa.' Rhythm on its own does not determine a tune type as he explained, 'non todo que vai en 3/4 é un vals por exemplo'. Therefore, how to determine whether something is purely a *muiñeira* or one with influences from other tune types is extremely difficult if not impossible. Interestingly, outside influences were seen by most as a positive element of Galician music rather than a threat, which can be noted in the following statement by Quim Farinha:

Eu, por exemplo, compoño bastantes muiñeiras²⁹⁸, pero nótase que teñen influencias, non son muiñeiras típicamente galegas, teñen influencias doutras músicas porque é inevitable. Eu tampouco vou cerrar os ollos e os oídos. Eu á hora de compoñer inspírome no momento ou noutras músicas que escoito e entón sáleme como me sale. Non pretendo forzar a compoñer unha música que non é real. Eu, se quero, podo compoñer unha muiñeira que sone a galego solo, típica, pero eso non o quero facer, prefiro ser máis natural, pois, compoñer como facían hai moitos anos.

As well as composition, there are two other principal sources from which the musicians obtain their material: directly from the people and from the *cancioneiros* of both the *Rexurdimento* and the *Recuperación*. Many use more than one source and, taking that into consideration, out of the musicians I interviewed 31% use the material they have directly collected from the people and 29% consult the *cancioneiros*, old and new, including the collections of their colleagues who have not yet published their work. Finally, 40% of them compose their own material. Given these statistics, it becomes apparent that musicians are dedicating an immense amount of time not only to keeping the Galician music traditions alive, but also to developing them through composition. This is especially impressive when we bear in mind that most of them do such work in their spare time. For example, collecting material is quite difficult and incredibly time consuming as Ramón Maril from the group Rumbadeira describes:

É un traballo duro. Tes que empezar e facer unha pequena festa, levar un viño, empanadas, para crear ambiente e empezar tocando unha peza de gaita ou incluso as pandereteiras cantar, para que a xente se sinta como se sentía antes cando se facía ese tipo de cousas. E logo conseguir que a xente se solte. E a xente nova enseguida nos soltamos, pero a xente maior aquí, coa xente que non coñece é moi reservada, tímida, é como dicir “Ti, ¿qué fas aquí?” E por iso conseguir material é difícil ás veces.

It is interesting to note that in the above quote old people display suspicion as to what they are asking of them. I also asked Antón Santamarina if Dorothé Schubarth had found the same difficulty when collecting material. His experience was quite different once a reliable informant had been found. Furthermore, he believes that because Dorothé was foreign the locals were less suspicious and therefore more willing to share their songs with them.

Ela tiña a súa man esquerda para facelas enquisas despertaba certa compasión, era unha señora, viña de Suíza con unha mochila ó lombo, iba buscando cantigas, despertábase unha certa simpatía xa inmediatamente. O que miran con certo recelo é cando lle preguntas as leiras que tes porque pensan que eres un funcionario de facenda, pero cando preguntas cantigas, refráns, os nomes das partes do carro, ou así eso non hai moito problema.

Because most embark on such projects in their spare time, many are forced to collect material from the areas nearest to them, although they try to collect from all regions of Galicia. Of those in this field about 50% of them believe in reproducing the music they have collected as closely as possible to the original, whereas the rest like to interpret it as they see fit. Around one fifth of them believe it is necessary to do both so that the roots of the music are not forgotten but at the same time the music does not become stagnant through lack of change.

The principal *cancioneiros* used are those of Casto Sampedro y Folgar (1942 + 1982), Jesús Bal y Gay and Eduardo Torner (1973), José Inzenga (1888) and Dorothé Schubarth and Antón Santamarina (1984-1995). The publication dates of the first two listed are misleading as Sampedro's material was actually collected around 1900 and Bal y Gay's between 1928 and 1936. This reveals that the collections from the previous revival are as important as the more recent ones in the preservation of Galicia's musical traditions, and in this area, the previous revival has had and continues to have an impact on today's folk-music scene.

There were various responses to the question of where they see or hope their music is going. For the traditionalists it was to continue along the same vein and to concentrate solely on that which they regard as traditional. Groups, such as Milladoiro and Luar Na Lubre²⁹⁹, stated that they believed the sounds their respective bands have created are now established and they are quite happy to continue producing these sounds. Others admitted to having no clear idea of the direction their music was taking and preferred just to see what happens. However, the most interesting aspect that arose from this question was that the vast majority (not including the traditionalists) added that whatever direction their music may have taken or may take, it was and would always be based on the traditional, whether it be an old song or melody or one of recent creation. For example, Pepe from Milladoiro said: 'Penso que seguiremos traballando nesa traxectoria que en definitiva é a música tradicional. Vai ser sempre a base'. To me this also suggests that Galicia is one of the main motivating factors behind their work, whether it be more in the traditional or folk-music sphere.

As for the direction in which Galician folk music is going in general, most agreed that it was heading down a number of routes due to the variety of sounds within Galician music. Some added that the boom in folk music that Galicia has witnessed over the last few years is now beginning to decline due to it becoming less fashionable and therefore the media are losing interest in it. Nevertheless, most were positive about its future and felt the work that all the different groups were doing was good for Galician music. The linguist, Antón Santamarina, affirmed that he saw Galician music as putting Galicia on the map, so to speak, in a similar way that Irish music has done for Ireland.

A riqueza que tiñamos nós que pode converter a nosa música galega en algo parecido ó fenómeno irlandés. Por exemplo, a música irlandesa é coñecida en todo o mundo. Eu supoño que a música galega ten potencialidade para que a música folk sexa valorada non sei se mundialmente, pero polo menos a nivel europeo. Eu creo que a través da música é unha maneira de que Galicia saia.

6.2 Concluding Comments

My main objective for conducting interviews with various people involved in Galician folk-music circles was to discover how great a link there is between their work and the promotion of a Galician identity. The evidence above suggests that the connection is vital and Galician identity is a significant motivating factor behind their work. However, it must be stressed that this identity is better described as cultural rather than national, since many practitioners as well as my survey respondents emphasised what the difference between the two meant to them. Furthermore, the term 'national' can have negative connotations associated with nationalistic fanaticism. In most cases, however, the interviewees' Galician identity is very important to them, although not in the sense of flags and anthems, but in the way that their immediate landscape, language and music affect their perspectives on life in general.

Language is the greatest marker of Galician identity in the music field, therefore a significant part of the interviewees' work is to do with the promotion of *Galego*. One of the most noteworthy points that emerged was the positive attitude shown towards Castilian, despite it being the dominant language in Galicia and a possible threat to *Galego*. This tolerant stance is also demonstrated in the fact that a general respect prevails towards Galicians who speak in Castilian. Furthermore, many see their bilingualism as an enhancement in their life and feel it opens their eyes to other cultures, as they are able to communicate with both speakers of Galician and Spanish.

The importance of language as an expression of Galician identity is an element that has continued from the *Rexurdimento*. Other aspects of that period which still greatly contribute to today's revival are the *cancioneiros*, particularly those of Sampedro and Bal y Gay, and some of the poems and songs, such as Rosalía de Castro's and Juan Montes' *Negra Sombra*. The ideas from the previous revival that have no place in the *Recuperación* are the racist theories. Early in the present-day revival Celticism only

played a small role, not as a way of differentiating themselves from other people as it did in the *Rexurdimento*, but to promote Galician culture in a positive light. Some still feel an affinity with countries labelled as Celtic, such as Ireland, Scotland and Brittany, because they are of the opinion that they share similar music traditions, landscape and ways of thinking. The Celtic element also plays a limited role in my survey respondents' perception of Galician identity. Few practitioners believe that there is a significant Arabic (Flamenco) influence in Galician music but this is more likely to do with a rejection of Flamenco as part of Galicia's traditions than with racial issues. The fact that several musicians feel frustrated with the representation of Flamenco as the music of the whole of Spain, is not a reflection of disregard for the music or for the culture to which it belongs, but because they do not identify themselves with it. Indeed many revealed their respect for Flamenco music as a tradition.

The enjoyment of playing music is of course what motivates people to enter into the world of music and this is mainly why the musicians I interviewed work in this area. However, it is clear that Galicia is very much their muse, although not for any fanatical nationalistic reasons, but as a way of learning about their traditions. Above all, their aim is to share the wealth Galician music possesses with others within and beyond Galicia and to celebrate their culture.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

The overall objective of this thesis was to establish the roles music has played and plays in the promotion of Galician identity in the context of the two cultural revivals, the first of which (*Rexurdimento*) emerged in the late nineteenth century and the second (*Recuperación*) in the mid nineteen-seventies. Such a study not only involved much research into primary and secondary sources, but also included in-depth interviews with practitioners of today's activities.

7.1 Galician Identity Today

The findings from the interviews with people involved in the Galician music scene show that although language continues to be the principal factor which expresses Galician identity today, music also plays a fundamental role. A further key element is that race has no place in its definition. The most striking aspects that came to light were the tendency to describe Galician identity as cultural as opposed to national, respect towards other peoples and their cultures and an absence of anti-Castilian sentiment.

Many seemed to find the term 'national identity' problematic since it suggested nationalistic fanaticism to them, thus their identity is better described as cultural since it avoids such associations. Furthermore, most of the work achieved in the music field has been in the name of Galician *culture* and not for political reasons. Arguably, the revival emerged out of a reaction to political events that prohibited much cultural expression and therefore the content of many songs was politically motivated at first. However, any opposition to the dictatorship expressed in the songs was not necessarily to assert Galicia's nationhood, but to protest against the laws that forbade them to celebrate their cultural traditions freely.

Race as a component of their identity has virtually disappeared which is partly reflected in the general negative response to the idea that Galicians are Celts. This does not mean, however, that they do not feel an affinity with cultures labelled Celtic, such as Ireland and Brittany, as some stated that they did. But this was because similar geographic and climatic environments surround them, which encourage similar ways of living and therefore thinking. More importantly, however, their dismissal of racial notions is in fact a rejection of categorising humanity into different races and/or nationalities.

This general display of respect towards other peoples and their cultures was also demonstrated in their open-mindedness where language is concerned. Very little annoyance was expressed towards Galicians who speak in Castilian rather than *Galego*, even though language is seen as being at the heart of Galician identity. However, there was some concern displayed towards the future of the Galician tongue (and identity), due to the dominance of Castilian, but this concern has not manifested itself in an opposition to Castilian, as is frequently the case in situations when one culture feels overshadowed by another. Indeed quite a few regarded Castilian as part of their history and culture and believed that it should therefore also be celebrated in its Galician context. Bilingualism is seen as a positive factor in Galician life, because it enables them to communicate with a greater number of people, for instance with Castilian and Portuguese speakers around the world. Therefore, what they hope to achieve is that Galician is at least employed on an equal footing with Castilian, particularly in higher status posts, such as in business, law and particularly in education.

Music too has a significant part to play in the celebration of Galician identity. Traditional music is regarded as a very important part of national identity within the Galician music scene as well as amongst my survey respondents. Musicians celebrate Galician distinctiveness not only through the reproduction and development of traditional music, but also through composition using musical aspects which are often apparent in Galician traditional music. Lyrical form also expresses 'Galicianness' as do

language, textual themes and instrumentation. Outside influences and individual tastes are evident too, but the Galician element lies at the heart of many recently composed pieces. Musicians have had to battle against the negative image that local Galician music possessed, mainly due to its association with the Franco regime, and through their hard work have greatly encouraged Galician music to be regarded in a more favourable light as well as an important marker of Galician identity.

The more positive attitude displayed towards Galician culture and the respect demonstrated towards other peoples have been able to flourish in today's revival due to the context in which Galicia now finds herself. The political system is democratic, Galicia has her own regional government, the Xunta, and technological advances have made it possible for musicians to collect traditional and popular music on a much wider scale and to bring it to more diverse audiences through performance. Therefore, they are able to communicate a positive stance towards Galician culture to this larger public and to promote Galician individuality without the need to focus on the differences between Galicia and the rest of Spain, which can encourage xenophobic sentiments. Galicia's cultural identity has become more important than her national status and the outcome of this is partly reflected in the voting tendencies within Galicia. For instance, the dominant political party in the Xunta is not Galician but Spanish, unlike in the Catalan and the Basque Parliaments where regional parties govern. In the last Parliamentary elections in Galicia (2001), the Galician branch of the Spanish 'Partido Popular' (PP) won 51.6% of the votes whereas the 'Bloque Nacional Galego' (BNG) came in second with only 22.6% closely followed by the 'Partido Socialista Obrero Español' (PSOE) with 21.8%. These results reveal that just over 72% of the votes went to all-Spanish parties whilst in Catalonia and the Basque Country around 84% and 70% of the votes respectively went to their indigenous parties.³⁰⁰

This does not suggest a lack of interest in local affairs on the part of Galicians, but that they have gained enough confidence in their own identity that it does not need to be asserted in the political arena to the extent that it is in Catalonia and the Basque Country.

The most important aspect lies in the survival and flourishing of their cultural traditions, and now that democracy has been achieved, being politically part of or separated from the rest of Spain is of little consequence to this work. After all, even in the *Rexurdimento* when nationalistic considerations were much higher, there was never any significant desire to be completely separated from Spain, only a wish to achieve autonomy within the Spanish State.

7.2 Surviving and Rejected Elements of Galician Identity from the Rexurdimento

The two main components of Galician identity today that were also asserted in the *Rexurdimento* are language and music. The role language plays in the expression of Galician identity has remained as important in the *Recuperación* as it was previously and, due to technological progress that has made it possible to communicate ideas further afield within a very short space of time, its use has since increased in today's Galician music scene. The effect of such advances in communications technology has also given music a greater part to play in the promotion of Galician cultural traditions. Work in this field is no longer restricted to academia nor performance to middle-class audiences. Consequently, it has also lost the elitist attitude that was apparent formerly and this is demonstrated in the fact that during the *Rexurdimento* traditional music was arranged in non-traditional styles in order to raise its status, whereas today development of the traditional is seen as a way of celebrating Galician culture and the music's diverse and versatile nature. As a result, this has encouraged any scorn displayed towards Galician culture and in particular towards Galician music to be abandoned and replaced by positive attitudes.

Race, as mentioned above, has no place in the manifestation of Galician identity, thus Celticism has largely been discarded. Towards the end of the *Rexurdimento*, some academics in the music field had rejected the racist ideas which is evident in the open-

minded work of Ribera and Bal y Gay. This new approach was later to prevail, no doubt because similar racial arguments to those expressed in the *Rexurdimento* were developed and eventually led to the committing of atrocious acts of violence and genocide during the Nazi period. In the Civil War Spain also witnessed the appalling effects fascist ideology can produce, which is exemplified in the events of 1937 in the Basque Country when Franco allowed the Nazis to bomb Guernica. In the nineteen-sixties, during which time the New Song Movement arose, not only were colonial powers declining in parts of Europe including Spain, but also the Vietnam War was taking place. All these events were connected to fanatical nationalistic or other extreme ideologies; therefore many within and beyond Galicia have since completely rejected theories that can lead to such violent incidents towards humankind. Hence the emphasis now lies on celebrating Galicia's culture rather than differentiating themselves from others in order to verify their nationhood. This in turn has affected recent research in the music scene today. Musicologists no longer search for musical elements that could be regarded as belonging to the Galician 'race' in order to prove their separate status, rather they simply wish to learn about and from the music, share this knowledge with a large section of the public, but above all, celebrate their rich cultural heritage.

7.3 Concluding Comments

The principal aim of this thesis was to determine the roles folk music has played and plays in the expression of Galician identity within the context of the two cultural revivals, the first of which emerged during the rise of nationalism in Galicia and the second after the death of Franco when the question of identity surfaced once more. Very little has been written on the music revivals of either era nor on the relationship between them and the development of a sense of national/cultural identity in Galicia. Hence this study is an original contribution to the literature on the subject of national/cultural identity and Galician folk music.

Galician folk music has established itself quite successfully within Galicia and continues to thrive. If it is the case that Galician folk music is simply 'de moda' at present, as was suggested on a few occasions during the fieldwork, we may see a decline in its popularity in the coming years in Galicia. On the other hand, the *Recuperación* has continued for thirty years, which does not suggest that it is simply a trend that will soon disappear. It may have reached its peak, but it is still likely to have a significant part to play in Galician cultural events for some time to come, because it has an established role as a key marker of Galician identity. Furthermore, given the fact that Galician musicians are now being invited to play on a regular basis at major European folk festivals and even at some lesser-known events, the role of Galician folk music in the promotion of Galicia and her culture will also probably increase abroad. It is therefore possible that Galicia will be put on the map, as it were, through her music in a similar manner to Ireland, although perhaps not to such a great extent. Nevertheless there is much potential for it to flourish in the future.

Notes

Introduction

- ¹ See Sharp, C. *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions*. London, 1907.
- ² *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 6. ed. by S. Sadie, London, 1980, p.693. Quote originally comes from the JIFMC, vii, 1955, p.23.
- ³ *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol.6. *op. cit.*, p.693.
- ⁴ *Collins Encyclopedia of Music*. ed. by J. Westrup & F.L.I. Harrison, London, 1991, p.214 – 15.
- ⁵ *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music*. ed. by P. Scholes, London, 1957, p.212.
- ⁶ *Everyman's Dictionary of Music*. ed. by E. Blom, London, 1962, p.180.
- ⁷ *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 15. ed. by S. Sadie, London, 1980, p.87.
- ⁸ *Penguin Dictionary of Music*, (5th edition). ed. by A. Jacobs, London, 1991, p.309.
- ⁹ *Penguin Dictionary of Music*. *op. cit.*, p.309.

Chapter 1

- ¹⁰ All interviews were transcribed by Marta Carracedo Bolaño.
- ¹¹ Núñez, C. 'Os Amores Libres de Carlos Núñez': interview with Carlos Núñez. By Xoán Manuel Estévez. *Na Gaits*, No.8, Santiago de Compostela, May- July 1999, p. 24-26.
- ¹² 'Castrapo' is a mixture between Galician and Castilian.

Chapter 2

- ¹³ See Connor, W. 'A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group, is a ...' (1978) in J. Hutchinson & A. D. Smith's (Eds.) *Nationalism*, Oxford, 1994 p.38.
- ¹⁴ Snyder, L. L. *Varieties of Nationalism: a Comparative Study*. Illinois, 1976, p. 17-18.
- ¹⁵ See Herder's *Über den Ursprung der Sprache* (1772).
- ¹⁶ Barnard, F.M. *Herder's Social and Political Thought*. Oxford, 1965, p.62.
- ¹⁷ Renan, E. 'Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?' (1882) in J. Hutchinson & A. D. Smith's (Eds.) *Nationalism*, Oxford, 1994, p.17.
- ¹⁸ Stalin, J. 'The Nation' (1913) in J. Hutchinson & A. D. Smith's (Eds.) *Nationalism*, Oxford, 1994, p.20.
- ¹⁹ See Connor, W. *op. cit.*, p.36.
- ²⁰ Connor, W. *op. cit.*, p.38.
- ²¹ Kellas, J. *The Politics of Nationality and Ethnicity*. Hampshire, 1991, p.2-3.
- ²² Smith, A.D. *National Identity*. London, 1991, p. 14.
- ²³ Smith is referring to Gellner's 'Thought and Change' (1964). Part of this work also appears in J. Hutchinson & A. D. Smith's (Eds.) *Nationalism*, Oxford, 1994, p.55-63, under the title of 'Nationalism and Modernization'.
- ²⁴ Smith is referring to Kedouri's 'Nationalism' (1960). Part of this work also appears in J. Hutchinson & A. D. Smith's (Eds.) *Nationalism*, Oxford, 1994, p.49-55, under the title of 'Nationalism and Self-Determination'.
- ²⁵ Smith, A.D. *op. cit.*, p.71.
- ²⁶ Anderson, B. *Imagined Communities*. London, 1991, p.6.
- ²⁷ Anderson, B. *Ibid.*, p.201.
- ²⁸ Anderson, B. *Ibid.*, p.6.
- ²⁹ Alter, P. *Nationalism* (2nd Edition). London, 1991, p.3.

- ³⁰ See Kedouri's *Nationalism* (1960). Part of this work also appears in J. Hutchinson & A. D. Smith's (Eds.) *Nationalism*, Oxford, 1994, p.49-55, under the title of 'Nationalism and Self-Determination'.
- ³¹ Gellner, E. 'Nationalism and Modernization' (1964) in J. Hutchinson & A. D. Smith's (Eds.) *Nationalism*, Oxford, 1994, p.62.
- ³² Nairn, T. 'The Maladies of Development' (1977) in J. Hutchinson & A. D. Smith's (Eds.) *Nationalism*, Oxford, 1994, p.75.
- ³³ Brass, P. 'Elite Competition and Nation-Formation' (1979) in J. Hutchinson & A. D. Smith's (Eds.) *Nationalism*, Oxford, 1994, p.87.
- ³⁴ Hobsbawm, E. 'The Nation as Invented Tradition' (1983) in J. Hutchinson & A. D. Smith's (Eds.) *Nationalism*, Oxford, 1994, p.76.
- ³⁵ Hutchinson is referring to Kedouri's *Nationalism* (1960) and *Nationalism in Asia and Africa* (1971). Part of both works also appear in J. Hutchinson & A. D. Smith's (Eds.) *Nationalism*, Oxford, 1994, p.49-55 and p.205-09, under the titles of 'Nationalism and Self-Determination' and 'Dark Gods and their Rites' respectively.
- ³⁶ Hutchinson, J. *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism*. London, 1987, p.12.
- ³⁷ Hutchinson, J. *Ibid.*, p.16.
- ³⁸ Anderson, B. *op. cit.*, p.44.
- ³⁹ Anderson, B. *op. cit.*, p.46.
- ⁴⁰ Smith, A.D. *op. cit.*, p.x.
- ⁴¹ Kellas, J. *op. cit.*, Hampshire, 1991, p.3.

Chapter 3

- ⁴² Fernández del Riego, F. *Pensamento Galeguista do Século XIX*. Vigo, 1983, p.12.
- ⁴³ Faraldo, Antolín. 'Historia de Galicia' in *Grial*, No. 41, Vigo, 1973, p.302. The original was published in *El Recreo Compostelano*, No.22, 1842.
- ⁴⁴ Flitter, Derek. 'Ideological Uses of Romantic Theory in Spain' in Tully (ed.) *Romantik and Romance*, Glasgow, 2000, p.81.
- ⁴⁵ Faraldo, A. 'Estudios de Galicia 2º' in *Grial*, No. 41, Vigo, 1973, p.296-7. The original was published in *El Recreo Compostelano*, No.19, 1842.
- ⁴⁶ It is difficult to pinpoint when Galicia lost her independence. The Provincialists regarded 585 AD as the year because it marks the end of Suebian rule with the invasion of the Visigoths. Thereafter Galicia was to be ruled from beyond her boundaries.
- ⁴⁷ Beramendi, J.G. and Núñez Seixas, X.M. *O Nacionalismo Galego*. p.25. The quote within this quote comes from Faraldo's article 'Lisboa Palacio de las Necesidades' in *El Recreo Compostelano*, No.2, 26/01/1842, p. 30-31.
- ⁴⁸ The birth of Liberalism in Spain is marked by the 1812 Constitution which was drawn up in the Cortes (Parliament) of Cadiz.
- ⁴⁹ Carr, R. *Spain: 1808-1975*. Oxford, 1982, p. 163.
- ⁵⁰ Beramendi, J.G. and Núñez Seixas, X.M. *Ibid.*, p.19.
- ⁵¹ Solís, Miguel. 'Proclama. Lugo 2 1846' in Barreiro Fernández' *El Levantamiento de 1846 y el Nacimiento de Galeguismo*, p.237. 'El sistema tributario' refers to Alejandro Mon's unpopular tax system that was put into force on 23 May 1845 by Narváez's Moderate Government. This was one of the factors against which the Progressives and Provincialists alike were protesting in the uprising.
- ⁵² La Junta Superior de Galicia. *La Revolucion. Periódico Oficial*, No. 1. Santiago de Compostela, 17 April 1846.
- ⁵³ Murguía, M. *Historia de Galicia*. A Coruña, 1865, p.248.
- ⁵⁴ Murguía, M. *Ibid.*, p.572.
- ⁵⁵ Murguía, M. 'La Primera Luz' in *Política y Sociedad en Galicia*, Madrid, 1974. p.159.
- ⁵⁶ Entwistle, William J. *The Spanish Language Together with Portuguese, Catalan and Basque* (2nd ed.). London, 1962, p.40.
- ⁵⁷ See Murguía's *Los Precursores*. A Coruña, 1885, p.187.

- ⁵⁸ Castro, R. de. *Cantares Gallegos*, (edición de Ricardo Carballo Calero). Madrid, 1974, p.153.
- ⁵⁹ Beramendi, J. 'Os Referentes Nacionais en Rosalía e no Provincialismo Galego' in *Actas do Congreso Internacional de Estudos sobre Rosalía de Castro e o seu Tempo*, Tomo III. Santiago de Compostela, 1986, p.390.
- ⁶⁰ Wilcox, John C. *Women Poets of Spain, 1860-1990*. Illinois, 1997, p.67.
- ⁶¹ Castro, R. de. *Obras Completas*. Madrid 1966, p.523. Amancio Prada has set these words to music and made a recording of it. See Track 4 of CD 1 (Amancio Prada *Pra Habana*) that accompanies this thesis.
- ⁶² Carballo Calero, R. 'Introducción' in R. de Castro's *Cantares Gallegos*, Madrid, 1974, p.28.
- ⁶³ Raña, R. *Manual e Escolma do Rexurdimento*. Santiago de Compostela, 1999, p.34.
- ⁶⁴ Pondal, E. *Poesía*. (Edición de Manuel Forcadela). Vigo, 1989, p.147.
- ⁶⁵ In 1760, James Macpherson claimed that he had found an ancient text written by Ossian, a Celtic bard. It came to light that in fact he had invented the whole episode as a way of promoting his own poetry.
- ⁶⁶ Pondal, E. *op. cit.*, p.69-70.
- ⁶⁷ Pondal, E. *Ibid.*, p.68.
- ⁶⁸ Raña, R. *op. cit.*, p.40.
- ⁶⁹ Curros Enríquez, M. *Aires da miña Terra*. (Edición de Benito Varela Jácome). Vigo, 1997, p. 144-5.
- ⁷⁰ Curros Enríquez, M. *Ibid.*, p. 193-4.
- ⁷¹ See Santos Gayoso, E. *Historia de la Prensa Gallega 1800-1986*. A Coruña, 1990, p.200-201.
- ⁷² See J. G. Beramendi + X. M. Núñez Seixas, *op. cit.*, p. 43-59.
- ⁷³ *Caciquismo* is a system in which the local bosses (*caciques*), such as landowners and even priests, exercise a great deal of political power in their locality.
- ⁷⁴ Brañas, A. *El Regionalismo: Estudio Sociológico, Histórico y Literario*. A Coruña, 1982, p.30.
- ⁷⁵ Brañas, A. 'El Regionalismo Gallego' in *La Patria Gallega*, No.1. Santiago de Compostela, 1892, 30 March 1891, p.2.
- ⁷⁶ Maiz, R. 'La Construcción Teórica de Galicia como Nación en el Pensamiento de Manuel Murguía' in *Estudios de Historia Social*, Nos. 28-9. Madrid, 1984, p.134.
- ⁷⁷ Murguía, M. *El Regionalismo Gallego*. Habana, 1889, p.48.
- ⁷⁸ The *Jocs Florals* are ancient poetry contests which were first held in Provençal at Toulouse from 1324 onwards. The tradition was revived in Catalonia in 1859 and in Galicia (*Xogos Florais*) in 1861.
- ⁷⁹ Brañas, A. *op. cit.*, p.1.
- ⁸⁰ Murguía, M. 'Orígenes y Desarrollo del Regionalismo en Galicia' in *La Patria Gallega*, No.2. Santiago de Compostela, 15 January 1892, p.4.
- ⁸¹ Beramendi, J.G. and Núñez Seixas, X.M. *op. cit.*, p.56. Quote originally comes from M. Murguía, 'El Regionalismo II' in *Revista Gallega*, 5 March 1889. A Galician translation of Murguía's article appears in F. Fernández del Riego's (Ed.) *Pensamento Galeguista do Século XIX*, Vigo, 1983, p.127.
- ⁸² Murguía, M. *El Regionalismo Gallego*. Habana, 1989, p.47.
- ⁸³ Beramendi, J.G. and Núñez Seixas, X.M. *op. cit.*, p.55.
- ⁸⁴ Brañas, A. *El Regionalismo: Estudio Sociológico, Histórico y Literario*. A Coruña, 1982, p. 203-4.
- ⁸⁵ Brañas, A. *Ibid.*, p.214.
- ⁸⁶ Brañas, A. *Ibid.*, p.217.
- ⁸⁷ Brañas, A. 'El Regionalismo Gallego' in *La Patria Gallega*, No.1. Santiago de Compostela, 30 March 1891, p.2.
- ⁸⁸ Beramendi, J.G. and Núñez Seixas, X.M. *op. cit.*, p.47. Quote originally comes from A. Brañas, 'Peligros que amenazan a la Sociedad del Siglo XX si se aparta del Cristianismo' in *Congreso Católico de Burgos*. 1899, p.149.
- ⁸⁹ The SC was an electoral coalition of Catalanists of different political persuasions such as Republicans, Federalists and Carlists, whose common thread was their pro-Catalan stance. In 1907 the SC gained much success in the provincial elections as well as the general elections of the same year. In the provincial elections they won the majority of votes in the Barcelona Provincial Government (*Diputació*) and Enric Prat de la Ribera (1870-1917), who led the Catalan *Lliga*, was elected president. (Enric Prat de la Ribera is an important figure of *catalanismo* who transformed Catalan Regionalism into nationalism.) The SC was

even more triumphant in the general elections and attracted 71% of the votes in Barcelona and 67% in the whole of Catalonia.

⁹⁰ Villar Ponte, A. 'Bandeira Ergueita' in Fernández del Riego's (Ed.) *Pensamento Galeguista do Século XX*. Vigo, 1983, p.33 + p.35.

⁹¹ Asamblea Nacionalista. 'O Manifesto' in Fernández del Riego's (Ed.) *Pensamento Galeguista do Século XX*. Vigo, 1983, p.207. The Manifesto was originally published in *A Nosa Terra* on 5 December 1918.

⁹² Asamblea Nacionalista. *Ibid.*, p.207.

⁹³ Risco, V. *Teoría do Nacionalismo Galego*. (Edición crítica de Justo G. Beramendi.) Santiago de Compostela, 2000, p.17.

⁹⁴ Risco, V. *Ibid.*, p.17.

⁹⁵ Risco, V. *Ibid.*, p.18.

⁹⁶ Risco, V. *Ibid.*, p.19.

⁹⁷ Risco, V. *Ibid.*, p.31.

⁹⁸ Risco, V. *Ibid.*, p.27.

⁹⁹ Risco, V. *Ibid.*, p.27.

¹⁰⁰ Risco, V. *Ibid.*, p.20.

¹⁰¹ 'Afirmación Católica dun Grupo de Nacionalistas' in Fernández del Riego's (Ed.) *Pensamento Galeguista do Século XX*. Vigo, 1983, p.214. The article was originally published in *Logos: Boletín Católico Mensual*, Pontevedra, 25 October 1931.

¹⁰² Beramendi, J. G. and Núñez Seixas, X. M. *op. cit.*, p.103. The article was originally published in *Heraldo de Galicia*, No.241. Ourense, 10 February 1936, p.1.

¹⁰³ Porteiro Garea, Luís. 'Unha Contenda arredor dun Vocábulo' in Fernández del Riego's (Ed.) *Pensamento Galeguista do Século XX*. Vigo, 1983, p.59. The article was originally published in *Aos Galegos Emigrados*, A Coruña, 19 June, 1918.

¹⁰⁴ Villar Ponte, A. 'Dos Discursos á Nación Galega' in Fernández del Riego's (Ed.) *Pensamento Galeguista do Século XX*. Vigo, 1983, p. 40-1. The article was originally published in *A Nosa Terra* Nos. 75 & 76, A Coruña.

¹⁰⁵ Fuentes Alende, X. 'A "Real Academia", "Nós" e o "Seminario"'. Aportacións á Literatura Popular' in *El Museo de Pontevedra XLVII*. Pontevedra, 1993, p.282-3.

¹⁰⁶ See Núñez Búa, J. 'El Seminario de Estudios Gallegos' in *Galeuzca*, No.3. Buenos Aires, October 1945, p.103-7.

¹⁰⁷ Bal y Gay's work is discussed in greater detail in the following chapter along with the musicological ideas of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

¹⁰⁸ Beramendi, J. G. and Núñez Seixas, X. M. *op. cit.*, p.148.

¹⁰⁹ Partido Galeguista. 'Ideas que defende e Fins que se propón o Partido Galeguista' in *Nós Suplemento*, Vol. II. A Coruña, 1988, p.4. The original was published in Santiago de Compostela in 1933.

¹¹⁰ Partido Galeguista. *Ibid.*, p.7.

¹¹¹ The Catalan Parliament, known as the 'Corts', was established in the thirteenth century but was abolished in 1716 as a result of the Royal Decree (Nueva Planta) of Philip V.

Chapter 4

¹¹² Musicologists and composers of the *Rexurdimento* often employed the term 'popular' to describe the type of music that is defined as 'traditional' in this thesis.

¹¹³ See Pérez Ballesteros, J. *Cancionero Popular Gallego*, Vol. I. Madrid, 1979, p.xlv.

¹¹⁴ See Pérez Ballesteros, J. *Ibid.*, p.213.

¹¹⁵ All quotes from Pérez Ballesteros' *Cancionero Popular Gallego*, Vol. I. Madrid, 1979, p.229.

¹¹⁶ Pérez Ballesteros, J. *Cancionero Popular Gallego*, Vol. III. Madrid, 1979, p.259.

¹¹⁷ Schubarth, D. and Santamarina, A. *Cántigas Populares*. A Coruña, 1983, p. 27-8.

¹¹⁸ Schubarth, *Cancioneiro Popular Galego*, Vol. III. A Coruña, 1984-1995, p.240.

¹¹⁹ Pérez Ballesteros, J. *op. cit.*, p.259.

- ¹²⁰ Schubarth, D. and Santamarina, A. *op. cit.*, p.260.
- ¹²¹ Armistead, S.G. and Silverman, S.H. (Eds.). *Romances Judeo-Españoles de Tánger recogidos por Zarita Nahón*. Madrid, 1977, p.173.
- ¹²² Inzenga, J. *Cantos y Bailes Populares de España*. Madrid, 1988, p.7.
- ¹²³ Inzenga, *Ibid.*, p.5.
- ¹²⁴ Inzenga, *Ibid.*, p.57.
- ¹²⁵ Bal y Gay, J. *Introducción y Notas al Material del Tomo I del Cancionero Gallego*. A Coruña, 1973, p.9.
- ¹²⁶ Reeves, Nigel. *Heinrich Heine: Poetry and Politics*. London, 1988, p.39.
- ¹²⁷ Furst, Lilian R. *Romanticism*. London, 1969, p.53.
- ¹²⁸ Reeves, Nigel. *op. cit.*, p.40.
- ¹²⁹ Reeves, Nigel. *Ibid.*, p.41.
- ¹³⁰ Castro, Rosalía de. *Cantares Gallegos*. Madrid, 1974, p.98. This was the first poem Rosalía wrote in Galician. A version of the traditional *cantar* collected by Pérez Ballesteros and cited above appears at the beginning of Rosalía's poem (above) to introduce its theme: emigration. The last line of the version she employs, however, has a slightly different wording: 'airiños, leváime a ela'.
- ¹³¹ Pérez Ballesteros, J. *Cancionero Gallego*, Vol. II. Madrid, 1979, p. 301-2.
- ¹³² 'This period of her writing' refers to the late 1860s when many poems of Follas Novas are believed to have been written. The publication date of the whole work, 1880, is therefore misleading.
- ¹³³ A 'pandeiro' is a percussion instrument. In its traditional form it is square with goatskin covering both sides and inside are catgut strings on which tiny bells are hung. It is played by placing the thumbs in small straps found at the sides which then leaves the player to beat out the rhythm with his or her fingers. The tambourine is often used instead of the pandeiro nowadays.
- ¹³⁴ Curros Enríquez, M. *Aires da miña Terra*. (Edición de Benito Varela Jácome). Vigo, 1997, p.108.
- ¹³⁵ See Soto Viso, M. 'Aportación á Música Galega de Marcial Adalid coas súas Cancións' in *Grial, Revista Galega de Cultura*, No. 64. Vigo, April-June 1979, p. 165.
- ¹³⁶ See Soto Viso, M. *Ibid.*, p. 171.
- ¹³⁷ Soto Viso, M. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
- ¹³⁸ See Núñez, Carlos 'Negra Sombra' on the sleeve notes of his album *A Irmandade das Estrelas* (1996).
- ¹³⁹ See CD1 track 20 for a recent interpretation of the song 'Negra Sombra'.
- ¹⁴⁰ See Groba González, X. 'O Labor Folclórico Musical de Juan Montes' in *Actas do Congreso sobre Juan Montes*. Santiago de Compostela, 1999, p. 163-4.
- ¹⁴¹ Pondal, E. *Poesía*, (Edición de Manuel Forcadela). Vigo, 1989, p. 170-1.
- ¹⁴² Statement by Feijoo in Costa Vázquez-Mariño's 'A Música Popular' in *Galicia Antropoloxía: Mariñeiros Creación Estética*, Tomo 25. A Coruña, 1997, p.419.
- ¹⁴³ Villar Ponte A. 'Dos Discursos á Nación Galega' in Fernández del Riego's (Ed.) *Pensamento Galeguista do Século XX*. Vigo, 1983, p.41.
- ¹⁴⁴ All quotes from Varela Lenzano's *Orígenes y Desarrollo de la Música Popular Gallega*. Lugo, 1982, p.10.
- ¹⁴⁵ Varela Lenzano, I. *Ibid.*, p. 17-18.
- ¹⁴⁶ Varela Lenzano, I. *Ibid.*, p.18.
- ¹⁴⁷ Varela Lenzano, I. *Ibid.*, p.21.
- ¹⁴⁸ Antonio de la Iglesia was a Provincialist writer.
- ¹⁴⁹ Varela Lenzano, I. *Ibid.*, p.25.
- ¹⁵⁰ Varela Lenzano, I. *Ibid.*, p.27.
- ¹⁵¹ Varela Lenzano, I. *Ibid.*, p.31.
- ¹⁵² Varela Lenzano, I. *Ibid.*, p.38.
- ¹⁵³ Tafall, S. 'La Tonalidad y el Ritmo en la Música Popular de Galicia' in *Galicia Histórica*, Tomo 1, No.3. Santiago de Compostela, 1901, p.182.
- ¹⁵⁴ Drabkin, W. *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. ed. by S. Sadie. London, 1980, p.423.
- ¹⁵⁵ Tafall, S. 'La Tonalidad y el Ritmo en la Música Popular de Galicia' in *Galicia Histórica*, Tomo 1, No.4. Santiago de Compostela, 1902, p.272.

- ¹⁵⁶ Tafall, S. *Ibid.*, p.274.
- ¹⁵⁷ Tafall, S. 'La Tonalidad y el Ritmo en la Música Popular de Galicia' in *Galicia Histórica*, Tomo 2, No.7. Santiago de Compostela, 1903, p.503.
- ¹⁵⁸ Tafall, S. 'La Tonalidad y el Ritmo en la Música Popular de Galicia' in *Galicia Histórica*, Tomo 1, No.4. Santiago de Compostela, 1902, p.272.
- ¹⁵⁹ See Collinson, F. *The Bagpipe: the History of a Musical Instrument*. London, 1975, p.45.
- ¹⁶⁰ See Núñez, C. 'Piper at the Gates of Dawn of Celtic Rebirth': interview with Carlos Núñez. By Jan Fairley. *The Scotsman*. Edinburgh: 20 January 1998, p.13.
- ¹⁶¹ Tafall, S. *op. cit.*, p.274.
- ¹⁶² Tafall, S. 'La Tonalidad y el Ritmo en la Música Popular de Galicia' in *Galicia Histórica*, Tomo 2, No.7. Santiago de Compostela, 1903, p.502.
- ¹⁶³ Tafall, S. 'La Tonalidad y el Ritmo en la Música Popular de Galicia' in *Galicia Histórica*, Tomo 1, No.4. Santiago de Compostela, 1902, p.272. Tafall obtained this quote from Murguía's *España, sus Monumentos y Artes, su Naturaleza é Historia*. Barcelona, 1888, p.116.
- ¹⁶⁴ Schubarth, D. and Santamarina, A. *Cancioneiro Galego de Tradición Oral*. A Coruña, 1982, p.14.
- ¹⁶⁵ Quintanilla, J. 'O Nazionalismo Musical Galego' in *Nós*, No.2. Ourense, 30 November 1920, p.5.
- ¹⁶⁶ Quintanilla, J. *Ibid.*, p.6.
- ¹⁶⁷ Quintanilla, J. *Ibid.*, p.6.
- ¹⁶⁸ Quintanilla, J. *Ibid.*, p.7.
- ¹⁶⁹ Trend, J.B. 'La Música en Galicia' in *Revista de Casa América-Galicia*, Vol.III, No.49. A Coruña, 1925, p. 25.
- ¹⁷⁰ Varela Lenzano, I. *op. cit.*, p.15.
- ¹⁷¹ See Appendix A for the musical notation of the tunes. Also see CD2, track 13 (first tune in the set) for an interpretation by Carlos Núñez of 'Tantarantán que los higos son verdes'.
- ¹⁷² Ribera, J. 'De Música y Métrica Gallegas' in *Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal*. Madrid, 1925, p.16.
- ¹⁷³ Ribera, J. *Ibid.*, p.17.
- ¹⁷⁴ Ribera, J. *Ibid.*, p.21.
- ¹⁷⁵ Both quotes from Bal y Gay's, 'Panorama de la Música Popular Gallega' in *Grial* No.41. Vigo, 1973, p.345. The article was originally published in the journal *Galicia*, Buenos Aires, 1940.
- ¹⁷⁶ Bal y Gay, J. *Ibid.* p.345.
- ¹⁷⁷ A dactylic rhythm is one that has a metrical foot of three syllables, the first of which is long and the other two are short. An anapaestic rhythm also consists of a metrical foot of three syllables but the first two are short and the third is long. A trochaic rhythm is a metrical foot of one long syllable followed by a short one.
- ¹⁷⁸ Bal y Gay, J. *Ibid.*, p.347.
- ¹⁷⁹ Schubarth, D. and Santamarina, A. *op. cit.*, p.14.
- ¹⁸⁰ Bal y Gay, J. *op. cit.*, p.349. Mordents (*mordentes*), mentioned in the quote, are produced by the rapid alternation between the main and a lower subsidiary note. Appoggiaturas (*apoyaturas*) are unharmonised auxiliary notes that are played before a main harmonised note. Most frequently the auxiliary note is a step above the main note rather than a step below.
- ¹⁸¹ Bal y Gay, J. *Ibid.*, p.340.

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- ¹⁸² Herri Gogoa is a recording company that was set up towards the end of the 1960s in the Basque Country.
- ¹⁸³ Antton Valverde, *músico*. URL: <http://suse00.su.ehu.es/euskonews/0057zbn/elkar5701es.html>.
- ¹⁸⁴ García Pintos, A. 'As Fontes do Folk: Os Cancioneiros. A Tradición Oral Recollidas Actuais' in *O Feito Diferencial Galego na Música, Vol.I*. Santiago de Compostela, 1997, p.233 + p.235.

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- ¹⁸⁵ 'Anulación de toda ley emanada del Parlamento de Cataluña' in M. Carmen García-Nieto and Javier M. Donezar's (Eds.) *Bases Documentales de la España Contemporánea*, Vol. XI. Madrid, 1975, p.79. Original was published in *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, 30 September 1939.
- ¹⁸⁶ 'Fuero de los Españoles' in M. Carmen García-Nieto and Javier M. Donezar's (Eds.) *Bases Documentales de la España Contemporánea*, Vol. XI. Madrid, 1975, p.195. Original was published in *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, 18 July 1945.
- ¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.198. Original was published in *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, 18 July 1945.
- ¹⁸⁸ The 'campamentos' were camps that the SF organised in the countryside for young unmarried women as part of their education.
- ¹⁸⁹ Otero, L. *La Sección Femenina*. Madrid 1999, p.213. Original was published in *Mandos* (the journal of the Frente de Juventudes), March 1942.
- ¹⁹⁰ Berlanga, M.A. *El Uso del Folklore en la Sección Femenina de Falange: el Caso de Granada*, p.1. <http://www.galiciacity.com>.
- ¹⁹¹ The 'Coros y Danzas' were groups established by the SF that collected traditional material from around Spain, which would then be adapted and integrated into their education programmes.
- ¹⁹² Berlanga, M.A. *op. cit.*, p.7-8.
- ¹⁹³ Manuel Fraga Iribarne was the Minister of Information between 1962 and 1969.
- ¹⁹⁴ 'Ley de Prensa e Imprenta' in M. Carmen García-Nieto and Javier M. Donezar's (Eds.) *Bases Documentales de la España Contemporánea*, Vol. XI. Madrid, 1975, p.506. Original was published in *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, 19 March 1966.
- ¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.506. Original was published in *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, 19 March 1966.
- ¹⁹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p.515. Original was published in *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, 19 March 1966.
- ¹⁹⁷ Llorca, C. *Parlamentismo y Constituciones en España*. Madrid, 1988, p.178-9.
- ¹⁹⁸ See Estévez and Losada's *Crónica do Folk Galego: 25 Anos de Historia*, Lugo, 2000, p.145 and the sleeve notes of Suso Vaamonde's album *Lembranza* (2000) p.2. Both events will be referred to later in the chapter.
- ¹⁹⁹ Carr, R. *Spain 1808-1875*. Oxford, 1982, p.708.
- ²⁰⁰ See CD1, track 1.
- ²⁰¹ Souto, X. 'Pucho Boedo, Notas Bibliográficas (1928-1986)' in *Cadernos A Nosa Terra: Cancións para Todos Nós*. Vigo, 1996, p.7.
- ²⁰² Estévez, X. M. *Crónica do Folk Galego: 25 Anos de Historia*. Lugo, 2000 p.15.
- ²⁰³ Estévez, X. M. *Ibid.*, p.123.
- ²⁰⁴ See 'Guy and Candie Carawan: Sing for Freedom'. URL: http://www.beacham.com/carawan/carawan_radio.html.
- ²⁰⁵ García, Benedicto. 'Crónica da Canción Galega 1965-1975' in *O Feito Diferencial Galego na Música*, Vol.I. Santiago de Compostela, 1997, p.273.
- ²⁰⁶ See CD1, track 2 for an example of Benedicto's work.
- ²⁰⁷ See CD1, track 3 for an example of Vaamonde's work.
- ²⁰⁸ Vaamonde, S. 'Suso Vaamonde: «A fame cultural do público determinou o éxito da música popular nos 70»': interview with Suso Vaamonde. By Arantxa Estévez. *Cadernos A Nosa Terra: Cancións para Todos Nós*, No.22. Vigo, December 1996, p.24.
- ²⁰⁹ Vaamonde, S. *Ibid.*, p.24.
- ²¹⁰ García, B. and Morón, B. *Agora Entramos Nós*. Madrid, 1976, p.8.
- ²¹¹ García, Benedicto. 'Daquela non había' in *Cadernos A Nosa Terra: Cancións para Todos Nós*. Vigo, 1996, p.11.
- ²¹² Lyrics found on the web page: <http://www.ainfos.ca/00/mar/ainsfo00199.html>.
- ²¹³ Lyrics cited in Estévez and Losada's *Crónica do Folk Galego: 25 Anos de Historia*. Lugo, 2000, p.145.
- ²¹⁴ See CD1, track 4.
- ²¹⁵ See CD1, track 5 for an example of Pardo's work..
- ²¹⁶ See CD1, track 6 for an example of do Barro's work.
- ²¹⁷ Carballa, X. 'A popularidade da canción nos anos 70' in *Cadernos A Nosa Terra: Cancións para Todos Nós*. Vigo, 1996, p.9.

- ²¹⁸ See Pereira, N. 'Nonito Pereira: «Con Fuxan Os Ventos chegou o auténtico impulso da música galega»': interview with Nonito Pereira. By Óscar Losada. *Cadernos A Nosa Terra: Cancións para Todos Nós*, No.22. Vigo, December 1996, p.16.
- ²¹⁹ Carballa, X. *op. cit.*, p.8.
- ²²⁰ Carballa, X. *Ibid.*, p.10.
- ²²¹ Pereira, N. *op. cit.*, p.16.
- ²²² Casal, N. and Ferreirós, X. 'Nando Casal e Xosé Ferreirós: «Somos herdeiros directos dos gaiteiros tradicionais»': interview with Nando Casal and Xosé Ferreirós. By Carme Vidal. *Cadernos A Nosa Terra: No País das Gaitas*, No. 20. Vigo, December 1995, p.26.
- ²²³ See CD1, track 7.
- ²²⁴ Xosé Luis Freire (my own interview). Santiago de Compostela, 25 June 2001.
- ²²⁵ Lyrics from the Fuxan Os Ventos website: <http://www.lugonet.com/fuxanosventos/>.
- ²²⁶ See CD1 track 8 for a Fuxan Os Ventos adaptation of 'troupele-troupele' which they call 'tempo de maza-lo liño' and instead of the word 'troupele' they sing 'téquele'. The verses are sung in the style of a labour song, which are often quatrains of octosyllabic lines with a rhythmically free tune. The chorus is a version of 'troupele-troupele' with its *muiñeira nova* rhythm.
- ²²⁷ See CD1, track 9.
- ²²⁸ Tereixa Novo (my own interview). Santiago de Compostela, 25 June 2001.
- ²²⁹ Lyrics from the Fuxan Os Ventos website: *op. cit.*
- ²³⁰ Schubarth, D. + Santamarina, A. *Cancioneiro Popular Galego*, Vol. I, A Coruña, 1984-1995, p.xxi.
- ²³¹ Mini (my own interview). Santiago de Compostela, 28 June 2001.
- ²³² See CD1, track 10.
- ²³³ Lyrics from the Fuxan Os Ventos website: *op.cit.*
- ²³⁴ Casal, N. and Ferreirós, X. *op. cit.*, 1995, p.28.
- ²³⁵ Óscar Losada (my own interview). A Coruña, 19 June 2001.
- ²³⁶ Xóan Manuel Estévez (my own interview). Vigo, 20 June 2001.
- ²³⁷ See CD1, track 11 for an example of Milladoiro's work.
- ²³⁸ Casal, N. and Ferreirós, X. *op. cit.*, 1995, p.25.
- ²³⁹ See CD1 track 12.
- ²⁴⁰ See CD1, track 13.
- ²⁴¹ Montse Rivera (my own interview). Santiago de Compostela, 27 June 2001.
- ²⁴² Obradoiro-Escola de Instrumentos Musicais Populares Galegos, *Instrumentos Musicais Populares Galegos*. (From an introductory booklet). Vigo. No publication date was given.
- ²⁴³ Xaquín Xesteira (my own interview). Vigo, 21 June 2001.
- ²⁴⁴ Rodrigo Romani (my own interview). (E-mail), Vigo, 21 June 2001.
- ²⁴⁵ Antón Santamarina (my own interview). Santiago de Compostela, 30 July 2001.
- ²⁴⁶ Groba González, X. 'A Recompilación da Música Tradicional en Galicia' in *O Feito Diferencial Galego na Música*, Vol II. Santiago de Compostela, 1997, p.367.
- ²⁴⁷ See CD1, track 14 for an example of Na Lúa's work.
- ²⁴⁸ Schubarth, D. and Santamarina A. *Cancioneiro Popular Galego*, Vol. II. A Coruña, 1984-1995, p.64. Also see CD1, track 15.
- ²⁴⁹ From Uxía's album *Estou Vivindo no Ceo*. Madrid, 1995. Also see CD1, track 16.
- ²⁵⁰ See CD1, track 17 for an example of original material collected by Mini and Mero, and track 18 for an A Quenlla interpretation of the same song.
- ²⁵¹ Rivas Cruz, X.L. and Iglesias Dobarrio, B. *Cantos, Coplas e Romances de Cego*, Vol. I. Lugo, 1999, p.14.
- ²⁵² Emilio Cao (my own interview). Santiago de Compostela, 30 July 2001.
- ²⁵³ See Xosé Manuel Budiño's album *Paralaia*. Madrid, 1998.
- ²⁵⁴ See Muxica's album *No Colo do Vento*. Santiago de Compostela, 1996.
- ²⁵⁵ Camilo Regueiro (my own interview). Santiago de Compostela, 18 June 2001.
- ²⁵⁶ Asociación de Gaiteros Galegos. 'En Galicia, en galego' in *Cadernos A Nosa Terra: No País das Gaitas*, No.20. Vigo, December 1995, p.40.

- ²⁵⁷ Caneiro, S. 'A Asociación de Gaiteros Galegos e as memorias dun conflito' in *Cadernos A Nosa Terra: No País das Gaitas*, No.20. Vigo, December 1995, p.36.
- ²⁵⁸ Montse Rivera (my own interview). Santiago de Compostela, 27 June 2001.
- ²⁵⁹ Asociación de Gaiteros Galegos. *Op. cit.*, p.40.
- ²⁶⁰ Mini (my own interview). Santiago de Compostela, 28 June 2001.
- ²⁶¹ 'Estrella de Galicia' is a brand of lager.
- ²⁶² Martín Sanjurjo (my own interview). Ferrol, 28 June 2001.
- ²⁶³ Núñez, C. 'Os Amores Libres de Carlos Núñez': interview with Carlos Núñez. By Xoán Manuel Estévez. *Na Gaitas*, No. 8, Santiago de Compostela, May-July 1999, p. 24-6. Also see CD1, tracks 19, 20 and 21 for examples of Núñez' work from his first two albums, 'A Irmandade das Estrelas' and 'Os Amores Libres'.
- ²⁶⁴ Vítor Belho (my own interview). Santiago de Compostela, 30 July 2001.
- ²⁶⁵ See 'Ortigueira Festival, (review, 2001)'. URL: <http://www.folkworld.de/22/e/ortigue.html>.
- ²⁶⁶ Fernando Conde (my own interview). Vigo, 20 June 2001.
- ²⁶⁷ Fernando Conde. *Ibid.*

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- ²⁶⁸ Siguan, M. *España Plurilingüe*. Madrid, 1992, p.89.
- ²⁶⁹ See Chapter 2.
- ²⁷⁰ See CD2, track 1.
- ²⁷¹ See Chapter 2 for a description of Anderson's work.
- ²⁷² See CD2, track 2.
- ²⁷³ See Seminario de Sociolingüística. *Actitudes Lingüísticas en Galicia (Compendio do III Volume do Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia)*. A Coruña, 1996, p. 187 + 166.
- ²⁷⁴ See Seminario de Sociolingüística. *Actitudes Lingüísticas en Galicia (Compendio do III Volume do Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia)*. A Coruña, 1996, p.187.
- ²⁷⁵ Iglesias Álvarez, A. *Falar galego: "No veo por qué"*. Vigo, 2002, p.300.
- ²⁷⁶ O'Rourke, B. 'Conflicting Values in Contemporary Galicia: Attitudes to 'O Galego' since Autonomy' in *International Journal of Iberian Studies, Vol 16, Number 1*. Bristol, 2003, p.42 + 43.
- ²⁷⁷ Iglesias Álvarez, A. *Falar galego: "No veo por qué"*. Vigo, 2002, p.301.
- ²⁷⁸ See Seminario de Sociolingüística. *Actitudes Lingüísticas en Galicia (Compendio do III Volume do Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia)*. A Coruña, 1996, apéndice 2, pregunta 95.
- ²⁷⁹ O'Rourke, B. 'Conflicting Values in Contemporary Galicia: Attitudes to 'O Galego' since Autonomy' in *International Journal of Iberian Studies, Vol 16, Number 1*. Bristol, 2003, p.38.
- ²⁸⁰ Iglesias Álvarez, A. *Falar galego: "No veo por qué"*. Vigo, 2002, p.172.
- ²⁸¹ The album sleeves of those groups I interviewed.
- ²⁸² Castrapo is Galician with much Castilian influence.
- ²⁸³ See CD2, track 3.
- ²⁸⁴ See CD2, track 4.
- ²⁸⁵ Groba González, X. 'O Estudio da Música Tradicional e o Canto de Tradición Oral' in *Galicia Antropoloxía: Mariñeiros Creación Estética*, Tomo 25. A Coruña, 1997 p.346.
- ²⁸⁶ Mato, A. *5 Documentos sobre a Autonomía Galega*. A Coruña, 2001, p.80.
- ²⁸⁷ See CD2, track 5.
- ²⁸⁸ "O galego que non fala na lingua da súa terra, nin sabe o que ten de seu, nin é merecente dela," is a statement by Victoriano Taibo (1885-1966) which appeared on the front cover of the journal *El Emigrado* from the year 1927.
- ²⁸⁹ See CD2, track 6 for an example of a traditional romance de cego with a violin accompaniment collected by Mini himself.
- ²⁹⁰ See CD2, track 7.
- ²⁹¹ See note 288.

²⁹² ‘Ese colectivo’ is referring to the time when musicians, many of whom were part of the ‘Movemento da Nova Canción’, made the decision to focus exclusively on Galician traditions, which we have already studied in the previous chapter.

²⁹³ See CD2, track 8.

²⁹⁴ See Chapter 4 for a discussion of Pérez Ballesteros’ work.

²⁹⁵ See CD2, tracks 9 and 10 for examples of an alalá and a muiñeira played in traditional styles.

²⁹⁶ See CD2, tracks 11 and 12 for examples of a pandeiretada and a pasacorredoir.

²⁹⁷ “Os Amores Libres” is the title of Carlos Núñez’ second album released in 1999. See CD2, track 13 for an example of his work from this album, the first tune of which is the same melody that Ribera (1925) called *Tantarantán que los higos son verdes* (see Chapter 4).

²⁹⁸ See CD2, track 14 for an example of composition by Quim composed in a muiñeira rhythm (Tránsito).

²⁹⁹ See CD2, track 15 for an example of a Luar Na Lubre interpretation of the traditional.

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³⁰⁰ These results were taken from the following web pages: ‘<http://psephos.adam-carr.net/spain/galicia1.txt>’, ‘<http://psephos.adam-carr.net/spain/catalonia1.txt>’ and ‘<http://psephos.adam-carr.net/spain/basque2001.txt>’.

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<u>Interviewee:</u>	<u>Group:</u>	<u>Place and Date of Interview:</u>
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Cao, Emilio	<i>Soloist</i>	Santiago, 30 July 2001
Carpintero, Pablo	<i>Ultreia</i>	Santiago, 26 June 2001
Conde, Fernando	<i>Carlos Núñez' manager</i>	Vigo, 20 June 2001
Estévez, Xoán Manuel	<i>Journalist</i>	Vigo, 20 June 2001
Ferreirós, Xosé V. (Pepe)	<i>Milladoiro</i>	Santiago, 27 June 2001
Freire, Xosé Luis	<i>Fuxan Os Ventos</i>	Santiago, 25 June 2001
Losada, Óscar	<i>Journalist</i>	A Coruña, 19 June 2001
Lucas, Pedro	<i>Fuxan Os Ventos</i>	Santiago, 25 June 2001
Novo, Tereixa	<i>Fuxan Os Ventos</i>	Santiago, 25 June 2001
Regueiro López, Camilo	<i>Durindaina</i>	Santiago, 18 June 2001
Rivas Cruz, X.L. (Mini)	<i>A Quenlla</i>	Santiago, 28 June 2001
Rivera, Montse	<i>Leilia</i>	Santiago, 27 June 2001
Romaní, Rodrigo	<i>Soloist + ex-Milladoiro</i>	(E-mail), Vigo, 21 June 2001
Sanjurjo Sixto, Martín	<i>Saraibas</i>	O Ferrol, 28 June 2001
Santamarina, Antón	<i>Linguist</i>	Santiago, 30 July 2001
Xesteira, Xaquín	<i>Treixadura</i>	Vigo, 21 June 2001

Appendices

Appendix A: 'La Molinera' and 'Tantarantán que los higos son verdes'

La Molinera. As published in Julián Ribera's article 'De Música y Métrica Gallegas' in *Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal*, Tomo III. Madrid: 1925, p.11.



Tantarantán que los higos son verdes. As published in Julián Ribera's article 'De Música y Métrica Gallegas' in *Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal*, Tomo III. Madrid: 1925, p.19.



Appendix B: Survey Methodology

Since without an audience there would be no folk-music events, I devised an exploratory questionnaire to help gauge how the average person on the street views his/her identity and the role Galician folk music plays in the perception of this identity. A total of 121 questionnaires were distributed to people in Santiago de Compostela and Vigo. The reasons for choosing city-dwellers (or Galician visitors) were because a) the folk-music revival occurred in such a setting, and b) collecting data from widely spread and isolated *pobos* requires a great deal of time as well as personal transport, neither of which I had.

Each questionnaire fitted onto five sides of A4 paper, had 21 questions, some of which also had sub-questions, making the total number 29, and took roughly 10 to 15 minutes to complete. There were basically two types of question: 19 were answered by simply ticking the appropriate box and the rest required the respondent to give their own answer, although all but one also had the option of ticking one or more boxes. Around 50% of the questionnaires were distributed by volunteers and the rest by me. They were self-administered although I was there in many cases to clarify the queries a few respondents had. I told each respondent that I was researching Galician culture and this was also written at the top of the questionnaire in order to inform those who were completing the survey in my absence. It also stated in *Galego* the title of the thesis (as it was then) 'National Identity and Galician Folk Music'. The survey was written in Galician and was kindly proofread by Marta Carracedo Bolaño who suggested certain changes concerning the language of the questions to ensure they were clear and straightforward to answer.

The design of the survey was based on the structure of the interviews, with sections on national identity and music and with some of the questions coinciding. Not all aspects of the survey have been included in this and the following appendix, however, as only the parts that proved most relevant have been selected. There was an additional

component that appeared at the beginning of the questionnaire, which was concerned with three pieces of basic information: age, sex and social class. Since the distribution of this survey was literally done in the street, it was very difficult to work out the age of a person as he or she passed by, which meant that making sure there were similar amounts of respondents within each age group proved almost impossible. Nevertheless, there were enough for the purpose of this study, which was to 'get an idea' of the public's general attitudes towards their national identity and Galician folk music.

Twenty-six questionnaires were filled in by 15 to 19 year-olds, forty-five by 20 to 29 year-olds, thirty-eight by 30 to 39 year-olds, and twelve by people aged 40 and above. Within the latter grouping, eight questionnaires were completed by 40 to 49 year-olds, three by 50 to 59 year-olds and only one by a 60 year-old. Therefore I joined these three age groups together, partly due to the samples being too small, but also because they all would have witnessed the transition from dictatorship to democracy and events, such as the New Song Movement, leading up to this moment in their history. The first grouping would have been born between 1981 and 1986, at the time the Statute of Autonomy was authorised, and the second between 1971 and 1981, during which time Galicia saw the end of the dictatorship, the transition to democracy and the Statute coming into force. The third age group would have been born between 1961 and 1971 during the final stages of the dictatorship and the rise of the New Song Movement. Those of the last grouping were born before 1961 and would have witnessed all the political events mentioned above as well as the musical activities.

The survey was completed by forty-nine men (40.5%) and seventy-one women (58.7%) and one (0.8%) failed to answer the question. Profession establishes social class and also the degree of responsibility a person has in his/her line of work. The level of responsibility was unclear on some of the questionnaires, therefore in these cases I have assumed that the older they are the more responsibility they are likely to have. Some of the students who helped me with my project were still at school and as a result their

social class was not straightforward to categorise, thus I have given them a social label of their own. The codes I have used to determine social class are as follows:

CODE	SOCIAL CLASS	OCCUPATIONS OF THE RESPONDENTS
A =	People high up in their field or people regarded as important members of society	Biologist, businesswoman, doctor
B =	People with a degree or people with a great deal of responsibility	Secondary school teacher, graduate researcher, qualified librarian in charge, interior designer, psychologist, linguist, philologist, sociologist
C1 =	Other people who have desk jobs and those in manual professions who have additional responsibilities such as their own business and/or in charge of staff	Journalist, primary school teacher, social worker, masseur/se, university student, businessman of a small business, telephonist, dancer, worker in the tourist sector
C2 =	People who are in manual professions with appropriate qualifications	Shop assistant with responsibilities, skilled gardener, skilled cook, mechanic, administration assistant, craftsman, joiner
D =	Manual workers who are semiskilled or untrained	Auxiliary nurse, barman/maid, shop assistant, fisherman, chauffeur, car operative, hairdresser apprentice, childminder, goods export assistant
E1 =	Those who are economically inactive	Unemployed people, housewives, retired (previous occupation unknown)
E2 =	Students between the ages of 15 and 19	
F =	Those who gave no response to the question	

National Identity

The second section is concerned with how they see their own national identity, how important it is to them and what they feel about the topic in general. Therefore the first question (qu. 4) names the three identities that were used in the interviews in order to

ascertain if they see themselves as more Galician than Spanish and also if the Celtic identity is still influential at all amongst Galicians today.

Question 4: *Do you see yourself as Galician, Spanish, Celtic, other, please state?*

With the next question they had to say how strongly they agreed or disagreed with the five statements below by ticking one of the following boxes: strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree and strongly disagree. The idea behind this was to gauge how important their national identity is to them and how strongly they feel about national identity in general. The final statement was set to determine if the nineteenth-century idea that Galicians are Celts is apparent in modern Galicia, regardless of whether or not they personally see themselves as Celtic.

Question 5a: *I am very proud of my national identity.*

Question 5b: *I don't think where a person is from is of great importance.*

Question 5c: *A sense of national identity is very important.*

Question 5d: *National identity can cause divisions between people.*

Question 5e: *It is a myth that Galicians are Celts.*

Music

This section deals with music and attitudes towards Galician folk music. These questions are much less specialised than the ones on music in the interviews as it had to be assumed that the respondents were not experts in this field. First of all it was necessary to work out how popular Galician folk music is compared with other styles.

Specific music types were stated, which are well-established around the globe, and a space was left for them to add other kinds of music.

Question 10: *What types of music do you like? (Tick as many boxes as you wish).*

- Pop
- Galician folk music
- Rock
- Folk music in general
- Classical
- Rock 'n' roll
- Blues
- Jazz
- Heavy metal
- Others

Establishing how popular a type of music is, however, does not confirm how great a part it plays in people's everyday lives. Thus the following four questions endeavour to determine this. The respondents had to answer the questions by ticking one of the three options: frequently, sometimes or never. These questions were set bearing in mind that the folk-music scene is quite different from the one here in Scotland. For example, in Galicia many concerts are subsidised and are consequently free which is likely to encourage a higher attendance. Questions 12 and 14 will therefore give a clearer idea as to what extent Galicians are dedicated to their folk music.

Question 11: *How often do you listen to Galician folk music?*

Question 12: *How often do you buy recordings of Galician folk music?*

Question 13: *How often do you go to Galician folk-music concerts that are free?*

Question 14: *How often do you go to Galician folk-music concerts that are not free?*

The next six questions were set to discover, how they *perceive* Galician music and not what they *know* about it. As a result, they are a little more specialised than the questions so far and presume at least a basic knowledge of the topic under discussion. Specific instruments were named in question 15 that are associated with or are widespread in Galicia, (although they may be popular in other countries around the world as well), and also those that are internationally seen as popular in Spain, such as the guitar and the castanets. The same instruments were listed in question 16.

Question 15: *Which of the following musical instruments do you believe are typically Galician? (Tick as many boxes as you wish).*

- Bagpipe
- Tambourine
- Pandeiro
- Hurdy-gurdy
- Accordion
- Castanets
- Violin
- Guitar
- Others

Question 16: *Which of the following musical instruments do you believe is the most typical of Galicia? (Tick one box only).*

The remaining four questions in this section deal with their opinions on soloists and groups that are involved in the Galician folk-music scene. There are many artistes, too numerous to list, therefore I deliberately chose a variety of options. These included traditional musicians, well-established folk bands/soloists who have been on the scene for a number of years (i.e. 15 years or more), established folk groups/soloists who have appeared on the scene more recently and new, lesser-known bands/soloists. There was also a space to add another group or soloist if the one the respondents felt best represented Galician folk music was not on the list. Not all artistes named were interviewed, nor were all of those I spoke to included in this question.

Question 17: *In your opinion which group or soloist best represents Galician folk music? (Tick one box only).*

- Milladoiro
- Carlos Núñez
- Luar Na Lubre
- Mercedes Peón
- Berrogüetto
- Fuxan Os Ventos
- Pallamallada
- Susana Seivane
- Muxicas
- Ávalon
- Uxía
- Na Lúa
- Other

The next question wished to discover why they believe the group or soloist they chose best represents Galician folk music. The first three options that they could ‘tick’ were principally there for those who would not feel sufficiently confident or that they knew enough about the topic to answer the question. The final option is the most informative as they were able to freely express their opinions and therefore greater insight can be gained from these views.

Question 18: *Why? (Tick as many boxes as you wish).*

- They play traditional Galician melodies
- They only sing in Galician
- They play traditional Galician instruments
- Other

The list of groups and soloists in the next question was the same as the one in question 17 above. It is not enough to ascertain the respect a group/soloist has achieved, as their unpopularity also gives insight into attitude, thus the question below was asked.

Question 19: *In your opinion, which group or soloist does not represent Galician folk music? (Tick one box only).*

The following question asks why they think the group or soloist selected does not represent Galician folk music. Once more they were given options to tick and a space to write their own thoughts. What give the most information are the comments made in the ultimate option.

Question 20: *Why? (Tick as many boxes as you wish).*

- They play tunes from other countries
- They do not sing solely in Galician
- They play instruments that are not traditionally Galician
- Other

The final question is concerned with the role they think Galician traditional music plays in general, regardless of whether or not they like the music or it is of any importance in their lives. They had to say how strongly they agreed or disagreed with the following three statements. The first, which was also asked to the interviewees, was set to determine whether they see music as a form of expression of national identity and to what extent. The second uncovers how significant Galician music is to them, whether or not it plays an active role in their lives or if they go to concerts or buy recordings etc. The final statement was designed to establish if the nineteenth-century idea that Galician music is part of the Celtic tradition is still evident today. We must take into account as well that Galician folk or traditional music is often referred to as *música celta*, thus the question in Galician was carefully written as *A música tradicional galega é unha parte da tradición dos celtas* and not *da tradición celta*.

Question 21a: *Traditional music is a very important part of the national identity.*

Question 21b: *Traditional Galician music is of no importance to me.*

Question 21c: *Traditional Galician music is part of the Celtic tradition.*

A few understandable difficulties arose when people filled in the questionnaire and these were mainly to do with the more specialised musical questions. For example, a handful of respondents thought the questionnaire was to test their knowledge rather than to gauge their opinions, despite being told otherwise. As a result, in question 19 (*In your opinion, which group or soloist does not represent Galician folk music?*), some ticked the group or soloist they did not know, thinking it was a trick question. This occurred amongst the youngest age group, although it only happened on two occasions. Another obstacle was with the terms ‘folk’ and ‘traditional’. I used the terms in the senses that have been outlined in the introduction of this thesis, but of course the respondents’ interpretations may differ. I could have clarified what each term meant within the questionnaire, but that would probably have encouraged the respondents to feel less empowered to answer the questions and would have given them the impression that they were being tested. Therefore I decided not to include such explanations, although it was nevertheless vital to employ the terms carefully when wording the questions and to bear in mind the different interpretations during data analysis. However, it tended to become clear as to how each respondent viewed the terms with the answers they gave concerning the various groups and soloists (questions 17 to 20). Many respondents showed great pleasure in being able to help with the project and this made me realise that at times they may have given an answer that they thought I wanted to hear rather than what they really thought. For example, some may have given positive responses to the Celtic questions as they knew I came from Scotland. Having said that, these were minor difficulties but still aspects that had to be taken into consideration when analysing the results.

Appendix C: Survey Results

Basic Information

1. Age

Age group	Number of people	%
15 – 19	26	21.5
20 – 29	45	37.2
30 – 39	38	31.4
40 +	12	9.9

2. Sex

Sex	Number of people	%
Male	49	40.5
Female	71	58.7
No response	1	0.8

3. Social class

Code	Social class	Occupations of the respondents	Number of people	%
A =	People high up in their field or people regarded as important members of society	Biologist, businesswoman, doctor	5	4.1
B =	People with a degree or people with a great deal of responsibility	Secondary school teacher, graduate researcher, qualified librarian in charge, interior designer, psychologist, linguist, philologist, sociologist	21	17.4

Code	Social class	Occupations of the respondents	Number of people	%
C1 =	Other people who have desk jobs and those in manual professions who have additional responsibilities such as their own business and/or in charge of staff	Journalist, primary school teacher, social worker, masseur/se, university student, businessman of a small business, telephonist, dancer, worker in the tourist sector	33	27.3
C2 =	People who are in manual professions with appropriate qualifications	Shop assistant with responsibilities, skilled gardener, skilled cook, mechanic, administration assistant, craftsman, joiner	10	8.3
D =	Manual workers who are semiskilled or untrained	Auxiliary nurse, barman/maid, shop assistant, fisherman, chauffeur, car operative, hairdresser apprentice, childminder, goods export assistant	21	17.4
E1 =	Those who are economically inactive	Unemployed people, housewives, retired (previous occupation unknown)	6	5
E2 =	Students between the ages of 15 and 19		24	19.8
F =	No response		1	0.8

Identity

4. Do you see yourself as...?:

Identity	Number of people	%
Galician	92	76%
Galician/Spanish	9	7.4%
Spanish	7	5.8%
Celtic	5	4.1%
Galician/Celtic	1	0.8%
Other	6	5%
No response	1	0.8%

5. Can you tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statements?

5a. *"I am very proud of my national identity."*

	Number of people	%
strongly agree	67	55.4%
agree	33	27.3%
neither agree nor disagree	15	12.4
disagree	4	3.3
strongly disagree	2	1.7

5b. *"I don't think where a person is from is of great importance."*

	Number of people	%
strongly agree	55	45.5%
agree	31	25.6%
neither agree nor disagree	12	9.9%
disagree	11	9.1%
strongly disagree	12	9.9%

5c. *"A sense of national identity is very important."*

	Number of people	%
strongly agree	23	19%
agree	46	38%
neither agree nor disagree	28	23.1%
disagree	18	14.9%
strongly disagree	6	5%

5d. "National identity can cause divisions between people."

	Number of people	%
strongly agree	30	24.8%
agree	42	34.7%
neither agree nor disagree	20	16.5%
disagree	22	18.2%
strongly disagree	7	5.8%

5e. "It is a myth that Galicians are Celts."

	Number of people	%
strongly agree	14	11.6%
agree	26	21.5%
neither agree nor disagree	39	32.2%
disagree	32	26.4%
strongly disagree	10	8.3%

Music

10. What types of music do you like? (Tick as many boxes as you wish).

Music	Number of people	%
Pop	75	62%
Galician folk music	65	53.7%
Rock	55	45.5%
Folk music in general	54	44.6%
Classical	50	41.3%
Rock 'n' roll	48	39.7%
Blues	45	37.2%
Jazz	35	28.9%
Heavy metal	26	21.5%
Others	34	28.1%
No response	2	1.7%

11. How often do you listen to Galician folk music?

	Number of people	%
Frequently	26	21.5%
Sometimes	77	63.6%
Never	18	14.9%

12. How often do you buy recordings of Galician folk music?

	Number of people	%
Frequently	7	5.8%
Sometimes	64	52.9%
Never	50	41.3%

13. How often do you go to Galician folk-music concerts that are free?

	Number of people	%
Frequently	18	14.9%
Sometimes	76	62.8%
Never	27	22.3%

14. How often do you go to Galician folk-music concerts that are not free?

	Number of people	%
Frequently	6	5%
Sometimes	70	57.8%
Never	45	37.2%

15. Which of the following musical instruments do you believe are typically Galician?
(Tick as many boxes as you wish).

	Number of people	%
Bagpipe	120	99.2%%
Tambourine	118	97.5%
Pandeiro	105	86.8%
Hurdy-gurdy	66	54.5%
Accordion	35	28.9%
Castanets	30	24.8%
Violin	15	12.4%
Guitar	5	4.1%
Other	14	11.6%
No response	1	0.8%

16. Which of the following musical instruments do you believe is the most typical of Galicia? (Tick one box only).

	Number of people	%
Bagpipe	103	85.1%
Tambourine	4	3.3%
Pandeiro	1	0.8%
Hurdy-gurdy	5	4.1%
Accordion		
Castanets		
Violin		
Guitar		
Other		
Ticked more than one	8	6.6%

17. In your opinion which group or soloist best represents Galician folk music? (Tick one box only).

Group or soloist	Number of people	%
Milladoiro	44	36.4%
Carlos Núñez	14	11.6%
Luar Na Lubre	12	9.9%
Mercedes Peón	7	5.8%
Berrogüetto	6	5%
Fuxan Os Ventos	4	3.3%
Pallamallada	2	1.7%
Susana Seivane	1	0.8%
Muxicas		
Ávalon		
Uxía		
Na Lúa		
Other	1	0.8%
No response	8	6.6%
Ticked more than one	22	18.2%

18. Why? (Tick as many boxes as you wish).

Reason	Number of people	%
They play traditional Galician melodies	64	52.9%
They only sing in Galician	15	12.4%
They play traditional Galician instruments	66	54.5%
Other	20	16.5%
No response	13	10.7%

19. In your opinion, which group or soloist does not represent Galician folk music? (Tick one box only).

Group or soloist	Number of people	%
Carlos Núñez	22	18.2%
Uxía	7	5.8%
Ávalon	5	4.1%
Susana Seivane	3	2.5%
Mercedes Peón	3	2.5%
Berrogüetto	3	2.5%
Milladoiro	2	1.7%
Na Lúa	2	1.7%
Pallamallada	1	0.8%
Luar Na Lubre	1	0.8%
Muxicas		
Fuxan Os Ventos		
Other	7	5.8%
No response	61	50.4%
Ticked more than one	4	3.3%

20. Why? (Tick as many boxes as you wish).

Reason	Number of people	%
They play tunes from other countries	19	15.7%
They don't sing solely in Galician	13	10.7%
They play instruments that are not traditionally Galician	13	10.7%
Other	18	14.9%
No response	72	59.5%

21. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

21a. *“Traditional music is a very important part of the national identity.”*

	Number of people	%
strongly agree	50	41.3%
agree	51	42.2%
neither agree nor disagree	15	12.4%
disagree	5	4.1%
strongly disagree		

21b. *“Traditional Galician music is of no importance to me.”*

	Number of people	%
strongly agree	1	0.8%
agree	4	3.3%
neither agree nor disagree	13	10.7%
disagree	43	35.5%
strongly disagree	60	49.6%

21c. *“Traditional Galician music is part of the Celtic tradition.”*

	Number of people	%
strongly agree	14	11.6
agree	40	33.1%
neither agree nor disagree	50	41.3%
disagree	10	8.3%
strongly disagree	7	5.8%

Appendix D: Tracks from CD1 and CD2

CD1: Music Examples from Chapter 5

1. Los Tamara. *Galicia Terra Nosa* (3.27). M. Manso. *14 Éxitos d'Oro de Los Tamara*. 1991.
2. Benedicto. *Un Home* (2.32). Benedicto. *Gran Escolma da Música Galega, III: Solistas*. 1993.
3. Suso Vaamonde. *Moraima* (3.07). Words: F.E. Ferreiro; music: S. Vaamonde. *Celso Ferreiro na Voz de Suso Vaamonde*. 2000.
4. Amancio Prada. *Pra Habana* (3rd part, 2.00). Words: R. de Castro; music: A. Prada. *Rosalía de Castro – Amancio Prada*. 1994.
5. Juan Pardo. *A Fala e Falade Galego* (4.00). J. Pardo. *Gran Escolma da Música Galega, III: Solistas*. 1993.
6. Andrés Do Barro. *Corpiño Xeitoso* (3.19). A. Lapique do Barro. *Gran Escolma da Música Galega, III: Solistas*. 1993.
7. Fuxan Os Ventos. *Fuxan Os Ventos* (4.18). J. Mato. *Fuxan Os Ventos (1976), Sementeira (1977) y O Tequeletequele (1978)*. 1999.
8. Fuxan Os Ventos. *Tempo de maza-lo liño* (4.18). Traditional; adapted by Fuxan Os Ventos. *Fuxan Os Ventos (1976), Sementeira (1977) y O Tequeletequele (1978)*. 1999.
9. Fuxan Os Ventos. *O Lelo* (2.44). X.L. Rivas. *Fuxan Os Ventos (1976), Sementeira (1977) y O Tequeletequele (1978)*. 1999.
10. Fuxan Os Ventos. *O Lobo* (3.05). D. Cabana, & A. González. *Fuxan Os Ventos (1976), Sementeira (1977) y O Tequeletequele (1978)*. 1999.
11. Milladoiro. *Aires de Pontevedra* (3:50). Traditional, from the Sampedro collection. *Aires da Terra* (Compilation). 1999.
12. Milladoiro. *Auga das Bailadeiras* (2:30). Traditional, from the Bal y Gay Collection. *Aires da Terra* (Compilation). 1999.

13. Milladoiro. *Jiga-Pandeirada* (3.10). Scottish traditional- Galician traditional. *Milladoiro 3*. 1982.
14. Na Lúa. *O Xastre Coxo* (3.07). Traditional, from Schubarth's 'Cántigas Populares'. *Feitizo*. 1999.
15. Singer unknown. *El Día del Nacimiento* (0.35). Traditional. Original recording from Schubarth's *Cancioneiro Popular Galego*, Vol. II.
16. Uxía. *Canto de Nadal* (3.35). Traditional, interpretation of the previous song. *Estou vivindo no Ceo*. 1995.
17. Xosé Mosqueira (informant). *Romance de Xan Guindán* (0.30). Popular. Original recording from Mini's & Mero's *Cantos, Coplas e Romances de Cego*, Vol. I.
18. A Quenlla. *Romance de Xan Guindán* (3.53). Popular: interpretation of the previous song. *As Nosas Cancións*, Vol. II. 1998.
19. Carlos Núñez. *A Irmandade das Estrelas* (4.11). Huriondo & Kepa Junkera. *A Irmandade das Estrelas*. 1996.
20. Carlos Núñez with Luz Casal and Ry Cooder. *Negra Sombra* (5.27). Words: R. de Castro; music: traditional, adapted by J. Montes. *A Irmandade das Estrelas*. 1996.
21. Carlos Núñez. *Os Amores Libres* (2.15). E. Granados. *Os Amores Libres*. 1999.

CD2: Music Examples from Chapter 6

1. Saraibas. *Nación* (3.30). Miguel A. Sanjurjo. *Unha Terra, un Pobo, unha Fala*. 1980.
2. Luar Na Lubre. *Nau* (3.07). B. Romero. *Cabo do Mundo*. 1999.
3. Fuxan Os Ventos. *Cantiga de Berce* (2.51). F. Otero & Fuxan Os Ventos. *Fuxan Os Ventos* (1976), *Sementeira* (1977) y *O Tequeletequele* (1978). 1999.
4. Saraibas. *Galego na Escola* (1.56). Miguel A. Sanjurjo. *Unha Terra, un Pobo, unha Fala*. 1980.
5. A Quenlla. *Arriba Lingua Galega* (3.30). Words: D. X. Cabana, Music: X.L Rivas. *Romance: Historia da Lingua Galega*. 1988.

6. Sr Florencio (informant). *Romance de Rufina* (1.15). Popular. Original recording from Mini's & Mero's *Cantos, Coplas e Romances de Cego*, Vol. I. (Example of a canto de cego).
7. Mercedes Peón. *De Seu* (4.51). M. Peón & X. Bugliot. *Isué*. 2000.
8. Rodrigo Romani. *Miña Nai* (4.28). Words: traditional, from the J. Pérez Ballesteros collection; music: R. Romani. *Albeida*. 2000.
9. Leilía. *Alalá e Muiñeira Vella de Seaia* (3.25). Traditional. *Leilía*. 1994. (Example of an alalá and the faithful reproduction of collected material).
10. José Morlán (informant). *Muiñeira de Armentón* (1.20). Traditional. *Raiceiras*, Vol. I. 1997. (Example. of a 6/8 muiñeira collected by Mercedes Peón).
11. Leilía. *Pandeiretada da Miñata* (3.54). Traditional. *Leilía*. 1994. (Example of a pandeiretada & the faithful reproduction of collected material).
12. Milladoiro. *Pasacorredoiras do Choqueiro* (2.31). Traditional. *Solfafría*. 1985. (Example of a pasacorredoiras and a Milladoiro interpretation of material, which they obtained from Sampedro's *Cancionero Musical Gallego*).
13. Carlos Núñez. *Muiñeiras da Sorte* (2.22). Traditional. *Os Amores Libres*. 1999. (Example of a Carlos Núñez interpretation of the traditional. The first tune is also the one Julián Ribera called 'Tantarantán que los higos son verdes' in his article *De Música y Métrica Gallegas* in 1925).
14. Berrogüetto. *Tránsito* (5.15). Quim Farinha. *Viaxe por Urticaria*. 1999.
15. Luar Na Lubre. *Camariñas* (4.30). Traditional. *Lo Mejor de Luar Na Lubre*. 2001. (Example of a Luar Na Lubre interpretation of the traditional).

THESIS CONTAINS

VIDEO CD DVD TAPE CASSETTE ✓