Music and the Making of Portugal and Spain

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Introduction

Sounding Nation and Region in Portugal and Spain

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The Spectre of Nationalism in the Iberian Peninsula

The recent waves of xenophobia and populism across the globe have shown that nationalism, having undergone significant changes from at least the nineteenth century until today, continues to be a major force driving social, political, economic, and religious movements. The reasons for nationalism’s continuing dominance cannot be attributed only to xenophobia, however, and are indeed multiple and complex. One could point out the prevalence of anxieties arising from social and economic change and mass migration in recent decades. Experts and the media predicted that the intensification of globalization in the 1990s would herald the weakening or even the demise of the nation-state (Biddle and Knights 2007, 1). However, due to fears that national values and identity are being threatened, globalization has in fact strengthened movements that appeal to polarized notions of the indigenous and the foreign. This situation has been aggravated by the economic crisis prior to, and exacerbated by, the COVID-19 pandemic. The scapegoating of immigrants has given rise to movements that seek to control national boundaries and that mobilize essentialist constructions of national identity and racial purity. In Portugal and Spain, there has been a rise in nationalism, populism, and anti-immigration rhetoric especially with the
mobilization of political movements on the far-right, such as Vox and Chega. Meanwhile, regionalist movements and non-state nationalisms have challenged both the nation-state and globalization, by complicating the local/global binary, most notable in recent upsurges in Catalan separatism.

Music is implicated in this strained climate, as it is frequently mobilized by different actors to reinforce national sentiment. Music has become the target of significant state-level cultural policies that seek to construct selected genres and practices as “national heritage,” often in articulation with UNESCO’s Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) paradigm. Music redraws social boundaries and creates spaces in which the perceived and imagined limits of communities are negotiated. Music writes and rewrites memories, and musical genres and practices are reclaimed as heritage by a range of communities in the name of the nation or the region, or by transnational and supranational organizations. This book considers the diverse and yet intersecting histories, identities, and heritage practices that characterize music in Portugal and Spain, guided by questions such as: what can the interrelated study of music in these two states reveal about the relationship between projects of national and regional identity building? How is music instrumentalized by an array of actors in the service of nationalism at state and sub-state levels? How do musical nationalisms intersect with wider European and global networks and influences? How have state and international heritage regimes contributed to nationalist and regionalist projects? Finally, how can the study of musical nationalisms in Portugal and Spain revert the dominance of interpretive paradigms derived from the study of central-European geographies, and, in so doing, lead us to rethink how musical nationalisms have been theorized?

The contributors to this book address these questions from a range of transdisciplinary perspectives that cover different historical and contemporary contexts and genres. One central theme is the role of the state and the music industries in demarcating which musical manifestations come to sound notions of Portuguese or Spanish identity. Here, a key area of focus is the often-contested ways in which music was strategically adapted to align it with the ideological agendas and heritage regimes of the Salazar and Franco authoritarian regimes. The book also examines the impact in Portugal and Spain of UNESCO’s ICH paradigm in the early twenty-first century, and the tensions between institutional and community involvement in processes of heritagization. Finally, the volume examines how the articulation between music and nationalism is nuanced by different local contexts and musical scenes. Drawing on a range of case studies including local recording networks, “national style” in popular music, music’s
role in political protest, and state and international heritage regimes, the volume explores how music embodies and contributes to historical and contemporary regionalisms and nationalisms.

**Scholarly Context**

This book draws on a large body of scholarship in Portugal and Spain that has consolidated since the institutionalization of music studies in both countries from the 1980s onwards. Numerous scholars have analyzed how music is instrumentalized by different political regimes and groups to construct and to negotiate a sense of national or regional belonging. Much of this work has been written in Portuguese or Spanish, although there has also been an increase in English-language publications. This book departs from a tendency in research on music in the Iberian Peninsula to look for expressions of the nation and the region exclusively in “folklore” or in the cultural production of national elites—including composers, critics, and institutions such as symphony orchestras and philharmonic societies. In contrast, we take a broad approach that considers all domains of music-making capable of creating consensus or division around ideas of national or regional identity. The book thus challenges the division dominant in scholarship between popular and elite genres, showing the multiple ways in which the nation and the region are imagined musically. A unique feature of the volume is that it focuses on a range of understudied genres in popular music and sound practice, departing from the tendency to restrict the study of nationalism to “art” music or genres such as fado and flamenco that have become iconic through the effects of cultural policy, mass tourism, and globalization.

The chapters in this volume address wider musicological debates around nationalism, modernity, the mediatization of music, and heritage. There is an abundance of scholarship that addresses the intricate relationship between music and nationalism, which would be impossible to summarize here. However, most relevant to the theoretical thrusts of this volume are seminal texts by scholars such as Matthew Gelbart (2009), who explores how the rise of the concepts of folk and art music, parallel to the development of early formulations of the nation in eighteenth-century Europe, was tied to the involvement of music scholars, song collectors, and the printing press in a nostalgia-fuelled project of salvage ethnography analogous to the “invention of tradition” (Hobsbawm 1983). The works of Jane Fulcher (1999; 2005), Katherine Bergeron (1998), Katharine Ellis (2005; 2013) on nineteenth- and twentieth-century musical culture in France, and Pamela Potter’s study of music and musicology in 1930s and 1940s
Germany (1998), have pioneered the study of European music nationalisms from an analytical perspective.

The lengthy and substantial introductions to *Western Music and Its Others* (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000), *Music and the Racial Imagination* (Bohlman and Radano 2000), and *Beyond Exoticism* (Taylor 2007) have explained how the construction of the idea of Europe through music from the Early Modern period has relied on a range of strategic forms of representation and appropriation of the musical idioms of constructed racial and cultural Others that lie outside and inside Europe’s borders. Finally, Bohlman’s *Music, Nationalism, and the Making of the New Europe* (2011) interweaves historical research and ethnography in his analysis of “national” and “nationalist” constructions of belonging in Europe and how music from a range of folk, popular, and “state” (e.g., anthems, military marches) genres are instrumentalized in the formation and negotiation of national identities. He notes, “as we listen to the music of Europe and its nations [. . . ] we experience both the historical past and the ethnographic present, and the ways they interact as music and nationalism combine in the making of modern Europe” (xviii). In a similar way, our volume draws together historical research and the ethnographic present to examine how music reinforces but also blurs the boundaries of nationhood in Portugal and Spain.

In music studies, the Iberian Peninsula has been relatively neglected for multiple reasons that include the predominance of the English language as the academic *lingua franca* and a tendency among scholars to regard central Europe as the powerhouse from which the very idea of the nation emerged in the eighteenth century. So-called “peripheral” nations in Europe are rarely considered as laboratories where new insights into the ontologies and functions of the nation can be developed. Rather, they are usually treated as residual geographies, onto which can be applied the insights gained through the study of the “ur-nations” of central Europe. This “central-Europe-centric” approach misses the relevant ways in which Europe’s “peripheral” geographies can complicate, enrich, and challenge the knowledge gained through the study of “central” geographies (Llano 2012; Taruskin 1997). By giving visibility to scholarship previously accessible only to Portuguese- and Spanish-speaking scholars, this book aims not so much to vindicate the right of music scholarship on Portugal and Spain to participate in these broader debates—no sound mind could object to this happening—but to spell out the ways in which these geographies contribute to our understanding of the relationship between music, nationalism, and regionalism.

A key contribution in this regard is the book’s departure from analytical models where music is understood according to a local/national/global framework,
where sub-national territories are often conflated with the local. In their volume on music and national identity, Biddle and Knights seek to “reintroduce the national dimension in a productive and critical manner as the missing middle term of the local/global syllogism in order to reconsider how nation-states and social units like them might operate as [. . .] a ‘mediator’ of the two outer terms” (2007, 2). We agree with this assertion but expand our approach to consider the role of regional (or sub-national) territorial entities. While the concept of nation may constitute the overarching framework, we do not take it as a “fixed” entity but one that is mutable and malleable. Another important contribution is the book’s focus (above all in Part II) on the mediatization of music, most notably how the production and dissemination of music through recording technology and radio, and the local, regional, national, and transnational networks and enterprises that emerge as a result, are implicated in wider debates around national identity and modernity, especially at moments of political and societal change. An understudied area of focus here is the mobilization of popular music in the context of national identity politics and ideas about modernity (Bermúdez and Pérez 2009; García Peinazo 2017; Martínez and Fouce 2013; Silva 2016).

Finally, this book intersects with current debates around music and processes of “heritagization,” especially in ethnomusicology, anthropology, and critical heritage studies. We take heritagization to mean the process by which a musical genre, and the social and cultural contexts associated with that genre, are defined, and categorized as national or regional heritage. This is usually a top-down process where state organizations identify heritage “items,” classify and categorize them, and implement safeguarding policies. Such a process has become particularly prevalent since the adoption of UNESCO’s Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003. As Bendix, Eggert, and Peselmann point out, the state-level implementation of international heritage regimes “brings forth a profusion of additional heritage regimes, endowing actors at state, regional and local levels with varied levels of power over selective aspects of culture that prior to the UNESCO initiatives had rarely seen attention or control on the part of the state” (2012, 14). Our aim, therefore, is to examine how the heritagization process plays out in Portugal and Spain, focusing on how actors implement regional, national, and international heritage regimes, as well as to consider reactions from communities to this process and the identity politics that emerge as a result. The chapters that focus on heritage (Part IV) contribute to a growing body of work that deals with the heritagization of music at both institutional and community levels (Howard 2012; Machin-Autenrieth 2017; Norton and Matsumoto 2020).
**Portugal and Spain in Perspective: Methodological Challenges**

This book follows music in the Iberian Peninsula across its different journeys to and from the local, regional, national, European, and global. This task is not without its challenges. Recent debates about the goals and identity of “Iberian studies” have shed light on some of the epistemological and methodological challenges faced by this academic field. Joan Ramón Resina warns that the study of the cultures of the Iberian Peninsula could lead to a “bi-cefalic confusion of the peninsula with two sovereignties” (2013, 12). In view of this hazard, our book considers the realities and movements that challenge the state and that break down the binary of Portugal/Spain. Second, there is a risk that in studying the region in relation to the state not only is another binary reinforced, but the state also becomes the sole prism through which all regional and national realities are analyzed. The mutual support that Catalan and Portuguese nationalisms have found in each other, the mirroring and mutual borrowing of nationalist tropes between Portugal and Galicia, or the rise of pro-federalist tendencies in the Iberian Peninsula from the late nineteenth century onwards (Núñez Seixas 2013), are all indications that a complex web of interests has existed for at least the last two centuries. These different movements have been united by the fact that “Castilian rule, with its intrinsically homogenizing and annexionist tendencies, was seen as a threat to the survival of other Iberian cultures and a burden to the future of Spain” (86). Finally, the study of cultural diversity in Spain and Portugal could give rise to what Resina calls a “tokenist” view (13) that celebrates diversity without considering the power relations and asymmetries lying below its surface.

To avoid fetishizing the diverse cultures of Spain and Portugal, this book does not directly compare between them. Comparison normally relies on categories of knowledge and systems of values produced by the one who compares. Cultures are not discrete units that can be compared but changing modalities that engage with one another in diverse ways. The different territories of the Iberian Peninsula are not considered as specimens of a preconceived idea of nation or region but rather as changing realities. Likewise, musical practices in the Portuguese and Spanish nations and regions are not compared on equal terms but rather as contingent upon shifting and mutually influencing social and political processes that problematize the very idea of music and its relationship with territoriality.

Notwithstanding these challenges, Portugal and Spain share similar political histories, experience of authoritarian regimes, links between folklore and national ideology, the tourist exploitation of fado and flamenco, uses of protest
song, and comparable geopolitical and economic relations with the rest of Europe. Therefore, the Iberian Peninsula is a particularly rich site for examining how music making might nuance our understanding of nationalism. While, with a few exceptions (Castelo-Branco and Moreno Fernández 2018; Castelo-Branco, Moreno Fernández, and Medeiros 2022), this dialogical approach may be missing in scholarship on music in the Iberian Peninsula, there are precedents in other fields, particularly in history and anthropology. Mar-Molinero and Smith (1996) have pioneered the study of non-state nationalisms in Portugal and Spain since the nineteenth century, albeit with a predominant focus on Spanish case studies. Roseman and Parkhurst (2008) take a broader and more balanced perspective on the social and political meanings that are ascribed to physical spaces in the Iberian Peninsula from the late nineteenth century. The authors consider a range of case studies around the topics of colonial spaces and national identity, fascism and the politics of memory, regionality, and cultural politics and globalization.² It is this approach that intertwines case studies from both Portugal and Spain around shared analytical themes that characterizes our volume.

**Chronologies of Music and the Nation in Portugal and Spain**

While we recognize the long and complex musical histories that characterize Portugal and Spain, beginning in the Early Modern period, this book corresponds to a period that spans the late nineteenth century to the present day, coinciding with the expansion of mass media and debates on national identity in the public sphere. The chapters focus on four key periods: 1) the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as nationalisms intersected with debates around modernity, national regeneration, and cosmopolitanism; 2) the period of authoritarian regimes when hypernationalism exerted significant influence on cultural policy; 3) the transition to democracy and the subsequent resignification of national and regional identities within the framework of the European Union; and 4) the twenty-first century and the development of state-led heritage regimes informed by UNESCO’s ICH paradigm, and the strengthening of regionalist and sub-nationalist movements. In this section, we sketch these periods and summarize how music has been implicated in conversations about territorial identity. Before doing so, we offer a broad historical overview of the emergence of the Portuguese and Spanish nations.

The birth of the Spanish state is usually traced back to the territorial unification of part of the Iberian Peninsula brought about by the so-called Catholic Monarchs, following the forced conversion or expulsion of all Muslims and
Jews in 1492 and the joining of the Kingdoms of Aragon and Castile under the same crown. Amid political and social turmoil and a dynastic succession in 1714, the following centuries witnessed the implementation of a series of policies of cultural and linguistic homogenization—including ethnic cleansing through the persecution of Gitanos (Roma) (Charnon-Deutsch 2004)—but which faced notable challenges such as a series of Catalan revolts against the Spanish state during the seventeenth century (Kamen 2008). The Spanish state continued to show signs of weakness in the nineteenth century (Álvarez Junco 2001), with Carlism posing the biggest challenge to the centralizing project undertaken by the liberals from the early 1800s. Originally a movement in defense of the right to rule of King Ferdinand VII’s pro-absolutist brother Carlos, Carlism became a full-fledged reactionary ideology that fueled the defense of foral privileges in the Basque provinces (which form the Basque Country and Navarra today) and that seriously challenged the Spanish state during the three so-called Carlist Wars of the nineteenth century.\(^3\) Carlism branched out into different reactionary movements that lay at the root of both Basque nationalism at the turn of the twentieth century and, ironically, of Franco’s ultra-centralist national-Catholic doctrine during the dictatorship.

The rise of Catalan cultural nationalism from the mid-nineteenth century and its morphing into a full-fledged political movement a few decades later complicated this map. Catalan nationalism opened the eyes of Spain’s successive governments to the fact that non-state nationalisms were affected by a range of ideologies from across the political spectrum. The Primo de Rivera (1923–1930) and Franco (1939–1975) dictatorships seriously thwarted the trajectories of non-state nationalisms, but these movements came back with renewed force following the restoration of democracy in 1975. The mapping of Spain as a state of autonomies (comunidades autónomas) sanctioned in the 1978 Constitution has created a legal framework propitious to the gradual increase of devolution, with “faster routes” being awarded to comunidades or so-called “historic nations,” such as the Basque Country, Catalonia, and Galicia (Roseman and Parkhurst 2008, 10). The impact on Spanish politics of the situation in Catalonia and the Basque Country has been notorious from the early 1980s (Balfour and Quiroga 2007). The alliances forged with the political leaders of these two comunidades have been key to the formation of the successive Spanish governments in the wake of various elections. The recent rise of irredentism in Catalonia is perhaps the topic that most clearly divides Spanish public opinion and is one of the most serious challenges faced by the central government at the time of writing.

Portugal has been described as one of the “oldest nations” in Europe. The
Kingdom was established in 1143 and its territorial boundaries have remained stable since 1249 when King Afonso III conquered the south from Muslim occupation. Portugal’s existence as an autonomous kingdom until the establishment of a republican regime in 1910 was interrupted for sixty years (1580–1640) when the country was ruled by the Spanish crown. The regaining of independence from Spain is still commemorated as an important moment for the “celebration of national identity” (Monteiro and Pinto 2011, 58). As elsewhere in Europe, nationalist discourses by intellectuals and artists in Portugal go back to the nineteenth century. However, the terms of the nationalist debate in Portugal and Spain in the modern era have been quite distinct (Mar-Molinero and Smith 1996, 1). In Portugal, nationalist discourses were initially associated with the Liberal Revolution of 1820 following the French invasion (1807–1811) leading to the flight of the court to Brazil and British military presence. Unlike Spain, Portugal’s claim to nationhood has historically remained unchallenged. However, the definition of the constitutive elements of Portuguese “national culture” was a concern among nineteenth-century intellectual and artistic elites (Sobral 2003, 1106). Diverse nationalist discourses that reflect different intellectual and political orientations have emerged (1106). Historical narratives have focused on the origins of the nation, its ascent and decay, and the relative weight of its racial and ethnic makeup, especially the racialized opposition between North and South (Sobral 2004, 259–60, 267–77). In addition, many scholars have emphasized regional differences through sound documentation, descriptive monographs, and folklorized representations of regional costumes, music, and dance repertoires by formally structured groups labelled *ranchos folclóricos* (Castelo-Branco 2017; Holton 2003).

**Musical Nationalism in Portugal and Spain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth Centuries**

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries constitute a crucial period for understanding the intersection between music and debates about national identity across Europe. In Portugal, the decades between 1880 and 1930, which marked the end of the monarchy and the first republican regime (1910–1926), have been dubbed as the era of the “invention of Portugal,” as a movement for “Portuguesefying culture” was configured by intellectuals and artists with a “modern” and cosmopolitan outlook (Ramos 1994, 565–95). This period saw the “invention” of national symbols such as the flag and national anthem, events exalting historical figures and “achievements,” the rise of interest in “heritage,” and the creation of cultural artifacts embodying “Portugueseness” (565–95).
The British ultimatum fueled Portuguese national sentiment, as it demanded the retreat of Portuguese armed forces from the territories that correspond to Zimbabwe and Malawi today and that were previously claimed by the crown as part of Portugal’s colonial Empire. The acceptance of British demands by the Portuguese government was regarded as a humiliating defeat and intensified republican opposition to the monarchy.

As Ferreira de Castro discusses in Chapter 1, in 1911 the Republican regime adopted “A Portuguesa,” a patriotic march composed by Alfredo Keil (1850–1907) as Portugal’s national anthem. The patriotic fervor in the wake of the British ultimatum inspired “nationalist” compositions such as the landmark symphony À Patria (To the Fatherland). Written by José Viana da Mota in 1894 to 1895, À Patria “acquired through time the status of a foundational moment of modern Portuguese music” (Ferreira de Castro 2014, 212), and of a “nationalist manifesto” (Cascudo 2000, 214), along with the works of composers such as Alfredo Keil, Augusto Machado, Alexandre Rey Colaço, Rui Coelho, and Luís de Freitas Branco (Ferreira de Castro 1991, 157–62). The efforts of these composers were framed by a debate between supporters of nationalism or cosmopolitanism in music (1991, 165; Artiaga and Silva 2010). This period was also marked by a debate between “Germanists,” who supported the German ideal of “absolute music,” and “Italianists,” or advocates of Italian music, which Germanists considered to be decadent and excessively emotional (Artiaga and Silva 2010, 855).

Similarly, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Spain were characterized by debates about national identity and which cultural symbols should be employed to construct “Spanishness.” Tensions between competing republican and monarchical interests, the question of autonomous representation for the “historic nations,” and the demise of Spain’s imperial ambitions with the loss of its last colonies in 1898 (labelled the desastre) provided a fractious backdrop for the development of musics that could represent the nation. As shown by Carol Hess (2001), the rivalry that grew in the late nineteenth century between musicians supportive of the French avant-garde (Debussy, Ravel, and Stravinsky) and those who embraced German romanticism (Wagner and Strauss) was exacerbated by the First World War. These skirmishes mapped onto broader cultural and ideological battles between aliadófilos and germanófilos, who aimed to break Spain’s official neutrality by forging military and cultural alliances with France and Germany respectively. In the long run, composers supporting the French avant-garde, represented in Spain by Manuel de Falla (1876–1946) and critic Adolfo Salazar (1890–1958) among others, gathered critical and popular support thanks to having formulated a compelling version of Spanish music nationalism based on a rich dialogue with contemporary French composers.
This dialogue, which had already begun with Enrique Granados (1867–1916) and Isaac Albéniz (1860–1909), was not devoid of polemics, however, because of its reliance on aesthetic blueprints molded by a long tradition of exoticizing Spain in French and European music (Llano 2012).

As shown by Gerhard Steingress (2006), the same tension between the ideas of the indigenous and the foreign manifested in the realm of popular music through the circulation of flamenco troupes between different international destinations, most notably Paris, and the expansion of an entertainment industry constructed around flamenco and popular musics (Llano 2018). The celebration in Granada (1922) of a competition (concurso) of cante jondo ("deep song," which refers to a repertoire of traditional flamenco), organized by Falla and poet Federico García Lorca (1898–1936), reinforced a growing chasm between modernizing and traditionalist trends in flamenco that continues to this day. Debates between outward-looking, modern formulations of Spanish music, and fiercely nationalistic and traditionalist ones mapped onto similar conceptions of the Spanish "nation." The Franco dictatorship somehow smothered these debates, as it sent into exile a considerable portion of the Spanish avant-garde, although musical expressions that challenged the regime’s traditionalist aesthetics (Moreda Rodríguez 2017) found their space in the margins and became mainstream as the regime gradually opened up to “foreign” cultural influx from the late 1950s (Contreras Zubillaga 2021). The cultural and ideological struggles that underpinned these competing musical aesthetics also shaped Spain’s tortuous road towards finding a national anthem (see Chapter 2), a national symbol that continues to divide public opinion.

This period was also characterized by the search for the “roots of the nation,” where folk and popular music gained more popularity among audiences. In Portugal, the notions of the popular, cultura popular, and música popular were resignified by different political regimes and cultural agents (musicians, the media, scholars) and mobilized for political action by nation-building projects, local and regional political movements, and opposition movements (Castelo-Branco 2013). Deriving from the notion of povo (literally, the “folk”)—an essentialized and idealized “collective subject” (Hall 1981, 237)—these concepts are grounded in relations of power between “elite or dominant culture and the culture of the periphery” (233), and condense attributes of authenticity, primordiality, and antiquity (Castelo-Branco and Cidra 2010; Castelo-Branco 2020). Cultura popular constituted the main object of the then-emerging fields of ethnography and philology. It encompassed language, oral literature, and vernacular cultural practices and representations (including music, dance, and ritual) that were mobilized as symbols of Portuguese national identity (Leal 2000, 18). Música
popular attracted the interest of musicians and collectors, who published piano vocal transcriptions for the urban aristocracy and bourgeoisie, such as the three-volume *Cancioneiro de músicas populares* (Neves and Campos 1893; 1895; 1898).

Like Portugal, Spanish intellectuals and folklorists at this time were increasingly interested in documenting folk or “rural” song practices all over Spain. They were influenced by Herderian cultural nationalism coming from Germany via the doctrine of Krausism, which led to the emergence of a number of folksong collections (*cancioneros*). This research fed into an emergent Spanish musicology and compositional crossovers between the folk and art music domains. Perhaps most noteworthy here is the composer and musicologist Felipe Pedrell (1841–1922) who believed strongly that the answer to Spain’s “renewal” at the turn of the twentieth century lay in the documentation and appropriation of folklore in art music composition (Hess 2001, 17–18). Pedrell’s distinction between “música natural” (“folk music”) and “música artificial” (“art music”), and his desire for interaction between the two, influenced several notable composers and musicologists such as Manuel de Falla and Higini Anglés (1888–1969) (Llano 2012, 82–89). Isaac Albéniz interpreted Pedrell’s advice as an exhortation to use folklore from the different regions of Spain to construct “Spanish” music nationalism as a mosaic of different musical cultures (Clark 2002). Yet as Martí points out, much early folk music research especially in the peripheral “nations” of Catalonia and the Basque Country, “had a clearly nationalistic character” (1997, 109). As such, folk music research in Spain and the appropriation of folk practices in the art music domain were implicated in wider territorial struggles across the country between regionalist and centralist positions. In the aftermath of the desastre in 1898 and regeneracionista debates around the right path for Spain’s national “regeneration,” “composers, critics and musicologists were in broad agreement that the only way out of Spain’s state of cultural ‘decadence’ was the creation of a kind of music that would reflect a particular ‘Spanishness’” (Pérez-Zalduondo 2007, 217). Yet, there was never complete consensus on which music could best represent this “Spanishness.”

There is one genre, however, that is most often associated with an iconic “Spanishness”: flamenco. Consolidated in the mid-nineteenth century as a commercial genre in professional theatres (*cafés cantantes*) across Spain, yet deeply linked to subcultural urban communities and Gitanos in Andalusia, flamenco became a sonic marker for Spanish identity both at home and abroad (Holguín 2019; Steingress and Baltanás 1998; Washabaugh 2012). On the back of wider European (and particularly French) fascination with the “exotic,” flamenco came to represent a Spanish nation that was objectified yet marginalized culturally and politically in Europe. The exoticization of Spain led to well-documented debates
around the dominance of Andalusian cultural stereotypes, such as flamenco and “Gypsy-ness,” in representations of “Spanishness” (Charnon-Deutsch 2004; Christoforidis and Kertesz 2018; Llano 2018). On the one hand, flamenco became a highly consumed form of popular culture across Spain, so much so that a host of composers, artists, and intellectuals sought to reclaim its status as a “folk art,” which for some was representative of an Andalusian cultural autonomy. On the other hand, flamenco was vilified and cast as a backward cultural form that should not represent Spanish national culture, demonstrated by the so-called anti-flamenquismo movement (Llano 2018).

A similar process occurred with fado in Portugal, a tradition that has also become a national icon. Fado emerged in the 1840s in taverns and brothels in Lisbon’s poor working-class neighborhoods that also attracted aristocrats, intellectuals, and bohemians (Nery 2012, 62–65). From the mid-nineteenth century, it penetrated the salons of the aristocracy and the middle classes. It also reached a wider audience through outdoor fiestas marking the religious calendar, saint days, carnival, secular celebrations, and bullfighting parties. It was also regularly featured in the review theatre (teatro de revista), operetta, and musical comedies. In the early twentieth century, fado was mediatized through commercial recordings, while new performance venues were established that featured celebrated fado singers and guitarists and attracted a middle-class audience, leading to the gradual professionalization of fado performance. During this period, fado was controversial among intellectuals. Some were hostile towards a genre that they saw as “decadent” and “sentimental.” Others defended fado’s social role in Lisbon’s poor neighborhoods and its use as a medium for political expression during the unstable years of the republican regime (215).

Expanding the geographical frame of reference, it is also important to consider how Portuguese and Spanish nation building through music was linked to international trends around the commercialization of popular/folk musics. This is particularly evident in the context of sound recordings and the emergence of locally embedded recording industries. Their emergence was interconnected with international networks and debates around modernity and the regeneration of national music culture. As Losa shows in Chapter 5, an urban market for commercial music recordings emerged in Portugal in this context and was consolidated by the 1910s as its connections to the outside world developed. Sound recordings of popular and art musics gradually became part of the consumption habits of the urban middle classes. In Chapter 4, Moreda Rodríguez examines similar issues in the context of Spain’s emerging recording industry at the end of the nineteenth century through the prism of vernacular genres. She explores how the distribution of early recordings of genres such as the zarzuela grande
beyond their place of origin was implicated in wider national identity debates in Spain around the relationship between technology and national regeneration.

**Music and Authoritarian Regimes**

The national identity debates that characterized the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries paved the way for the emergence of authoritarian regimes in Portugal and Spain, which had an indelible impact on the uses of music in national representation. The expressive practices of rural and urban working classes, which represented the foundational element of national and regional identities, anchored the nationalist ideology and cultural politics of the authoritarian regimes that ruled Portugal (1933–1974) and Spain (1939–1975). Both António de Oliveira Salazar’s Estado Novo (New State), and Francisco Franco’s fascist regime were underpinned by traditionalist Catholicism, corporatist nationalism (an administrative system that guaranteed state control over all sectors of social and economic life), state economic interventionism, and colonialism.

In Portugal, the Estado Novo’s cultural policy, designated “Politics of the Spirit” (*Política do Espírito*) was forged by António Ferro (1895–1956) and implemented through the Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional, founded in 1933, renamed Secretariado Nacional da Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo in 1944, and headed by Ferro until 1949. The “Politics of the Spirit” aimed at constructing national identity according to Salazar’s ideological cornerstones and promoting the regime’s image in Portugal and abroad. It was anchored on a conceptual and programmatic distinction between “alta cultura” (high culture), “cultura popular” (popular culture), and espectáculos (shows) (Nery 2010). A range of governmental agencies assured state control over expressive culture by defining aesthetic ideals, institutionalizing folkloric representations of regional costumes, and censoring cultural production and performance, among other measures. Major institutions in the domain of music such as the State Radio (see Chapter 6), the National Conservatory, and the São Carlos National Theater were directed by agents or sympathizers of the regime. The 1940 Exposition of the Portuguese World (Exposição do Mundo Português), which commemorated the double centenary of the founding of the nation in 1140 and the restoration of its independence from Spain in 1640, mobilized composers to write “nationalist” works for the occasion and showcased music and dance from rural areas and the former African colonies (Artiaga and Silva 2010, 862; Ferreira de Castro 1991, 167, 169). Composers either supported the regime and its initiatives or remained marginal. Fernando Lopes-Graça (1906–1994), the most prominent nationalist composer in twentieth-century Portugal, was a staunch opposer to the Estado
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Novo, having been imprisoned and prohibited from holding a position that he had won as professor at the National Conservatory.

Similarly in Spain, music took on an explicitly political role as Francoist institutions sought to align musical production with the ideological image of “New Spain.” Alongside the founding of key institutions such as the Instituto Español de Musicología in 1943, the regime worked to control music production through education, the formation of state-endorsed ensembles and orchestras, and music journalism and criticism (Moreda Rodríguez 2017). The dictatorship carried out a purge of political and cultural institutions that reached as far as the network of music conservatories and implemented strict censorship policies that expunged the nation’s musical output of any “foreign” elements such as urban popular music, genres associated with republicanism, and the use of regional languages. In addition, the Franco regime propped up the career of Father Federico Sopeña, a Catholic priest and member of the fascist party Falange Liberal with musical training. He was appointed to the Comisaría de Música, the regime’s chief musical institution responsible for the management of the Orquesta Nacional de España; directed the Madrid Conservatoire (1951–1956); and was elected member of the Academy of Beaux Arts from 1958 and Comisario de Música (1971–1972). Above all, Sopeña was Spain’s most prolific and influential music critic, a musical factotum indeed, who worked hard to promote and to impose what Moreda Rodríguez (2017, 52) has described as a traditionalist aesthetics of “feeling, emotion and sincerity (as opposed to dehumanization),” which were aligned with the goals of the Franco regime and best epitomized by his protege Joaquín Rodrigo’s Concierto de Aranjuez (1939). While not overtly opposed to Spain’s avant-garde currents, Sopeña’s traditionalist aesthetics were nonetheless inimical to the modernist credo embraced by many of the anti-Francoist composers who were exiled during the Civil War.

The Estado Novo and the Franco regime institutionalized the production of folklorized staged representations of regional rural music, dance, and costumes by amateur folklore groups. In Portugal, as Alves argues in Chapter 3, a distinct medium for national self-definition was engendered by the Estado Novo through the state-sponsored professional dance company Bailados Portugueses Verde Gaio (VG), founded in 1940. This company enacted “modern” aestheticized representations of “tradition” consisting of scenes and choreographies set to original compositions. In Spain, the Franco regime set upon itself the impossible task of subsuming the country’s diverse array of regional folk song and dance under the rubric of a unified, national tradition. As Moreda Rodríguez argues, traditional music “had to be adapted to the new understandings of Spanish identity promoted by the regime” (2017, 107). Through increased emphasis on
selective collection, stylization, and centralized distribution, the regime sought to bring together Spain’s regional diversity into a unified body of folk culture that could be harnessed for ideological ends (2017; Ortiz 1999). Similar to the Ranchos folclóricos of Portugal, the Coros y danzas de España, founded by the Women’s Section of Franco’s Falange Party in 1939, instrumentalized folkloric representations for ideological indoctrination and as a code for interpreting the nation (Castelo-Branco and Branco 2003; Ortiz 1999; Jordan 2020; Moreda Rodríguez 2017). Given the diversity of regional folkloric traditions across the country, the Coros y danzas embraced an ideology of Spanish folklore as the expression of national unity through diversity.

Music, Democracy, and Heritage

While distinct in many ways, the transitions to democracy triggered by a revolutionary process in Portugal in 1974 and the death of Franco in Spain in 1975 heralded new eras of political and social freedom. Both countries sought to modernize their economies and societies, adopting values and lifestyles associated with the more “developed” Western European countries. Music overlapped with the profound changes promoted by the opposition to authoritarian rule and implemented during the transitions to democracy. Notions of the “popular” (in contrast to folk or traditional musics) as denoting the oppressed working classes were central to the discourse of intellectuals, musicians, and political activists who opposed authoritarian rule.

In Portugal, for some folklorists and collectors, música or canção popular denoted “authentic,” archaic rural musics, and song made by and for “the people,” presumably untouched by Ferro’s “politics of the spirit.” However, as Castro shows in Chapter 7, politically engaged musicians working within distinct aesthetic paradigms resignified música popular as a site for ideological and aesthetic combat. A protest song movement was launched in the mid-1940s by the aforementioned composer Fernando Lopes-Graça, which gained momentum in the 1960s and 1970s through the creation of a new discursive field labelled música popular portuguesa by Portuguese musicians who mostly belonged to the left of the political spectrum (most notably José Afonso and Adriano Correia de Oliveira). Música popular portuguesa was characterized by a cosmopolitan aesthetic and the use of poetry and music to fight against the dictatorship and to promote democracy following the revolution. Their creative work, largely enabled by the record company Orfeu, was a site for imagining a new society and a new nation ruled by values of freedom, equity, and democracy (Castelo-Branco 2020).

In Spain, artists of the singer-songwriter movement (canción de autor) were important agents in the transition to democracy through their determination
to deconstruct the hegemony of the Franco regime (Ayats and Salicrú-Maltas 2013; Pérez Villalba 2007). Inspired by other international musical movements, singer-songwriters sought to galvanize opposition to the Franco regime among the working classes and students, which eventually led, in the late 1960s, to a backlash from the state in the form of strict censorship of these artists’ outputs. Some artists also adopted staunch regionalist positions to facilitate the struggle for administrative autonomy in regions such as Andalusia, Catalonia, and the Basque Country. Rock radikal vasco became a platform for the disenfranchised working-class youth of the Basque Country to express their dissatisfaction with the restoration of democracy and with what they regarded as moderate policies of devolution designed by the central government (Sánchez Ekiza 2013). In Andalusia, so-called Rock andaluz became a platform for the promotion and negotiation of a distinctive Andalusian cultural identity (García Peinazo 2017; Chapter 8). In Catalonia, artists such as Ramon Pelegero Sanchis “Raimón” and Lluís Llach used song as a political vehicle for advancing Catalonia’s political and cultural autonomy in the dying years of the Franco regime, as part of the Nova Cançó movement (Ayats and Salicrú-Maltas 2013). The bottom-up negotiation of national and regional identity, as well as issues around class and political affiliation through popular music, continue into present-day political and territorial debates. For example, debates around Catalan independence continue to this day most notably with the divisive holding of an independence referendum in 2017 (see Chapter 11).

With democratization has also come the configuration and implementation of top-down state international-heritage regimes in both Iberian countries (see Chapter 12) where music is mobilized by national and sub-national institutions to promote territorial identity, cultural tourism, and “nation and region branding.” Following the 1974 revolution in Portugal, fado faced hostility as a national symbol, especially from left-wing intellectuals and politicians, due to its associations with the authoritarian regime. However, the genre was resignified as an expression of Portugueseness, and new lyrics and styles were introduced. In the 1990s and 2000s, a new generation of fado musicians revitalized the genre, creating hybrid styles and disseminating the genre through the “world music” circuit. In 2011, fado was inscribed on UNESCO’s Representative List of the ICH of Humanity, reinforcing the perception and promotion of the genre as the sonic embodiment of Portuguese national identity both at home and abroad. At the same time, the folklore movement institutionalized and promoted by Salazar’s regime was resignified and supported by municipal governments in an effort to consolidate and to promote local and regional identities (see Chapter 13).

Flamenco has followed a similar trajectory. During the Franco regime, fla-
menco was adapted as an emblem of national culture, especially on the back of tourism as Spain opened up to the international stage in the 1950s. In the era of democracy, flamenco’s international presence and articulation as a Spanish cultural product has strengthened, especially through state intervention, tourism, and the “world music” industry. But unlike fado, flamenco has become caught up with the politics of decentralization in Spain. Since Andalusia was granted autonomy in the early 1980s, flamenco has become the target of significant institutional intervention and development through the regional government (Aix Gracia 2014; Machin-Autenrieth 2017; Washabaugh 2012). This process has been heightened by flamenco’s inscription on UNESCO’s Representative List of the ICH of Humanity in 2010, which, while spearheaded by the Spanish state, was fundamentally an Andalusian initiative. It is the intersection between the regional politics that underpin an international heritage declaration and community responses to the heritagization process that Cruces Roldán examines in Chapter 14. As indicated above, however, one of the aims of this volume is to move beyond a tendency in studies of music on the Iberian Peninsula to focus on flamenco and fado as key symbols of national identity and heritage. As such, Castelo-Branco’s research (Chapter 13) focuses on the lesser-known genre of cante in the Alentejo region, examining its institutionalization as a regional icon by the Estado Novo, its resignification following the 1974 revolution, and its branding as ICH following its inscription on UNESCO’s Representative List of the ICH of Humanity in 2014.

Structure of the Book

The book is structured into four parts. In Part I, “Music, State Propaganda, and Authoritarian Regimes,” the authors explore how the state has appropriated music for agendas of nationalist propaganda from the late nineteenth century, with a particular focus on the authoritarian regimes of the mid-twentieth century. The section begins with two chapters (Ferreira de Castro and Contreras Zubillaga) that address the complex political and ideological circumstances surrounding the institutionalization of the Portuguese and Spanish national anthems. The authors uncover the micro-histories surrounding the formation of these anthems as national symbols and vehicles of state propaganda. In doing so, they reveal the heterogenous nature of the dictatorships and the ways in which music reveals multiple political and ideological affiliations. The next chapter deals with the role of folk and popular music in the consolidation of state power. Alves
examines how “folk” music and dance were appropriated by the Salazar regime in the construction of an idyllic, rural image of Portuguese identity.

Part II, “Sound Technologies and the Nation,” examines how recording industries were implicated in, and contributed to, the mediatization of identities in the Iberian Peninsula. The authors focus on localized readings of the recording industry (from the late nineteenth century to the 1970s), exploring how local actors, networks, and businesses engaged with and influenced prevailing national debates. Moreover, the authors consider how such local networks intersected with the transnational phonographic industry at large. Here, the authors bring studies of music on the Iberian Peninsula into dialogue with a broader interdisciplinary focus on sound studies, listening, and the socio-political analysis of recording technologies. Moreda Rodríguez focuses on the emergence of the recording industry in Spain in the early twentieth century, offering insights on how recordings were involved in debates around national identity and regeneration. Losa’s chapter examines the advent of recorded music and its impact on Portuguese society, exploring the role of local markets in debates around modernization at the turn of the twentieth century. Moreira considers the role that the official radio station of the Estado Novo played in fostering an “imagined community” of listeners amenable to the regime’s long-term goals of social control. Finally, Castro considers the relationship between protest song and phonographic production and mediatization during the final years of the Salazar dictatorship.

Part III, “Negotiating the State, Nation, and Region,” explores how music has served alternative visions of nationalism. In particular, and more apparent in the Spanish context, the section foregrounds musical manifestations of regionalism and sub-state nationalism. The spectre of national identity in the Iberian Peninsula has resurfaced in contemporary political and cultural debates, most notably encapsulated in the Catalonian independence crisis. Exploring the role of both sub-state institutions and grassroots movements, the contributors all situate music as a powerful vehicle for reframing the meaning of nationalism from distinct historical and political perspectives. García-Peinazo considers the role of flamenco hybridization among Andalusian rock bands during the transition to democracy (1969–1982) in the context of topical debates around what it meant to be Andalusian. Also focusing on the national symbolism of rock music, Andrade considers the “boom” of rock music in Portugal during the 1980s and related debates around the construction and significance of the category of so-called “Portuguese rock.” The final two chapters consider contemporary issues around the relationship between popular music, class, regional, and national
identities in Spain. In their chapter, Fouce and del Val consider the role of indie music in the articulation of class and youth discontent, especially in the wake of the financial crisis and wider protest movements (such as the *indignados*) in the twenty-first century. Finally, Martí analyzes the musical and sonic practices that have characterized the ideological battle between Spanish and Catalan nationalisms since the independence crisis of 2017.

The final section, “Musical Heritagization and the State,” focuses on how music has been instrumentalized by governmental institutions to consolidate national and regional identities. It considers the impact of national and international heritage regimes on policies of safeguarding and musical sustainability, with a particular focus on the role of UNESCO’s 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Contributors consider how music has been selected, promoted, and managed as heritage on the Iberian Peninsula. The chapters explore the processes and ideologies involved in the recognition of selected musical practices as “national or regional heritage,” the (re)appropriation of heritagized practices at the regional level, as well as the tensions between institutional and community involvement in processes of “heritagization.” In their comparative chapter, Castelo-Branco and Sánchez-Carretero offer a critical perspective on state and international heritage regimes in democratic Portugal and Spain, and consider the impact of UNESCO’s Convention on heritage discourse and praxis. The remaining two chapters focus on specific case studies from Portugal (Castelo-Branco) and Spain (Cruces Roldán). Castelo-Branco examines the heritagization of *cante* in the Alentejo region through different heritage regimes implemented by the authoritarian regime and following the establishment of democracy, culminating in its inscription on UNESCO’s Representative List of the ICH of Humanity in 2014. Adopting a historical and ethnographic approach, Castelo-Branco analyses the processes of selection, recontextualization, display, transformation, categorization, branding, and commodification that have emerged as a result of *cante*’s recognition as Portuguese heritage. In the Spanish context, Cruces Roldán considers the circumstances surrounding flamenco’s heritagization in Andalusia before and after the tradition’s recognition as ICH in 2010. The chapter explores the regional politics surrounding flamenco’s heritagization as well as the somewhat ambivalent attitudes and criticism of this process from within the flamenco community.

The different essays in this book will demonstrate that the making of Portugal and Spain through music has been, and continues to be, a complex process, in which the authority and identity of the state is permanently being challenged and redefined. The different case studies show that boundaries are mobile and porous and that the construction of the diverse musical identities studied in this

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volume cannot be properly understood without considering the exchanges that constantly cross and redefine those boundaries. The persistence of nationalism today, and the recent rise of extreme forms of nationalism and xenophobia, therefore, do not do justice to the complex histories and identities that the essays in this volume highlight. Thanks to its semantic malleability and its capacity to transgress boundaries, music is a privileged medium to explore these complex histories and identities, offering us a more complete picture of the ways in which Portuguese and Spanish national identities might be culturally manifested and negotiated, both in the past and in the present.

Notes

1. This volume emerges from the symposium “Music, Nation, and Region in the Iberian Peninsula: (Re)Sounding History, Identity, and Heritage,” held at the Faculty of Music, University of Cambridge (June 22–23, 2017).
2. See also María Cátedra (2001).
3. Until 1841 (Navarre) and 1876 (Álava, Gipuzkoa, and Biscay), Spain’s Basque-speaking territories had their own jurisdiction, territorial statutes, and their own bodies for political representation (the Juntas Generales or “Representative Assemblies”), which regulated their own internal tax systems, according to their fueros (charters). Following the 1876 abolition of the fueros, the Basque provinces have continued to enjoy enhanced control over tax collection in the form of successive economic agreements with Spain’s central government (Payne 2000, 95–98).
4. For a comparative approach to music and propaganda under authoritarian regimes across the globe, see Buch et. al. (2017).
5. Salazar ruled Portugal from 1933 to 1968 when he was succeeded by Marcelo Caetano until the 1974 revolution.
6. For further information on music during the Franco regime, see Contreras Zubillaga (2021); Moreda Rodríguez (2017); Pérez-Zalduondo and Germán Gan Quesada (2013); and Pérez-Zalduondo (2011).
7. In Spain, the beginning of the transition to democracy was marked by Franco’s death in 1975, though in reality the social activism and cultural revolution that marked the latter years of the regime are sometimes understood as the beginning of the transition (Pérez Villalba 2007). In Portugal, Salazar’s regime was overturned by a coup d’état on April 25, 1974, which was followed by a period of political and social instability known as the Processo Revolucionário em Curso (Ongoing Revolutionary Process, PREC), which lasted until the approval of the Portuguese constitution in 1976.
8. For more on fado’s contemporary relationship with Portuguese national identity, see Gray (2013), Elliot (2010), and Nery (2012).

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