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Chapter 11: Silence, Sound and Imaginaries: Soundscape and Musical Programming in the Funerary Ceremonies of José Antonio Primo de Rivera (1939)¹

Introduction

Studies on the cultural construction of the new state that arose following the 1936 coup d'état have examined the celebrations, commemorations, tributes and funerals that filled city streets and squares during the civil war and the first post-war period.² Such events were crucial for propaganda, the creation of a symbolic system and the attainment of bonds of collective identity, tasks in which the “Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista” (Traditionalist Spanish Phalanx and of the Councils of the National Syndicalist Offensive, hereafter “Falange”), the Spanish totalitarian party, had a decisive role. Specialists are in agreement that these ceremonies sought to cause a sensory and emotional impact in citizens through the combination of visual and sound elements, which made them interdisciplinary spectacles. Some were held in theaters, although the most frequent venues were public spaces and churches.

The historiography has highlighted two decisive moments in the symbolic construction of Francoism, just after the end of the civil war: the events held to celebrate the victory of the rebel army in all cities and towns of Spain in April 1939, and the moving of the remains of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the founder of Falange, from Alicante

1 Translated into English by James Hayes.

2 Francisco Sevillano Calero, “La propaganda y la construcción de la cultura de guerra en España durante la guerra civil” [“Propaganda and the construction of the culture of war in Spain during the civil war”], *Stud. hist. H.^a cont.* 32 (2014): 225–237.

(where he had been executed at the start of the war) to the San Lorenzo basilica of El Escorial between November 20 and 27 of that same year. The route crossed half the peninsula, passing through cities, towns and along roads. Falangists came from all over the country to carry the body on their shoulders, changing every ten kilometres to the sounds of rifle salutes.

The details of the cortège and the ceremonies were set by a commission designed specifically to define “the way to fulfill the admiration and gratitude that the Nation owes to his [Primo de Rivera] political genius, his self-sacrifice and his heroism”.³ The commission comprised the highest ranking members of the Falange and cultural figures closely connected to the Nationalists. These included Dionisio Ridruejo, the Director General for Propaganda, and Samuel Ros, one of the Falangist intellectuals, who was very active in the post-war politics of music. As Mónica and Pablo Carbajosa state, with this ceremony Ridruejo had the “chance to make his mark on the official style as master of ceremonies”, while Ros “also participated with the design of the symbols that would accompany the cortège on its journey”.⁴

Historians are unanimous in stating that the purpose of this grand funeral was the mythification of José Antonio, the appropriation of his image, and the legitimization of Franco as his successor. Zira Box has also noted that beating at the heart of the event was “the internal tension for the definition of the nation and the state and for the control of the liturgy underway between the Falangist sector and the Church

3 “The Caudillo presided over the National Council meeting. The death of José Antonio and the Nation’s magnificent tribute to his memory,” *La Gaceta del Norte*, October 2, 1938, 3. Other members of the Commission were Juan Cabanas, responsible for Protocol and Plastic Arts; José Finat, Conde de Mayalde, Director General of Security; Miguel Primo de Rivera, José Antonio’s brother; Antonio Bouthelier, writer; Fernández Cuesta, Secretary General of Falange; Serrano Suñer, government minister and President of the FET political commission; José María Pemán, poet.

4 Mónica Carbajosa and Pablo Carbajosa, *La corte literaria de José Antonio. La primera generación cultural de la Falange* [The Literary Court of José Antonio: The First Cultural Generation of the Falange] (Barcelona: Crítica, 2003), 184.

hierarchies”,⁵ who were fighting for political and ideological control. And Francisco Sáez Raposo has interpreted it as a new manifestation of the tradition throughout history of moving a hero’s remains, with the aim of “obtaining huge political and social gains”.⁶ Whatever the case, it was a tool in the process of appropriating spaces, rural and urban, public and private, civil and religious.

The media used to exploit the propagandistic benefits of this large campaign were exceptional: it is easy to find photographs and news reports of different moments of the cortège,⁷ as well as the footage that was filmed.⁸ The press coverage was general, although particularly widespread in the Falangist magazines.⁹ The following year, two members of the commission, Samuel Ros and Antonio Bouthelier, published a book that gave an account of the journey in the style of a diary, full of emotion and passion, with numerous images, documents and names of the many people involved, including the bearers and the clergy.¹⁰

5 Zira Box, “Pasión, muerte y glorificación de José Antonio Primo de Rivera” [“Passion, death and glorification of José Antonio Primo de Rivera”], *Historia del presente* 6 (2005): 192.

6 Francisco Sáez Raposo, “José Antonio a hombros del franquismo: el uso de la parateatralidad como fundamento ideológico del Régimen” [José Antonio on the shoulders of Francoism: the use of para-theatricality as ideological foundation of the Regime], in *Cultura y Guerra Civil. Formas de propaganda dentro y fuera de España*, eds. Emilio Peral Vega and Marta Olivares Fuentes (Madrid: Escolar y Mayo, 2016), 269–294.

7 Silent edition of a Spanish news broadcast in 1939 in which the transfer of José Antonio Primo de Rivera’s remains were shown. RTVE archive, March 16, 2009.

⁸<https://www.rtve.es/play/videos/fue-noticia-en-el-archivo-de-rtve/traslado-del-cuerpo-jose-antonio-primo-rivera-1939/449685/> (Visited 01-09-2021).

8 *¡Presente! En el enterramiento de José Antonio Primo de Rivera*. [Present! At the burial of José Antonio Primo de Rivera] ⁹<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ixXjupmYK14> (Visited 01-09-2021). Regarding this film, see Vicente Sánchez-Biosca, “El 20-N o el azar en la Historia” [“November 20, or Chance in History”], in *España en armas. El cine de la Guerra Civil española*, ed. Vicente Sánchez-Biosca (Valencia: Dipuació de Valencia, 2007), 71–86.

9 *Vértice*, *Fotos*, and *Radio Nacional*.

10 Samuel Ros and Antonio Bouthelier, *A hombros de la Falange. De Alicante a El Escorial* [On the Shoulders of the Falange: From Alicante to El Escorial] (Madrid: Ediciones Patria, 1940). The historians Mónica and Pablo Carbajosa,

Despite the fact that the homage to José Antonio has been widely studied,¹¹ there are barely any references to the soundscape that shaped it.¹² If, as specialist historians have stated, “the interpretation of the set of sound sources has a direct role in the recognition of socio-cultural spaces, situations and connections”,¹³ the sounds that accompanied the different phases of this complex ceremony were essential in the meaning that was attributed to it and, therefore, in its success or failure in ideological and propaganda terms.

The aim of this study is to examine the music and sounds that made up the various stages of the event. In order to do this, I will analyse, firstly, the soundscapes in the villages and on the roads through which the cortège passed from its start in Alicante to its arrival in Madrid, always in open air. Secondly, I will study the musical programming of the funeral rites held in the Spanish capital and in El Escorial, with large crowds of people, in a city setting and in the environment of the national monument. My starting point is the hypothesis that the sounds of the ceremony, described as “the most spectacular that took place in the whole dictatorship”,¹⁴ represent the synthesis and realization of those

have shown how this book – one of many that contributed to the construction of the myth of Primo de Rivera – came out of the column that Ros wrote for the newspaper *Arriba*. See Mónica Carbajosa and Pablo Carbajosa, *La corte literaria de José Antonio. La primera generación cultural de la Falange* [The Literary Court of José Antonio: The First Cultural Generation] (Barcelona: Crítica, 2003), 184.

- 11 The latest study to date is: Pablo Baisotti, *¡Presentes! Mitificación y culto en la España de Franco, 1933–1943* [Present! Mythification and Cult in Franco's Spain, 1933–1943] (Madrid: Editorial Y, 2018), 192.
- 12 Some authors mention the musical programming or the soundscape, but do not analyse it. For the first contribution on this issue, cf. Gemma Pérez Zalduondo, “El imperio de la propaganda: la música en los fastos conmemorativos del primer franquismo” [“The Empire of Propaganda: Music in the Commemorative Pomp of Early Francoism”], in *Discursos y prácticas musicales nacionalistas (1900–1970)*, ed. Pilar Ramos López (Logroño: Universidad de La Rioja, 2012), 339–361.
- 13 Manuel Sánchez Cid, Basilio Pueo, M^a Ángeles San Martín Pascal, “Paisaje sonoro: un patrimonio cultural inmaterial desconocido” [“Soundscape: An Unknown Intangible Cultural Heritage”], *Actas ICONO* 14, no. 8. II Congreso Internacional Sociedad Digital (October 2011), 5.
- 14 Sáez Raposo, “José Antonio a hombros del franquismo: el uso de la parateatralidad como fundamento ideológico del Régimen” [“José Antonio on the

sounds that comprised the Falange “style”, sought and rehearsed from the beginning of the conflict. This is because the body responsible for it, the National Authority for Press and Propaganda, had also been responsible for the celebrations held during the civil war to commemorate the coup d’état, the entry of Franco’s army into cities, and the end of the war, all of which involved the participation of sound elements in abundance.¹⁵ Additionally, I will attempt to elucidate whether, since the remains of the founder of Falange were laid in the burial place of the monarchs of Spain, the choice of repertoire made use of the royal funeral rites as a model or point of reference.

A multiple perspective such as the one I propose requires a complex theoretical framework. Firstly, I will use what has come out of the studies on soundscape, which can be defined “as the total of the different sources of sound that comprise it, independently of their number and origin, whether of natural or artificial origin”.¹⁶ Specifically, I take as my reference the interdisciplinary perspective through which Carolyn Birdsall has analysed this question in Nazi Germany and her idea that the study of soundscape can help to obtain information about society, power relations and connections with urban space.¹⁷ My second area of reference is framed by the analyses of the construction of the Falange’s symbolic apparatus during the war and the immediate post-war period.¹⁸

This study has been produced 80 years after the facts under examination took place. It coincides with the exhumation of the remains of Francisco Franco, who died in 1975, from the Valle de los Caídos (Valley

Shoulders of Francoism: The Use of Paratheatricity as Ideological Foundation of the Regime”], 270.

- 15 Gemma Pérez Zalduondo, “Elogio de la alegre retaguardia’. La música en la España de los sublevados durante la guerra civil” [“‘Elogy of the Merry Rear-guard’: Music in Nationalist Spain during the Civil War”], *Acta musicológica* 90, no. 1 (2018): 78–94.
- 16 I take as my basis the definition of soundscape made by Sánchez Cid, Pueo and San Martín, “Soundscape Is Any Generating Element of Sound, Whether Natural or Artificial,” in Sánchez Cid, Pueo and San Martín Pascal, op. cit., 4–5.
- 17 “[...] the soundscape can be studied to gain insights into social organization, power relations and interactions with urban space”: Carolyn Birdsall, *Nazi Soundscapes. Sound, Technology and Urban Space in Germany, 1933–1945* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 12.
- 18 Zira Box, *España, año cero: la construcción simbólica del franquismo* [Spain, Year Zero: The Symbolic Construction of Francoism] (Madrid: Alianza, 2010).

of the Fallen), the gigantic grave built by the dictator, where his body lay alongside that of José Antonio Primo de Rivera himself and more that 33,000 civil war dead. Such a coincidence demonstrates that the past, as an object of study and as memory, forms part of the present, and that the debate concerning the meaning and significance of the civil war and Francoism intervene in the formation of current Spanish socio-political and cultural reality. Hence its analysis and dissemination continue to be necessary.

Through Fields and Towns: Soundscapes between Alicante and Madrid

Neither in the newspaper reports nor in the photographs of this section of the journey of the transfer of José Antonio's remains have I been able to find any trace of musical programming or the participation of professional musicians. On the contrary, it is the opposite, silence, that emerges as the protagonist of the accounts. From the texts of the Falange hierarchy and intellectuals and the daily reports published in the local press, to the book published a few months later by Samuel Ros, silence, associated with death and sorrow, is the main theme of all the narratives and discourses. It is regularly associated with spiritual and distressing sentiments, as in the news article by the Falangist writer Luis Moure-Mariño: "The towns, clustered on the side of the roadways, were rivers of people who watched, in religious silence, the passing of the procession".¹⁹ The person in charge of the event, Dionisio Ridruejo, took advantage to unleash his vehement, disproportionate and empty rhetoric, as well as the pain caused by the war and the memories of the battlefields:

A terrible silence with tears, with souls filled with anguish, with disconsolate and tearful remorse, with sudden enlightenment that burned the eyes, with morning upheavals of hope, with august resignation, with powerful despair like orders of combat. A terrible silence so that fate was revealed in the depth of souls. A loving, transcendent and long silence. A silent explosion of assent wounded by suffering, filled with deep respect.²⁰

19 L. Moure-Mariño, "Viviendo los hechos. De Alicante a San Lorenzo del Escorial" ["Living the Facts. From Alicante to San Lorenzo del Escorial"], *Radio Nacional. Revista semanal de radiodifusión* 57 (December 9, 1939): 10.

20 Dionisio Ridruejo, "Aún" ["Yet"], *Radio Nacional* 57 (December 9, 1939): 2.

Luis de Vargas, columnist for the Falangist newspaper of Granada, made use of the silence to generate expectation, tying it to the tension of the wait in a strongly sensorial context:

It will yet happen sometime. We can make nothing out. The silence, however, becomes deeper and deeper and the emotion greater. At last, hidden by the edge of the road, the first components of the cortège come towards us, a few highway patrolmen who lead the way like scouts in the vanguard. Our five senses are alert, we make them out in the blackness of the night, before the lights of the militia and the clergy that come ahead.²¹

A few months later, Ros and Bouthelier wrote their account around the same theme, but in their pages we can find the description of sound and visual elements that modelled the ideological and political meaning of the event. Thus, in the beginning of the account, they explain the mournful appearance of the city of Alicante, the daily activity of which had been brought to a halt, with ornaments on the buildings and ephemeral sculptures. The “thick” silence, full of meaning, was shattered by the tolling of the bells:

The façades of rows of houses were draped in black cloth. A cross stood to receive the coming Cortège. Large laurel crowns with the word “¡PRESENTE!” covered the corners of buildings. The traffic halted, the thick silence was only awaiting the hour set for the sound of the bells that were to announce the first pickaxe blow upon José Antonio’s tomb.²²

As we can see, the narration of the start of the ceremony – the opening of the tomb – is charged with the dramatism, and the tension is heightened by the allusion to the sound of the pickaxe blow that breaks the silence. It is worth asking whether literary devices of this nature, constantly reiterated in the reports, were due to orders whose scope was limited to written media. The slogans broadcast by the press during these days show, however, that it was that mournful, tragic and moving atmosphere that they tried to spread across national territory. The day of the exhumation of the body, all public spectacles were suspended, funerals were held in

21 Luis de Vargas, “Paso de José Antonio por Almansa” [“Passage of José Antonio through Almansa”], *Patria* (Granada), November 23, 1939, 2.

22 Ros and Bouthelier, *A hombros de la Falange*, 15.

churches and black crepes were hung on flags across the country.²³ The life and the sounds of the towns and villages through which the cortège passes were paralysed, according to – we can conclude – the order of compulsory compliance spread by the press, which demanded seriousness and silence, and prohibited any differentiated initiative or behaviour:

The style and the form of conduct in the Falange is the responsibility only of the Party leadership. Whoever takes their own initiative and acts individually is completely ignorant of the long-standing rules and discipline of our heroic times.

Madrid must witness the acts that surround the transfer of the remains of the founder and national leader with grave seriousness and sober silence. He who makes a disturbance has no feeling; he is playing at politics, and is, therefore, yet another fraud among the discredited rabble of gossips and troublemakers of the decadent Spain that must be eliminated.²⁴

As a consequence, the soundscape was transformed with the passing of the cortège: the sounds of the cars that normally moved through the streets of a devastated rural Spain disappeared, as did those sounds connected to work of all types and professions. This strange sound universe would have proved anomalous, and would have helped to focus the attention of townsfolk on the visual attractions.

The second most notable sound element in the accounts is that of the bells. The literature has frequently indicated their role in regulating daily life, their identitarian character, since “they were related with the land and patriotic feeling”,²⁵ as well as their quality as a symbol of ecclesiastical and Catholic power. During the Republic, the struggle for cultural control of public space had placed bells at the “center of everyday political debate”.²⁶ Only by taking into account such extremes can one interpret

23 “En Madrid. Funerales en la Catedral y en todas las parroquias” [“In Madrid: Funerals in the Cathedral and in All the Churches”], *ABC*, November 21, 1939, 9.

24 “Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las JONS. Una Orden de la Jefatura Provincial del Movimiento” [“Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las JONS: An Order from the Provincial Headquarters of the Movement”], *ABC*, November 21, 1939, 10.

25 Joseba Louzao Villar, “El sonido de las campanas: una aproximación al paisaje sonoro católico en la España contemporánea” [“The Sound of Bells: An Approach to the Catholic Soundscape in Contemporary Spain”], *Huarte de San Juan. Geografía e Historia* 25 (2018): 162.

26 *Ibid.*, 168.

the sentences that the Falangist art theorist Ernesto Giménez Caballero had written in 1935 in his book *Arte y Estado* (“Art and State”): he noted that the “seventh heaven” for music, its perfect and intimate state, was the sound that can be heard at dusk in a small forgotten town:

There, a bell sounds. A black cortège bears a coffin on their shoulders. For that death: only that bell, the music of God.

That bell rings out on Sunday: sun, grace, mass. Eucharist. Music of the Lord — the bell — for everyone, for one.²⁷

The ringing of bell towers was a common sound in the celebrations held during the war. For example, their pealing pervaded every corner of the city of Pamplona, where the bells “were rung from every church in the diocese” to celebrate the first anniversary of the coup d’état.²⁸ A year later in Salamanca, the ringing of the City Hall bell was followed by those of the whole city at the same time as they turned on the celebratory lights in Plaza Mayor and let off rockets and “imperial bomb” fireworks.²⁹

Unlike what took place in Nazi Germany³⁰ and despite what a part of Spanish Falangism defended, the church and Catholicism were signs of the collective identity under construction, and the bells, symbols of life and communal space, were converted into instruments of appropriation. Their integration into the life of small communities means that they came to be considered as “natural” sounds. But we can presume that the neighbors who observed the procession and heard the bells in conjunction with other sound and visual elements, full of ideological meanings, perceived their tolling, independently of their ideological leanings, in a way that

27 Ernesto Giménez Caballero, *Arte y Estado* [Art and State] (Madrid: Gráfica Universal, 1935), 150.

28 “En Álava, Guipúzcoa y Navarra,” *La Gaceta del Norte*, July 19, 1938, 6.

29 “En Salamanca comienzan las fiestas con gran entusiasmo” [“The celebrations begin in Salamanca with great enthusiasm”], *ABC*, May 18, 1939, 10.

30 Carla Shapreau states: “By the time Germany surrendered on May 7, 1945, bell casualties reportedly numbered about 150,000. The gap in the communal soundscape in Europe was enormous”. See: Carla Shapreau, “Bells in the Cultural Soundscape: Nazi-Era Plunder, Repatriation, and Campanology,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Musical Repatriation*, eds. Frank Gunderson, Robert C. Lancefield and Bret Woods, 2019, 25.

‘<https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190659806.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780190659806-e-41>’ (Visited 02-09-2021).

Ramón Pelinski called “*symbolic* natural listening”, that is, identifying the “sound event as indication, sign or symbol of something else”.³¹

The third leading element and the only one of a specifically musical nature was liturgical singing:

The Cortège had barely gone past the first few houses of the town when it stopped alongside a small raised area, and the parish priest of Monforte joined it. Again liturgical singing filled the air, upon the distant background of *De Profundis* sung by the Secciones Femeninas³² who filled the road; that *De Profundis*, usually so solemn, that converted the road into a musical farewell from the women of Spain. And later, inside the town, between lines of upraised arms, among the murmurings of prayers, among the tears of our people, upon the emphatically identical background of the “passing” of the Cortège.³³

The female and Falangist character of the performance of the psalm associated with the funeral liturgy is also highlighted in the accounts of the passing of the procession by the Madrid jail, in which José Antonio had been imprisoned, where a “gentle choir of female voices sings *De Profundis*”.³⁴ This link had already appeared in the reports of the victory celebrations: in Toledo, in the darkness of night, a procession led by the image of Our Lady of the Pillar halted before a symbolic building in ruins; the crowd “sang a popular Hail Mary” and “a choir of young women sang the *Himno al Alcázar*” [Hymn to the Fortress] that had been composed within its besieged walls during the war.³⁵

Another constant ingredient of the accounts was the twinning of the sounds and psalmodies of religious supplications, prayers and canticles for the dead with the Falange. Thus, Luis Vargas, in his account of the cortège’s path through the neighborhood of Almansa, connects them to

31 Ramón Pelinski, “El oído alerta: modos de escuchar el entorno sonoro” [“Alert Hearing: Ways of Listening to Surrounding Sound”], *I Encuentro Iberoamericano sobre Paisajes Sonoros* (Madrid: Centro virtual Cervantes, 2007).

³¹https://cvc.cervantes.es/artes/paisajes_sonoros/p_sonoros01/default.htm (Visited 02-09-2021).

32 The “Sección Femenina” was the women’s branch of the Falange.

33 Ros & Bouthelier, *A hombros de la Falange*, 27.

34 José Montero Alonso, “El instante de mayor emoción en el itinerario madrileño de José Antonio” [“The Moment of Greatest Emotion in José Antonio’s Passage through Madrid”], *Fotos 144* (December 2, 1939): 6.

35 “Solemne Rosario luminoso en Toledo” [“Solemn rosary illuminated in Toledo”], *ABC*, May 18, 1939, 11.

the religious architecture destroyed during the war to note how ingeniousness was a trait of the Falangist militant youth and to figuratively identify the actual hour of dawn with the present:

The bustling, thronging crowd follows through the town yet the silence is not disturbed [...] and then the parish priest of the town sang a solemn Requiem Mass. Two hundred Falangists and three hundred Flechas³⁶ of the O.J. [Youth Organization] positioned in the chancel of the destroyed church then sang the “De Profundis”. Their voices rang out innocently through the grounds of the church, which was now lit up by the first rays of the sun.³⁷

He goes on to depict the formations adopted by the Falangists on the coffin’s exit from the church and ends by emphatically reiterating the idea of a silent crowd observing the procession, which continued on its way: “The authorities and crowd witness it in the midst of an immense silence while they made the one-arm salute”.³⁸ As we can see, the Church and the Falange, the two forces in competition for the symbolic control of Francoism, here formed one single element, and the gestures contributed to the “paratheatricity” already remarked upon in the literature.³⁹ Once again, we can ask ourselves whether the fusion of greeting and silence was solely a rhetorical resource of the narratives written. However, that gesture of the inhabitants of countryside and villages that contemplated the passing of the coffin in silence and with grim stares was captured in the photographs that illustrate various moments of the journey.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, memoranda sent from the Press and Propaganda office discouraged Falangists from attending the final acts of the event while they did direct them to the procession’s road journey, like the rest

36 Flechas was the name given to the section of the Falangist youth organization for 10–15 year-old boys.

37 Vargas, de, “Paso de José Antonio por Almansa. Crónica oficial para Patria” [“Passage of José Antonio through Almansa: Official Report for *Patria*”], 2.

38 *Ibid.*

39 Sáez Raposo, “José Antonio a hombros del franquismo,” 270. The author defines the term as “the activities in which methods taken from the theatre are used (kinesics, proxemics, gestures, wardrobe, scenography, lighting, music, sound effects, etc., all bearing a high semiotic value), but in events that are ‘outside the institution’” (*Ibid.*, 273).

40 See for example those of the coffin’s passing through Madrid and the ceremony in the Basilica published in the center pages of *Fotos* 144 (December 2, 1939): 4–5.

of the Spanish people. It explained the attitude that was expected of one and the other as follows:

With the important national event of sorrow of giving a definitive burial to the remains of José Antonio, a mass of Spaniards comes every day to the headquarters of the Falange requesting the honour of participating in the procession, which as you know will be carried out on the shoulders of Spaniards from the land of Alicante to El Escorial Monastery, making the journey in a period of ten days from 20th November across the soil of Spain that was taken hostage for so long.

So that enthusiasm does not supplant order, there should be few direct participants in this endeavour, but the people of Spain will be able to demonstrate their grief, their fervour and their hope by lining all the roads to join this great act of mourning and national honour, infusing the cortège's march with a moving expectancy.

Every Spaniard has their place in this act with their presence and their step behind the funeral cortège; with their hushed greeting from the place they occupy; with prayer in their devotion, with silence in their activity and with fervour in their work.⁴¹

The Jesuit and musicologist Nemesio Otaño, who during the civil war worked on the construction of the Nationalists' sound symbols, compiled a large part of the sounds mentioned up to this point in his description, and turned to metaphor to show the rhythm marked by the coffin bearers in their constant march:

The cortège that carries the martyred remains of José Antonio from Alicante to El Escorial sets the rhythm of its slow funeral march to the beat of that eloquent silence of souls and of things before the sacred spectacle of suffering that overwhelms hearts. Impressive silence, but full of profound religious emotion, due to the circumstances that accompanied it.

The Cross presides over the march throughout the journey. The priest of each parish on the route walks before the coffin; he intones, in the stops and change-overs, prayers for the dead and prays the rosary.⁴²

41 *Memorandum from the Section Chief of Information of the Ministry of the Press to the Barcelona Press Administration*, November 13, 1939, (03)49.01 Caja 21/00075, AGA.

42 Nemesio Otaño, "Los solemnísimos funerales de José Antonio en el Escorial" ["The Most Solemn Funerals of José Antonio in the Escorial"], *Radio Nacional* 57 (December 9, 1939), 12.

Although it was the breaking of the silence by the sounds of bells, prayers and chants for the dead that lent dramatic depth to the narratives, other elements contributed to increasing the impact of texts and scenes. The most important of them was fire: at night, torches, as a show of honour for the deceased, lit the way, and their crackling likewise broke the silence, as did flares. For example, as the procession passed through Montforte:

The town, full. And all the houses, hermetically sealed, hung in mourning cloth, with their balconies and windows covered by flags of the nation and the Movement, or by simple white hangings with a black ribbon, or simply black. Everything enshrouded in dense silence, only slightly disturbed by the crackling of the torches and the flares.

The use of fire was also habitual in Nazi rituals, and alluded to the “victory over darkness and, by extension, over evil”, with a meaning of “purification, of life, of rebirth”.⁴³ It was also a decisive element in the style of the Falange that, like Nazism, sought artistic grandiosity and visual impact. In the celebrations for the success and end of the war, effects of light were widespread, whether created by the “Victory bonfires” lit at night on the highest hilltops, or employed in the parades, along with fireworks.⁴⁴ Thus, they sought “unreal” and intense effects, to which they made constant allusion, both in the reports of the funeral ceremony in November 1939, and in those of more festive events in May of the same year. A good example – again – of one of the first of these reports is that by Samuel Ros, who manages to transmit an intensely dramatic atmosphere through the mixing of contrasting elements, such as silence and bells, darkness and light:

Emphatic medley of silence and light that, scattered over thousands of people gathered in profound homage to the exemplary man who had been able to set a new course for all Spaniards, lent to the Cortège a clear-cut visual character completely unrelated to the reality of the twentieth century. One could then believe oneself to be standing before a wonderful painting of exceptional pathos; perhaps before a nightmare or an unreal and fabled imagination – certainly, before something not of this world [...].

43 Sáez Raposo, “José Antonio a hombros del franquismo,” 284.

44 “Fiesta Popular gallega en Coruña” [“Galician popular celebration in Coruña”], *Ibid.*

It was in Monforte where for the first time one had the full sensation of the ultra-human; there, the town packed with torches that made it difficult to breathe, flares of bright light standing out amongst them, carried by the comrades of the Valencian Falange, the Cortège had all the tragic and military intensity that had to be renewed every night until the arrival at El Escorial.⁴⁵

We can see the use of similar terms in the account that told of the event that celebrated the coup in the city of Burgos in 1938, which alluded to the presence of torches, with which a “truly phantasmagorical” spectacle was created.⁴⁶ In these celebrations, planned during the war, contrasts were also used. For example, in Seville they had set up a “giant shield of Spain, lit up indirectly” that covered an entire façade of the Plaza de España – one of the icons and monuments of the city – and, on the other side from the *rúa* entrance, a great cross. Other objects were added to these with the aim of making, as the press recorded, a “grandiose” spectacle: a “procession of torches”, miners with their lamps, hundreds of flags, and music bands. Wagnerian music – also present in the film that was shot during the transfer of José Antonio’s remains – was the main protagonist of the soundscape constructed to produce a strong impression on the attendees. The report from the *ABC* helps us to imagine the effect:

The march was begun at the *Cruz de los Caídos* [Cross of the Fallen]. The lights were turned off in the square and in the thick darkness the blazing cortège with hundreds of flags that fluttered brightly began to move. [...] The “March” from Wagner’s *Tannhäuser* harmonized the procession’s entry, full of vivid visuality.⁴⁷

Among arrays of lights from the torches that broke the darkness of the Seville summer and provided extraordinary light effects in the midst of the “impressive silence of the huge crowd”, the national anthems were performed, they ran the flags up the flagpoles and raised their arms with the Falangist salute, to finally all come together in applause and cheers. This sound density contrasted with another moment of the ceremony,

45 Ros & Bouthelier, *A hombros de la Falange*, 15.

46 “Las fiestas de conmemoración en otras provincias” [“The commemoration celebrations in other provinces”], *ABC* (Sevilla), July 10, 1938, 15.

47 “La magna concentración celebrada anoche en la Plaza de España obtuvo un éxito grandioso, por su emoción militar y religiosa” [“The great rally celebrated last night in the Plaza de España was a grandiose success, due to its military and religious sentiment”], *Ibid.*

now in front of the Cross of the Fallen, where the *Orfeón* (choral society) of the Falange SEU (Spanish Union of Students), led by Luis Lerate, sung *O vos Omnes*, by Victoria, on one of the few occasions in which we find the performance of the work of the polyphonists, reference points in the history of Spanish music, in the streets.⁴⁸

The case above confirms that, while identitarian, historical and referential meanings were paramount in choosing the urban and architectural settings of the celebrations during the war, for sounds – with the exception of hymns/anthems – what was sought was emotion: Wagner for the processions, the polyphony of Tomás Luis de Victoria for religious celebration. The trend toward baroque style that can be discerned from this description also appears in other accounts of the celebrations of the anniversary of the coup written throughout the conflict. For example, in Cadiz an altar was raised “onto an artistic and monumental platform, crowned with the Spanish coat of arms”.⁴⁹ Many others, in 1938 and 1939, corresponded to the “theatricalization” – pointed out by specialists – that was predominant in ceremonies that were “perfectly planned and choreographed with the aim of instilling a set of values and principles in the collective imagination that have to be unanimously accepted but also defended by all the members of the community”.⁵⁰

As we have been able to observe, the figure of Primo de Rivera was identified with that of a martyr – “martyred remains of José Antonio”, said the folklorist and musicologist Nemesio Otaño. The historian Zira Box noted that Falangism had interpreted the life and death of its founder as a metaphor of that of Christ, and “symbolically condensed the significance that the deaths for the Nation would have in the post-war New Spain”.⁵¹ Sáez Raposo defined the ceremonial as the culmination of “Christological parallelism”, a revived prophet who was needed to be a key piece in the construction of the new Spain by means of his “vigilant ‘presence’”, handing over the baton to his successor, Franco.⁵² However, the destination of the cortège was El Escorial, resting place of the bodies

48 *Ibid.*

49 “Las fiestas de conmemoración en otras provincias” [“The commemoration parties in other provinces”], 15.

50 Sáez Raposo, “José Antonio a hombros del franquismo,” 270.

51 Zira Box, “Pasión, muerte y glorificación de José Antonio Primo de Rivera” [“Passion, Death and Glorification of José Antonio Primo de Rivera”] 32.

52 Sáez Raposo, “José Antonio a hombros del franquismo,” 279.

of the monarchs of Spain and symbol of the Spanish empire for all the ideological movements that supported Francoism. The weight of history in the Nationalist discourse as well as in the old emblems incorporated into the symbolic apparatus of the new state enables us to question, as Ian Gibson⁵³ has done, whether such ceremonials served as a reference to the members of the Commission in charge of organizing the cortège that in 1939 made the journey from Alicante to El Escorial. In fact, the reconstruction that the musicologist Tess Knighton made of the soundscape during the transfer of the body of Isabel la Católica to Granada seems to be a perfect fit to what I have analysed above, despite the presence of instruments, which were, as stated, absent in the case of the Falangist:

As well as the thousands of candles that burned continuously in the chapels and churches where the bier was placed each night during the journey, two hundred torches accompanied the cortège [...]. The sound impact was as impressive as the visual spectacle: the sounds of trumpets with sordini and drums, the ringing of bells, the official lament and spontaneous wailing, and the unending chanting of psalms and responses formed a soundscape of death.⁵⁴

Other extremes make it possible to discern fresh similarities. For example, Knighton also described the sound vacuum left by the interruption to daily activities: “However, the unusual silence of the everyday noises of the workshops closed during the mourning period, would have characterized the daily urban life”.⁵⁵ Gustavo Sánchez, meanwhile, has remarked upon the participation of the local priests of the areas through which the cortège of Queen Isabel of Bourbon (1644) passed.⁵⁶ There is no doubt that the sound elements that made up the soundscape of the 1939 cortège

53 Ian Gibson suggests that the funeral for José Antonio was inspired by the moving of the Felipe el Hermoso [Philip the Handsome] ordered by his wife Juana la Loca [Joanna the Mad] in 1478 from Bruges to Granada. See: Ian Gibson, *En busca de José Antonio* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1980), 248.

54 Tess Knighton, “La última trayectoria de los reyes Católicos. Música de las exequias y aniversarios reales en Andalucía,” *Andalucía y sus músicas* 46 (October–December, 2014): 83.

55 *Ibid.*

56 Gustavo Sánchez, “Música y liturgia en el ceremonial funerario del Real del monasterio del Escorial” [“Music and Liturgy in the Funeral Ceremony of the Royal of El Escorial Monastery”], en *El mundo de los difuntos: culto, cofradías y tradiciones* (San Lorenzo del Escorial: Instituto Escorialense de Investigaciones Históricas y Artísticas, 2014), 404.

were deeply rooted in the past; nonetheless, we need to consider, on the one hand, that all of them were associated with the traditional veneration of the dead in Catholic ceremonials, and, on the other hand, that in spite of the imperial references, the Falange did not aspire to restore the monarchy nor, as we have seen, to link the figure of José Antonio to that institution.

Through the Streets and in the Monuments: Music in Madrid and El Escorial

The Falange published an opulent *Plan for the acts to be celebrated in Madrid and in El Escorial for the burial of the remains of José Antonio*, dated November 1939.⁵⁷ This forty-page book, complete with copies of building plans, carefully details the arrangement of the ceremonies that were celebrated in Madrid, the capital of the state and last stop of the cortège, and in the basilica of El Escorial. Like the documents that recreated the organization of royal funerals, it describes in detail the positioning of the authorities, the uniforms they should wear, access to cars through explanatory maps, the order of the ranks in the first six rows, the representations of the ministries, local authorities, and their location. Musical elements were also included in the procession in its passing through Madrid: “Clergy, religious orders, *trumpets*,⁵⁸ cavalry squadron, infantry battalion, flag of the Falange”,⁵⁹ after which went the bier followed by the members of government and the authorities.

The central role of Otaño in the musical programming of these ceremonies is confirmed in the letter he sent to his friend Norberto Almandoz, the choirmaster of Seville Cathedral: “Immediately they put me in the organization for the transfer of José Antonio’s remains to El Escorial, which has taken up all my time”.⁶⁰ From the text he wrote for the *Radio Nacional* magazine explaining the sound dimension of the event, we can

57 *Guión de los actos que han de celebrarse en Madrid y en El Escorial, con motivo de la inhumación de los restos de José Antonio, Noviembre de 1939, Año de la Victoria*. Fondo Dionisio Ridruejo, C.5, Legajo 5, no. 2, Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica de Salamanca (CDMH).

58 *My italics*.

59 *Guión de los actos que han de celebrarse en Madrid y en El Escorial*, 20.

60 Nemesio Otaño to Norberto Almandoz, December 8, 1939. Biblioteca y Archivo Musical Nemesio Otaño, Cartas Otaño, 014, N° 2.033. Santuario de Loiola (Azpeitia, Guipuzcoa).

deduce his desire to introduce a marked contrast between the first part of the cortège, silent, and this expansive and vibrant second part:

Catholic and imperial Spain, which was the dream of José Antonio and has been the vital essence and the rousing spirit of our glorious Crusade, will now pulsate, after the silence of the days and the hushed whisperings of prayers, with the irrepressible opening up of sound beneath the domes that will shelter the mortal remains of the founder of the Falange.⁶¹

The repertoire for this phase was meticulously prepared, along with the moment, place and elements that were to perform it. It underlined two differentiated situations and spaces: the cortège in its passage through Madrid, and its arrival and subsequent burial in El Escorial:

Passage through Madrid

Singing

- (a) Funeral prayers from the Mozarabic liturgy
- (b) Song of Ascents. Choir from various religious and singing orders, directed by R.P. Germán del Prado O.S.B.

Trumpets

- (a) *A tal pérdida tan triste*. [To such a Sad Loss] Juan del Encina (15th Century)
- (b) *Toque guerrero imperial* [Imperial War Call] (16th Century)
- (c) *Invitorio de difuntos* [Invitatory for the Dead] (Gregorian)
- (d) *Cortejo Imperial* [Imperial Procession] (17th Century)
- (e) *Marcha española* [Spanish March] (Snare drums and clarions) (18th Century)⁶²

As we can see, in the first, entirely outdoors, they alternated monody and polyphony, Gregorian and Spanish music, although the passage through the city was accompanied by trumpets. Both the prayers from the Mozarabic liturgy and the music by Juan del Encina, written to mourn the death of a prince, have a strong symbolic and identitarian content

61 Otaño, "Los solemnísimos funerales de José Antonio en el Escorial," 12–13.

62 *Guión de los actos que han de celebrarse en Madrid y en El Escorial*, 26.

in the history of Spanish music. Regarding the instrumental pieces, they are associated, due to their character and chronology, with highpoints of the imperial past. Otaño had begun to research historical military music in the 1920s, and he devoted much time to analysing and interpreting it historically and symbolically, and to disseminate it as part of the cultural construction of the new state. The order and temporal sequence of the selection – from the 15th to the 18th century – suggests a “narrative” intentionality that ends with the *Marcha española*, undoubtedly the *Marcha granadera* (Grenadier March), which Franco had designated as the “national” anthem in 1937. Igor Contreras has already stated that the Jesuit aimed to trace a line of military marches from the Middle Ages up to the nineteenth century, with musical examples that he hoped would cause the Bourbon past of the new anthem to be forgotten.⁶³ This thus seems to confirm the arrangement of the repertoire of the passage through Madrid, which linked the present with the imperial past.

The two scores that are included in the number that the Radio Nacional magazine dedicated wholly to promoting the ceremony provide other data with the added notations. For example, it was marked that the *Toque militar español* from the 16th century – presumably the *Toque guerrero* stated in the *Plan for the acts* – was also to be interpreted by the band of trumpets upon entering the basilica of El Escorial, and that the same band should play a *Toque militar del siglo XVII* (*Military call from the 17th century*) “arranged” by Otaño “upon closing the sepulchre where the remains of José Antonio lie”.⁶⁴ However, the terms “Toque guerrero imperial” and “Cortejo Imperial” do not appear in the *Libro de la Ordenanza de los Toques de pífanos y tambores que se toca nuevamente en la Infantería española compuestos por D. Manuel Espinosa* [Ordinance Book of the fife and drum calls that are newly played in the

63 Nemesio Otaño to Juan Gorostidi, Azkoitia, December 12, 1936, Donostia [San Sebastian] Choral Society Archive, caja 23, correspondencia 1936, in: Igor Contreras, “El eco de las batallas: música y guerra en el bando nacional durante la contienda civil española (1936–1939),” *AMNIS. Revue d'études de sociétés et cultures contemporaines Europe-Amérique* 10 (2011). <<https://journals.openedition.org/amnis/1195#bodyftn10>> (Visited 02-09-2021). For a reading of the controversies regarding the new national anthem, see Zira Box, *España, Año Cero*, 300–310.

64 Otaño, “Los solemnísimos funerales de José Antonio en el Escorial,” 12–13.

Spanish infantry composed by D. Manuel Espinosa] of 1761,⁶⁵ which the Jesuit harmonized for clarinets, fifes and drums, and arranged to be sung with hymns with words by M. Tomás.⁶⁶ Otaño had already programmed them in the original and orchestral version in the patriotic concerts that were organized during the conflict.⁶⁷ In spite of his musical and musicological competence in the areas of religious music and folklore and of his many studies on military music published during the war and the immediate post-war period, he did not pursue rigour in the design of the ceremonial music for November 1939, at least in terms of historical names or interpretations. Quite the opposite, he sought an immediate propagandistic effect: if the functions of the original calls had been “to pay military honours to the Holiest Sacrament, to the King and to other royal persons, to the captain generals of the army or the provinces [...]; to accompany the march of the troop with the corresponding formality; and to salute the flags”,⁶⁸ for Madrid and El Escorial he attached the term “imperial”, which suitably varied its meaning. This is a similar phenomenon to that already noted in reference to the religious ceremony that celebrated the victory after the war in the same city: priests who were specialists in sacred music attributed false mediaeval origins to the liturgy used for the purpose of legitimizing the present.⁶⁹

65 *Libro de la Ordenanza de los Toques de pífanos y tambores que se toca nuevamente en la Infantería española compuestos por D. Manuel Espinosa en 1761*. Biblioteca Nacional de España <<http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000113427&page=1>> (Visited 02-09-2021).

66 They were published in 1939: *Toques de guerra del ejército español* [War Calls of the Spanish Army] (Burgos: *Revista de Radio Nacional de España*, 1939). <http://bibliotecavirtualdefensa.es/BVMDefensa/i18n/catalogo_imagenes/imagen.cmd?path=146185&posicion=2®istrardownload=1> (Visited 02-09-2021).

67 See for example the *Programa del Concierto histórico de música militar española* [Program for the Historical Concert of Spanish Military Music]. Zaragoza Symphonic Orchestra, Zaragoza Choral Society. Director: Nemesio Otaño. Zaragoza, Teatro Argensola, 6th November 1938.

68 María Nagore Ferrer, “Historia de un fracaso: el ‘Himno Nacional’ en la España del siglo XIX” [“History of a Failure: The ‘National Anthem’ in Nineteenth-Century Spain”], *Arbor* 187–751 (September–October 2011): 828.

69 Carmen Julia Gutiérrez González, “Francisco Franco y los reyes godos: la legitimación del poder usurpado a través de la ceremonia y la música” [Francisco Franco and the Gothic Kings: The Legitimization of Usurped Power through

Once inside the Basilica, the programming maintained the alternation between monody and polyphony in the culminating moments of the ceremony:

El Escorial Basilica

1st Vigil for the deceased (1st Nocturn)

- (a) Invitatory

Gregorian chant, alternating with Polyphonic music for four voices, by V. Goicoechea

- (b) Antiphons (Gregorian chant)
- (c) Gregorian psalms and fauxbourdons for four voices
- (d) Lessons (polyphonic recitatives) V. Goicoechea
- (e) Responsories (Gregorian chant)

Intervals, Band of Trumpets

2nd Office of burial.

- (a) Responsorium *Subvenite* (Gregorian chant)
- (b) *Liberame* (Spanish classical polyphony) Tomás L. de Victoria (S. XVI)
- (c) Antiphon *Ego sum* (Gregorian chant)
- (d) *In paradisum* (Spanish classical polyphony) M. Villalonga
- (e) *Benedictus* Psalm (Gregorian chant and fauxbourdons)

3rd Burial

- (a) *Funeral Chorale*. J.S. Bach.
 (b) *Requiescat in pace*.

Gregorian choir directed by R.P. Germán del Prado O.S.R.,
 Palma de Mallorca Polyphonic Choir, directed by Maestro Juan
 M^a Thomas.⁷⁰

The religious music of Tomás Luis de Victoria had been studied years earlier by Felipe Pedrell,⁷¹ a personality of importance both for Spanish musicology and for Otaño himself. Victoria also represents the Renaissance – imperial – past that the musical literature had already noted as a benchmark during the conflict. The piece by Pau Villalonga⁷² is associated with the Palma de Mallorca Polyphonic Choir and its director. Vicente Goicoechea, a priest who alongside Otaño had been involved in the development of Basque music,⁷³ was connected, like Otaño himself, to the development of religious music in the first half of the century.

Inside the Basilica of El Escorial, two of the important names in religious music in Spain of the period, both from the point of view of musical practice and in the field of research, with well-established careers, were the priests Germán Prado and Juan María Thomas.⁷⁴ The former had worked in the 1920s on the dissemination of León's *Antifonario Mozárabe* [*Mozarabic Antiphonary*], transcribed by Father Serrano once the

70 *Guión de los actos que han de celebrarse en Madrid y en El Escorial*, 38.

71 Felipe Pedrell, *Tomás Luis de Victoria, abulense. Biografía, bibliografía, significado estético de todas sus obras de arte polifónico-religioso* [Tomás Luis de Victoria of Avila: Biography, Bibliography, Aesthetic Meaning of All His Polyphonic-Religious Works of Art] (Valencia: Edición facsimilar de la de Manuel Villar, 1913).

72 Pau Villalonga (- 1609) was chapel master of Palma de Mallorca cathedral. Joan Company Florit, “Villalonga, Pablo,” in *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, vol. 10, eds. Emilio Casares, Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta y José López Calo (Madrid: Fundación Autor, Sociedad General de Autores, 2002), 918.

73 See: Óscar Candendo Zabala, “Vicente Goicoechea Errasti (1854–1916) y el canto religioso popular” [“Vicente Goicoechea Errasti (1854–1916) and Popular Religious Singing”], *NASSARRE* 31 (2015): 139–145.

74 Joan María Thomàs (Palma de Mallorca, 7-12-1896 – 4-5-1966), organist and teacher, had created the Bach Association for Ancient and Contemporary

archivist and librarian of the monastery of Silos, Dom M. Férotin, had begun his publication in Paris between 1882 and 1891.⁷⁵ For his part, Thomas had in 1931 founded the Capella Clàssica of Barcelona, with which he gave concerts throughout Spain, and decades earlier had also been involved in the reform of religious music. These specialists found a new opportunity in the November 1939 celebration to perform and listen to the pieces they had been working on, and they gave this repertoire, and the institutions they were associated with, significant prominence in the cultural construction of the new state. Nevertheless, it was Otaño, as manager, activist and participant in the institutional apparatus of Francoism from 1937, who distributed the leading roles among other active musicians.

The Jesuit's participation in the burial of José Antonio was directed, like the rest of the leaders and intellectuals involved, toward the drawing up of texts that explained the meaning of the ceremony. This shares with other Falangist texts an exalted style and rhetoric, although there is less emphasis on the ideological connotations and more on the religious:

But all that grandiose and impressive procession, unequalled in our history, comes to its culmination in the ceremonies in El Escorial, with an apothecotic nature, in the surroundings of the famous monastery, and with indescribable liturgical pomp within the immense basilica.⁷⁶

On explaining the repertoire, Otaño notes the stern religious dimension of the Vigil of the deceased, as well as the depth and emotion that it aims to emphasize:

In the midst of the imposing religious silence, the Office for the Dead begins. Its liturgical ceremony does not have any decorative aspect: incense and prayers of the officiant, accompanied by the attending ministers. All the action is in the music of the Invitatory, the antiphons, psalms, lessons and responsories.

Music in 1926. Joan Company Florit, "Villalonga, Pablo," in *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, vol. 10, eds. Emilio Casares, Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta & José López Calo (Madrid: Fundación Autor, Sociedad General de Autores, 2002).

75 Xabier Basurto, *Historia de la Liturgia* [History of Liturgy] (Barcelona: Biblioteca Litúrgica. Centro de Pastoral Litúrgica, 2006), 436. Germán Prado published: *El canto gregoriano* (Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1945).

76 Otaño, "Los solemnisimos funerales de José Antonio en el Escorial," 12–13.

There is a double choir: the Gregorian, positioned in the great monastic choir, above the entrance, with 200 voices, directed by the Benedictine P. Germán del Prado, from the monastery of Silos. The strict melodies of the Office of the Dead give the ceremony a profound and moving Catholic meaning. It is the secular voice of the Church, one, holy, catholic and apostolic, which calls to the dead in their faith to the life of paradise. ‘In paradisum deducan te’.

With regard to the polyphony, he writes that there was a second, polyphonic choir, located in the forward tribune, where the remains of the founder of the Falange were buried. The *Capilla Clásica* [chapel choir] here performed the polyphony of Goicoechea, “the modern Spanish composer who had come closest to the great masters of the golden age of counterpoint in religious inspiration and choral technique”. Once again he emphasizes its sobriety and simplicity, but also its “declamatory and expressive meaning so deeply fused in the text, which, to emphasize it, demands an extremely fine artistic and literary perception”. Here Otaño sought the effect of a “veiled sonority, which the emotion of the moment requires”.

For the Office of burial, the same choir performed the music by Victoria and Villalonga. This alternation between polyphony and Gregorian was a characteristic of burials at El Escorial,⁷⁷ and was also occurred in the ceremonials that accompanied the burial of monarchs, such as that of Ferdinand the Catholic in Granada.⁷⁸

Otaño again peppers his explanations with allusions to the imperial past: the Benedictus Psalm (Gregorian and fauxbourdons) is by an “unknown author, although some critics have attributed them to our Emperor, it is not known on what grounds”. His assessment of the dynamic aspects of the performance of the 45 voices of the *Capilla* let us see other sound effects:

The performance of these sublime compositions is perfect, above all in the immense space where it takes place, but in its execution it gives such a fine-tuning of planes and sonorities, and combines them with their technical possibilities

77 Gustavo Sánchez (2014), 407.

78 José Ignacio Palacios Sanz, “¡Pues nunca fue pena mayor! Música para las honras fúnebres y exequias del Rey D. Fernando ‘El Católico’” [“Since Never Was There Greater Sorrow! Music for the Funerary Honours and Exequies of King Ferdinand ‘The Catholic’ ”], *Revista de Estudios colombianos* 13 (June 2017): 61–86.

with such mastery, that without any effort at all, thanks to the surrounding silence, manages to touch the soul of the listeners in a suggestive and mysterious way. Bach's most beautiful and incomparable 'Chorale', with the words from the 'Requiescat in pace', brings a close to the Office with a brushstroke of gold.

Lastly, he describes the effect of the trumpet music, "which sounds from who knows which dark corner of the great temple, fills the vast vaults with unexpected resonances". From this point, he focuses on linking these sounds with those from imperial Spain again:

These are war calls from imperial Spain; calls that accompanied our exploits in the highest splendour of our military and conquering might. On hearing them, we imagine the symbolic reach of their content. They want to accompany, in the glorious resurrection to the immortality invoked by the Church, the soul of the hero who died to give new life to the fatherland freed from its secular legacy.

Otaño's emphasis suggests that the musical extremes of the burials of Spanish monarchs could serve as a reference for designing a ceremony in which he aimed to surpass the splendour of former times, albeit with a meaning now tied to the Falange and Franco:

The liturgical melodies appeal 'to the perpetual light'. The sounds of the imperial trumpets celebrate the bright star of immortal Spain that appears in the sky.

Never has a funeral ceremony of national mourning had greater liturgical splendour or a more magnificent external display as this one in El Escorial, on the day of the burial of the body of José Antonio at the foot of the altar where lies a king of Spain in whose dominions the sun never set.

The Falange, in tight unit formation in the patios and porticos of the monastery, gives free rein to their voices when the Caudillo leaves the temple. The anthem and the regimented shouting deafen the spaces, and the colossal Herrerian building is rocked by emotion.⁷⁹

We can interpret Otaño's leading role in this ceremony as a continuation of what he had been doing during the civil war. His career, in these years in service to a political party for which the fatherland was a religion, may seem contradictory given his position as a Jesuit, but he represents the church's reach into the political arena. In fact, in these first months after the conflict, his influence had been imposed upon that of other Falangist musicians, a sign of the Catholics' victory that would soon be felt in the new state. As Vicente Sánchez-Biosca shows

79 Otaño, "Los solemnisimos funerales de José Antonio en el Escorial," 12–13.

with regard to the film of the journey of José Antonio's remains, Otaño worked to root his figure "not so much in the history of Spain as in the imaginary Spain fantasized by the victors, that of the grandeur of the faith and the Empire".⁸⁰

Silences and Sounds in Propaganda

The propaganda campaign that had the relocation of Primo de Rivera's body at its center reached every corner of the country since, although the most important acts took place in Madrid and El Escorial, ceremonies were programmed in all Spanish localities. In every city, whatever was available was mobilized: for example, in Granada, the mayor wrote a letter to the Director of the Municipal Band on November 18, 1939, so that it would take part in the religious ceremony that was planned to occur in the Cathedral.⁸¹

The details of its dissemination through the press was not left to chance either. Thus, a memorandum ordered newspaper editors to "repress" the information in order to give it "maximum exposure" from the moment it the cortège arrived in Madrid. It was a question of not saturating the papers so that, when the culmination of the ceremony came about, "they would be in the right condition to be able to react to the importance of the final ceremony in dimension and category".⁸² As we have seen in the opening pages of this work, orders laid out the central elements for the composition of the discourses, and, therefore, the seamless homogeneity

80 Vicente Sánchez-Biosca, Vicente, "El 20-N o el azar en la Historia" ["November 20 or Chance in History"], in *España en armas: el cine de la Guerra Civil española. Ciclo de cine*, ed. Vicente Sánchez-Biosca (Valencia: Col.lecció Quaderns del MuVIM. Serie Minor, 2007), 80.

81 *Expediente de Cooperación del Ayuntamiento en los actos celebrados con motivo del III Aniversario de la muerte de José Antonio Primo de Rivera* [Record of City Hall Cooperation in the acts celebrated on the third anniversary of the death of José Antonio Primo de Rivera], 1939. C.02403. 0037. Festejos. Clas. 3.11.07.02, Archivo Municipal de Granada.

82 *Circular del Jefe de la Sección de Información de la Dirección General de Prensa a todos los jefes de prensa* [Memorandum from Information Section Chief Press Administration to all press editors], November 23, 1939. 1 madrugada. Expediente 104, (03)49.01 Caja 21/00075, AGA.

in all accounts and messages was an essential characteristic of this propaganda campaign.

The news articles sought to arouse emotional effects associated with sorrow and the war through written and visual reproduction of moving attitudes lived through extreme experiences that were both individual and collective. For example, the magazine *Fotos* included, in the same number devoted to the relocation of José Antonio's remains, many articles and a variety of photographs of the tributes to fallen artists and to the dead in Paracuellos del Jarama. The last showed women in mourning crying in the rain, as well as texts with the same emotional tone to those devoted to the founder of the Falange.⁸³

The *Radio Nacional* magazine published the accounts written by the main architects of the ceremonial and by the leading Falangists, and provided information on the coverage that the radio broadcaster had given of the ceremonies.⁸⁴ Luis Moure-Mariño has described the efforts undertaken by the broadcaster and the national telephone service to reach every corner of Spain, as well as the exacerbated sentiment – here as well – of the commentators, who aimed to transmit the elements of the soundscape:

Radio Nacional, at the service of the expectation and anxiety of all souls, arranged things in such a way that all Spaniards, even far away, could have a live impression – the most live possible – of the passage of the procession.

At every telephone post on the road, taking advantage of places for changeovers, the technical services of Radio Nacional and the company Telefonica installed microphones. Thanks to these, the commentator, moved by emotion, gave a live account of what he saw before him. And thus, not only could the changeovers be described, but the Spanish people could come to feel them,

83 “Por los artistas caídos. La misa de campaña en las ruinas de la madrileña iglesia de San Sebastián” [“For the fallen artists. The outdoor mass in the ruins of the Madrid church of San Sebastian”], *Fotos* 143 (November 25, 1939): 10; “Recuerdo de emoción y dolor. ¡Aquellos mártires de Paracuellos del Jarama!” [“Memory of emotion and sorrow. The martyrs of Paracuellos del Jarama!”], *Ibid.*, 24–25.

84 *Radio Nacional* 57 (December 9, 1939): published with reports and essays on José Antonio and the ceremony signed by the Falangist leaders and intellectuals: Serrano Suárez, Rafael Sánchez Mazas, Luis Moure-Mariño, Agustín de Foxá, Dionisio Ridruejo and de Dionisio Ridruejo.

perceiving the rhythmic steps of the procession, the prayers for the dead on the way and the cry of ‘José Antonio!’, to which the leader of the Falange that took charge of the bier answered, ‘Present!’.⁸⁵

The same writer sought a sound allegory to describe the role of the broadcaster: “Radio Nacional followed the procession and wanted to be like a great bell for Spain in order, on solemn days, to inform all Spaniards of the passage of the cortège”.⁸⁶ The very wide coverage of the magazine ends with conclusion of the broadcasting of Radio Nacional itself, giving absolute prominence to the music programmed by Otaño:

Lastly the broadcasting of the solemn funerary honours at El Escorial took place. Perhaps among all that it most exalts and values, the microphone should reveal the powerful tone of the liturgical music. Thus the chants at El Escorial sounded through the speakers of Spain with a reverberation of emotion that would be difficult to surpass. With the final words of the Caudillo – recorded elsewhere in this number – which concluded the acts with which the Fatherland honoured the memory of José Antonio, Radio Nacional brought its mission to a close, after ten days of informative labor.⁸⁷

Visual screening of the event was not forgotten either. The National Cinematography Department, part of the Spanish National Film Archive, made the film *¡Presente! En el enterramiento de José Antonio Primo de Rivera* [*Present! At the burial of José Antonio Primo de Rivera*],⁸⁸ described by Vicente Sánchez-Biosca as “a masterwork”.⁸⁹ The same author notes some elements already mentioned – the “rhythm” of the opening of the film, marked by the “procession movement” – and introduces an already noted musical nature: the Wagnerian music that, along with other ingredients such as the narrator’s diction, the uniforms or the photography, portrayed the atmosphere of mourning and “deep

85 Moure-Mariño, “Viviendo los hechos. De Alicante a San Lorenzo del Escorial” [“Living the Events: From Alicante to San Lorenzo del Escorial”], 10.

86 *Ibid.*, 10–11.

87 “‘Radio Nacional’ y la retransmisión de los actos en el entierro de José Antonio” [“‘Radio Nacional’ and the broadcasting of the events in the burial of José Antonio”], *Radio Nacional* 57 (December 9, 1939): 14.

88 Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ixXjupmYK14> (Visited 02-09-2021).

89 Sánchez-Biosca, “El 20-N o el azar en la Historia,” 82.

melancholy”.⁹⁰ The end of the film is striking: instead of finishing with the burial of José Antonio, it shows “a firmament filled with stars that twinkle like the bright stars foretold by the Falangist anthem”,⁹¹ after which José Antonio himself appears, in an old recording, talking to the camera, prophetically summarizing the slogans of his ideology. Unlike the ceremonial, the film concludes with the Falange anthem.

Considering music to be an important element of this commemoration both in its design and throughout its duration, and its dissemination in written, visual and radio media, was extended over time. In other studies, I have analysed the repertoire stipulated by the National Press Delegation to be broadcast by Radio Nacional in 1942 for the commemoration of José Antonio’s death. Bach and Wagner were featured along with other names of historical European music.⁹² Four years after the transfer of José Antonio’s remains, the memorandum that regulated the special programs planned for the seventh anniversary of his death stated: “(Background music: a movement from a Beethoven symphony could be appropriate; if possible, from the heroic)”.⁹³ Beethoven and Wagner were mainstays in the official ceremonies in the first post-war period, a fact that constitutes, likewise, a furtherance of what occurred during the conflict. Given that the music of the latter was programmed once the Falange’s moment of greatest influence had waned, we can conclude that the use of the works of such composers was measured according to the effectiveness they could have in the transmission of messages. This is a familiar repertoire that could contribute to the creation of tense contexts from the emotional point of view, along the same lines of what has been noted in studies concerning the musical programming of various celebrations in the early forties.⁹⁴

90 *Ibid.*

91 *Ibid.*, 83.

92 Pérez Zalduondo, “El imperio de la propaganda” [“The Empire of Propaganda”], 346.

93 *Emisión especial dedicada a José Antonio en el séptimo aniversario de su muerte* [Special broadcast devoted to José Antonio on the seventh anniversary of his death.] Subsecretaría de Educación Popular, Carpeta 62-110-13 (1944), AGA.

94 *Ibid.*

Conclusion

The sound and musical elements of the ceremonial associated with the exhumation, transport and burial of the remains of José Antonio Primo de Rivera were carefully programmed, and they were set up as the protagonists of the narratives and other propaganda media that sought to amplify their propagandistic purpose through the generation of an intense emotional impact, tightly linked to the collective and individual suffering derived from the war and put to the service of the victors.

Until the arrival at Madrid, the silence and sounds that formed part of the cult of the dead were given new meaning through their contact with visual aspects and the representation of power that was derived from the usurpation of the rural and urban spaces by the Falange and the church. The components of the soundscape during the journey of the coffin over many kilometres, from Alicante to Madrid, came from various sources, although they were brought together to represent the authority of the Falange, the Church and Franco, to connect Catholicism with Falangism, to suppress possible dissidents, and to generate a certain mood in the population.

Otaño contributed to the recreation of an imperial Spain partly through the construction of an epic and victorious narrative that encompasses the music of the period of the Catholic Monarchs up to the 18th-century *Marcha Granadera*, declared national in 1937. In the new history, this work symbolically represents the culmination of a glorious process that was reborn in the present thanks to Franco's victory. In this construction, the Jesuit makes no attempt to avoid exaggerations or inaccuracies that might aid his purpose, such as the invention of a title or category – “imperial cortège” – in order to convey the imperial and sorrowful meaning of the event.

Finally, from the point of view of sound, the totality of the ceremony can be interpreted as a synthesis of a “style” that the Falange designed and rehearsed as the war went on based on the use, appropriation and combination of elements from different origins – cultural traditions that were religious and secular, from general and local environments, Nazism, historical, pseudohistorical, symbolic and emotional – which they used depending on the moment, the place, the target and the purpose of the event.