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RIVERSIDE

Saeta: The Origins and Evolution of a Mourning Chant,
From Marchena to Concert Halls

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
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by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Saeta: The Origins and Evolution of a Mourning Chant,
From Marchena to Concert Halls

by

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The *saeta* is the most representative chant of popular devotion in southern Spain. It is an *a capella* song performed during annual Holy Week processions, though its texts may be either religious or secular. The origins of the chant are of great interest but lack historical certainty, since there are no written documents that substantiate them. Nevertheless, there is a wide variety of theories regarding its genesis, and these reflect the desire of various groups to lay claim to a renowned symbol of Andalusian identity. Many scholars have insisted on its Arabic and Jewish origins; others reject the Arab hypothesis and advocate for a pagan one; then there are proponents of its Roma or Byzantine roots. The very fact that the *saeta* excites debate about so many different potential origins strongly suggests that it may have come from or been influenced by *all* of those sources in one form or another. Several cultures have some type of mourning chant, which the *saeta* resembles, a fact that points to its universality.

In the context of Andalusian Holy Week, the *saeta* is an essential component that demonstrates the religious context, which over time has become an art. Hence, this whole

artistic complex of Holy Week celebrations, such as images, music, sensory stimuli, the public and the interpreters, very closely resembles an operatic or theatrical spectacle. Most probably that is the reason that the *saeta* has been incorporated into the works of many important Spanish classical composers. This has raised the *saeta*'s cultural profile beyond its traditional geographic and demographic limitations, unifying its multifaceted past with its broadly disseminated present.

The use that classical music composers made of the *saeta* in their pieces raises its importance to a vaster audience outside of its traditional geographic and cultural boundaries. The *saeta*'s many potential origins, which so strongly argue for its reflection of mourning chants in myriad cultures, endorse the universality of the emotions it evokes.

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Prelude

The first time that a friend of mine heard a *saeta*, he wanted to know all about this unfamiliar phenomenon. He was impressed by the emotional depth and intensity that its performance could evoke. I remember being similarly awed the first time that I heard a *saeta* during Holy Week in the streets of Seville, probably in the early 1990s.

Subsequently, as a professional violinist, and member of the Royal Symphonic Orchestra of Seville, I participated in an annual concert performing processional marches, which alternated with performances by guest *saeta* singers. The *saeta* had become a part of my life, not so much religious or spiritual, but cultural.

This work encompasses different aspects of my development as a scholar and a musician. My statements are not confessional, and my personal beliefs are not part of this study. However, my persona and my personal experiences are connected to the work. Apart from my artistic and professional ties to the *saeta*, some of my ancestors were Sephardic Jews, who were expelled from Spain in 1492.¹ Although I do not practice any world religion, I was born in an Orthodox Christian country, Bulgaria, and I was raised in Spain, a predominantly Catholic country. My familiarity with Christianity and Judaism, and the acceptance of both, does bias me toward any religious practice as a feature exclusive to one religion. This is where my standpoint will tend to differ from other opinions about the *saeta*. In particular, I have noticed an extensive culture of mourners in the countries around the Mediterranean Sea area, which adds to the plethora of different

¹ As we will see later in this work, one of the theories about the origin of the *saeta* is that it has Jewish roots.

theories about the roots of the *saeta*. However, whatever the foundation of the *saeta*, it is in southern Spain, and in that precise milieu that it flourished. Today, the *saeta* chant is most associated with and pretty much exclusive to the Holy Week processions.

Holy Week is Spain's most popular annual Catholic festivity. The week before Easter is dedicated to commemorating the passion and death of Jesus Christ, embodied in the liturgy that takes place during Passover.² The week is supplemented by another public manifestation that has become one of its main attractions: the religious processions. The entire phenomenon blends art, devotion, faith, and passion. Is an overwhelming sight to see a glut of people in the narrow streets of Seville and to hear the sound of hundreds of wind ensemble musicians accompanied by the intimidating and continuous beats of the drums.

A key element distinguishes the Holy Week processions in Andalusia. At a sudden moment, the procession stops; an immense silence engulfs the crowd, and from a nearby balcony, a chant pierces the air. It is the *saeta*. A devotee bursts suddenly into song, despite the musical instruments that are playing.

Even though the chant is exclusively associated with Catholicism, this musical expression seems to have a profound connection to humankind's most fundamental emotions. In the case of Andalusia's Holy Week *saeta* (also called flamenco *saeta*), it is directed at the images carried in procession through the city streets and squares. In

² One week before Easter, Spanish Catholic brotherhoods and fraternities commemorate the Passion of Christ by performing penance processions on the streets of almost every city and town in the country.

addition, this deep-rooted musical manifestation today enjoys a large degree of musical development as a style of flamenco, and it resembles many ancient cultural traditions.³

Outline

The *saeta* is a lament in the form of a song. It is a prayer chanted when someone dies, and it could be argued that it is a fixture in several countries and cultures. Some societies still retain that way of singing, and it is this idea that I want to emphasize here: The *saeta* is not a chant specific to Andalusia. The name is Spanish, as are the lyrics on which the melodies are constructed, but the singing itself, the essence of the expression of pain in the form of a chant, is something universal to human beings everywhere. Hence, I dare to claim that contrary to the prevailing theory that *saeta* is a form of flamenco. On the contrary, I believe that this phenomenon predates flamenco and is not just a form of flamenco, but a different genre entirely.

In the context of Andalusian Holy Week, the *saeta* is essential ritual music that demonstrates a religious essence, and which over time has become an art. Hence, this whole artistic complex of Holy Week activity, such as images, music, sensory stimuli, the public, and the interpreters, resembles in a very particular way an operatic or theatrical

³ “In the ancient societies of the Near East and the Mediterranean, there were professional mourners as well as unpaid ones. There is evidence to suggest that Greeks prized lament-singers who came from the east, especially from Persia...”. Evy Johanne Håland, *Women, Pain and Death: Rituals and Everyday Life on the Margins of Europe and Beyond* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 21.

spectacle. This may explain why the *saeta* has been incorporated into the works of many important Spanish and international classical composers.

Types of *saetas*

The first mention of the *saeta* as a song or chant appears in the seventeenth century, when various orders of monks developed events of intense religious instruction in Spain, called missions, during which prayerful chants called primitive or old *saetas* were used during processions.

The flamenco *saeta* has developed from the so-called “old *saeta*,” which chanters or *cantaores* developed into the flamenco style during the middle of the nineteenth century. As a result, performance of the *saeta* became more difficult to execute because of the melodic complexity of the flamenco style. Its performance became limited to professional *cantaores*, who had the necessary vocal abilities. Many of them were Roma. The elimination of non-professional performers led to the gradual abandonment of the old *saeta*. Nevertheless, that old *saeta* found ways to claim its place. First, it was preserved through establishment of *saeta* competitions, where awards were given for the performance in the traditional way of singing. Second, some classical composers used the melody of the old *saeta* as a source of inspiration for their compositions. And finally, the *saeta* survives today in a specialized school in the village of Marchena, near Seville, where the old style *saeta* is taught to the new generations.

Etymology

The word “*saeta*” may have its origin in the Latin: *sagitta*, meaning an arrow. Before the seventeenth century, the word was first used in texts related to actions of torture and punishment. Later in that century, the word *saeta* suddenly appears in the context of a song or a chant. Some authors see a relationship between the meaning in Latin and the figurative sense: “The *saeta* is shot from the throat of the one who sings during Holy Week towards the image of Christ or the Virgin Mary.”⁴ However, there is another theory: the Sevillian musicians and brothers Antonio and David Hurtado claim that the word may have come from the Arabic word *sawt*, which means “elaborated chant.”⁵

Musical form

Similar debate surrounds discussion about the possible origins. Moreover, the current form of the chant and the old version of it may or may not have a formal and melodic connection. Miguel Berlanga suggests that such a connection exists, and he uses both auditory and written sources to support his theory. Raquel Cantero, a flamencologist and *flamenco* singer disagrees: she argues that both chants, the old and the current, have no common link. According to her, there are two clearly differentiated types: *saeta flamenca* and *saeta antigua*.

⁴ Rafael López Fernández, *La Saeta* (Sevilla: Grupo Andaluz de Ediciones, Colección Cosas de Sevilla, 1981), 12.

⁵ *Sawt* means “elaborated chant” and Hurtado suggests that it could be the root for the Spanish *saeta*. Antonio Hurtado and David Hurtado, *La Llave de la Música Flamenca* (Sevilla: Signatura Ediciones, 2009), 241.

Motivations

There are a few recent publications about the *saeta*. Although many books have been published on flamenco, the *saeta* is still an issue in which only a specific type of reader is interested. The relationship between the *saeta* and the Holy Week and its connection to the death and resurrection of Christ, may explain the public's curiosity about this over the very determined period of time of the Holy Week holiday.

Despite the number of books on flamenco published in the 21st century, the *saeta* remains an issue that interests only a few scholars. Part of the academic discourse shows a tendency to use the *saeta* chant as a “symbol” of what can be described as a deep feeling of Andalusism.⁶ By using the chant only as a symbol, they tend to overlook its uniqueness and provide little insight and fail to advance our understanding of the phenomenon.⁷ Here, however, we will focus on the musical aspects of *saeta*, which will require globalized historical and sociological contextualization. In this dissertation, I strive to present an objective historical and musical look of the topic, without engaging in specific ideologies.

Summary

1. We will first make a meticulous study of the literature on the subject. We will then address our sources in terms of how they represent the different aspects of the study: historical features, cultural and social aspects, current use of the chant, different

⁶ Andalusian nationalism.

⁷ This is a sentiment of concern for the Andalusian identity and that claims the existence of an Andalusian nation, besides a big esteem or admiration for the culture and traditions of Andalusia.

perspectives such as: academic and non-academic, local, and non-local. In addition to assembling information from periodical and newspaper libraries, I have searched for sources in Spain, and I have assembled books in terms of which authors defend a certain provenance of the *saeta*. Foreign sources consulted have taken me to such diverse and far-flung writers as the Pakistani Aziz Balouch and the German Mariam Müllerburg.

2. Once I have detailed the material, I will assemble theoretical arguments and then practical (auditory) examples in defense of my initial thesis. I will conduct a musical analysis and compare the results to the auditory examples (recordings).

3. I will analyze scores of classical works in which a *saeta* is present, by composers such as Joaquín Turina, Isaac Albéniz, Enrique Granados, Ruperto Chapí, or Domenico Scarlatti. Some formal similarities will be proved from the Holy Week *saeta* in some work of composition, and I will establish the connections.

4. I have conducted several personal interviews with *saeta* singers such as: Manuel Cuevas, Angelita Yruela, Roberto Narváez, and Raquel Cantero.

5. I describe a radio program, a *saeta* contest, and two concerts with a symphony orchestra and take into consideration my years of attendance at Holy Week processions in the city of Seville.

6. I traveled to Granada and Hamburg to work with the sources *in situ*. I also visited the town of Marchena, where I made recordings of students and teachers at its School of *Saetas*. The work *in situ* includes a visit to a synagogue in Seville.

Background

One of the purposes of the Holy Week *saeta* is to convey the interpreter's prayers, their pleading, or their praise, to the almighty. Supplication or confession may also manifest the singer's state of mind, transmitted through singing. An old type of *saeta* chant still endures in Andalusian villages such as Castro del Río, Puente Genil, Cabra, Arcos de la Frontera, or Marchena. However, there have been no academic studies on this traditional musical manifestation. The speculations about their origin are various, and their authors have different degrees of academic thoroughness or impartiality.

Organization of Chapters

This work dedicates some chapters to presentation of various aspects of the *saeta*. Chapters one and two study the local manifestation of the chant in Seville. Chapter three looks at the presence of the *saeta* in different musical genres, such as classical music, and chapter four focuses on the *saeta* in other musical genres. Because of the lack of available documentation, some aspects of the topic cannot at this time be completely clarified; other aspects can be easily studied. We will see that today, the *saeta* exists in many different forms: it is performed in Andalusia during the Holy Week processions; it is taught to new generations, it inspires classical music pieces, and some experimental performances attempt to develop it and bring it to a modern understanding about gender equality. Until the nineties, a female performance of a *saeta* was less popular than a male performance. However, things are changing. This suggests fodder for much more research regarding this aspect of the topic.

Holy Week

Chapter one will give an overview of the history of the Holy Week processions in Seville and Marchena. The social structure and the cultural influences will aid in creating a framework for comprehending the *saeta*. We will see the historical connections between Seville and Marchena and the factors that influenced the development of the *saeta* chant in Marchena.

Origins

Chapter two will go over the possible origins of the chant. Since it is fair to say that the *saeta* is a musical manifestation of oral transmission, no documentation and evidence contains decisive and conclusive statements. Nevertheless, several sources allow us to make an approximation of its possible origin and historical evolution. Many scholars have insisted on its Arabic or Jewish origins; others advocate for a Persian or pagan hypothesis.

Supporters of the Arabic origin of the *saeta* maintain that the melodic line and the meter come from the muezzin's call to prayer. Examples of *saeta*-like songs appear in several Muslim countries such as Tunisia, Syria, or Pakistan. In Spain, this chant was introduced during Hispanic-Arab ethnic fusion⁸.

Supporters of the *saeta*'s Jewish roots theory⁹ agree that such chants were performed in synagogues. On the one hand, another theory asserts that the *cante jondo*

⁸ Between 711 and 1492 Hispanic-Arabs coexisted in Andalusia. Jose Luis Venegas, *The Sublime South: Andalusia, Orientalism, and the Making of Modern Spain* (Northwestern University Press, 2018), 3.

⁹ Rafael Manzano, J. Carlos de Luna, Medina Azara, or Jizary Ibn Kutayar.

was based on the songs of the synagogues, and in turn, was the basis for the later flamenco chant.¹⁰ On the other hand, Jizary Ibn Kutayar speculates that the *saetas* were used by the converted Jews to reaffirm themselves in their newly adopted Christian religion. This might explain why *saetas* are reminiscent of the synagogue chants. After the introduction of the Inquisition in 1481 and the expulsion in 1492 of the Jews, some converted to Christianity and remained in Spain.

Two prominent theories seek to explain the origin of the *saetas*. A Christian theory, supported mostly by Fray Diego de Valencina, asserts that Arabs who were expelled from Andalusia moved to Mesopotamia or Syria, where they performed music from Andalusia. The so-called Pagan theory, presented by Agustín Gómez, connects the rituals of the Catholic Church to the ancestral festivals, the most archaic forms of pre-Christian rites dedicated to nature.¹¹ Gómez links the *saeta*, as part of Andalusian folklore, to rituals that represent procreation.¹²

This exposition of the *saeta* chant has been designed to highlight this unique Andalusian phenomenon. However, there are several aspects to this study, and the possible origins of the chant are not the main subject. My principal focus is on the use and performance of the music, the *saeta* as an inspirational device, and the similarities to chants outside Spain. The *saeta* has the effect of a musical arrow directed at the listeners

¹⁰ Madina Asara here refers to a Jewish song called “Jomtov” and connects the etymology of “jondo” with it. Azara, Medina (Maximiliano José Kahn). “Sefarat Tierra de Promisión. ¿Por qué no hay Judíos en España?” *Gaceta Literaria* (Enero 1930).

¹¹ Agustín Gómez, *Cantes y Estilos del Flamenco*. (Córdoba: Servicios de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Córdoba, 2003), 97.

¹² Ibid.

in such a way that it reminds them of emotions common to all people. Although the complexity of its origins is considerable, this research will show how this musical expression (in some places called *saeta*, and in others with a different name), is more common to humankind than previously thought.

Saetas* in Marchena and Types of *Saeta

In 1915, writer and poet Agustín Aguilar y Tejera found a notebook in the town of Marchena containing 468 stanzas written in quatrains. It was an “authentic poem of a Passion” of Christ and Aguilar y Tejera connected those stanzas to the old *saetas*.¹³ At a time of the year when theatrical performances and comedies were banned, the people needed a source of entertainment. For this reason, the use of the “passion sermons,” which in the 18th century began to be preached outdoors, in squares or in atriums of temples, incited participation, and therefore the union of the people in a common understanding of their faith. The narrative of the passion of Christ required a religious leader, who later became a simple narrator and people who represented the other characters in the depiction of the passion and crucifixion of Christ, such as Pilate, an Angel, the Marias, etc. These representations, which possibly included the old *saetas*, were called “sacred drama” and were performed in several towns around Seville, and some of them, such as the one in Marchena, remain to this day.

¹³ Agustín Aguilar y Tejera, *Saetas Populares*. Madrid: Compañía Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones, 1916.

The religious brotherhoods attached to the churches provided an ideal opportunity for ordinary people to participate in Holy Week. Social anthropologist Joaquín Rodríguez Mateos calls them a “punta de lanza”¹⁴ for the benefit of the Catholic Church.¹⁵ They had an enormous role in the social-religious life of Andalusia. Despite this, the regional popularity enjoyed by the brotherhoods was viewed with concern by officials and enlightened authority, who feared losing control of the religious message.¹⁶

Most likely, *saetas* came to the city of Seville from the town of Marchena. This is confirmed, although not in a written form, by testimony that the *saetas* interpreted at the beginning of the twentieth century in Seville received the name of “marcheneras.”¹⁷ According to Agustín Gómez, during the sixteenth century the town was occupied by small farmers, called *mayetes*, and Moors.¹⁸ These two groups were affected by the method of land distribution, which favored the *mayetes* since they complied with the norms of the Catholic Church. All those who disagreed with this method of distribution left the village. They were all Moorish and *felah-mengu* or exiled land workers. The *mayetes* then founded religious brotherhoods, in Marchena, in which they sang *saetas* (*quintas* and *sextas*). These verses were probably used by the Catholic Church to evangelize Andalusia’s Moorish people. We conclude that the *saeta* could have

¹⁴ The point of the spear.

¹⁵ Joaquín Rodríguez Mateos, *Las cofradías y las luces: ilustración y Reforma en la crisis del Barroco* (Ayuntamiento de Sevilla. Instituto de la Cultura y las Artes, 2006), 62. The translation is “tip of an arrow”, which could be very symbolic when speaking about *saeta*, since it is also called by some authors a “musical arrow.”

¹⁶ There were attempts to diminish their power by submitting them under civil and religious jurisdiction, although this provoked a conflict of powers that ended up giving back control to the brotherhoods.

¹⁷ From Marchena. Lopez Fernandez, 46.

¹⁸ Gómez, 46.

developed in several ways and to have given rise to many types of *saeta*. But one thing is certain: the *saeta* established itself as an important part of the Andalusian musical tradition.

Classical Composers Using *Saetas*

In chapter three, I discuss the use of *seata* as an inspiration for classical music works. From the third quarter of the nineteenth century, Spanish composers began to be infected by a surge in feelings of nationalism. Some of Spain's most important classical composers included *saetas* in their works.¹⁹ Thus, the *saeta* song acquired the status of classical music. The composer Francisco Asenjo Barbieri was the forerunner in using popular music in Spanish staged works. Both Barbieri's *zarzuela grande* and *zarzuela chica* used folkloric elements. But it was his *Pan y Toros* (1864) and *Barberillo de Lavapiés* (1874) that represented his best endeavors to return Spanish music to national prominence after centuries of foreign portrayals of Spain.²⁰ In his 1857 zarzuela, *El Relámpago*, Barbieri used the word *saeta* in a poem.

In 1874, Eduardo Ocón composed a collection of songs: *Cantos Españoles. Colección de Aires Nacionales y Populares Formada e Ilustrada con Notas Explicativas y Biográficas*. He included a *saeta* in that collection.²¹ Later, in 1886, Isaac Albéniz

¹⁹ Professor Gerhard Steingress, in his *Sociología del Cante Flamenco* (Sevilla: Signatura Ediciones, 1993), 93, 94, uses Manuel de Falla and Joaquín Turina as two examples of classical composers, who wrote about the *saeta*, although he does not refer to the musical works those two composers created using music of old *saeta*.

²⁰ Manuel de Falla, *Escritos sobre música y músicos, Debussy, Wágner, el "cante jondo,"* Colección austral, 950 (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe, 1950), 38.

²¹ Suzanne Rhodes Draayer, *Art Song Composers of Spain: An Encyclopedia* (Scarecrow Press, 2009), 224.

composed his *Suite española no. 1*, in which he originally intended to include a work entitled “Cádiz (Saeta).” In 1905 he composed the “El Corpus Cristi en Sevilla” (Corpus Christi in Seville), one of twelve pieces in his piano suite *Iberia*.²² Tomás Bretón’s²³ *Escenas andaluzas* (“Andalusian Scenes”), from 1894, contains in the third movement an interpretation by the English horn apparently inspired by a popular *saeta*. Bretón also composed a song collection based on poetry of G. A. Becquer in *Seis Poesías de Gustavo A. Becquer*. The first one is titled “Saeta Que Voladora.” In November 1898 in Madrid, Granados premiered his opera *María del Carmen*, in which he used a *saeta* during the procession scene.²⁴ The name of the scene is “Virgen Santísima de la Fuensanta.”²⁵ Less than a month later, in December 1898, a Ruperto Chapí stage piece, *Curro Vargas*, premiered in Madrid. The piece has been labeled either opera or zarzuela. *Curro Vargas* is the story of a love triangle that evokes Mascagni at some points, especially in the third act.²⁶ In 1923, a movie was made with the same name. The end of the second act holds particular interest to us. The play is divided into three parts and in the second part Soledad sings a *saeta*. The *saeta* is suddenly interrupted by the scream of Curro. Ruperto Chapí uses a *saeta* in the second act of his lyric drama *Curro Vargas*.²⁷

²² Nelson R. Orringer, *Lorca in Tune with Falla: Literary and Musical Interludes* (University of Toronto Press, 2014), 86.

²³ Ramón Sobrino Sánchez, “Pintoresquismo y andalucismo en Tomás Bretón: Las Escenas andaluzas” in *La Musique netre France et Espagne: 1870-1939* ed. Louis Jambou (Paris: L’Université de Paris-Sorbonne Presses, 2003), 215.

²⁴ https://youtu.be/KZ4B5T89t_g

²⁵ Some authors (for instance, Raquel Cantero) mention the piece “Dios te Salve Macarena” as the *saeta* in *Maria del Carmen*. However, this is not at all accurate. The score and recording of the opera clearly show that the only part that could be considered as a *saeta*, because there are sources that confirm its existence, is the *Virgen Santísima de la Fuensanta* aria, performed by a choir and a tenor solo.

²⁶ Luis G. Iberní, *Ruperto Chapí* (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1995), 310.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 302, 310. <https://youtu.be/vnmV-LHZb7E> (min. 1:19:50).

For several decades during the nineteenth century, and influenced by nationalistic ideas, Felipe Pedrell collected and transcribed popular Spanish chants. In 1900, he published his *Cancionero de la música española*.²⁸ The composer included in the collection some notated *saetas* that a chanter had sung for him in Seville. That recompilation of traditional Spanish chants was an important part of his work as a composer. He wanted to preserve the purity of popular music, at a time when a new movement in Spain was arising, and according to some, was introducing contaminating elements into the traditional style.

Pedrell's work on transcribing the *saeta*, based on nationalist and patriotic feelings, was preceded by a Domenico Scarlatti composition. In the book *La llave de la música flamenca*, the Hurtado brothers try to organize Spanish music and its precedents. The piece that they connect to the *saeta* chant is his sonata K 490, which was inspired by a *saeta* chant. However, the piece does not suggest a chant or sung a prayer, as we would expect of a piece that uses that title.

Joaquín Turina²⁹ shaped the melodies of those primitive *saetas* in several of his works.³⁰ Among them is the second movement of the *Seville suite*, titled *El Jueves Santo a medianoche* (On Holy Thursday at Midnight), as well as the parts *Semana Santa*, included in *Canto a Sevilla* (Song to Seville), and *Saeta* in the form of a Salve to the “Virgen de la Esperanza” (Virgin of Hope”) from his work *Poema en forma de canciones*

²⁸ Felipe Pedrell, *Cancionero musical popular español* (Barcelona: E. Castells, 1900).

²⁹ Steingress, *Sociología del Cante Flamenco*, 104.

³⁰ José Luis García del Busto, *Turina* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1981), 138.

(Poem in form of songs).³¹ There is also a *saeta* in Turina's lyrical comedy *Margot*, which premiered in 1914.³²

As for instrumental *saetas*, in 1926, Joaquín Nin Castellanos composed a collection of songs called *Veinte cantos populares españoles* and included a *Saeta*.³³ Later, he transcribed the *saeta* for violin and piano.³⁴

Spanish composer Manuel de Falla and his colleagues cherished an idealized view of flamenco as a vehicle for the 'purity' and 'sobriety' of ethnic expression.³⁵ In order to preserve the purity of the music, Falla organized in 1922 a competition in Granada, where non-professional singers would perform the so-called *cante jondo* (deep chant, part of which was the *saeta*).³⁶ He also used the melody of the *cante jondo* as a source of inspiration.

The juxtaposition of *cante jondo* vs Flamenco is unclear.³⁷ Some sources described the *cante jondo* as the vocal expression of flamenco before the playing and the

³¹ Draayer, *Art Song Composers of Spain*, 329.

³² Antonio Fernández-Cid, *Cien años de teatro musical en España, (1875-1975)* (Madrid: Real Musical, 1975), 517.

³³ Draayer, *Art Song Composers of Spain*, 389.

³⁴ Rogelio Villar, *Músicos españoles: compositores, directores, concertistas, críticos. II* (Madrid: Hernando, 1927).

³⁵ Carol A. Hess, *Sacred Passions: The Life and Music of Manuel de Falla* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 128

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 130.

³⁷ It may be a challenge to try to define those terms here, and this may not even be the place to do it, however, it is very hard to understand how, today, the *saeta* is primarily called a *flamenco saeta*, and defined as part of the flamenco, when *cante jondo* is such an important part of that development. And by investigating further into that issue, it appears that there is proof that emotional depth existed much earlier than when the term flamenco came into use. If the term *cante jondo* is omitted, then it may be easier to see a gap between old *saeta* and flamenco *saeta* and stretch the understanding that, although the name is the same, in essence they are two completely different things. The Franciscan monks did not perform *saetas* with the same passion as the flamenco is performed, but *cante jondo* means deep chant, and those deep emotions may result from pain and lament, and not necessarily passion.

dancing. Other sources define the *cante jondo* as the chant performed by the Roma; yet other sources describe it as part of Flamenco, whereas some scholars try to make a definition by location in Spain, asserting that the flamenco is localized in Andalusia, and *cante jondo* has been specifically performed by parts of the population. To date, no one has tackled the task of defining the term accurately. In Andalusia, there has been a tendency to call everything flamenco, and the nominal exchange can be misleading. Federico García Lorca gave a lecture on Cante Jondo, in which he made a distinction between Flamenco and Cante Jondo marked by the musical structure, antiquity and spirit of these two art forms:

*“The essential difference between Cante Jondo and Flamenco is that the origins of the former are to be found in the primitive music systems of India, while Flamenco (a consequence of Cante Jondo) does not acquire its definitive form until the eighteenth century.”*³⁸

Other Saetas

Chapter four will analyze the presence of female singers in the *saeta* performance. I will also present the *saeta* in different music genres. The *Saeta* by Joan Manuel Serrat or India Martínez, based on the poetry of Antonio Machado with the same name, is an example how the *saeta* has infused the popular culture of Spain.³⁹

³⁸ <https://antonicuevas.blogspot.com/2010/10/flamenco-y-cante-jondo.html>

Translation: Federico García Lorca da una conferencia sobre Cante Jondo. En ella, el poeta hace una distinción entre el Flamenco y el Cante Jondo marcada por la estructura musical, la antigüedad y el espíritu de estas dos formas artísticas: “La diferencia esencial entre el Cante Jondo y el Flamenco es que los orígenes del primero hay que buscarlos en los sistemas de la música primitiva de la India, mientras que el Flamenco (una consecuencia del Cante Jondo) no adquiere su forma definitiva hasta el siglo XVIII.”

³⁹ Raquel Cantero Díaz, “La *saeta* en Extremadura.” Although the *saeta* is popular in Andalusia, outside of Spain its impact has not been evaluated to the same extent. Some documents describe the use of old *saetas*

The *saeta* also became widely known in the United States in 1965 because of Carlos Montoya's recording of it, arranged for solo flamenco guitar.⁴⁰ In Spain, Montoya was never considered to be one of Spain's guitar greats because flamenco purists rejected him for his technical shortcomings. Ironically, however, it was precisely thanks to him and his innovative way of performing the *saeta* chant on the guitar that the American public became familiar with it. This chapter will go over other examples of the use of *saetas*, such as film music or humoristic sketches.⁴¹

Conclusions

Some details surrounding the topic will be never clarified, however, other aspects will become clearer and put into the right context. For instance, who owns the *saeta*? What are the many different theories about the *saeta*'s origins, suggesting that it may have associations with all those influences in one way or another. We have seen that today, the *saeta* survives in many different forms: it is performed in Andalusia during the processions of Holy Week; it is taught to new generations; it inspires classical music

by the Jesuits in Latin-American countries, such as Peru, Ecuador, Mexico, among others. Those *saetas* received the name of *saetillas*, and often could be accompanied by instruments.

⁴⁰ Carlos Montoya came from a family of Andalusian musicians and started performing when he was young and was able to earn money by himself. He entered the circle of flamenco-guitar accompanists and toured actively. He gave his first U.S. concerts in 1934 and continued to travel around the country for the next six years. But when the Germans invaded France in 1940, he chose to settle permanently in the U.S. By the 1960s, rock 'n' roll had deeply influenced guitar technique, and Montoya participated in that revolution. For example, he introduced the technique of imitating the sound of a drum accompanying the Holy Week *saeta* on his guitar (by twisting the sixth string above the fifth). That technique sounded exotic, and nobody in the U.S. had considered using it until then. He eventually became a mass-mediated celebrity in popular culture, thus preparing the ground for successors such as Paco de Lucía and The Gipsy Kings.

⁴¹ Throughout modern history, the Holy Week *saetas* have been a source of inspiration for composers, film directors, and researchers. For instance, the Bulgarian film *Osudeni Dushi* (Doomed Souls) used a *saeta* as an artistic expression of the suffering depicted in the movie. The movie "*Osudeni Dushi*." <https://youtu.be/woMONnrsYbE>

pieces, and some experimental performances have tried to develop it and bring to it a modern understanding regarding gender equality performance. Until the nineties, a female performance of a *saeta* was not as enthusiastically applauded as a male performance. However, things are starting to change. This suggests additional areas of research in the future.

The *saeta* has the effect of a musical arrow directed at the audience that touches the listeners in such a way that it reminds them of commonly experienced emotions. Although the complexity of its origins is considerable, my research will show how this musical expression (in some places called *saeta*, and in others called by a different name), is more common to humankind than generally thought.

Specialized vocabulary:⁴²

To better understand the discussion of the *saeta*, some terms will be explained.

Cantaor: An artist who sings flamenco.

Cofradía: A group of the faithful who organize themselves to do penance and perform certain services related to worship. Confraternity.

Cófrade: Someone who belongs to a brotherhood or confraternity.

Hermanidad: Brotherhood, fraternity.

Paso: Each of the representations (floats) of the Passion of Christ (and of the Virgen) that the brotherhoods carry in procession. Floats may be described as *pasos de palio* and as *pasos de Cristo*. Those floats that carry the crucified person of Christ are known as of the Nazarene (if he goes with the Cross on his shoulder); of Calvary (if it is a crucifixion scene); of mystery (if the scene is outside Mount Calvary) and of tribunal (if they show the different trials of Jesus). On the other hand, there are *pallium pasos*, which are those that carry the Virgen. This is not true in the case of the *Soledad de San Lorenzo*, which carries a representation of the Virgen, but does not have a canopy.

Palio: Cover supported by the canopy of the Virgen's *pasos*. By extension this name is given to the entire *paso* of the Virgen.

⁴² https://sevilla.abc.es/pasionensevilla/noticias-semana-santa-sevilla/sevi-diccionario-cofrade-semana-santa-2012-201103081650_noticia.html

Costaleros: Men from the brotherhood who carry the *paso* or *palio*.

Capillitas: Holy Week celebration enthusiasts

Ayes: The “ay” of the chant that is the ritual and sacred cry of the *jondo*.

Cante jondo: The Andalusian chant of deep feeling. The term “*jondo*” is the Andalusian dialectal form of the word “*hondo*,” meaning “deep.”

Saetero/a: a *saeta* singer.

CHAPTER 1

The Holy Week Celebrations: A Background of Seville and Marchena

*Por la Saeta, la divina composición
de la cara y de la careta, están
unidos
eternamente españoles y judíos.*⁴³

Medina Azara

(Maximiliano José Kahn)

When someone visits Southern Spain for the first time, particularly Andalusia, and witnesses the Holy Week processions, it is always a memorable experience. The emotional encounter with that region's religious practices is even more enhanced if the visitor hears a *saeta*. There are two diametrically opposite types of responses to that chant: a complete rejection of what is being heard, or the longing to know and hear more of it. But no one is indifferent: the *saeta* touches a profound element in human emotions, provoking a state of either revulsion or attraction.

To understand the importance of the *saeta* chant as an expression of a profound universal emotion, regardless of religion, this work will ask: What can be understood as a religious practice and what is secular expression? The answer to this question will create

⁴³ *La Gaceta Literaria*, no. 80 (April 4, 1930). Hemeroteca Digital. Biblioteca Nacional de España, 13, accessed February 14, 2023, <http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/hd/es/viewer?id=206ecd16-6b36-472d-9ea6-285caf329fb8>. The end of the sentence is “...y no hay hoguera que queme este lazo” (“... and there is no stake that will burn this bond”).

a framework for better understanding the musical practice that will be discussed. Initially, we will provide a general overview, and gradually shift the focus to the specific subject of this research, which is the *saeta* chant performed during Holy Week processions in Seville, the capital of the region of Andalusia, Southern Spain.⁴⁴

A general view of religion will give some clues on how religiosity and its expression play out in Spanish and Andalusian culture, the ultimate focus of our interest in the *saeta*. The view of sociologist Meredith McGuire, and her idea of “lived religion” will help us understand contemporary performance of the *saeta*. According to McGuire, in the last few decades, societal perception of religion and many of its basic concepts have changed. McGuire proposes studying individuals and their practices to understand religious beliefs.⁴⁵ “Religious behavior involves treating sacred places, time, and objects with a sense of profound respect.”⁴⁶ We would add music to that list as it is a practice that reveals religious belief enacted through ritual and sound.

In terms of Christianity, ethnomusicologists Suzel Reily and Jonathon Dueck point out that it is a “truth regime . . . opposed to politics and promotes salvation and protection to the saved.”⁴⁷ This was the rationale for the missionary activities of religious

⁴⁴ It must be pointed out that Seville, the capital of the Andalusian region and one of the largest venues for Holy Week processions (a Catholic practice during the week preceding Easter), is connected to European music by the more than 100 musical works that the city has inspired. A study of the *saeta* chant will help to better understand the origins of this musical inspiration.

⁴⁵ Meredith B. McGuire. *Lived Religion: Faith and Practice in Everyday Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁴⁷ Suzel Ana Reily, Jonathan M. Dueck, *The Oxford Handbook of Music and World Christianities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

orders, which became an important aspect of Christianity in Spain. Missionaries used, and still use, music in two ways: the exploitation of music as a powerful instrument for messaging and directing actions based on an emotional response; to set boundaries that create an imaginary safe space for the people practicing a specific religious tradition. The boundaries may differentiate between the sacred and the profane, and those boundaries have changed over time.⁴⁸ It is in such an environment where one aspect of the *saeta* chant could have been developed. Specifically, the *saetas* that originated during the missions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had the specific purpose of educating, guiding, and even chastising the populace. As we will see later, the word *saeta* was used in religious texts⁴⁹ to denote physical punishment with arrows. That may suggest that using a word for an arrow to describe that chant was, indeed, initially intended to be punitive.

The processions that were integrated into the religious practice of various holy orders are the predecessors of those that take place during Holy Week,⁵⁰ Catholic practices have changed over the years. Catholicism in Southern Spain differs from Catholicism in other parts of the world in terms of the components of religious practices. Maguire, for instance, studying Catholicism in the U.S., found some segments of the

⁴⁸ McGuire, *Lived Religion*, 30.

⁴⁹ José de Barcia y Zambrana, *Despertador christiano de sermones doctrinales sobre particulares assumptos: dispuesto para que buelva en su acuerdo el pecador y vença el peligroso letargo de sus culpas animandose à la penitencia* (por Juan Garcia Infanzon, 1693).

⁵⁰ Timothy Mitchell, *Passional Culture: Emotion, Religion, and Society in Southern Spain* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 42.

church that were critical of the papacy. McGuire realized that even under one name, affiliation, or organizational participation, religion can mean many different things.

Although Spain no longer includes an official religion in its constitution,⁵¹ Catholicism remains the majority religion, and many aspects of it are deeply embedded within institutions, culture, and traditional practices.⁵² Indeed, the difference between laic or non-denominational is not very clear and has been a topic of discussion among the population in Spain.⁵³

Catholicism is practiced by more than 60% of the population. And the privileged position of this religion in Spain is demonstrated in its relationship with the Vatican, with which Spain maintains a state-to-state relationship grounded in deep historical tradition.⁵⁴ No surprise then, that much of public life in Andalusia is put on hold during Holy Week to make way for the religious processions.

Historically, missionary practices in Southern Spain have been more ingrained than in the north. Indeed, different regions approach religious festivities differently. Spanish Professor Timothy Mitchell suggests, a division in Spanish character or popular

⁵¹ *Asimismo, la referida Ley 15/2015, de 2 de julio, ha modificado el artículo 7 de las Leyes 24/1992, 25/1992 y 26/1992, de 10 de noviembre, por las que se aprueban, respectivamente, los Acuerdos de Cooperación del Estado con la Federación de Entidades Religiosas Evangélicas de España, con la Federación de Comunidades Judías de España y con la Comisión Islámica de España.*

⁵² According to article 16.3 of the Spanish Constitution, Spain is a non-denominational nation and not a laic one.

⁵³ Ministerio de Justicia, *Jornadas Jurídicas Sobre Libertad Religiosa en España* (Ministerio de Justicia, 2013). Según el artículo 16.3 de la Constitución Española, España es una nación aconfesional, que no laica. Este apartado afirma que “ninguna confesión tendrá carácter estatal.”

⁵⁴ José Manuel Cuenca Toribio, “Las Relaciones Entre La Iglesia y El Estado En La España Democrática,” in *Religión y Sociedad En España (Siglos Xix y Xx)*, ed. Paul Aubert, Collection de La Casa de Velázquez (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2017), 55–73, <http://books.openedition.org/cvz/2758>.

thought exists, reflected in the geographical separation of north and south. Mitchell claims that stoicism, a Northern Spanish characteristic, is reflected in the tradition of popular proverbs (*refranes*), whereas the passionate south is reflected musically and poetically in the *coplas* or short verses or songs that reflect emotions.

The *refranes* tend to depict agricultural scenes in which humans are powerless before the forces of nature, leaving them as mere observers and enforcing an attitude of conformity to their fate and adaptation, as an only mode of survival. The anonymous lyric *coplas*, in contrast, are sung in a variety of rhythms and melodies replete with emotions. The *refranes* eschew emotion and retreat into distanced observation that rejects the highs and lows of the *coplas*' passionate extravagance. Such emotionalism is a fundamental element that constitutes southern Spain's mentality, from which, the *coplas* are a major artistic expression. While *coplas* differ from *saetas*, they help us to understand the chant within the context of Andalusian religious processions.

Brotherhoods

To understand the context in which the *saetas* are performed, let's consider the structure of the Holy Week events specifically in Andalusia. In the capital of Andalusia, Seville, the Holy Week celebration commemorates the Passion of Christ with processions organized by the *Cofradías de la Pasión*. In Spain, these brotherhoods or any association that puts itself under the protection of one of the saints are called *hermandades* or *confradías*. In contrast to earlier times, when these brotherhoods attracted men from specific professions (e.g., a fisherman's brotherhood), today they admit men from many

different professions and backgrounds.⁵⁵ Groups dedicate themselves to a particular religious figure – Christ, the Virgin, or the relic of a Saint. Penitential brotherhoods are those that perform public penance or punishment for some failing during the procession.⁵⁶

The *Cofradías de la Pasión* are “organized around the annual public commemoration of the cult of the crucified Christ.”⁵⁷ There is a direct relationship between the fourteen scenes from the stations of the Cross (a devotion common in Catholic churches before Easter) and the stops that the processions make in Seville. In the sixteenth century, the Marquis of Tarifa traveled to Jerusalem and brought back to Seville a copy of the exact distance between the stops Jesus is supposed to have made between the Palace of Pontius Pilate and the place of his crucifixion, a journey called the *Via crucis*.⁵⁸ The brotherhoods then modeled their processions on that structure.

Initially, Holy Week was an exclusively religious practice but in time, particularly in Andalusia, it became a *fiesta* that embraced the playful and joyful character of Andalusians.⁵⁹ This religious-secular festivity has grown and flourished in Seville over the last three decades to the point where there is no differentiation between the religious

⁵⁵ Appendix XX shows the list of the existent brotherhoods in the city of Seville compared to the number of brotherhoods in the town of Marchena. In Seville the number is 168, and in Marchena the number is 9.

⁵⁶ “Semana Santa 2017: ¿Qué diferencias hay entre Cofradías y Hermandades,” okdiario.com, April 2, 2017, <https://okdiario.com/semana-santa/semana-santa-2017-diferencias-cofradias-hermandades-880391>.

⁵⁷ Mitchell, *Passional Culture*, 42.

⁵⁸ Pascual Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España y sus posesiones de ultramar* (Madoz, 1849), 349.

⁵⁹ Salvador Rodríguez Becerra and Salvador Hernández González, *La Semana Santa en Caminos de Pasión: guía histórica, artística y antropológica: la Semana Mayor en Alcalá la Real, Baena, Cabra, Carmona, Écija, Lucena, Osuna, Priego de Córdoba, Puente Genil y Utrera* (Asociación para el Desarrollo Turístico de la Ruta Caminos de Pasión, 2019), 11.

and the secure aspects of Andalusian Holy Week. Today, Holy Week encompasses social, economic, and political aspects providing a profound economic boost for the region.⁶⁰ This evolution has affected the performance of the *saeta*, which now has a sacred and a secular manifestation. Music is one of the main attractions of Holy Week and one that participants treasure the most. Both religious and secular components to the festival have influenced these chants and their popularity. The chants' religious characteristics are only performed during Holy Week and reflect the faith and emotions of the singer. The secular characteristics are reflected in the melodies and settings (they are generally performed from balconies), the organization of the contracts and the payment to the performers, and the prestige.

Social anthropologist J. Rodríguez Mateos, director of the Archivo General de Andalucía, explains the intrinsic characteristics and customs of this observance.

*In Seville, a city with strong traditions, Catholic/religious brotherhoods have been the main bastion of traditional associations. They play an important role in the structuring of society contributing to the development of social activities within it. The representation of religious imagery and ritual action developed by these institutions created/produced around itself a major general interaction between people and social groups. This encouraged a certain ritualized behavior against religious symbols on the one hand, and on the other, was able to establish an extensive network of solidarity between individuals and social groups.*⁶¹

⁶⁰ In the Holy Week holidays of 2019, the city of Seville invested 9 million euros, and gained from the festivities 400 million euros.

https://cadenaser.com/emisora/2019/04/10/radio_sevilla/1554895916_502605.html

⁶¹ Rodríguez Mateos, *Las Cofradías*, 58.

The membership in the brotherhoods or *cofradías* involve a cross-section of Seville society. Social anthropologist Salvador Rodríguez Becerra describes the *cofradías* as associations of laypersons under “ecclesiastical jurisdiction,” extremely well organized and with a very prompt response in case of a need.⁶² The fact that the holiday and every aspect surrounding this event involves powerful economic forces, naturally implicates all layers of society. Tourism, the hotel businesses, crafts, trades and other skilled members of the artistic community, food producers and restaurateurs, along with myriad product manufacturers are among the economic spheres of society implicated in the Holy Week events. In addition, and as a proof of the importance that the holiday represents for Andalusian cities, Becerra describes the many ways in which the city halls and municipalities in this region facilitate the public spaces, provide security, policing, and publicity, and collaborate with the brotherhoods on every aspect of the celebration of the Holy Week processions.⁶³ Local institutions and the commercial brands give their full support to the celebration. In some cases, in the last several years, official institutions have conferred the license to label some public spaces or streets with the names of the principals of the *cofradías*.⁶⁴ Their followers and many commentators have tended to interpret this as an act of reverence and respect.

It is evident that Holy Week is an important source of income on which a large part of the economy of Andalusian cities depends. More than a mere tourist attraction, it remains a local holiday of an extraordinary interest and social importance. That link

⁶² Becerra and González, *La Semana Santa en Caminos de Pasión*, 11.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

between the social influence of the holiday and local economic development is clearly seen when important members of the brotherhoods are invited to participate in public political life.⁶⁵

The importance of the celebration is apparent at all levels of society, especially in the official and governmental institutions. The data that reflects the impact of Holy Week in Andalusian society comes from two types of sources: consumers and organizers. These sources confirm the importance of the social connections developed from the event. The first source is the audience, which is composed of all social strata. We can separate those strata into three main groups: media and citizens.

There are enthusiasts of the Holy Week celebrations called *capillitas*.⁶⁶ They know the entire repertoire of the band marches. They listen to recordings of wind ensemble marches, but not so much to recordings of *saetas*.⁶⁷ During Lent, information on television, magazines, or newspapers about Holy Week increases from a trickle to a flood.⁶⁸ The activities and events that occur during that period and specifically related to the Passion of Christ, are called *actividades pasionistas*.

Because of the importance of Holy Week festivities in almost every city and village in Andalusia, the media transmit the event itself live as well as many activities leading up to it. Andalusian TV, Canal Sur, has a special section where, when not

⁶⁵ Ibid

⁶⁶ “Los capillitas y las capillitas,” *ABC Blogs* (blog), November 19, 2019, <https://abcblogs.abc.es/la-capilla-de-san-alvaro/liturgia-de-los-dias/los-capillitas-y-las-capillitas.html>.

⁶⁷ *Saetas* enthusiasts tend to be the same as flamenco enthusiasts.

⁶⁸ Becerra and González, *La Semana Santa en Caminos de Pasión*, 11.

transmitting live events, the program reviews Holy Week festivities from past years. During the entire year, the newspapers publish exclusive sections, magazines, notebooks, or special editions. In the months preceding Holy Week, that barrage of Holy Week information intensifies; newspapers may even print pictures of the brotherhoods' insignias. When the Holy Week processions start, map-books are made available in stores, hotels, and institutions, detailing the schedule and itinerary of the processions. Year-round, websites or blogs of the brotherhoods are live. They offer information about the brotherhoods and their history.

The second source is the people who are an active part of the organization of the Holy Week events. These people are part of the brotherhoods and constitute the hierarchy of the network of associations that organize the activities related to Holy Week in Andalusia. At the head of the organizational system there are the Big Brothers and the Brotherhood Advisors. The brotherhoods have such a strong influence in some cities that their leaders are invited to join in the decision-making for the events and to take part in other religious and secular events. These days they have become local celebrities with a certain degree of social influence in Andalusia. This notoriety means that people tend to be eager to become a member of a brotherhood and to ascend through its hierarchical structure. There is a fierce competition for the slot of president of a brotherhood, a position that in theory is open to people of any social class. That is a major difference

from the past, when only people from the upper classes, mostly nobility, could achieve the highest position in an Andalusian brotherhood.⁶⁹

Although Holy Week is the religious commemoration of Christ's Passion, In Andalusia, it is also a huge area-wide celebration. The word *fiesta*⁷⁰ is often used to describe the *Semana Santa* holiday.

*[...] in Andalusia Holy Week is experienced as the religious commemoration of the Passion of Jesus, but also as a celebration in which the recreational, joyful, festive, aesthetic and, of course, the emotional aspects are present, which, together with profane aspects such as the economic and commercial, make up an interrelated whole that must be united for a better and more complete understanding of the phenomenon.*⁷¹

When the hundreds, if not thousands of people involved in this annual event have completed the lengthy and complex planning and organizing, the artistic and spiritual elements that make this event so spectacular come into being – the Easter story of death and resurrection, the artistic renderings of the people and events, and the music. One of the most important aspects of this celebration is the music – both instrumental and vocal.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 12.

⁷⁰ Alessandro Falassi frames the significance of the festival and clarifies its roots. The sources are two: from the Latin *festum* (public joy), which in Spanish is *fiesta*, and the word *feriae* ("abstinence from work in honor of a saint"). (p.2) The word *feria* in Spanish is used for a specific festivity called *Feria*. The Holy Week in Spain is a religious festivity (*festividad* is the reason for a *fiesta* to be celebrated).

⁷¹ Becerra and González, *La Semana Santa en Caminos de Pasión*. Translation: en Andalucía la Semana Santa se vive como la conmemoración religiosa de la Pasión de Jesús, pero también como fiesta en la que está presente lo lúdico, gozoso, festivo, estético y, desde luego, lo emocional que, junto a aspectos profanos como lo económico y mercantil, conforman un todo interrelacionado que es necesario unir para una mejor y más cabal comprensión del fenómeno.

Wind Ensembles

Music – both sung and played – accompanies the processions through the streets of Seville for an entire week – from Palm Sunday through Easter Sunday. Three types of instrumental music accompany the floats.

- Official Holy Week music, which is performed by wind ensembles.
- Chapel music (*música de capilla*), which is composed of a small group of wind instruments (oboe, clarinet, and bassoon).⁷²
- A children's choir, *escolanía* (choirboys).

The *saetas* were supposed to be improvised performances, even these days though they tend to be carefully choreographed, with performers hired well in advance and positioned carefully in particular spots, most often in a balcony.

Here is an example of how the public is informed about these “spontaneous” *saeta* performances in the Andalusian city of Jerez.^{73,74}

Viernes Santo. 15 de abril

17 horas. Peña La Bulería a la Hermandad del Cristo desde el balcón de su sede.

Canta: José “El Berenjeno.”

19.30 horas. P.F. La Barca de la Florida a la Hermandad del Santísimo Cristo de la Piedad. Barca de la Florida.

Canta: Tomás Rubichi.

⁷² <http://veracruzcadiz.es/la-musica-de-capilla-en-las-cofradias-sevillanas/>

⁷³ Jerez is an important center for the flamenco *saeta*.

⁷⁴ https://www.diariodejerez.es/rincon-flamenco/actualidad/donde-escuchar-saetas-jerez-semana-santa_0_1672333166.html

Sin hora.⁷⁵ Desde el palco del Casino de Labradores A.F. Fernando Terremoto a la Hermandad de las Viñas.

Canta: Lidia Hernández.

21 horas. Hermandad del Loreto en Carpintería Baja, 14.

Canta: José “El Berenjeno”.

01:00 horas. Hermandad de la Soledad en Porvera, 57.

Canta: Lidia Hernández.

Since the end of the nineteenth century, the wind ensembles have been divided into three groups. They provide the official music of the procession, and their program is planned to accompany images of Christ or the Virgin.⁷⁶

- *Bandas de cornetas y tambores*: brass and percussion with the principal solo performed by a *corneta*.
- *Agrupación musical*: brass and percussion, with the principal voice performed by a trumpet.
- *Banda de Música*: wood wind, brass, and percussion.

There are different types of marches:

- Funerary

⁷⁵ This “sin hora” schedule could be the only time that the *saeta* chanting has been improvised. Although it does not give the time, but the information does point to the route that the procession will take and that the *saeta* will be performed somewhere along that way.

⁷⁶ The Appendix XX shows a list of the bands that currently perform in the processions of the Holy Week in Seville. The list also shows the premiered pieces in chronological order and their composers.

- Processionals
- Others

The band music not only establishes the mood, it inspires the people who are carrying the huge and unwieldy floats (the *costaleros*) by producing a steady and speedy rhythm.⁷⁷ Slow and emotional music does not help the *costaleros* and they do not like this type of marches.⁷⁸ Composer Francisco Javier Torres Simon, an expert in processional music at the end of the nineteenth century, says that processional music initially was picked at random from contemporary compositions, including opera.⁷⁹ However, toward the end of the nineteenth century, two composers began developing specific march music: Cristobal Oudrid y Segura, who composed *Salve Marinera*⁸⁰ in 1870, and Vicente Gómez Zarzuela-Pérez, who composed the march *Virgen del Valle*⁸¹ in 1897. A contemporary, the prolific composer Manuel López Farfan (1872-1944), began combining operatic and military music and created the structure of a processional march used today. Subsequent composers used Farfan's structure to compose sacred Andalusian music. In 1919, Manuel Font de Anta composed *Amargura*,⁸² one of the most popular pieces still used every year. In 1925 Farfan's *Estrella Sublime*⁸³ changed the entire scene of processional music and he was charged with designing music specifically for Holy

⁷⁷ Approximately 100 steps per minute is the speed that would be comfortable for the heavy lifting of the carriage.

⁷⁸ According to the composer Abel Moreno, the marches that the *costaleros* like are the ones that the band plays a lot and people recognize and identify more easily. A documentary on the local Andalusian TV station *Canal Sur*: <https://www.canalsurmas.es/videos/24837-pasion-y-pasion/>

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ <http://www.patrimoniomusical.com/bd-marcha-1150>

⁸¹ <http://www.patrimoniomusical.com/bd-marcha-412>

⁸² <http://www.patrimoniomusical.com/bd-marcha-379>

⁸³ <http://www.patrimoniomusical.com/bd-marcha-22>

Week. Also of note were important composers like Alberto Escamez, who divided the wind ensemble into four voices;⁸⁴ Pedro Morales, who based his compositions on military music; Abel Moreno, whose marches are consistently performed the most; Pedro Braña, and Abel Moreno Gómez, who composed the *Hermanos Costaleros* march.⁸⁵

Much later in the twentieth century, composers Manuel Marvizón and Francisco Javier Torres Simón introduced new and different elements into Holy Week music. The audience was changing, and they felt the need to reflect those changes musically in their compositions.⁸⁶ In 1999, Marvizón's *Estrella*⁸⁷ combined film music with march music in a stage-music style. In 2004, Torres Simón composed *A tu Lado*,⁸⁸ a modern processional piece with demanding choreography for the *capataz* (the person in charge of the procession). However, it has never been performed during the processions.⁸⁹

While the marching bands remain constant and are the official processional musicians, not everyone accepts the *saeta* chant⁹⁰ and there have been attempts to ban its performance during the processions.⁹¹ Unlike the marches, the *saeta*, although associated

⁸⁴ <http://www.patrimoniomusical.com/articulo-59>

⁸⁵ <http://www.patrimoniomusical.com/bd-marcha-63>

⁸⁶ <https://www.canalsurmas.es/videos/24837-pasion-y-pasion/>

⁸⁷ <http://www.patrimoniomusical.com/bd-marcha-267>

⁸⁸ <http://www.patrimoniomusical.com/bd-marcha-4325>

⁸⁹ Torres Simón has also combined a *saeta* with symphonic music.

⁹⁰ I experienced first-hand the feeling towards the *saetas* when I asked for a book about *saetas* in a religious bookstore on Menéndez Pelayo Street in Seville, and the bookseller looked at me with surprise and almost contempt.

⁹¹ Later in this work, we will include a historic document as evidence of these attempts to stop the performance of *saetas* during the Holy Week processions.

these days with Holy Week, has different associations, especially in the ancient ritual of funerary processions.

Although the birthplace of the *saeta* is uncertain, the small town of Marchena, outside the city of Seville, meets several criteria that could have contributed to its development. The first of these criteria is the existence of several monasteries in Marchena.

Monasteries

The origin of the *saetas* is attributed to Marchena by some researchers of the chant because of the number of convents and monasteries built in that town. Different orders held the facilities in Marchena. The Franciscan Order owned four of them:

- Franciscan Convent of Santa Eulalia (1420)
- Convent of San Francisco (1530)
- Convent of the Immaculate Conception (1623)
- Convent of Franciscan Poor Clares of Santa Clara (demolished 1975).

Also, two penitential brotherhoods were attached to the Franciscans. The brotherhood of the Veracruz (1533) and the brotherhood of the Humility (1820). The convent of Santa Isabel (1537), of San Andrés, was attached to the Mercedarian Order since 1637. There was also a convent of the Augustinian Fathers.

The Franciscan monks outnumbered other orders and were more influential. Franciscan monks established a processional system designed to educate the common folk and to spread religious devotion throughout Europe. This practice dates from the end of the fifteenth century. In Marchena, the processional practice of the religious orders was helped by rich and noble families, such as the family Ponce de León.

The Ponce de León Family

Several important and powerful aristocratic Andalusian families exerted influence on religion and its propagation to the local populace. The powerful Ponce de León family of Marchena controlled many aspects of the religious life in that city.⁹² The family served on the boards of many monasteries and held the entire religious patronage of several provinces. These powerful families acquired locations for exclusive burials and were able to mobilize many people to invoke prayers and pledge them. The religious organizations they patronized were required to celebrate masses and other ceremonies for family members and to safeguard valuables and documentary history for posterity.⁹³ In 1718, the heir of the Casa de Arcos family in Marchena deposited his mother's library in the local convent of Santa Eulalia.⁹⁴ The contract between the family and the convent allowed for

⁹² Jesus Suarez Arevalo, *Enterramientos nobiliarios y Órdenes religiosas en la provincia de Sevilla*, 380.

⁹³ Suarez Arevalo, *Enterramientos*, 382.

⁹⁴ Ibidem. Today, this convent does not exist anymore.

future generations to use the books inside the convent.⁹⁵ Such arrangements were customary among noble families.⁹⁶

Religious Orders

The rules of Franciscan order, founded by Saint Francis of Assisi, were based on those he drew up when the order was founded⁹⁷ This *Ordo Fratrum Minorum*, a mendicant religious order, was divided in three branches. The first (approved in 1209 and confirmed in 1223) is composed of minor Friars; the second (created in 1212) is the Poor Ladies or Clares (Order of Saint Clare), and the third (created in 1221) is composed of the Brothers and Sisters of Penance. They all give witness to Christ through poverty.⁹⁸ Saint Francis of Assisi was born in 1182 in Assisi, Umbria, under the name Giovanni Bernardone. His order profoundly influenced the Church with the idea of Christ as eschewing material things.

⁹⁵ This could be the case of this research: several attempts to access the archives and libraries of the monasteries and convents of the Ponce de Leon family and the Franciscan Sanctuary of Espartinas, near Seville were done, none of them positive.

⁹⁶ [...] q por nmgun tilllo, pl'esteslO ni mo/livo, aunque sea COII el de desconocimiento o por alguna especial facultad concedida a: msl oficios, ni por razoll de duplicados se atrevan a extrael: ni permitan se ex/traiga nl11gl'lllo de los libros de dicha librel'ia. ni fuera de dicho C011'ento aunque sea por! breve espa=io de tiempo: Antessi de llueva mandamos por las mismas penas a los dichos/ Pmvinciales, Guardianes y demos Religiosos. que la procuren mantener y conservar elllera/ y caval como se la colloca y entrega. sobre cuyo cumplimiento velamos eDil el/ mayor clllydado, para castigar a los lronsgresores desta l/uetra orden, y de su obliga/=ion[...]

⁹⁷ He composed the chant *Cantico di Fratre Sole*. He tried to travel to Syria, however, he suffered a wreck and stayed in Ancona (today Italy). In 1219 he traveled to Palestine on a crusade based on the idea of love. The strength of Saint Francis of Assisi is his power to gather the ideas of other spiritual movements such as Cathars or Albigensians and frame them under the Church's rules and channel them to practical purposes. Pérez, 6401.

⁹⁸ Alicia Pérez, *La Enciclopedia* (Madrid, 2003), 6400.

The first documentary reference to the *saeta*, is linked to the missionary activity (*misiones populares*) of Catholic preachers.⁹⁹ Those missions, influenced by the Catholic reformation, were developed with great success in Spain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Church was focused on propagating the Christian faith, while striving to prevent contact with the new ideas of spiritual reformers.¹⁰⁰ The church introduced religious activities aimed at the illiterate masses, which were characterized by emotional appeal. These included penitential processions, representations of the Passions of the Christ, in which a preacher would emulate the sufferings that Jesus endured before his death on the cross, exercises of discipline, *via crucis* (Stations of the Cross), rosaries and hymns. These activities took on theatrical elements that created a sense of spectacle.¹⁰¹ The Franciscans, Capuchins, Dominicans, and Jesuits supervised these missions using a pre-existing format before and after sermons to facilitate the fixture of doctrinal teachings in the audience's consciousness.

- During rosary both in church and in public
- During stations of the cross

⁹⁹ Hurtado, *La llave*, 24.

¹⁰⁰ Rodríguez Mateos, *Las Cofradías*, 43.

¹⁰¹ Luis Melgar Reina, y Angel Marín Rújula. *Saetas, Pregones, Romances Litúrgicos* (Córdoba: Publicaciones del Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1987), 13, 14.

- During the processions of penitence (in which preachers appeared with ropes, crowns of thorns, crosses, faces covered in ash, holding skulls, etc.)¹⁰²

Old Saetas in Marchena

The birth of that chant, the old *saeta*, as part of the Spanish popular missions, could be summarized as a blend of the Andalusian music of preceding cultures, the social components of the clergy and the subordinated classes, a religious worldview, and the baroque culture in Andalusia of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁰³

The village of Marchena is connected to the *saeta* chant in two ways: the presence of Franciscan and Dominican monasteries in the village, and the theory of the Arab and Jewish roots of the *saeta*. The word *saeta* first appears in the Franciscan Orders and the use of the chant may date from the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁴

The town of Marchena evolved during the Moorish occupation¹⁰⁵ and developed within Islamic culture. After the Reconquista,¹⁰⁶ it was turned into a noble estate, which

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ María Luisa Melero Melero, *Las saetas: diversidad tipológica y realidad sociocultural* (Ayuntamiento de Marchena, 1995), 120.

¹⁰⁴ Pedro Payán Sotomayor, “Una hipótesis: origen medieval de la *saeta* andaluza,” in *Actas del IX Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval : (A Coruña, 18-22 de septiembre de 2001)*, Vol. 3, 2005, ISBN 84-96259-75-7, págs. 291-307 (*Actas del IX Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval : (A Coruña, 18-22 de septiembre de 2001)*, Departamento de Filología Española e Latina, 2005), 307, <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=1414901>.

¹⁰⁵ 711 AD.

¹⁰⁶ The culmination of the Reconquista is in 1492.

became the seat of the Ponce de León family, and the administrative capital of the State of Arcos. Medieval tradition remained alive, despite the ducal desire to endow the town with elements typical of courtly cities. The features of the Islamic era remain, and the Mudejar tradition is also present in most of its temples and civil architecture. These features influence Seville's master builder, Diego Lopez de Arenas, who was born and trained in Marchena.

The local masons of Marchena until the seventeenth century were Moorish or Mudejar. After the expulsion of the Moors in 1610, the Duke (Ponce de León) asked the King to allow him to retain a contingent of Moorish slaves of his property, dedicated to the construction and maintenance of the walls and public buildings.¹⁰⁷

The richness and variety of Marchena's artistic heritage derives from the complex relationship of influences and origins of the promoters and creators who shaped it.¹⁰⁸ Some of the buildings in Marchena, particularly the churches of San Juan, Santo Domingo, or Santa Isabel de Marchena, were constructed by Mudejar master builders. These workers were a very important link in the interpretation of the plans drawn by the archbishop's architects. Into this extremely Islamic environment, a succession of Catholic religious orders was introduced.

Another important characteristic of Marchena towards the birth of the *saeta* chant is the presence of Jews in the village. In 1424, a half century before the expulsion of Jews

¹⁰⁷ Juan Luis Rave Prieto, *La Villa Ducal de Marchena - 9788477984351*, accessed November 28, 2022, <https://www.agapea.com/Juan-Luis-Rave-Prieto/La-Villa-ducal-de-Marchena-9788477984351-i.htm>.

¹⁰⁸ Juan Luis Ravé Prieto, *La Villa ducal de Marchena*.

in 1492, a Franciscan convent was founded in the village of Marchena. More than a century later, in 1530, the Franciscans founded a second monastery.¹⁰⁹ In 1517, the Dominicans founded a monastery which relates to the *saeta* chant and the theory of its Jewish roots as we will see in the next chapter. Documents from that period attest to the presence of converted Jews (*conversos*) among the Dominican monks. Arab and Jewish musical tradition clearly remained in use after the Spanish Reconquest and remained in Spanish musical culture in a variety of forms, two of them being the *saetas* and the *cante jondo*.

This situation existed despite a campaign unleashed in Castile, to eliminate religious minorities such as Jews and Mudejars.¹¹⁰ One such Castilian document discusses the situation in Andalusian monasteries and the need to separate Christian converts of Jewish or Muslim heritage from the old Christians, a campaign known as “blood cleaning” (*limpieza de sangre*).¹¹¹ This campaign of so-called purification began

¹⁰⁹ “Saetas | Cristo de San Pedro (Marchena),” accessed December 28, 2021, <http://cristosanpedro.es/saetas/>.

¹¹⁰ Guillermo Nieva Ocampo, “Los dominicos en Castilla. La génesis de una corporación privilegiada en la baja edad media,” in *Servir a Dios y servir al Rey: el mundo de los privilegiados en el ámbito hispánico* (ss. XIII-XVIII), 2011, ISBN 978-987-1618-68-2, págs. 13-48 (*Servir a Dios y servir al Rey: el mundo de los privilegiados en el ámbito hispánico* (ss. XIII-XVIII), Mundo Editorial, 2011), 13–48, <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=4199632>.

¹¹¹ Domingo de Guzmán habría nacido en Careluega hacia 1175. Pertenecía a una familia noble y fue inmediatamente destinado a la carrera eclesiástica. En 1203 fue a una misión diplomática en Dinamarca y el viaje le permitió conocer el estado de la cristiandad en el condado de Tolosa y comprobar el éxito que había obtenido allí el catarismo. Domingo continuó su actividad obteniendo la aprobación de Fulco, obispo de Toulouse, en cuya diócesis se desarrollaba la “Santa predicación.” Mediante un privilegio, el obispo aprobó el servicio de Domingo y de sus compañeros. [...] el Papado iniciaba la concesión de una serie de privilegios, inmunidades y exenciones, destinadas a facilitar el ejercicio de las tareas apostólicas de la nueva agrupación, ya que había constatado la gran utilidad que los dominicos podían aportar en orden a la predicación antiherética y a la instrucción de los fieles [...]. La nueva fundación adquirió completamente sus rasgos definitivos después de 1220. Fue llamada Orden de Predicadores. [...] los dominicos fueron los más selectivos a la hora de decidir en qué ciudades instalarían sus conventos. Primero fundaron en 1219 los dominicos ya estaban instalados en Toledo, Zamora, Zaragoza, Burgos y en Palencia. Entre los años 1218 y 1509 los

to be applied to religious order in the fifteenth century, specifically the Dominicans.¹¹²

However, legal loopholes were often used to retain converted Jews in the order.

*However, given that the Dominican cleansing statutes were neither universal nor absolute, it was legally permitted to survive conversely on the inner margins of the order. At the time, such a legal loophole often opened an enormous range of possibilities for mobility.*¹¹³

Purification campaigns also were conducted in other areas of society. The Sentence-Statute of 1449 was intended to exclude Jews and converts from public office in the city of Toledo. A social and political battle developed over the access of converts to institutions through blood-cleansing statutes.¹¹⁴

Among the varied typology of institutions that adopted blood cleansing statutes, it is possibly those established in civil councils and cathedrals that have most deserved the interest of historians, perhaps because of their link with historical research on social elites, which they tended to penetrate and settle in them. [...] Within the multiform field of study of blood cleansing, it is possibly the cleansing statutes implanted in religious orders that have received the least attention. [...] Before 1500 the Dominican convents of the first order did not reach ninety in Spain, during the sixteenth century another 98 were founded; In the case of the Dominican women, of the 149 convents they had at the end of the Old Regime, 109 had been founded after 1500 (Atienza 2008, 53-54). This was translated, logically, in the multiplication of professions (Nieva 2011, 57) and

dominicos habían fundado en el centro y en el norte del reino de Castilla 49 conventos masculinos. Desde finales del siglo XIV se había desatado en Castilla una fuerte campaña contra las minorías religiosas de judíos y mudéjares. Se trasladó el convento al interior de la villa de Antequera, para que los frailes “desterrasen con su exemplo, y sus Sermones, los muchos vicios que dominaban aquel lugar, [...] También deseaban los Serenissimos Infantes la conversión de los muchos judíos [...].

¹¹² Rafael Mauricio Pérez García, “Dominicos, conversos y limpieza de sangre en España. Siglos XV-XVI,” 2017.

¹¹³ Translation: No obstante, dado que los estatutos dominicanos de limpieza no fueron ni universales ni absolutos, se permitió legalmente la pervivencia conversa en los márgenes interiores de la orden. En la época, una grieta legal de esas características abría frecuentemente un enorme abanico de posibilidades de movilidad.

¹¹⁴ Pérez García, “Dominicos, conversos y limpieza de sangre en España. Siglos XV-XVI.”

*the number of friars and nuns, with the Dominican order occupying the second position in the ranking of the religious population.*¹¹⁵
*[...] it is only from the time of the Catholic Monarchs when the foundations multiply. Thus the Dominican convents of Madre de Dios and Santa María de Gracia emerged at an accelerated rate in Seville in 1476 and 1487 respectively, as well as in Sanlúcar de Barrameda in 1480, Écija in 1498, and Carmona in 1514; the Dominicans of the first order, for their part, opened new houses in Carmona (1504), in Alcalá de los Gazules (1506), in Lepe and again in Seville in 1516 (the Colegio de Santo Tomás), in Marchena in 1517, in Sanlúcar de Barrameda in 1528 (Miura, 293-297). From here, the Andalusian geography is progressively filled with male and female Dominican foundations over the course of a century (Huerga 1992, 227-387). In most cases these were initiatives supported by members of urban elites [...]. The causes of social interest in Dominican observance at this time are varied. On the one hand, the titled nobility sponsored foundations and protected entire religious provinces within the framework of their typical behaviors of spiritual association with religious orders, in order to benefit from the spiritual graces that they provided but also to gain control of sacred spaces such as burial places, family pantheons, scenarios of social representation and, ultimately, reinforcing the association of noble status with the sacred [...].*¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ Pérez García, 172. Translation: De entre la variada tipología de instituciones que adoptaron estatutos de limpieza de sangre, posiblemente sean los establecidos en cabildos civiles y catedralicios los que más han merecido el interés de los historiadores, quizás por su vinculación con la investigación histórica acerca de las élites sociales, que tendían a penetrar y asentarse en ellos. [...] Dentro del multiforme campo de estudio de la limpieza de sangre, posiblemente sean los estatutos de limpieza implantados en las órdenes religiosas los que han recibido menor atención. [...] antes de 1500 los conventos dominicos de la primera orden no llegaban a noventa en España, durante el siglo XVI se fundaron otros 98; en el caso de las dominicas, de los 149 conventos de que disponían a finales del Antiguo Régimen, 109 habían sido fundados con posterioridad al 1500 (Atienza 2008, 53-54). Ello se tradujo, lógicamente, en la multiplicación de las profesiones (Nieva 2011, 57) y del número de frailes y monjas, ocupando la orden dominica la segunda posición en el ranking de población religiosa [...].

¹¹⁶ Ibid. Translation: [...] es solo a partir de la época de los Reyes Católicos cuando las fundaciones se multiplican. Así surgieron a un ritmo acelerado los conventos de dominicas de Madre de Dios y Santa María de Gracia en Sevilla en 1476 y 1487 respectivamente, así como en Sanlúcar de Barrameda en 1480, Écija en 1498, y Carmona en 1514; los dominicos de la primera orden, por su parte, abrieron nuevas casas en Carmona (1504), en Alcalá de los Gazules (1506), en Lepe y de nuevo en Sevilla en 1516 (el colegio de Santo Tomás), en Marchena en 1517, en Sanlúcar de Barrameda en 1528 (Miura, 293-297). A partir de aquí, la geografía andaluza se va colmatando progresivamente de fundaciones dominicas masculinas y femeninas en el transcurso de una centuria (Huerga 1992, 227-387). En la mayoría de los casos se trataba de iniciativas sostenidas por miembros de las élites urbanas [...]. Las causas del interés social por la observancia dominica en esta época son variadas. Por una parte, la nobleza titulada patrocinó fundaciones y amparó provincias religiosas enteras en el marco de sus comportamientos típicos de asociación espiritual con las órdenes religiosas, en aras de beneficiarse de las gracias espirituales que éstas proporcionaban pero también de conseguir el control de espacios sagrados como lugares de enterramiento, panteones familiares,

On the other hand, urban elites, some of noble status and frequently linked to the local government and others on the way to access the nobility and councils, tried to mimic the behaviors of their social referent, the titled nobility, so much so that their involvement in the financing and patronage processes of the new Dominican foundations was decisive for their multiplication; They too got chapels, burials, preferred sites, places to place their weapons [...].¹¹⁷

Finally, merchants and businessmen, a priority objective of the pastoral action of the mendicant orders since the Late Middle Ages, and many of whom were of Judeo-convert origin, did not stop expressing their preference for the Franciscan and Dominican orders, associating themselves to them in a thousand ways: with donations and a multitude of pious orders, founding chaplaincies and burying themselves in their convents, putting their sons and daughters in them [...].¹¹⁸

Thus, from the confluence of mutual interests, a multiform association of the mendicant orders (especially Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians, and later Jesuits) with the nobility and the urban elites was born and developed, creating a reciprocal transfer of social credit that was decisive, or so at least they thought, for the success of their respective objectives. Hence, the nobility progressively adopted a religious and even sacred profile [...]. ...] that the urban and mercantile elites imitated the nobility to the extent of their possibilities, and that the religious orders, especially the Dominican, aspired to the social prestige that came from the consideration, if not the adoption, of the social criteria of quality, that is, nobility, impossible to attain fully, and cleanliness of blood, much more plausible, at least in theory and at the level of

escenarios de representación social y, en definitiva, reforzar la asociación de la condición nobiliaria con lo sagrado [...].

¹¹⁷ Ibid. Translation: Por su parte, las élites urbanas, unas de condición nobiliaria y frecuentemente ligadas al gobierno local y otras en camino de acceder a la nobleza y los cabildos, trataron de mimetizar los comportamientos de su referente social, la nobleza titulada, tanto que su involucración en los procesos de financiación y patronazgo de las nuevas fundaciones dominicas fue determinante para la multiplicación de éstas; también ellas consiguieron capillas, enterramientos, sitios preferentes, lugares donde colocar sus armas [...]

¹¹⁸ Ibid. Translation: Finalmente, los mercaderes y los hombres de negocios, objetivo prioritario de la acción pastoral de las órdenes mendicantes desde la Baja Edad Media, y muchos de los cuales eran de origen judeoconverso, no dejaron de expresar su preferencia por las órdenes franciscana y dominica, asociándose a las mismas de mil maneras: con donaciones y multitud de mandas piadosas, fundando capellanías y enterrándose en los conventos de éstas, metiendo a sus hijos e hijas en ellas [...].

public representation, attending correctly to the opinion that to be socially prestigious resulted in the (social) valorization both of its friars and preachers, continuously exposed by the nature of their work to public opinion, as well as, of course, of the doctrines they upheld.

*Torquemada explains that the passion and death of Christ have had sufficient power to reconcile all humanity with God, erasing all stain and sin thanks to the efficacy of the sacrament of baptism; those who condemn the “Jewish race” as unfaithful in the faith, blaspheme against Christ, whose flesh and blood “was taken” from the Jewish people, and against the Virgin Mary, who “was a Jew, a descendant of Jews.”*¹¹⁹

In his chapter about the entrance of the converted Jews into the Dominican Order, the author presents the situation thus:

The entry of converts into the Dominican order and the problem of blood cleansing: theological debates and social practices. For the converts, the preferred target of the pastoral action of the mendicants in the agitated times of the expulsion and conversion of the Jews (Rábade; Baer, 782; Valtanás, 155-156), to be accepted into the religious orders was an unequivocal sign of their social integration. On a purely religious level, it was a proof of Christianity, but it also meant adopting (and showing the adoption

¹¹⁹ Translation: Así, de la confluencia de mutuos intereses, nació y se desarrolló una multiforme asociación de las órdenes mendicantes (especialmente dominicos, franciscanos y agustinos, y posteriormente jesuitas) con la nobleza y las élites urbanas, creándose un trasvase recíproco de crédito social que resultaba decisivo, o así al menos lo pensaron ellos, para el éxito de sus respectivos objetivos. De ahí que la nobleza adoptase progresivamente un perfil religioso e incluso sagrado [...] que las élites urbanas y mercantiles imitasen a aquella en la medida de sus posibilidades, y que las órdenes religiosas, especialmente la dominica, aspirasen al prestigio social que dimanaba de la consideración, cuando no de la adopción, de los criterios sociales de calidad, es decir, la nobleza, imposible de alcanzarse plenamente, y la limpieza de sangre, mucho más plausible, al menos en teoría y en el nivel de la representación pública, atendiendo acertadamente a la opinión de que revestirse socialmente de prestigio redundaba en la valorización (social) tanto de sus frailes y predicadores, expuestos continuamente por el carácter de su labor a la opinión pública, como, por supuesto, de las doctrinas por ellos sostenidas.

Torquemada explica que la pasión y muerte de Cristo han tenido suficiente poder para reconciliar a toda la humanidad con Dios, borrando toda mancha y pecado gracias a la eficacia del sacramento del bautismo; esos que condenan a la “raza judía” como infiel en la fe, blasfeman contra Cristo, cuya carne y sangre “fue tomada” del pueblo judío, y contra la Virgen María, que “era judía, descendiente de judíos.

*of) the socio-religious behavior patterns of both the social groups to which many of them belonged de facto (merchants, urban elites) and of that other social reference, the nobility, to which, in addition, as time went by, dozens and dozens of families of converted origin would gain entry [...]. [...] the bull Humani generis of Pope Nicholas V, of September 24, 1449, which annulled the agreements made in Toledo against the converts, would become a point of reference for the polemic for a long time [...].*¹²⁰

[...] various measures were taken to limit the converse presence in Spanish Dominican convents: threat of excommunication to convents that accepted converts; expulsion of novices of converse origin; prohibition to descendants of Jews to occupy positions of prior or direction except in the case of having been elected by the entire conventual chapter. Nevertheless, internal resistance led [...] to [...] the need to [...] relax these norms. [...] to relax these norms, accepting the profession and admission of “marranos” in case of consensus of the entire conventual chapter, and allowing the access of converts “to the priory and other directive offices if they had been elected by the maior et sanior pars, with the limitation that the election had to be confirmed by the conventual council and approved by three or four fathers who did not belong to ‘that race’” [...]. The rejections could simply be mixed with what seemed to be logical precautions in the face of the confirmation of the existence of Judaizers within the religious orders themselves and the fear of a possible infection on the theological level produced from within the ecclesiastical institutions. The most notorious case at that time was that of the order of St. Jerome, in the bosom of which Judaizing friars of converted origin were discovered by the Inquisition. The statute of cleanliness of blood began to be applied in the convent of San Pablo in Seville in February 1563, with the declared objective of guaranteeing the “honor” and “decorum” of the house,

¹²⁰ Translation: La entrada de los conversos en la orden dominica y el problema de la limpieza de sangre: debates teológicos y prácticas sociales. Para los conversos, objetivo preferente de la acción pastoral de los mendicantes en los agitados tiempos de la expulsión y conversión de los judíos (Rábade; Baer, 782; Valtanás, 155-156), ser aceptados en el seno de las órdenes religiosas era un signo inequívoco de su integración social. En el plano netamente religioso era una prueba de cristiandad, pero además significaba adoptar (y mostrar la adopción de) las pautas de comportamiento sociorreligioso propias tanto de los grupos sociales a los que muchos de ellos pertenecían de facto (mercaderes, élites urbanas) como de aquel otro que era referente social, la nobleza, en la que además, andando el tiempo, decenas y decenas de familias de origen converso conseguirían entrar [...]. [...] la bula Humani generis del Papa Nicolás V, de 24 de septiembre de 1449, que anulaba los acuerdos tomados en Toledo en contra de los conversos, se convertiría en un punto de referencia para la polémica durante mucho tiempo [...].

*making it impossible for converts to be assigned to it. According to declarations taken in Seville in 1599, because of the establishment of the statute of cleanliness in 1563, the friars of converso origin were expelled from San Pablo and had to be installed in another Dominican convent in Seville, that of Portaceli, located outside the walls. Rafael M. Pérez García, Dominicos, conversos y limpieza de sangre en España. Centuries XV-XVI.*¹²¹

This document may indicate that some conversos came to reside in Marchena, where there had been a Dominican monastery since 1517.

*At the beginning of the seventeenth century, with the tightening of the conditions of the statutes of blood cleansing among the Dominicans and the invention of a story of cleansing adopted as official by the order, a certain model of social representation triumphed in the order that reproduced the prestigious public behaviors of social valorization.*¹²²

¹²¹ Pérez García. Translation: [...] se tomaron diversas medidas para limitar la presencia conversa en los conventos dominicos españoles: amenaza de excomunión a los conventos que aceptasen conversos; expulsión de los novicios de origen converso; prohibición a los descendientes de judíos de ocupar cargos de prior o de dirección salvo en caso de haber sido elegidos por todo el capítulo conventual. No obstante, las resistencias internas hicieron [...] que se [...] debiera suavizar estas normas, aceptando la profesión y admisión de “marranos” en caso de existir consenso de todo el capítulo conventual, y consintiendo el acceso de los conversos “al priorato y a otros oficios directivos si hubiesen sido elegidos por la maior et sanior pars, con la limitación de que la elección debía ser confirmada por el concejo conventual y aprobada por tres o cuatro padres que no pertenecieran a «aquella raza»” [...].los rechazos podían mezclarse simplemente con lo que parecían lógicas prevenciones ante la constatación de la existencia de judaizantes en el seno de las propias órdenes religiosas y el temor a una posible infección en el plano teológico producida desde el interior de las instituciones eclesíasticas. El caso más sonado en aquel tiempo fue el de la orden de San Jerónimo, en el seno de la cual frailes judaizantes de origen converso fueron descubiertos por la Inquisición. El estatuto de limpieza de sangre comenzó a aplicarse en el convento de San Pablo de Sevilla en febrero de 1563, con el objetivo declarado de garantizar el “honor” y “decoro” de la casa, imposibilitando que los conversos fueran asignados al mismo. Según declaraciones tomadas en Sevilla en 1599, a raíz de la instauración del estatuto de limpieza en 1563 los frailes de origen converso fueron expulsados de San Pablo y se hubieron de instalar en otro convento dominico de Sevilla, el de Portaceli, situado extramuros. Rafael M. Pérez García, Dominicos, conversos y limpieza de sangre en España. Siglos XV-XVI.

¹²² Translation: A comienzos del siglo XVII, con el recrudecimiento de las condiciones de los estatutos de limpieza de sangre entre los dominicos y la invención de un relato de limpieza adoptado como oficial por la orden, triunfaba en ella un determinado modelo de representación social que reproducía los comportamientos públicos prestigiados de valorización social.

Converted Jews also inhabited Franciscan monasteries, according to studies of Castillian Spain. Since Marchena also had a Franciscan monastery conversos could also have resided there.

*The Franciscans and Dominicans asked the monarch to erect an inquisitorial tribunal under royal jurisdiction, delegated to the Franciscans or Dominicans and not to the bishops and the Hieronymites. And it was precisely the Hieronymites who insisted on an inquisition that would investigate the “bad Christians” and not only the “new Christians,” as the Franciscans of the observance wanted. A thorny and, in a certain way, embarrassing situation for the latter, since among the “bad Christians” one could also find “old Christians” and even Franciscan friars.*¹²³

Despite the order to not admit converted Jews into the Dominican order, there were several circumstances where they could be admitted:

*The novices who denied in bad faith a possible Jewish origin, if the fact was true, were to be expelled. If, on the other hand, it was a question of a professed friar, it was strictly forbidden to transfer him to the more important convents or to let him remain there, where he was to be considered a temporary guest. In fact, if he was in such convents, he should be immediately assigned to other houses. Finally, the descendants of “new Christians” were to be inhibited from obtaining an academic degree and were excluded from leadership positions in the Order, except for those who had been unanimously elected.*¹²⁴

¹²³ Translation: Los franciscanos y dominicanos pedían al monarca [...] erigir un tribunal inquisitorial bajo jurisdicción real, delegado en los franciscanos o en los dominicos y no en los obispos y los jerónimos. Y es que justamente los jerónimos insistían con una inquisición que investigase a los “malos cristianos” y no solamente a los “cristianos nuevos”, como querían los franciscanos de la observancia. Situación espinosa y, en cierto modo, vergonzosa para estos últimos, puesto que entre los “malos cristianos” se podían también encontrar “cristianos viejos” e incluso frailes franciscanos.

¹²⁴ Translation: Los novicios que negasen de mala fe un eventual origen judío, en tanto que el hecho fuese cierto, debían ser expulsados. Si en cambio se trataba de un profeso, quedaba estrictamente prohibido trasladarlo a los conventos más importantes o dejarlo permanecer allí, donde debía ser considerado como huésped transitorio. De hecho, si se hallaba en tales conventos, debería ser destinado inmediatamente a otras casas. Por último, los descendientes de “cristianos nuevos” debían inhibirse de obtener un título

This portion of the present work established, on the one hand, the presence of converted Jews in religious orders. These orders applied the *saeta* chant into their processions to educate the folk. On the other, Marchena was one of the central points for the development and spreading of religious orders. We will see now, how the closeness of Seville to Marchena also had influences in the development of *saetas*.

Marchena and Seville: Interaction

Seville remained a vital force in the region and there were ongoing exchanges with surrounding towns. During the sixteenth century, Marchena competed economically and socially with its larger neighbor, Seville. Marchena was used as a rural destination of many Sevillian aristocratic families, such as the family Ponce de Leon. The churches of Marchena hired *Sevillanos* as composers, book makers, artists, or painters. “(Marchena) is a community, whose trajectory represents key elements of the history of Andalusia.”¹²⁵ Later, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Marchena, like other villages in Andalusia, traded in cereals, olives, and grapevines. Chroniclers and other writers agreed that Marchena land was fertile, a richness that contrasted with the poverty of the population.¹²⁶ The people of Marchena were farm laborers who lived under the

académico y quedaban excluidos de los puestos directivos en la Orden, con excepción de aquellos que hubiesen sido elegidos por unanimidad.

¹²⁵ María Luisa Candau Chacón, “Iglesia y clero en una comunidad andaluza: Marchena, 1685-1787,” in *Actas de las III Jornadas sobre Historia de Marchena: Marchena en la Modernidad (siglos XVII-XVIII). Celebradas del 6 al 10 de octubre de 1997, 1998, ISBN 8492149957, págs. 345-377* (Actas de las III Jornadas sobre Historia de Marchena: Marchena en la Modernidad (siglos XVII-XVIII). Celebradas del 6 al 10 de octubre de 1997, Ayuntamiento de Marchena, 1998), 1, <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=7634795>.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

philosophy of their landlords that working would eliminate idleness and would provide not only material but spiritual benefits.¹²⁷ Four aristocratic families controlled the region: the Alba, Arcos, Osuna, and Medinaceli.¹²⁸

Marchena's prominent Ponce family had an important library and supported the arts, especially music. The composers Cristóbal de Morales and Juan Navarro worked in their court.¹²⁹ During the sixteenth century, both the Ponce estate and the San Juan church (Parróquia) were considered the cultural centers of Marchena.¹³⁰

The state of affairs in sixteenth century Marchena helps to understand the development of the *saetas*, The Duke of Arcos, (the Ponce de Leon family) had sponsored the Dominicans since 1520 and built a new Dominican monastery called San Pedro Mártir in Marchena.¹³¹ The Council of Trent in 1545 established the way in which the Church needed to educate people and integrate the disenfranchised. The population was indoctrinated by using images and as well as direct participation in the "rules and optics of the counterreformer movement."¹³² This is the moment when the penitential brotherhoods (*cofradías*) form. Those brotherhoods enhance the sacramental worship, the devotion to the images, and the development of public penitence.¹³³

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 5.

¹²⁹ Manuel-Antonio Ramos-Suárez, "Libros para orar, cantar y ver: aproximación al estudio de los libros de coro de la Iglesia de San Juan de Marchena," 1996, <https://idus.us.es/handle/11441/31128>.

¹³⁰ Ramos-Suárez, *Libros*.

¹³¹ Pérez García, "Dominicos, conversos y limpieza de sangre en España. Siglos XV-XVI." 4.

¹³² Melero, *Las saetas*, 119.

¹³³ Rodríguez Mateos, *Las cofradías*, 62.

Unlike the *hermandades*, the penitential brotherhoods (*cofradías*) assemble a procession of disciplinarians (or Nazarenes) around a specific image, which is carried on a litter – a tradition that dates to their formation in the sixteenth century.

Seventeenth-century Marchena

There is evidence that in seventeenth century Marchena, five brotherhoods practiced extreme penitential practices that involved self-inflicted punishment to the point that it drew blood (hence “blood” processions). Ecclesiastical court decisions, that will later affect the *saeta* singing, shaped the internal regulations of the brotherhoods. The schedules of the march of the processions were among the changes that the court established.

*Therefore, five can be considered as historical penitence brotherhoods (with external worship by means of a procession of blood), survivors of the restrictions of the past from which they were forced, adaptive to the subjection of each abrupt change in their customs, and that was happening throughout the centuries until our days... In 1579, Cardinal Rodrigo de Castro tried to control the brotherhoods by regulating their forms of action and procession.*¹³⁴

Thus, the brotherhoods became an instrument that the Church installed and used as the “point of an arrow to penetrate spiritually the people.”¹³⁵ The current penitential

¹³⁴ Translation: Pueden considerarse por tanto cinco, las cofradías de penitencia históricas (con culto externo mediante procesión de sangre), supervivientes a las restricciones del pasado de las que fueron obligadas, adaptativas ante el sometimiento de cada cambio brusco en sus costumbres, y que fue sucediéndose a lo largo de los siglos hasta nuestros días... En 1579, el cardenal Rodrigo de Castro intentó controlar a las cofradías reglamentando sus formas de actuación y de procesión.

¹³⁵ Mateos, *Las cofradías*, 62. The symbology of the arrow is important in Christianity. It first appears in sacred texts as an instrument of punishment. Later, the image of the arrow is also used as an awakening device for emotions, and it can penetrate the soul of the devotees.

brotherhoods of the last three days of the current Holy Week in Marchena derive from the second decade of the eighteenth century.¹³⁶

Since the seventeenth century, Andalusia had been immersed in the baroque musical tradition. The protestant reformation created religious instability and the dominant religious power in Andalusia used mass education to create religious stability.¹³⁷ The brotherhoods assumed most of the religious functions in Andalusia, however, the social and religious elites did not trust their religious authenticity and conflicts between the brotherhoods and official religious institutions abounded.

Eighteenth-century Marchena

The eighteenth century, known as the Age of Enlightenment in Spain, was a period that opened new practices and innovations from the foreign countries. That new openness led to disagreement between the official Church and the brotherhoods. The Church, in collaboration with civil authorities, tried to control the brotherhoods' activities and behavior during religious festivities. The processions, a reflection of popular spirituality, provided the members of the brotherhoods with an opportunity for unorthodox conduct. The Passion of Christ, represented in the processions triggered in

¹³⁶ Joaquín Márquez Rodríguez, "Orígenes Reglados, Adaptaciones Históricas y Cambios de Horarios En Las Cofradías de Sangre de Marchena En El Siglo XVIII," *Consejo General de Hermandades y Cofradías de Marchena*, January 1, 2019, https://www.academia.edu/40003229/Or%C3%ADgenes_reglados_adaptaciones_hist%C3%B3ricas_y_cambios_de_horarios_en_las_cofrad%C3%ADas_de_sangre_de_Marchena_en_el_siglo_XVIII.

¹³⁷ Melero, *Las saetas*, 119.

some people actions of devoted passion that did not quite represent the Church's indoctrination of religious modesty. The *saetas* are an example of that.

During the eighteenth century, there were prohibitions on singing *saetas* during the Holy Week processions. Such prohibitions explain the absence of *saetas* among the music scores of Marchena's San Juan Church and in the musical catalogs in the other Marchena.¹³⁸ Franciscan and Dominican missionary use of the *saetas* began in the seventeenth century. Another reason for the lack of music scores in Marchena is the presence of French troops in the village in the nineteenth century.¹³⁹

The prohibitions of *saetas* are proved by two documents from the eighteenth century found in Marchena in the turn of this century. A document discovered in early 2000, used as reinforcement for Marchena's Book of the Government Number 86, describes how the Church intended to control the brotherhoods by forbidding the practices of some of them. The 1766 document was designed to regulate and prohibit some of the brotherhoods' practices during the Marchena Holy Week processions and mentions a prohibition of the *saeta*.

Another document, found in 2007, shows how the Church Court also took aim at conduct during the processions. The 1794 court document prohibits the performance of

¹³⁸ Ramos-Suárez, "Libros para orar, cantar y ver."

¹³⁹ At least until the twentieth century, when Agustín Aguilar y Tejera found a compilation of almost 500 *saeta* texts.

saetas during the Holy Week processions for fear that the chant would distract the devotees from focusing on the religious significance of the figures.

(A copy of the document can be found in the appendix. The portion addressing the *saeta* issue appears on page four.

Partial transcription of the document: (The document's first five lines are unreadable).

*Keep and comply with the Royal Provision that is presented and in its consequence deliver with this letter to the Cavros Deputies and Trustees of the common so that they say instructively what suits them having in view the Royal Cedula that is located and if they are or not Approved by the Supreme Council the ordinances of the Brotherhood were agreed and signed by the Justices and City Council of this town of Marchena in which it was held on August 27, 1794.*¹⁴⁰

*They are the representative and Deputy of opinion, that there is no common prejudice or particular lack of devotion or scandal, in which the brothers of said brotherhood in their Good Friday Station, go in it, bringing to the Lord the attributes of their Passion and crosses of robes with their faces covered, continuing said prohibition outside the station, and although up to now this brotherhood has carried silence and devotion, so that this is increased, it is prohibited that any person sing saetas or verses, because being Many of those who sing them rustic people, take away their devotion, in whose terms, and as the brotherhood agreed, and stated in their request, His Majesty and the gentlemen of the Royal Council do not find their request uncompromising ...*¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Translation: Guárdese y Cúmplase la Real Provisión que se presenta y en su consecuencia entregase con este escrito a los Cavros Diputados y Síndicos del común para que digan instructivamente lo que les convenga teniendo a la vista la RI Cedula que se sita y si están o no aprobados por el supremo Consejo las ordenanzas de la Cofradía lo acordaron y firmaron los Señores Justicias y Ayuntamiento de esta villa de Marchena en el que se ha celebrado oy 27 de Agosto de 1794.

¹⁴¹ Document found in Marchena library. Translation: [...] Son el personero y Diputado de parecer, que no se sigue perjuicio común ni particular falta de devoción ni escándalo, en que los hermanos de dicha hermandad en su Estación del Viernes Santo, vallan en ella, llevando a el Señor los atributos de su Pasión y cruces de túnicas con las caras cubiertas, continuándose dicha prohibición fuera de la estación, y aunque hasta de presente ha llevado, silencio y devoción dicha hermandad, para que esta se aumente, se prohíba el

The prohibition of *saeta* chanting during processions was intended to refocus attention on the religious experience itself. However, there is an important detail that needs to be understood and it is that the *saeta* was considered a provincial custom and was not well received in the big cities.¹⁴² The singing of *saetas* by *rustic* people was, according to this document, the reason of lack of devotion of the flock.

que ninguna persona, cante *saetas* ni coplas, pues siendo muchos de los que las cantan gentes rusticas, quitan la devoción, en cuyos términos, y como la hermandad lo acordó, e hizo constar en su suplica, a S. M. y señores del Rl Consejo no encuentran incombeniente en su solicitud ... (Follows more text about the brotherhood).

¹⁴² Cantero, 540.

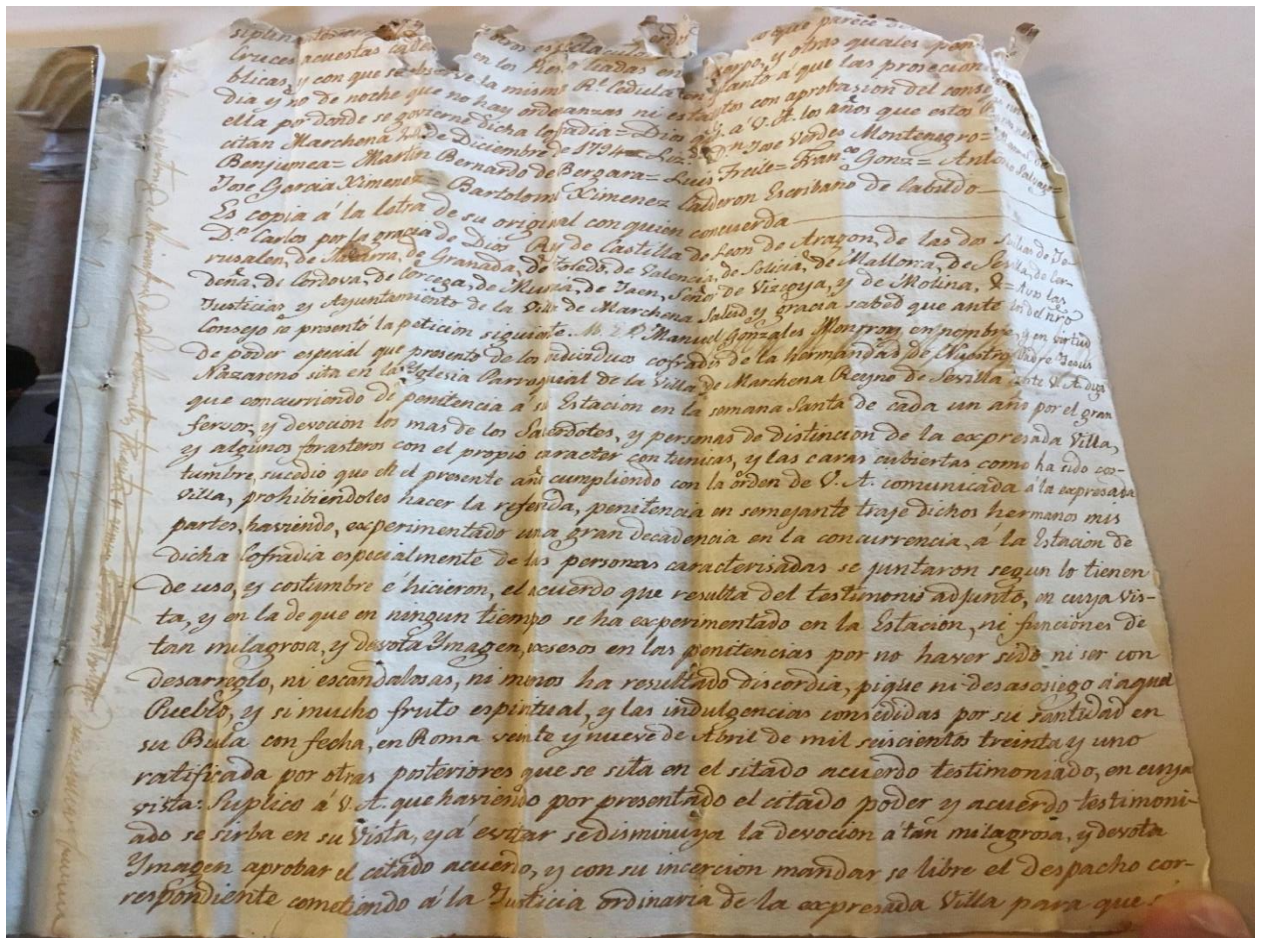


Figure 1.1 Original document from Marchena Library. Source: Library of Marchena

In 1810, much of the wealth of bibliographic resources in Marchena was lost when Napoleonic troops occupied and sacked the convents and monasteries. The soldiers set fire to many books or used them as beds, although the villagers buried some of them or kept them hidden. Some monasteries were occupied for around 30 months (August 1812). Lack of money meant that many of the buildings were not restored; any money available went to feeding the hungry and impoverished villagers.¹⁴³ After the French

¹⁴³ Manuel Antonio Ramos Suárez, "El edificio conventual de San Pedro mártir de Marchena (Sevilla). Vicisitudes de un inmueble desde la desamortización napoleónica hasta principios del siglo XX," n.d., 17.

troops left, the religious communities began to reclaim their buildings and regroup their possessions.

In Marchena, the San Pedro Mártir monastery housed soldiers; the San Francisco monastery was used as a gunpowder factory; the San Agustín monastery was ravaged and abandoned; Santa Eulalia monastery became a fort, and the Capuchins monastery was annexed to the Palace of Arcos dukes and used as a transit building).¹⁴⁴

Santa Eulalia convent had one of the biggest Franciscan library collections in the province of Seville. It had been combined with the collection of the San Pedro Mártir monastery (held by Dominican monks) before the French arrived and sacked Marchena. Although sources connect *saetas* with the Franciscan and Dominican monasteries, in Marchena during the eighteenth century, there were nine active religious orders. An 1815 compendium of the remaining bibliographical material listed 4403 volumes in the Capuchin library. The Capuchins had most important bibliographical archive, however, prepared after the French presence in Marchena. Some of the volumes in that collection came from the Jesuits.

Through the Cadastre of the Marqués de la Ensenada, it is known that up to nine religious orders were practicing in Marchena in the middle of the 18th century: the Preachers (a total of 30 monks), the Franciscans (30), the Capuchins (20), the Jesuits (12), the Franciscan Recollects (30), and in Marchena (30). XVIII: the Preachers (a total of 30 monks), the Franciscans (30), the Capuchins (20), the Jesuits (12), the Franciscan Recollects (30; in Santa Eulalia), the Franciscan Observants (50; in Santa Clara), the Recollects of San Francisco (25; in Santa María) and the Discalced

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 3.

Mercedarias (39; in San Andrés); which corresponded to 4.05% of the population in the year 1753. (Alcaide Aguilar, 1985).¹⁴⁵

A musical archive, culled from the 1815 list, resided in the Parroquia San Juan Bautista of Marchena and was the biggest after the archive at Seville Cathedral and the *Colegial* from Jerez de la Frontera.¹⁴⁶ The musical development in Marchena is evident. Rich musical history and the influence of the town's trained musicians guided the musical education of the population. The most developed aspect of that musical education was singing and choral formation. This vocal training also influenced other aspects of village life, such as the processions and the celebration of religious festivities, where people expressed their devotion in any emotional manner available. The processions that were part of Easter celebrations and Holy Week were a key aspect of that religious practice.

Agustín Aguilar y Tejera

The poet and scholar Agustín Aguilar y Tejera started a study about the *saetas* in Marchena in the early twentieth century.¹⁴⁷ He was the first to make a compilation of the texts of 500 *saetas* of Marchena in 1916. Later, he published another book where he

¹⁴⁵ Translation: A través del Catastro del Marqués de la Ensenada, se sabe que en Marchena practicaban hasta nueve órdenes religiosas a mediados del s. XVIII: los Predicadores (un total de 30 monjes), los Franciscanos (30), los Capuchinos (20), los Jesuitas (12), los Franciscanos Recoletos (30; en Santa Eulalia), las Franciscanas Observantes (50; en Santa Clara), las Recoletas de San Francisco (25; en Santa María) y las Mercedarias Descalzas (39; en San Andrés); lo que se correspondía con el 4,05% de la población en el año de 1753. (Alcaide Aguilar, 1985).

¹⁴⁶ Parroquia de San Juan Bautista (Marchena), *Catálogo Del Archivo Musical de La Parroquia de San Juan Bautista de Marchena (Sevilla)* ([Granada]: Centro de Educación Musical de Andalucía, 2005).

¹⁴⁷ Agustín Aguilar y Tejera, *Saetas recogidas de la tradición oral, en Marchena* (Ars, 1916).

increased the number of texts he gathered and included some musical scores.¹⁴⁸ Aguilar y Tejera called himself an amateur in demosophy (the study of folklore and popular wisdom) and the texts he gathered were from brothers of the religious brotherhoods in Marchena. He interviewed them and conducted his research during their organizational gatherings, during the processions, and what he called *jandocas*.¹⁴⁹

Agustín Aguilar y Tejera provided one of the most important sources of *saetas* in Marchena. He structured his research of *saetas* lyrics by topics, clarifying the different uses of the *saetas* in terms of time, place, language, source, or purpose.



Figure 1.2 Agustín Aguilar y Tejera. Source: *El Aviso*, Baldomero Giménez Luque (photo restored by Santiago Bedmar).

¹⁴⁸ Appendix E gives examples of *saeta* texts.

¹⁴⁹ Aguilar y Tejera, *Saetas*, 12. This word is rarely used, even in a computer search and the meaning appears in just one or two links. Interestingly, what appears instead is “januca” or “Hannukah.” On the one hand, the meaning of *jandoca* is Lunch of the Brotherhood (comida de hermandad). And on the other, a text about the influence of the Dominican monks in Andalusia mentions the *jandocas*. Precisely, there are documents that assure the presence of Jews in that order after the non-converted Jews to Catholicism were expelled from Spain in 1492. It is interesting the close relation of the word *jandoca* to *januca*, and that in these meetings of the brotherhoods were performed *saetas*, as Aguilar y Tejera affirms.

Aguilar y Tejera's work in Marchena was important not only because he gathered hundreds of texts, but also because he described how the typical *saetas* of Marchena were used. He found that the *cuartas*, *quintas*, and *sextas* are characteristic of that particular village. Aguilar y Tejera connects the *cuartas* to the brotherhood of *Jesús Nazareno*, *La Humildad*, and *El Dulce Nombre*. They were exclusively used by these brotherhoods. The *saetas quintas* and *sextas* were both used by the *Cristo de San Pedro* and *La Virgen de las Angustias*. The *quintas* were also used by the brotherhood of *La Soledad*.¹⁵⁰

However, one of the most important things Aguilar y Tejera collects in his research is the existence of bilingual *saetas*, combining Spanish and Latin. These verses were part of the *Miserere*, for which he also found some notes.¹⁵¹ He claims that this *Miserere* of *saetas* is probably the only one existing in Andalusia. Here is an example:

*Ecce enim en el pecado
Concepit me mater mea
En tan miserable estado
Sólo tu amor me recrea,
Sólo tu amor me ha salvado.*¹⁵²

Another aspect of the *saeta* performance that Aguilar y Tejera observes is the rivalry among the brotherhoods. Specifically, the competition between the brotherhood of

¹⁵⁰ Aguilar y Tejera, *Saetas*, 184.

¹⁵¹ A *Miserere* is a vocal complaint and a lament, it was the chanted 51 psalm of the Bible, which asked for forgiveness from the sins and means "have piety."

¹⁵² Tejera, *Saetas recogidas de la tradición oral, en Marchena*, 123.

Ecce enim in sin/Concepit me mater mea/In such a wretched state/Only your love recreates me,/Only your love has saved me.

Cristo de San Pedro and the brotherhood of *La Soledad* had provoked public altercations.¹⁵³ An example of a *saeta* describing the competition between the brotherhoods is as follows:

*Cristo mío de San Pedro,
Cristo de todos los Cristos,
Que en cuanto sale a la calle
Es el mejor de toítitos.*¹⁵⁴

A *saeta* usually performed in Seville suggests a rivalry with Marchena exists.

*Cristo de la Expiración
Que vas por la Lencería,
El que se lleva la palma
De todas las Cofradías!*¹⁵⁵

Marchena *saetas* also were intended to be performed in a specific location.¹⁵⁶

Since some of the *saetas* depict Jesus Christ's Passion and Death, they were performed during the procession as it passed through the streets to evoke the suffering of Christ and prompt the onlookers to "meditate"¹⁵⁷ about the scene. In Marchena, the *Puerta de Santo Domingo* or *San Pedro* were common locations for performing such *saetas*. Aguilar y Tejera suggests in his collection that there was a very specific order in which the *saetas*

¹⁵³ Aguilar y Tejera, 198. The reason for the altercations is the itinerary the processions of these brotherhoods have. Aguilar y Tejera describes how, on occasions, they have coincided in the square of La Cárcel in Marchena; one of the processions had to wait while the other one marched. The sentiment of proudness provoked physical altercations between the members of the brotherhoods, who used the large candles they carry as weapons to harm each other.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 128. The word *toítitos* is an alteration of the word *todos*, which is used here to assure a rhyme. My Christ of St. Peter,/Christ of all Christs,/Who as soon as he goes out into the street/Is the best of *all*.

¹⁵⁵ Aguilar y Tejera, 198. Christ of the Expiration/That you go for the Lingerie,/The one that takes the palm/Of all the Confraternities!

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 198.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 199.

were performed: chants about the Passion lead to Christ's Descent, followed by the *saetas de penitencia* (punishment), and finally the *saetas* that refer to the procession itself. An example of these type of *saetas* is this one:

*Ya está el Señor al salir,
Ven, pueblo, a seguir su ejemplo,
Sus favores a pedir:
Ven y podrás recibir,
La bendición en el templo.*¹⁵⁸

During Holy Week processions, the Virgin follows Christ and Aguilar y Tejera calls such *saetas* as the *saetas* of the *Pasión de María*.¹⁵⁹ They describe the moments after Jesus' descent from the cross and his funeral and the burial. The *saetas* performed here resemble the mourning chants performed at funerals in Eastern Europe. The intent of the *saeta* is precisely to convey this pain, to send a message of emotion in the shape of an arrow.

Modern Marchena (an afterthought)

It is worth mentioning that by the 1970s, lack of budget to pay the old *Santeros* who traditionally carried the floats meant that members of local youth clubs had begun to take on the chore of transporting "*La Borriquita*" and *Virgen de la Palma*. The Marchena

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 128. The Lord is already on his way out,/Come, O people, to follow his example,/His favors to ask:/Come and you may receive,/The blessing in the temple.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 199.

Youth Club also organized the first *Saetas de Marchena* Contest, almost 50 years ago, when it seemed that many traditions were falling into oblivion.¹⁶⁰

¹⁶⁰ <https://lavozdemarchena.es/firmas/13843-marchena-cuna-de-la-saeta-iii>

CHAPTER 2

The *Saeta* and its History

In the time that *saeta* has been documented in Andalusia, it has been dogged by debate about the origins of the word *saeta* and the origins of the chant. Some claim Arab music was the key influence on the form of the *saeta* and others claim it had Jewish roots.

Debate also rages about the origins of the word, some saying it is a hold-over from Latin and others equally passionately placing it in the Arab world. We will start by analyzing the etymology of the word *saeta*.

Etymology

The word *saeta*, from the Latin *sagitta*, was initially used in Spanish to mean an arrow (*flecha* in modern Spanish). In the 1690 *Despertador Christiano*, the word *saeta* is defined as a weapon, an arrow from God.¹⁶¹ But by 1693, the word *saeta* was being used to describe a chant or a short couplet.¹⁶² Exactly when this transition took place, we don't know, but it clearly was describing a chant that was "penetrating people's souls."¹⁶³ Pre-existing Andalusian chants and especially, the manner of performance and vocal expressions were based on pre-fifteenth century cultures (Jewish, Arab, and others), also may have contributed to the use of the name for the chant.

¹⁶¹ José de Barcia y Zambrana. *Compendio de los cinco tomos del despertador christiano*, 60.

¹⁶² Zambrana, *Despertador christiano de sermones doctrinales sobre particulares assumptos*, 1693.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

The idea of an arrow as an instrument of God dates to the Bible. In sixteenth century, religious texts, the word *saeta* replaces the word arrow.¹⁶⁴ Today, the word *saeta* in Spain is almost always used to describe a specific chant performed during Holy Week processions, although it also retains the idea of being an instrument of God, to punish or to lead.¹⁶⁵ This concept connects the *saeta* to Jesus and to all humans (Christians), placing the chant as *saetas* sent from God.

Today, the *Dictionary of the Royal Academy of Spanish Language* defines the word *saeta* in five ways:¹⁶⁶ an arrow or any weapon that is thrown; a clock hand; the hand of a compass that always returns to the magnetic pole; the tip of a grapevine shoot that needs to be trimmed; a flamenco-chant performed for an image carried in the Holy Week processions.¹⁶⁷ In this work, we are concerned with the final definition. Although narrowly defining this modern-day meaning of *saeta* only in association with a Flamenco *palo*¹⁶⁸ is misleading, since we have witnessed *saeta* chants being performed in quite different styles, circumstances, and performance spaces.

There is a Spanish word, *jaculatoria*, which is used in the religious context as a short prayer or aspiration that is called out loud. However, the flamenco-style *saeta* is not short at all. *Copla*, the other word sometimes used to describe the *saeta*, means verse.

¹⁶⁴ <https://www.rae.es/dhle/saeta>

¹⁶⁵ Mariela Cerda “*Saetas de Dios*,” *Saetas de Dios* (blog); July 25, 2013. blogrpc.blogspot.com

¹⁶⁶ *Diccionario de la lengua española - Edición del Tricentenario*. RAE, 2014. accessed December 30, 2020. <https://dle.rae.es/saeta>.

¹⁶⁷ *Palo flamenco consistente en una jaculatoria o copla que una persona dedica a las imágenes de las procesiones*. (A flamenco chant consists of an ejaculatory prayer or a verse that a person dedicates to the images in the procession)

¹⁶⁸ *Cada una de las variedades tradicionales del cante flamenco*. (Each of the traditional varieties of Flamenco chant.)

Overall, this description does not encompass the religious context of the *saeta*, which is a crucial part of this chant.

In 1880, *La Enciclopedia de Sevilla* first formally defined *saeta*.¹⁶⁹ This is perhaps significant in that the 1880s also was the period when the old style of the chant was practiced and the flamenco style of the *saeta* was developing. In 1881, Antonio Machado y Álvarez (Demófilo) described the *saeta* as “little songs whose main purpose is to remind the people, especially on Holy Thursday and Good Friday, of some passages of the passion and death of Jesus Christ (...) couplets shot as arrows against the hardened hearts of the faithful.”¹⁷⁰ Machado sustained an open conversation in Spain about this topic and defined the *saeta* as a chant that was both, religious and non-religious. In 1927, almost fifty years later, Ibn Kutayar (ibid) first wrote about the root of the word.¹⁷¹ The word *lúgubre*, used in 1880, means sad, mournful, lugubrious. Few chants are described thus, a feature that remains in later descriptions of the flamenco *saeta*.¹⁷²

Despite the general acceptance of a Latin root for the word *saeta*, there is some

¹⁶⁹ Brisset Martín, Demetrio E., “Visión Antropológica de Las Sátiras de Loja. Análisis de Las Fiestas de Granada (8).” *Gazeta de Antropologia* No. 26 (2010, 4).

¹⁷⁰ Author José María Sbarbi y Osuna addressing Antonio Machado (Demófilo) in an article in the Sevillian magazine *La Enciclopedia*, defines the *saeta* thus: “Grave intonation, paused, mournful and almost monotonous, leaving as if in suspense the cadence, to which is added the proper time of meditation and recollection, as is that of Holy Week,” These *saetas* were sung in the missions, but since the first third of the XIX century are sung in Andalusia in the temples, in the street by the common people during the Holy Week processions. Antonio Machado y Álvarez responds with his article “*Las Saetas Populares*” (30/04/1880), saying that he has heard the *saetas* in Seville, Jerez and Cádiz. He catalogs them as a popular genre, in the style of “*piropos, pregones, trabalenguas, troves, adivinanzas y juegos infantiles*, (compliments, speeches, tongue twisters, ballads, riddles and child’s play)” and includes some *saeta* lyrics. Had he considered them to be flamenco, he would have included them in his 1881 book. This exchange indicates that flamenco *saetas* would not be around prior to 1881 but were born in the flamenco triangle: Cadiz, Jerez and Seville.

¹⁷¹ Aguilar y Tejera.

¹⁷² Ibid.

debate. The musicians Antonio and David Hurtado and Manuel Alvar López favor the Arab word *sawt* as the precursor of the word *saeta*.¹⁷³ Alvar explains that the Moroccan Arabic *sawt* has evolved into *sout*.¹⁷⁴ The semantic framework of the same root also produced the Arabic *sayyit*,¹⁷⁵ which means *voice*. According to Alvar, that term could also be understood as chanting with certain sonority conditions, which is also characteristic of the *saeta* (without instrumental accompaniment).¹⁷⁶

Many Arab words are retained in modern Spanish. However, the theory that *saeta* harks back to Arabic is not generally accepted and is not included in current dictionaries of the Spanish language.

Independent of the etymology, the chant has retained name *saeta* over time, even as ways of performing it have changed. Roberto Narvaez, the director of the *Saeta* School of Marchena, describes a three-stage development: the old missionary *saeta*, which evolved into the improvised *saetas* that are performed to the Holy Week statues and, at some later point, the performance of *saetas* in flamenco style. At every stage, however, they retained the character of a lament.

In the twentieth century, different theories about the origin of the *saeta* have been propounded. The line that traces the development of the old *saeta* in the missionaries is

¹⁷³ Hurtado Torres, *La llave de la música flamenca*, 241.

¹⁷⁴ Alvar López, Manuel, *Endechas judeo-españolas*, CSIC Press, 1969.

¹⁷⁵ Frishkopf, Michael. "Inshad Dini and Aghani Diniyya in Twentieth Century Egypt: A Review of Styles, Genres, and Available Recordings." *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 34, no. 2 (2000): 167–83. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23064126>. This term is used to name any singer in rural places.

¹⁷⁶ López Alvar, *Endechas judeo-españolas*, 15.

well documented but alternate theories are less well documented.

Theories of *Saeta* Origins

In this section, we present in greater detail several theories regarding *saetas* and its roots.

1. Arabic theory

Musicologist Marius Schneider claims that the old *saeta* is ancient Arabic or pre-Islamic that was music used by the nomadic cultures of Syria, Southern Tunisia, or Yemen.¹⁷⁷ The camel-drivers often sang during the night to make the camels go faster and to distract them from the heaviness of their load. Schneider claims that the *saeta* is an example of that Bedouin music.

¹⁷⁷ Marius Schneider, *A propósito del influjo árabe: ensayo de etnografía musical de la España medieval* (Madrid: Instituto Español de Musicología, 1946), 55.

A propósito del influjo árabe

81

No hay preceden- te de lo que ve- is [Andalucía]

(o) cam- no con el ro- stro - [Beduin]

sobre sus hom- [bras ?] y una cruz de pe- [Beduin]

ci- a so- bre sus hom- bras [Saeta Andalu]

Example 1.1 Example of a Saeta and Bedouin Music by Marius Schneider.

This example represents an improvised melismatic type, whose melodic framework rests on the note E. After this E has been the center of some

*melodic figurations, the sounds A na G form the focus of the melodic evolution. Then the song returns to lower tessituras, to launch itself again towards the summit of the tetrachord. Before the end, an F sharp is introduced, which determines the whole evolution of the penultimate part of the song. This same melodic and rhythmic structure is seen in the Seta Andaluza, as well as in the Endecha del Beduino Sirio, noted in parallel with the saeta.*¹⁷⁸

Moreover, he posits that the *saeta* may be the only example of “truly” Arabic music introduced into Spain, though he backtracks, calling it a “doubtful case.” In connection with the flamenco *saeta*, there is Schneider’s Persian theory.



Figure 2.1 Marius Schneider. Source: *Zam*, Italy.

¹⁷⁸ Translation: Este ejemplo representa un tipo melismático improvisado, cuyo cuadro melódico reposa en la nota Mi. Después que este E ha sido el centro de algunas figuraciones melódicas, los sonidos A y G forman el foco de la evolución melódica. Luego el canto vuelve a tesituras más bajas, para lanzarse de nuevo hacía la cumbre del tetracordo. Antes de terminar se introduce un F sostenido, que determina toda la evolución de la penúltima parte de la canción. Esta misma estructura melódica y rítmica se ve tanto en la Seta Andaluza, como en la Endecha del Beduino Sirio, notada en paralelo con la saeta.

Schneider also claims that what would develop as flamenco music in Andalusia traces its origins to Persia. Arabs were unfamiliar with the scales that were sung in Syria and Persia. Moreover, the scales were Greek.

“Andalusian music is a Spanish creation evoked by Iranian elements,” he claims.¹⁷⁹ Schneider insists that Spanish music influenced Muslim Arabs and not the other way around. He theorizes that Bedouin music served as the basis for Arab music, whereas the Persians developed that music in Andalusia when Ziryab¹⁸⁰ brought ninth-century Persian music to Cordoba.¹⁸¹ This music developed from the Byzantine influence in Persia, according to Schneider, reaching the Iberian Peninsula, where it was implanted in Andalusia, through the established system of conservatories.

The author disagrees with theories that claim Arabic music influenced Spanish, and consequently on European music.¹⁸² All medieval Spanish music tended to be known as “Arabic,” which Schneider scorns as an “epidemic.” Although late-period Arab music influenced courtly troubadour poetry, Schneider claimed that such influences would only affect the literary aspects.

In contrast, flamencologist Cristina Cruces Roldán claims that there is no documented differentiation between Arab and Persian-origin music. Cruces Roldán,

¹⁷⁹ Marius Schneider, *A propósito del influjo árabe*, 55.

¹⁸⁰ A Kurdish musician and scholar, who settled in Cordoba in the ninth century. Ruiz, Anna, *Vibrant Andalusia*, The Spice of Life in Southern Andalusia, Algora Publishing, 1960, P.53.

¹⁸¹ Guettat, Mahmut, *La Música Andalusí en el Magreb* (Sevilla: Fundación El Monte, 1999). 9.

¹⁸² Schneider, p. 31.

however, ascribes the supposed Arab connection to flamenco as evidence only of a European fashion for the “Oriental” in the nineteenth and twentieth century.¹⁸³

Pakistani musician Aziz Balouch identified flamenco as music coming from his native Pakistan.¹⁸⁴ His book, “*Cante jondo, origen y evolución*,” draws several parallels between the two musical traditions and compares some examples in depth. For instance, Balouch compares the Andalusian Holy Week *saeta* with the *marsiya* recited to commemorate the martyrdom of Imam Husayn. He writes:

Just as in Spain, the songs in the Holy Week are sung in processions without instrumental accompaniment except the drum, so are the marsiya in Sindh as well as in other parts of Pakistan sung only to the accompaniment of a drum. The most typical of these songs, falling within the general category of the marsiyas sung exclusively in the Lower Indus Valley of Sindh, are known as Osara. The semblance between the Osara of Sindh and the Saeta religious songs of Cante Jondo is typical.

¹⁸³ Cristina Cruces Roldán, *El flamenco y la música andalusí* (Ediciones carena, 2003).

¹⁸⁴ Balouch, Aziz. *Cante jondo: su origen y evolucion*. (Madrid: Ediciones Ensayos, 1955).

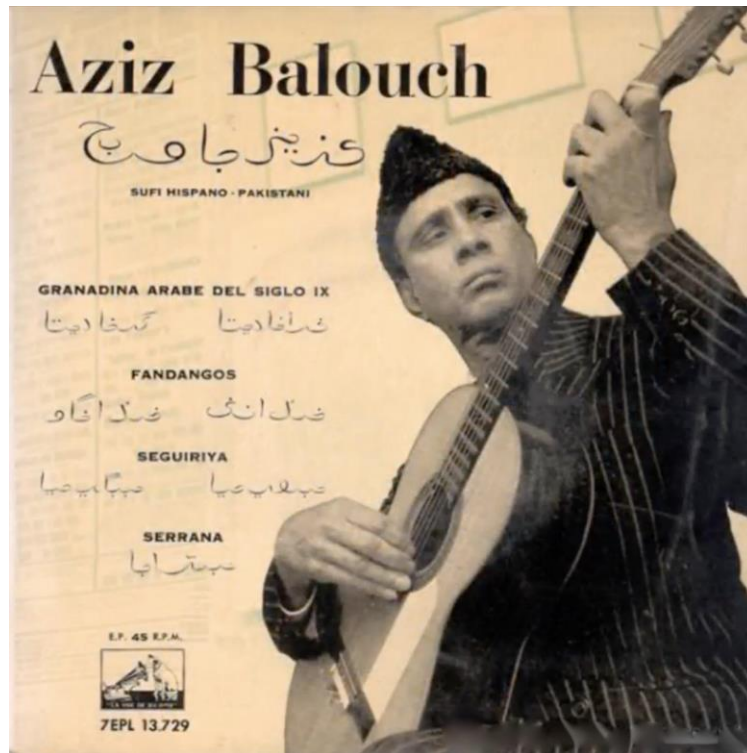


Figure 2.2 Aziz Balouch. Source: *Cante Jondo, su origen y evolución*.

Samira Kadiri, a singer from Morocco, talks about *saeta*'s roots coming from an Andalusian musical style called *aita*.

[...] about its genealogy in the Andalusian music tradition. Ms. Kadiri contends that the *saeta* derives from the *aita*, an Andalusian musical style from northern Morocco and Tetouan in particular.¹⁸⁵

In 2011,¹⁸⁶ Moroccan soprano Samira Kadiri performed a concert with a Spanish flamenco singer Rocio Marquez, during which both women performed a *saeta* from

¹⁸⁵ Flores, Tania, "The Barzakh of Flamenco: Tracing the Spirituality, Locality and Musicality of Flamenco from South of the Strait of Gibraltar" 2011. *Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection*. 1118. https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection/1118

¹⁸⁶ https://www.hoyesarte.com/c114-mas-noticias/los-moriscos-una-memoria-mediterranea-comun_88914/

Andalusia, and a *saeta Andalusí*.¹⁸⁷ However, there is no available recording of that concert. There is the example of an old *saeta* from Huelva that is a predecessor of the flamenco style *saeta*.¹⁸⁸ For a listener who does not understand the text, it may sound like this chant from Beirut, Lebanon.¹⁸⁹

2. Jewish theory

Although we know a considerable amount about the lives of Jews in Andalusia before the Muslim conquest, little is known about their music. UC Santa Barbara Professor of Arabic Dwight F. Reynolds notes that the participation of Jewish musicians in the artistic life of the Iberian Peninsula is clearly documented:

*Sources for Jewish music in Iberia previous to the Muslim conquest are almost non-existent; however, descriptions of Jewish music from the period immediately following the Islamic conquest may reflect older traditions and practices. We can only note that at this stage of history a substantial community of Jews existed in Iberia who almost certainly maintained religious musical traditions and possibly distinctive non-religious musical traditions as well. It is therefore noteworthy that a number of Iberian Jewish musicians should make their appearance after the Muslim conquest and continue to participate in musical life in both Muslim and Christian realms in the Peninsula throughout the following centuries.*¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ Andalusí is a term used for something belonging to Al Andalus, or Muslim Spain from the ninth to seventeenth centuries.

¹⁸⁸ <https://youtu.be/-bMrXqXHt2U>

¹⁸⁹ https://youtu.be/guwJqNrW6_k Dunya Yunis in a solo performance of the song Abu Zeluf, Beirut, Lebanon in the album *The Human Voice in the World of Islam*. Field recording done in Lebanon in 1970 or 1972 by Poul Rovsing Olsen and Jean Jenkins.

¹⁹⁰ Reynolds, Dwight F. *The Musical Heritage of Al-Andalus*. (New York: Routledge, 2020).

Musicologist Edwin Seroussi, who has studied the topic of Iberic-Jewish music in extensive detail, confirms the dearth of information during that pre-Muslim period:

*Reconstructing the Iberian past of Sephardic music has been an elusive task marked by the obvious reality that all available documentation about music among Jews in medieval Iberia derives from circumstantial literary sources. Another strategy used by scholars was to trace echoes of the distant musical past in the surviving oral traditions.*¹⁹¹

German-Jewish historian and writer Maximiliano José “Medina Azara” Khan¹⁹² studies the *saeta* and relates it to the Jewish *Kol Nidrei* prayer performed during Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement). Khan suggests that this sung prayer was used by the converted Jews to ask God to cancel the oath given in converting to the Christian religion. This allowed the converted Jews, called *marranos*, to still practice Judaism once converted. Azara states that their fear of persecution by the Catholic Church caused them to make the *saeta* a secret way of communication, and the discovery of this secret by the Inquisition seemed impossible since it was well covered by Christian texts.¹⁹³

This reflection gains some support from author Manuel Barrios Gutierrez,¹⁹⁴ who claims that, in fact, the Jews wanted to reaffirm themselves in their new religion and to be seen by society as the sincerest devotees of the newly accepted religion. He speculates that such a transformation was neither easy nor quick, and probably, the best tactic was to

¹⁹¹ Erik Seroussi, “Music in medieval ibero-jewish society” *Hispania judaica bulletin*, 5-6, 2007.

¹⁹² Medina Azara was the penname of Maximiliano Jose Khan (1897-1953).

¹⁹³ Medina Azara, (Maximiliano José Kahn). “Sefarat Tierra de Promisión. ¿Por qué no hay judíos en España?” *Gaceta Literaria* (January 1930).

¹⁹⁴ Manuel Barrios Gutierrez, *Ese difícil mundo del flamenco*. (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1972).

follow the traditions of the old Christians. So, the new Christians (Jewish converts or *conversos*) retained their old way of singing, but with Catholic texts. Because that style of singing resembled the synagogue chants, by mixing old and new traditions, they could plausibly keep hidden their traditional chants for generations. Barrios suggested that this may be the case with the *saetas*, and this theory would suggest that those songs were considered forbidden or “dangerous.” For that reason, they remained hidden until the abolition of the Inquisition in 1834. From then on, it is logical to suppose that, excluding fear of betrayal, songs, already called *saetas*, emerged to become the *saeta* of Holy Week. Without doubt, time and cultural changes had their effect, but Arab-Jewish roots were present, and the chant may have a much older origin than previously thought.

3.Christian Theory

The Christian theory of the origin of the *saeta* is best represented in a study by Capuchin monk Fray Diego de Valencina.¹⁹⁵ The author makes a clear distinction between three types of *saetas*: those sung by the Dominican and Franciscan missionaries, the old *saeta*, and the flamenco *saeta*. As a religious person, Fray Diego presents a theory in which he suggests that the Arabs who were expelled from Andalusia moved to Mesopotamia or Syria. There they performed music learned and created in Andalusia. His speculation is unfounded, explained by Fray Diego’s religious perspective.

¹⁹⁵ Fray Diego de Valencia, *Historia documentada de la saeta and los campanilleros* (Madrid: Real Academia Español, 1949).

4.Pagan Theory

The Pagan theory is represented by writer and academic flamencologist Agustín Gómez, who links the most archaic forms of Andalusian folklore with the pagan rites that relate to nature.¹⁹⁶ He illustrates the connection of the Catholic Church to the ancestral festivals and rituals in Spain and Andalusia and relates the *saeta* to some of these rites, specifically, to the instinct of procreation.¹⁹⁷

The pagan theory¹⁹⁸ makes a connection with the representation of the Passion of Christ - a depiction of a funeral procession - to ancestral processions during which the leader or chief was carried on a platform followed by a row of devotees. This musical expression can be presumed common to different cultures, in particular the use of mourners and chanters.

Thesis

According to researchers such as Raquel Cantero Diaz, the *saeta* we know today is exclusively a part of flamenco repertoire and not something that has ties to other iterations in the past. Although it is true that we have no documentation that illustrates how the old *saetas* sounded, even with the most complete and detailed textual explanation, we have documentary accounts of its use. And the passion that exudes from this kind of singing is what most supports my theory that this is part of a long and varied

¹⁹⁶ Agustín Gómez, *Cantes y Estilos del Flamenco* (Córdoba: Servicios de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Córdoba, 2003), 97.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ <https://www.publico.es/sociedad/ritos-paganos-semana-santa-olvidada.html> and Rodríguez, *Velázquez y la cultura sevillana*, 295.

tradition of passionate mourning funerary chants common to many Mediterranean cultures and has nothing to do with the Roma or Arabs. The current work is designed to demonstrate the separation between the various types of *saeta*. The nominal equality suggests that the chant was intended to deliver the same passionate message. The way of performing is what differs.

This work argues that the *saeta* chant is a way of singing that is common to many cultures: Mediterranean, Jewish, Middle Eastern. It is a practice of mournful singing to accompany a funeral procession. This practice existed long before the Catholic processions of Holy Week in Andalusia. Religious and funerary processions existed in Egypt, Persia or Mesopotamia, and Christianity adopted them as part of its rituals.

In the year 532 Emperor Justinian started a program of processional activities in Constantinople. The processions would entail the following of specific routes and music, as religion Professor Martin Stringer describes them:

*The processions themselves were always accompanied by music. It would have been unthinkable to conduct a procession in silence. It was the psalm sung antiphonally that formed the texts for the processions [...]. [...] the processions did not remain an entirely ecclesial affair, used to celebrate the feasts of the church. They clearly took on a much more central role in the life of the city.*¹⁹⁹

The *saeta* chant is older than flamenco. It is a funerary chant. Even today, flamenco performers who sing *saetas*, do so during Holy Week processions. The

¹⁹⁹ Stringer, Martin D., *A Sociological History of Christian Worship*. (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 9.

religiosity of the performers directly affects their state of mind when performing the *saeta*. Flamenco may be the style used to perform the *saetas* today, but it is the funerary chants and the mourning chants and that state of mind that flamenco copies.

Musician Manuel Alvar López explains in his book *Endechas judeo-españolas*²⁰⁰ that the word *saeta* is used to describe a chant uttered after a death (*canto de muerto*) in Larache, a city in Northern Morocco. The author recounts meeting a woman in that city whom he calls a *plañidera* (mourner) and performed that chant for the dead. According to Alvar, later that woman moved to Israel and with her departure that tradition of mourning chant was extinguished.²⁰¹

Alvar's investigation focuses on Sephardic chants called *endechas*. The name comes from the Latin *indicta* and it is a popular medieval funerary chant used for the death of a beloved person.²⁰² Usually, female family members or even professional mourners hired for the occasion chant the *indictae* during the days of mourning. Novelist Antonio Muñoz Molina claims that the *saeta* is the continuation of that Sephardic chant called *endecha*:

*...Although the endecha is officially considered to have disappeared, as is often the case with traditions rooted in the people, it survives in the essence of the flamenco and popular song of Holy Week known as saeta.*²⁰³

²⁰⁰ Manuel Alvar López, *Endechas judeo-españolas* (Madrid: CSIC Press, 1969), 9.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 7.

²⁰² <http://memoriadesefarad.blogspot.com/2015/02/endechas-sefardies.html>

²⁰³ Ibidem, Translation: Aunque se dé oficialmente por desaparecida la endecha, como suele ocurrir con las tradiciones arraigadas en el pueblo, ésta pervive en la esencia del canto flamenco y popular de Semana Santa conocido como saeta.

The mourning tradition in the Mediterranean has existed since ancient times. Professor of Religion Shawna Dolansky notes the existence of professional mourners as well as family members, “professional mourners were hired to gash their flesh and veil.”²⁰⁴ And among those professionals were paid singers, according to writer and musician Gail Holst-Warhaft:

*In the ancient societies of the Near East and the Mediterranean, there were professional mourners as well as unpaid ones. There is evidence to suggest that Greeks prized lament-singers who came from the east, especially from Persia...*²⁰⁵

Mourners



Figure 2.3 Egyptian women mourning. Source: Daily Mail (AP)

²⁰⁴ Spaeth, Barbette Stanley, *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Mediterranean Religions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; illustrated edition, 2013), 62.

²⁰⁵ Håland, Evy Johanne *Women, Pain and Death: Rituals and Everyday Life on the Margins of Europe and Beyond*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing; new edition (January 10, 2008), Gail Holst-Warhaft, 21.



Figure 2.4 Mourners²⁰⁶ Source: Periódico *Correo* (Mexico)

Saeta Singers



Figure 2.5 *Saeta* Singer Melchora Ortega. Source: *La Voz del Sur*, Paco Barroso.



Figure 2.6 *Saeta* Singer Elu de Jerez. Source: *Diario de Jerez*, Paco Barroso.

²⁰⁶ <https://www.newyorker.com/culture/video-dept/professional-mourners-laments-from-quarantine>
<https://youtu.be/kJUQxelrZX4>

The musical practices related to Spanish Catholic religious traditions are diverse. In the case of the *saeta* chant, its melodic components suggest that this practice may be based on the cultural phenomenon found in different countries, and even within different religions.

Ethnomusicologists Suzel Reily and Jonathan Dueck point out that music plays a role in unifying communities in Christianity, a phenomenon that could as easily be applied to any other religion. With that in mind, I would assert that the *saeta* chant is a cultural practice related to religious and spiritual sentiment, rather than exclusively a Catholic practice. Music in religious practice has “ontological aspects of practice, of being together,” according to Reily and Dueck. They also observe that a key to music’s effect is the power of the prevalence of missions.²⁰⁷ As we have seen, missionaries’ use of music is well established, and it was common practice for them to exploit already existing music locally and integrate it into a mission.

Chants gain their effectiveness from the combination of text, melody, their character, and the place where they are performed. The voice and interpretation of the performer does not make the chant. The *jondo* style already existed in Andalusia and its features are the same as the described above. If we say that the flamenco style developed from performers’ interest in singing in public and demonstrating techniques that were

²⁰⁷ “Music has constituted a central avenue of participation in corporate worship for Christians: a widespread and highly diverse avenue of musicking when it exploded in a global frame.” Suzel Ana Reily and Jonathan M. Dueck, *The Oxford Handbook of Music and World Christianities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 23, 24.

attractive to the audience, but that were based on existing chants, it is clear that the *saeta* preceded the *cante jondo*, which precedes flamenco. Sociologist and political scientist Gerhard Steingress²⁰⁸ bases his writing on Manuel Falla and Joaquín Turina's vision of *cante jondo*. They agree that the *cante jondo* is not a "primitive"²⁰⁹ chant, but the evolution of musical expression in the culture. That evolution is based on three factors: the Church's adoption of Byzantine chants, the Arab invasion of the Iberian Peninsula, and the immigration and establishment of Roma bands.

Raquel Cantero, who studied the *saetas* in the region outside Andalusia, Badajoz, Extremadura, discussed the way she felt that flamenco style entered the *saeta* performances step by step:

*In Simón García Bermejo's opinion, the Extremadura saeta does not belong to the flamenco musical heritage, but it is something popular that is part of the folklore. In fact, he told us that in his younger years only this modality was sung in the city, because the flamenco saeta was not known in these parts, although it was gradually introduced, but not without feeling some rejection by the people who considered that what the flamenco singers sang were not saetas. However, on some occasions, they did have the approval of the public.*²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ Steingress, *Sociología del Cante Flamenco*.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 82.

²¹⁰ En opinión de (flamenco singer) Simón García Bermejo, la *saeta* extremeña no pertenece al acervo musical flamenco, sino que se trata de algo popular que está dentro del folklore. De hecho, nos comentaba que en sus años jóvenes tan sólo se cantaba en la ciudad esta modalidad, pues la *saeta* flamenca no se conocía por estos lares, aunque poco a poco se fue introduciendo, no sin sentir cierto rechazo por parte del pueblo que consideraba que aquello que entonaban los cantaores flamencos no eran *saetas*. Sin embargo, en algunas ocasiones, éstos sí contaban con el beneplácito del público. Cantero, 746.

Cantero writes about the *saeta* songs performed by village women in the 1940s. At that point in time, those *saetas* would have been part of local oral tradition for some decades. They are not flamenco, she says. In an interview with me (see Appendix D) Cantero performs the *saeta* from the villages in a non-flamenco style and follows that with a performance of a flamenco-style *saeta* (minute 16 of the video). There is a clear difference in the performance, and although she justifies her flamenco-style voice as the reason, the old *saeta* she sings is not as plain and simple as she describes it to be. That style of mourning singing existed, and even if we do not have recordings of it, it is logical that a style of singing would be spread among people and, depending on the voice, they would sound differently. However, the point here is that being mourning chants, there were certainly types of voices reminiscent of flamenco mourning style, or *cante jondo*, and therefore, it is that *saeta* that inspired the flamenco chant, and not vice versa.

Transition to Flamenco and Contemporary Marchena

Unlike the old *saeta* of the missions, the flamenco *saeta* sprang from the lower classes of society. However, an element that appears is the *toná*,²¹¹ a type of chant, performed *a cappella*, that was adopted by the Roma. The *toná* is one of several basic musical components of flamenco music along with the street-seller's cry, the so called *pregones*, and religious dramas and popular religious chants. The *pregón* is a successor of the Muslim call to prayers. Flamenco *saeta* adopted musical and textual elements from these musical traditions.

²¹¹ Melero, *Las saetas*, 123.

Poet and researcher Jose Carlos de Luna, who studied the Roma in the Iberian Peninsula, claims that the people called *gitanos* were not always Roma but people from outside the law who joined their way of living.²¹² Coexistence with Jews and Arabs influenced the Roma, according to de Luna.²¹³ Author Manuel Martinez believes that Moriscos pretended to be Roma to escape expulsion of 1609.²¹⁴ Castilians had difficulty in differentiating Moriscos from the Roma, who looked alike. Moriscos worked as day laborers, a discriminated and exploited minority.

The main element that united Moors and the Roma was music. During the seventeenth century the population of Moriscos²¹⁵ were permitted to dance and sing in the Corpus Christi celebration in Andalusia. Clearly, there was a real exchange in musical traditions between Romanies and Moriscos.

The marginalization of this part of the population was enforced by a series of laws. A 1695 law forced entire Rom families to only work in the fields, unable to own animals or work other jobs. In 1727, Roma people were prohibited from filing complaints in the lower courts. A 1783 law gave the Roma a break and differentiated them from thieves and other criminals. This law allowed Roma to train for jobs²¹⁶ other than field work.²¹⁷

²¹² José Carlos De Luna Sánchez, *Gitanos de la betica* Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, Publicaciones, 2001, p. 88.

²¹³ Ibid., 63.

²¹⁴ Martínez, "Gitanos y Moriscos."

²¹⁵ Moors converted to Christianity after the Spanish Reconquista.

²¹⁶ A common place of work was as hammers in the iron factories.

²¹⁷ De Luna Sánchez, *Gitanos de la betica*, 86.

Elements of social protest also find their way into *cante jondo*, the predecessor of the flamenco. According to Medina Azara, the *cante jondo* “is the primitive lamentation of the Jews when their temple was destroyed.”²¹⁸ We could extrapolate this state of lamentation to the Andalusian lower classes and their desire to express themselves. According to Rafael Manzano, Andalusian Roma treasured the chants, and the flamenco derives from that *jondo* chant.²¹⁹ Thus, the flamenco style of *saeta* retains the character of a lamentation, independent of the culture that originally expressed it. The oppressed classes were formed by Roma and outlaws that were connected to them. The flamenco chant is also called *cante gitano andaluz* (Andalusian Roma chant).

From the Roma to Collective Musical Expression

There was a social aspect to the chant. The *saeta* was born as a “collective oral expression,”²²⁰ performed in groups of brotherhoods members in a responsorial way. *Saetas* are still performed in that manner in some Andalusian villages.²²¹ The texts have their origins in the Passion of Christ, the couplets of the *Via Crucis*, the *Miserere*, poets, and popular texts.²²²

The old *saetas* are called “*saetas cuarteleras*” because they were born in the heart of the Holy Week quarters or biblical corporations. The *saetas cuarteleras* come from the

²¹⁸ Rafael Manzano Martos. *Cante jondo*. (Barcelona: Editorial Barna, 1956), 5.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 5, 10.

²²⁰ Melero, *Las saetas*, 121.

²²¹ E. Brisset Martín, “Visión Antropológica de Las Sátiras de Loja. Análisis de Las Fiestas de Granada,” 8.

²²² Ibid.

songs that many years ago the local congregations of Franciscan monks interpreted with a catechistic purpose, in the *Via Crucis* that was enacted on each of the Sundays in Lent.

The texts of the ancient *saetas* represented Christ and the Virgin, while the *flamenco saeta* creates the human representation of the divine and emphasizes the role of the surrounding characters, the Roma, and Jews. Despite the evolution of the *saeta*, the narrative aspect of some remained the same. The narrative *saeta* narrates the episodes of the passion of Christ and in these *saetas* we usually find the representation of the Jews.

*When passing from the primitive saeta to the flamenco saeta, this devotional song changes its status and addressee: it ceases to be a didactic instrument in the hands of religious institutions to become a public proclamation of the faith of the interpreter and the community he represents, that is, an instrument of communication between the divine and the intercessor interpreter.*²²³

This work insists on situating the *saeta* chant within the socio-emotional fraction of Andalusian musical expression, without entering into *saeta* types. The *saeta* chant, as its name implies, has a sharp message, meant to act as a projectile. The surrounding circumstances may have changed throughout the centuries, such as audience or performers, however, chant and its connection to the very beginnings of Christianity and the death of Christ, are undisputable.

²²³ Al pasar de la saeta primitiva a la saeta flamenca, este canto devocional cambia de estatuto y de destinatario: deja de ser instrumento didáctico en manos de las instituciones religiosas para convertirse en proclamación pública de la fe del intérprete y de la comunidad a la que representa, o sea en instrumento de comunicación entre lo divino y el intérprete intercesor. Gómez and Touboul, “En El Patio de Caifás,” 34.

Later, the flamenco style affected and transformed the chant. Flamenco matured in Andalusia in the last third of the nineteenth century. Although the Andalusian countryside was changing and large estates were being industrialized, that change was slow. One consequence was the evolution of a new working class liberated from depending entirely on agricultural work. On the other hand, the Andalusian bourgeoisie class had to accept Andalusia's peripheral role in Spain, even as the central government protected Andalusia to secure social order. The resulting social structure reflected a division between landlords of big *latifundios* and owners of small farmsteads. That social polarization created higher social classes that governed the lower social classes of agricultural workers and small landowners. The dynamics of this social structure forced the high social classes to rely on the labor of the lower ones. Realizing their power, the working class coexisted with the higher classes without accepting their world view.²²⁴ The working class began to revolt against bourgeois oppression protected by the central government. Nevertheless, the system that secured the presence of the landlords in the community impeded real revolutionary change in Andalusia.²²⁵ Workers' dissatisfaction filtered into flamenco. The flamenco *saeta* represents the strategic adaptation of the lower classes to preserve their identity and build self-esteem, while expressing their anti-oppression sentiment.

Both types of *saeta* share a common musical heritage. Andalusia was home to Greco-Byzantine, Jewish, Christian, and Muslim cultures, and their musical traditions.

²²⁴ Melero, *Las saetas*, 122.

²²⁵ Melero, 122.

The *saetas* emerged from the convergence of these cultures. However, the autochthonal roots helped the chant to develop as it did. The *saetas* are the musical forms adapted to aspects of cultural expression. The old *saeta* reflects the Cristian and Oriental cultures and influenced the appearance of the flamenco *saeta* and the entire flamenco style. The *saeta* also plays a crucial role at the intersection of the *sacred/profane* dimensions of culture, here related to secular Spanish fraternities, which makes it a social semiotic community-based event.²²⁶

Sociology of *Saetas*

Marchena anthropologist Maria Luisa Melero Melero, who has studied the *saetas*, insists that the “roots of the *saetas* are not flamenco.”²²⁷ The flamenco *saeta* she posits, develops specifically in Andalusia, and cannot be conceived of elsewhere because the performers endow their performance with their personal experience as Andalusians. Although the Franco dictatorship promoted the *saeta* chant as a folkloric emblem of Spain, Melero insists that only Andalusian ethnicity and consciousness of the self can create the *saeta*.²²⁸ Coopting the *saeta*, Melero claims, is an expression of “capitalist control over the abandoned socialist Andalusia.”²²⁹ In fact, history is repeating itself as Melero argues that the old *saeta* was also artificially created by the Spanish state and the Catholic Church, which used Franciscan and Dominican monks to educate the people.

²²⁶ Salazar-García and Haładewicz-Grzelak, “Vacuous Interlocutors as Hieratic Proxies in the Sacrosphere of Andalusian Flamenco *Saeta*,” 382.

²²⁷ María Luisa Melero, *La saeta flamenca: expresión oral de la vivencia religiosa de Andalucía* (Ayuntamiento de Marchena, 1995), 25.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Melero, *La Saeta flamenca*, 12.

Later, the flamenco chant, which was also called *saeta*, evolved as a “social scream against injustices.”²³⁰ Thus, Melero’s thesis sets aside the religious and spiritual aspects of the chant and situates it on the pure social, political, and economical level.

What Timothy Mitchell says about flamenco in his book *Flamenco Deep Song*, is applicable to the *saeta*, as well:

*The archetypal legacy of marginal human groups who came to terms with difficult circumstances in creative ways. The flamenco style is not only about trauma; it is about distress and discharge too; it is about taking pain, expressing it, playing with it, and possibly working through it.*²³¹

In Marchena, the *saetas* fall into two categories: the old ones that were Franciscan or Dominican missionary chants from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the flamenco-style chants, which were developed in response to specific political, economic, and social situations.

Three elements define and unify both types of *saeta*:

The historical process dates to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Council of Trent (1545-1563) prompted ecumenical reform and prepared the ground for the seventeenth century implementation of new religious practices. Core Catholic beliefs were introduced into the processions with educational intent. The social-religious and

²³⁰ Ibid., 11.

²³¹ Mitchell, *Flamenco Deep Song*.

festive atmosphere motivated and unified the people in a common understanding of life experience. And it deeply impressed lower class people, who particularly identified with the narrated drama. At that time, the *saetas* were short couplets that invited people to take part in Church activities. That socialization was embodied in the dramas, the sacred staging, and the religious missions, all organized mostly by the ruling class and directed toward the lower classes. Later, in the eighteenth century, the social oppression that the lower and vulnerable classes suffered was even more pronounced and gave rise to a “special expressive system”²³² called flamenco chant.²³³ The old *saeta* coexisted with this collective expression and the surrounding social conditions and eventually evolved into the flamenco *saeta*. Although the old *saeta* was influenced by the same ideas and emotional expression that originated from the “secondary world”²³⁴ as the *flamenco saeta*, it didn’t disappear completely.

A second element unifies both the old and flamenco *saetas*: the relationship of working-class Andalusians with “sacred beings.”²³⁵ The “popular religiosity”²³⁶ of the people was somehow disconnected from clerical orthodoxy. Their religious practice did not require a deep social and religious commitment, and communication with the divine was based on supplications that expect a specific response. Since the eighteenth century, oppressed Andalusian classes had particularly identified with the evangelical drama of the Nazarene and the Virgin Mary. The people projected their own tragedies onto the

²³² Melero, *Las saetas*, 116.

²³³ One of the possible origins of the word flamenco is the Arabic expression *felah menkub*.”

²³⁴ Melero, *Las saetas*, 116.

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Ibid.

images in the processions and the human experiences they represent. The *saetas* performed during the Holy Week processions are the Andalusian people's prayers. Because they embodied the Andalusian people's everyday experience, the *saeta* also became part of the most important representation of popular devotion: the Holy Week processions and the period before Lent. The processions are an artificial representation of the most important elements of the Catholic faith: the passion, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. However, in Andalusia, it is also a festival with rituals that reinforce the life experience and world view of the people. During the processions, the senses are stimulated in various ways, and the auditory sense receives the chant of the *saeta* as the culmination of all stimuli.

Visually, the elaborate decorations of the figures in the processions awakens people's emotions. The anthropocentric orientation of the Andalusian people towards religion tends to humanize the divine to such an extent that Christ and the Virgin are sometimes represented by real people, especially related to the place of residence of the *saeta* singers. As a result, the populace expresses a sense of intimacy with the images of the Virgin and a respectful distance towards the images of Christ. The *saetas* reflect those emotions and their texts can infer laudation, consolation, compliments, adulation, or clamor.

***Saetas* in Marchena**

Today, three types of *saeta* are performed during the Marchena Holy Week processions: the *saeta carcelera*, *por martiniete*, and *por seguriya*. *Carcelera saeta* is a

prisoners' lament; *saeta por martinete* was developed by iron factory workers inspired by the sounds of their hammers; *por seguiriyas* tends to respond to the emotionality of the moment. These old *saetas* date to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and only combined with flamenco at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twenty centuries. Melero dates this transition to the period after 1835-36, when Mendizabal's Ecclesiastical Confiscation (*Decreto of Desamortización*) caused the disappearance of religious orders, except those dedicated to charity work.²³⁷ Consequently, the clergy dedicated to educational religious missions disappeared and the ordinary people took possession of their style of *saeta* chants introducing elements of popular musical practices. Little by little, those chants adopted vocal techniques characteristic of flamenco.

According to Melero, the upper classes created the old *saeta* for the ordinary people who, in turn, adapted it to criticize the social order.²³⁸ Indeed most current scholars of this musical form insist on making a clear differentiation between the old and the flamenco *saetas*. Raquel Cantero claims that the two kinds of *saeta* have nothing in common, except their name.²³⁹ It may be possible that social and political ideologies tainted *saetas* from their creation, and that they will never be understood as one and the same mode of expression. However, the main difference between the two is only the performers' vocal technique. The term *saetas* has one absolute meaning: a dirge to penetrate the soul of the listener using religious imagery.

²³⁷ Melero, *Las saetas*, 125.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 126.

²³⁹ "La Cantaora Raquel Cantero Analiza Los Orígenes y Evolución de La *Saeta*."

In Marchena, the old *saetas* are usually performed within families, in brotherhood meetings, or among friends. The Andalusian villages where religious orders used *saetas* in their missions, have a bigger tradition of performing the old *saetas*. Marchena also has the School of *Saetas* of Marchena.²⁴⁰ This institution hosts gatherings that perform the *saetas* they know and a supervisor who serves as a resource for the *quintas*, *sextas*, and *cuartas* they perform, many of which will be used in the Holy Week procession.²⁴¹

Although both types of *saeta* have survived, flamenco *saetas* are the most performed. The elements that differentiate the two have specific characteristics. The flamenco *saetas* changed the keys at which the old ones were performed. However, the melodic component and the texts were conserved. (Thus, a flamenco singer could perform an old *saeta* score, although most flamenco singers do not read music). The texts might be written down or transmitted orally. However, both texts and melody were adjusted to the local musical traditions and new elements were added. Texts changes most commonly involve replacing a narrative about the passion of Christ with a moral message to emotional chants based on the performer's experience.

Although flamenco chant has existed since the mid nineteenth century, its institutionalization happened later, with the *cafés cantantes*.²⁴² According to Melero, that was also when the *saeta* became a *palo* of flamenco (i.e., one of its different styles.²⁴³) In

²⁴⁰ Interview with Roberto Narváez, appendix.

²⁴¹ The name depends on the number of verses there are in the *saetas* and the century when it was mostly performed.

²⁴² The *cafés cantantes* were restaurants/cafes that featured flamenco performances.

²⁴³ Melero, *Las saetas*, 128.

the *cafés cantantes*, flamenco developed a revolutionary meaning and included social criticism. Although the flamenco-style *saeta* is today part of flamenco chants, it differs in two aspects. The flamenco *saeta* is usually performed at a specific time of the year and is directed toward religious images. When flamenco *saeta* evolved, the Holy Week tradition of the religious processions was well established but having singers performing in flamenco style introduced a new element. Nevertheless, the flamenco *saeta* conserved an important characteristic of the old *saeta*, and its existence in the context of the religious festivities and in gatherings where singers performed *saetas* exclusively. In other words, it still was a chant for a special occasion.

At the end of the nineteenth century, within the framework of the *cafés cantantes*, the flamenco-style *saeta* evolved as an ideological instrument (extended even during Francisco Franco's dictatorship). During the 1920s, the *Ópera Flamenca* (Flamenco Opera)²⁴⁴ established the *saeta* as a popular mass spectacle detached from its religious origin. The state promoted these "artistic" *saetas* as part of its ideological process of socialization.²⁴⁵

The Importance of Folklore for Spain

Although flamencologists insist that the *saeta* chant is part of flamenco, there is clear documentation that the *saeta* originated in Andalusian folklore. When professional flamenco singers began to be hired and paid to perform the *saeta*, that shift into

²⁴⁴ The term "opera" was used for tax purposes since the opera genre attracted a lower tax rate.

²⁴⁵ Melero, *La saeta flamenca*.

specializing the practice of singing the chant, eliminated the involvement of ordinary people and their genuine expression of faith. Religious folklore emerged in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries under the influence of the idea of nationalism mixed with romantic notions.

For Professor of History Richard Dorson, folklore is “contemporary, keyed to the here-and-now, the urban centers, the industrial revolution, to the issues and philosophies of the day. In this conception, folklore is where the action is, not in some idyllic backwater.”²⁴⁶ In this sense, we can understand that *saetas* are part of that group, and where the flamenco also stands within Spanish musical tradition.

In the book *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainments: A Communications-Centered Handbook*,²⁴⁷ anthropologist Sir Jack Goody analyzes oral culture. The author differentiates between oral tradition in an illiterate environment, and oral tradition as a place with written tradition:

Religious practices and beliefs in literate cultures are based largely on scriptures and mediated by literate priests, so what is left in the oral tradition tends to be “magic” rather than “religion”, the peripheral rather than the core. In other words, the content of the oral tradition tends to be marginalized. [...] Bible stories, for example, became part of what is communicated orally between parent and child, even in societies or groups lacking a literate tradition but in contact with ones that have such a tradition.

²⁴⁶ Richard Dorson, *Folklore and Fakelore, Essays toward a Discipline of Folklore Studies* (Harvard University Press, 1976), 46.

²⁴⁷ Jack Goody, “Oral Culture,” in *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainments: A Communications-Centered Handbook*, 1st ed., ed. Richard Bauman, 14 (Oxford University Press, 1992), 14.

Professor of European Ethnology Regina Bendix completes by saying:²⁴⁸

Folklore has long served as a vehicle in the search for the authentic, satisfying a longing for an escape from modernity. The ideal folk community, envisioned as pure and free from civilization's evils, was a metaphor for everything that was not modern. Equally relevant is folklore's linkage to politics, where authenticity bestows a legitimating sheen, with political change linked to modernity, affirmatively in revolutions, negatively in counterrevolutions. The most powerful modern political movement, nationalism, builds on the essentialist notions inherent in authenticity, and folklore in the guise of native cultural discovery and rediscovery has continually served nationalist movements since the Romantic era. European nationalism was part of the effort to cast off the monarchical government and establish democratic institutions. Yet the notion of national uniqueness harbors a conservative ethos of the past. Because of the insistence on national purity or authenticity inherent in the idea of a unique nation, the notion of authenticity ultimately undermines the liberating and humanitarian tendencies from which it grew. The universalist aspirations implicit in casting out the old order are contradicted by the particularist emphasis that each nation constructs to distinguish itself from all other nations. In emphasizing the authentic, the revolutionary can turn reactionary, a process all too vividly played out in global political movements of the late twentieth century.

According to Professor of Humanities Roger David Abrahams, the study of folklore was:²⁴⁹

Formulated by antiquarian scholars, who, in the main, came from the lower middle class. [...] they took their cue from aristocrats' conceptions of country people as they were displayed in courtly entertainments, in masques and other kinds of theatrical pieces, and sporting contests of the country sort, as well as in the paintings and poetry fashionable throughout Europe from the late 16th century through the 17th century. This was a period in which the aristocracy,

²⁴⁸ Regina Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies*, UW Press, 1997. 8.

²⁴⁹ Roger David Abrahams, "Phantoms of Romantic Nationalism in Folklorists," *Journal of American Folklore* 106, no. 419 (Winter, 1993): 3-4.

not the agrarian population, was seeking to establish the idea of nationhood by sacralizing the land as national territory.

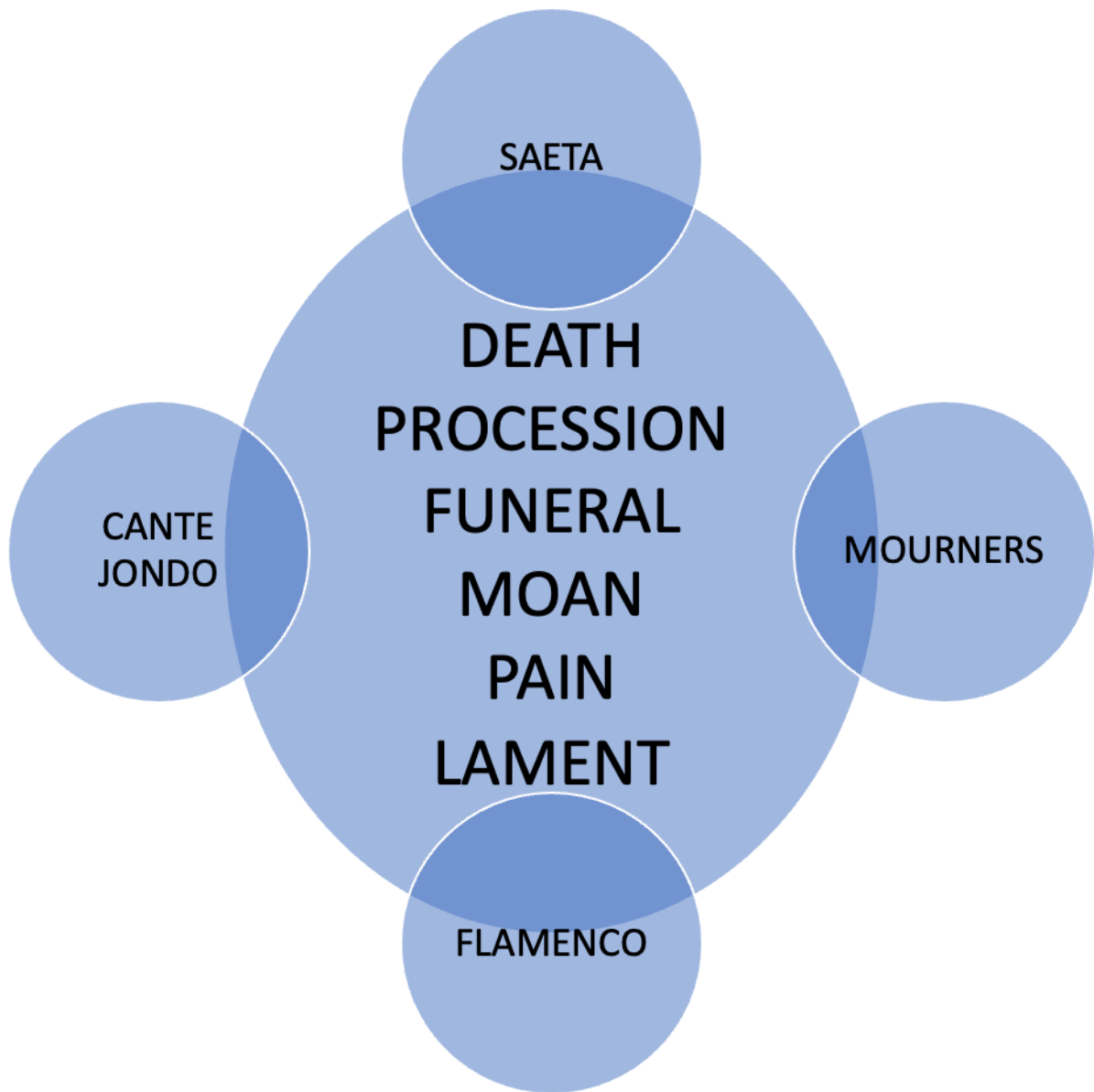


Figure 2.7 Graphic 1. Source: own material.

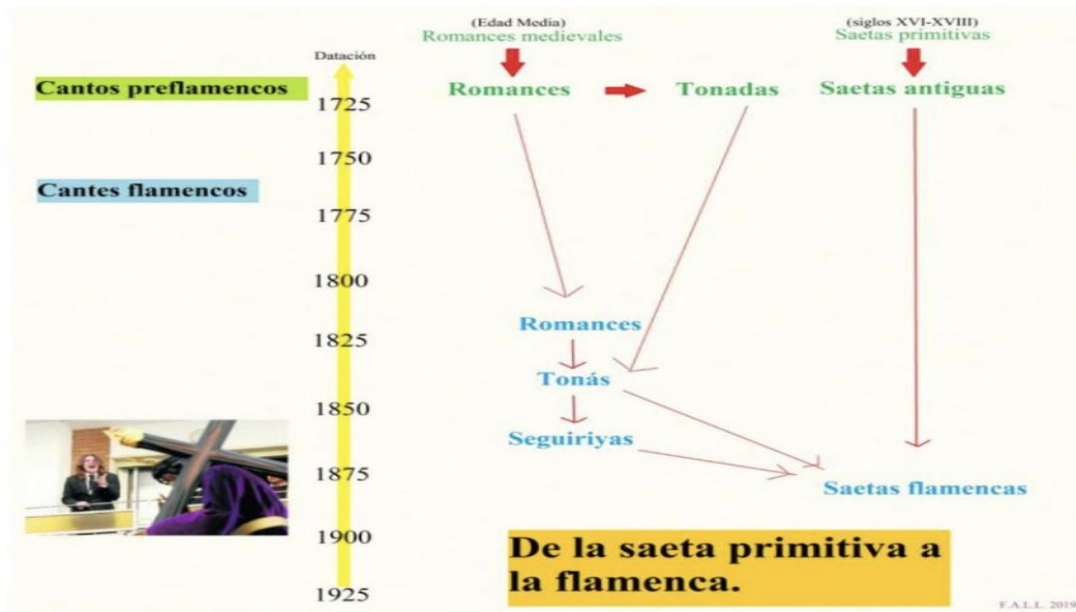
This chart shows the possible relations between the musical expressions in Andalusia and the human sentiments covered by music. If we organize musical expressions chronologically, mourners would be the first to appear. Although mourning is not a musical expression per se, the use of the voice and the attitude are characteristics that mourning utterances have in common with the other chants. The mourners expressed pain, lament by moaning in processions and funerals, all of it related to the idea of death. When monks used the old *saetas* during religious processions, however, they would not have sounded like mourners, and the characteristics of these old *saetas* encompassed those same elements. Indeed, the old *saetas* express pain and lament, by wailing about someone's death (Jesus) and are performed in processions that represent a funeral.

If we analyze the next element on the chart, the *cante jondo*, we will see that its characteristics are pain and lament as an expression of human suffering. While elements of death, funeral, and procession are not explicit, they are implicit in the emotional torment characteristic of *cante jondo*. Therefore, *cante jondo*, as explained before, precedes flamenco, and expresses the deep feelings of the performers, who sang to obtain relief. Flamenco professionalized the singing and completed the expression by adding dancing and playing an instrument. It encompasses all the characteristics in the chart when applied to the *saeta* performed during Holy Week.

There is a graphic by Antonio Linares Lucena where he presents his version of the development of the *saeta*.²⁵⁰ According to him, there are two different sources for the

²⁵⁰ Lucena, *De la saeta primitiva a la saeta flamenca. Los Cantes de Pasión bailenenses*, 122.

development of the chants, and they both merge in the flamenco *saeta*. Linares Lucena's statement about missionary *saetas* is based on Cantero²⁵¹.



. Evolución de la saeta. (Fuente: Elaboración propia).

Figure 2.8 Graphic of Linares Lucena. Source: *De la saeta primitiva a la saeta flamenca*.

Los Cantes de Pasión bailenenses, Linares Lucerna

However, without musical recordings, we will never be certain on the sonority of these *saetas*. What we know, however, is that *saetas* are chants that were performed in the context of the death of someone, Jesus Christ.

²⁵¹ Cantero, "La saeta en Extremadura."

Characteristics of *Saeta* Performers

The *saetas* performed these days in the big city Holy Week processions are chanted by professional singers who are also in most cases flamenco performers. However, a phenomenon more common in villages, is the spontaneous non-professional performer, who breaks out into song as a particular image passes by during the procession. These spontaneous performers generally fall into three categories: middle-aged or elderly singers who perform the old *saeta*; younger performers who sing *flamenco saeta*; students of *saeta* singing who trained in the *Saeta* School of Marchena, *Señor de la Humildad*. This institution conserves and propagates the *saetas*, although Melero suggests that the most authentic way to transmit the *saetas* is in a familiar environment.²⁵²

The background of the spontaneous *saeta* singers influences the way they perform. The singer's neighborhood or their brotherhood may influence the *saeta* performance, or the performance may be determined by the particular image toward which the *saeta* is directed. These images may be part of a small neighborhood procession where spontaneous performances are most likely to occur, or a large procession that involves a large brotherhood.

In Andalusia, the *saeta* chant may be performed within the community (among family, friends or in meetings of the brotherhoods), or in social or religious institutions

²⁵² Melero, *Las saetas*. 172.

such as schools of *saeta*, competitions, or recitals. But the most common location is on the street whenever a procession is passing, though even in the milieu of the streets, the atmosphere is critical. Singers and the audience must come together in the right mood; some performers even believe that the images need to be in the right mood to receive the *saeta* chant. The setting must “invite” the singer to start the chant as a spontaneous prayer or cry of supplication. The *saeta* differs from other kinds of chants in that it is conceived as a “spontaneous creation of faith.”²⁵³ This faith generates what might be perceived as a “collective religious trance” during the processions that is duplicated year after year.

Musical instruments are absent from *saeta* performance – whether during the day or at night – lest they adulterate the emotional impact of the chant. The chant employs simple vocabulary, short direct phraseology to express the most profound human emotions. The *saetas* may address the religious images directly or indirectly in one of two types: narrative *saetas* or those that reflect profound emotion. Narrative *saetas* describe the Passion of Christ and the suffering of the Virgin and tend to be old *saetas*. The purely affective *saetas* describe human passion and pain and tend to be flamenco *saetas*. Ricardo Rodríguez Cosano, a *saeta* researcher and performer, has created an exhaustive list of *saetas* by type according to their evolution.²⁵⁴

²⁵³ Ibid., 131.

²⁵⁴ Ricardo Rodríguez Cosano, *Evolución del cante por saetas: guía de grabaciones discográficas* (Jerez de la Frontera: Publicaciones del Sur, 2010). Cosano also created a compendium of *saeta* recordings.

Types of *Saeta*

1. The old *saetas* fall into six subtypes.²⁵⁵

a. *Saetas* from Marchena. Divided into *cuartas*, *quintas*, and *sextas*. with simple melodic lines.

a.i. The *cuartas* are based on a quatrain (four-lined stanzas) of eight syllables. The melody approximates the religious street-seller's cry. They can be performed in two different ways: repeating the same melody in all the stanzas or repeating the same melody in the first two stanzas, then taking the melody into a lower tone in the third stanza, and finally, the fourth stanza closes the chant in the same tone as the first two.

a.ii. The *quintas* contain five-lined stanzas. The melody is the same as in the *cuartas*, but in the fourth stanza the melody stops early on.

a.iii. The *sextas* contain six-lined stanzas. The melody is the same used in the *cuartas* and *quintas* but contain six stanzas. However, the singer connects the first and second stanzas as one.

b. The old (ancient) *saetas*.²⁵⁶ How exactly these *saetas* evolved is uncertain, although their specific melodic pattern appears in many places in Andalusia. These *saetas* have five stanzas and the last stanza is performed differently in the different villages. In the

²⁵⁵ Cosano makes that division to explain and cover the existing types of old *saetas* in Andalusia.

²⁵⁶ This subtype of *saetas* should not be confused with the general type of "old *saetas*".

village of Arcos de la Frontera, this type of *saeta* repeats the final two stanzas using the same melody. Cosano says that, in Marchena, this type of old *saeta* differs radically from the *cuartas*, *quintas*, or *sextas*, and was abandoned by the performers when new styles of *saeta* appeared, such as *saetas por seguirillas*, and *martinetes* or *carceleras*.

c. *Saetas del Carpintero* (Carpenter's *Saetas*). This group of *saetas* contains the word "carpenter." These *saetas* are typical of Castilleja de la Cuesta, a village near Seville. Their five-stanza melody differs from the old type of *saeta*. The singer's voice rises in the second and fourth stanzas.

d. *Saetas Cuarteleras* from Puentegeñil (a village in the province of Córdoba). The name *cuartelera* refers to its performance only in the barracks (*cuarletes*) of Puentegeñil where the brotherhoods meet during Holy Week. Drums accompany these *saetas*, making these chants some of the few to have a regular meter. Another peculiarity of this type of *saeta* is that it can be performed by two *saeta* singers at the same time. In one recording, one singer sings a stanza and the second singer the next stanza. This tradition narrates the reunion of the Apostles and closes with the sentence, "*Vivan los Apóstoles!*" (Long live the apostles). After the two singers finish their *saeta*, members of the brotherhood perform the *Hermanos del Apostolado* (Brothers of the Apostolate) in duets.

e. *Saetas* from Cabra (a village near Córdoba). These five-stanza *saetas* are specific to this village. The first and the third stanzas are performed in lower tones to rich higher tones in the second and fourth stanzas. The fifth stanza closes the *saeta*.

f. *Saetas* from *Mairena del Alcor* (a village near Seville). This *saeta* is also called “*revoleá*.” The second and fourth stanzas descend at the end and the melody resembles a lullaby in places.

g. *Saetas* of Silence (*Saetas del Silencio*). These eighteenth-century instrumental melodies are called *saetas* and are performed on two oboes and a bassoon by the Brotherhood of *El Silencio* (The Silence) in Seville. The name *saetas* is probably used much later and they are considered to be funeral music. This type of music is performed in a chapel (*música de capilla*).

Saetas in the processional band music. These types of *saetas* are based on the old missionary *saetas*. Parts of the melodies are notated, and the scores are used by the wind ensemble of a brotherhood to perform the *saeta*.

2. The *saetas por seguiriya*.

These *saetas* connect the old type to the *saetas* that are entirely in flamenco style. The *saetas por seguiriya* include some characteristics of the flamenco without reaching complete flamenco style.

3. *Pregones religiosos* and *Tonás litúrgicas*.

The religious-street-seller's cry is called *pregón*, although it is not chanted but recited with a melodic vocal intonation. The tune in liturgy that is recited is called *toná litúrgica*. The melodic line of both is simple and it repeats in all the verses, except the last.

Although it is repetitive, the interest lies in the text, which deals with the Passion or with Christ. As happens in the notated *saetas*, the person performing includes individual ornamentation. The ornaments are developed orally, and they are copied and then included in keeping with the performer's taste. The melodic line does not emulate the melody of the *saetas*, the old type or the flamenco type, but it could have inspired some old types of *saetas*. The *Toná de Cristo* will be used by some *saeta* singers. They will add it as a coda after the rest of the stanzas. This insertion of the *Toná de Cristo* into the old *saeta* was added before the *saeta* was divided in three parts when it became *saeta por seguiriyas*. This is one of the very few *tonás* that was conserved. Singers may have used the *Toná de Cristo* to take a breath before ending the *saeta*.

4. *Saetas* recorded between 1890 and 1902.

The *saetas* performed in recordings during this period are the old *saetas* and they are not yet in flamenco style. The *saeta* chant follows the performance of the wind and drums ensemble that accompanies the processions of the Holy Week.

5.a. The early stages of the *saetas por seguiriyas*.

When the old type of *saetas* were developing into flamenco style *saetas*, singers began to introduce flamenco elements. The resulting *saetas* were the predecessors of the flamenco *saetas por seguiriyas*, fully developed by the 1920s. Different influences shaped these early flamenco *saetas*.

The recording industry changed the way that *saetas* were transmitted. From the end of the nineteenth century, singers were able to copy other singers' styles. The basic melodic line of the *saetas* was the same, but the ornaments varied from one singer to another. Depending on the location, some *saetas* developed into flamenco style, and some did not.

The *saetas por seguiriyas* are based on the old type of *saetas* from Marchena (not the *cuartas*, *quintas*, or *sextas*) and other Andalusian villages. The singers started to adorn those *saetas* with vocal embellishments and thrills to adjust them to the flamenco form of a *seguiriya*. Moreover, the singers lost the aspect of anonymity. Old *saetas* were performed spontaneously by anonymous singers from the audience. According to performer Cosano, the first singer to record the *saetas* in *seguiriya* style was Antonio Pozo "El Mochuelo."²⁵⁷

The city of Jerez de la Frontera was an important center for flamenco performance. The flamenco characteristics introduced into these renderings of the old types of *saeta* eventually spread from Jerez to the bigger city of Seville. Three major elements from flamenco style evolved. First, the expressive extension of the sound, converting the old type of *saeta* into a rich melismatic chant. Second, the insertion of the so-called "ayes" that frames the verses of the text. The sound "ay" is the expression of the deeper emotion in flamenco and the *cante jondo* (deep chant). Third, some flamenco performers introduce the use of diminutives to common nouns (*cara*, face, becomes

²⁵⁷ Cosano, *Evolución del cante por saetas*, 55.

carita, little face). This intermediate type of *saeta*, between the old and the flamenco will remain and develop the old *saeta* into the flamenco *saeta por seguiriyas*.²⁵⁸

5b. The *saetas sevillanas por seguiriyas*.

These *saetas* are chronologically more advanced and have a clear formal structure. Their five stanzas are divided in two parts. The first stanza is enclosed between two “ays.” The remainder of the stanzas comprise the second part. Both segments end with cadential fragments called *tercio*. However, even with this added element, the chant is quite short and are called the incomplete *saetas por seguiriyas*. This can be appreciated in the old recordings of these *saetas*.²⁵⁹ The *saeta* later develops by repeating the fourth and fifth stanzas and increasing its length. This evolved *saeta* has seven stanzas divided into three, each ending with a cadential fragment or *tercio*. This longer chant enables singers to demonstrate their vocal capabilities, especially in the final segment where singers display their skill.

The longer *saeta* is more challenging to perform as the singers do not take a breath from the beginning to the first cadential fragment. Early singers of this type of *saeta* also started singing with full capacity from the very beginning, which elevated the standards of the chant for later performers. The virtuosity of this type of performance lies in the singer’s ability to complete the piece with sufficient air to finish the cadence with

²⁵⁸ An example of this intermediate type of *saeta*: https://youtu.be/j0dAnWM_ryM

²⁵⁹ An example of another *saeta por seguiriyas*: <https://youtu.be/Mi8KMooDYbw>

powerful conviction. The intensity of the performance adds symbolism to the entire representation within the Holy Week, and the singers acquire the status of sanctity. The audience should feel that the *saeta* singer is in contact with higher powers.

5. The flamenco *saeta*

This version takes the three-part *saeta por seguiriyas* to a heightened emotional level. The singer articulates soulfulness in a *jondo* manner. Flamenco elements include word-cutting and lamenting of the musical phrasing. The texts of these *saetas* are adjusted to idiomatic flamenco style, which uses specific words and diminutives. Some flamenco singers use guitar accompaniment to emphasize the flamenco character.

The flamenco-style *saeta* was developing slowly, but singers Pepe de la Matrona²⁶⁰ and Pepe Pinto²⁶¹ were among the first to record the *saeta* in this style. Both singers use flamenco features but add an element of the *quejío*. This technique consists in suddenly aspiring while producing the sound. This cuts off the air flow and produces a sound close to weeping or lamenting. We will discuss the many singers who have contributed to the flamenco expression of the *saeta* in detail later. Flamenco-style *saeta* exhibits different levels of intensity, depending on the performers' taste: roughness, steadiness, or delicacy.

²⁶⁰ Examples of Matrona's *saetas*: <https://youtu.be/XDN2yiChPoY> and <https://youtu.be/hRd0ySEq4zg>.

²⁶¹ Example of Pinto's *saeta*: <https://youtu.be/i19FfVZSc>

6. The *saeta* from Jerez.

When a recording from Jerez was released with the old *seata* performed in flamenco style, it anticipated a musical revolution within the flamenco world. The flamenco *saeta* performed in Jerez differs from the flamenco *saeta* performed elsewhere. The text uses diminutives, and the vocal technique exaggerates twitches in the melodic line. And finally, the long “ay” after stanzas four and six typify Jerez *saeta* performance.²⁶²

7. *Saetas* from Málaga (*Malagueñas*).

Some singers from Málaga performed the *saetas por seguiriyas* with the *remate* of *martinete flamenco*. The main characteristic of these *saetas* is the repetition of the last two stanzas of the *martinete* ending.

8. *Saeta carcelera*.

Around the 1920s, some *saeta* singers started performing this type of *saeta* during the Seville Holy Week processions. These *saetas* shared a prison theme albeit with differing melodies. The *carceleras* were developed from the old *saetas marcheneras* performed in the Marchena prison. Eventually, professional flamenco singers adopted

²⁶² In the first decades of the twentieth century the singer Isabelita de Jerez starts elongating the “ay” syllables.

this theme. In Seville, it developed its definitive shape, specifically in the Alfalfa neighborhood where it was performed.

9. *Saeta por martinete sevillano.*

During the 1950s and '60s, the *saeta carcelera* evolved into the *martinete sevillano*. This *martinete* has nothing to do with the *martinete* flamenco. The change from the *saeta carcelera* affected mostly the ascendent scales of the *saetas* performed by female singers. The first and the second stanzas are performed in the same way as the *saeta carcelera*, until there is an ascendent scale, which in the *saeta por martinete* becomes a descendent scale. Singers would add stanzas or change the direction of the scales to be ascendent or descendent in different parts of the verse.

10. *Saeta de la Mónica* or *saeta de Cádiz*.

This *saeta* is specific to the city of Cádiz and it has its own melody. The first part of the *saeta* uses the same melody as the *saeta por seguiriyas* but continues with a melody specific to this *saeta*.

This classification of *saetas* serves as an orientation to the chant. Despite some scholars' insistence on making a clear separation between the flamenco *saeta* and the old *saeta*,²⁶³ both types share a common motivation and thus should share the term *saeta*.²⁶⁴ This chant was designed as a “musical arrow,” into the emotions and that has been its

²⁶³ The flamencologist Raquel Cantero bases her thesis on that separation.

²⁶⁴ Juan Salido Freyre, *La saeta. Su origen flamenco* (Córdoba: Editorial Almuzara, 2021).

meaning from its inception.²⁶⁵ The first time a written source used the word *saeta* for a chant is in the book of Antonio de Ezcaray from 1691. The title begins, “Voices of Pain, ...” clear confirmation that the *saeta* chant was created from the need to transmit emotional pain through music. This common sentiment labels the *saeta* chant as having a common purpose, no matter how it developed in differing directions through time.

A flamenco enthusiast captured in their blog the contradictory nature of many writings about flamenco studies:

There is a "salon" flamencology, next to a serious flamencology. One that reiterates unproven theories, next to another one that is based on the sources. The first one is a charlatan, undocumented, recreating clichés, contradictory, and the second one, scientific and methodological, which draws on oral and documentary sources. The first, so far, has been far superior to the second. Everyone repeats what everyone once affirmed without contrasting, that which came out of intuition or invention and ended up being installed as a dangerous pseudo-certainty, which - by the way - is the most difficult thing in the world to disprove, when the pernicious half-truth, with the passage of time, has already spread exponentially. I do not know a field of study, like flamenco, in which a greater pomposity is shown in the titles that try to study it, and in which so much is appealed to "the truth", as if the lie were a too close reverse: "The truth of singing"; "The truth of flamenco."... Paradoxically, these works, pregnant with so much "truth", are usually the most devoid of veracity.²⁶⁶

This observation illustrates the difficulty for serious students of flamenco to compile a list of the most important figures in *saeta* singing.

²⁶⁵ Antonio de Ezcaray, “Vozes del dolor, nacidas de la multitud de pecados que se cometen por los trages profanos, afeytes, escotados ... que ... ha introducido el infernal Dragon ...,” 1691.<http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/vozes-del-dolor-nacidas-de-la-multitud-de-pecados-que-se-cometen-por-los-trages-profanos-afeytes-escotados--que--ha-introducido-el-infernal-dragon-/>.

²⁶⁶ <http://losfardos.blogspot.com/2013/03/la-saeta-flamenca-de-ca-diz-enrique-el.html>

Countless scholars cite Manuel Centeno (Seville, 1885) as the creator of the flamenco *saeta* in the first third of the twentieth century. Many studies also cite Manuel Torre (Jerez, 1878) and Antonio Chacón (Jerez, 1863) as the creators. Countless studies also point to Enrique “El Mellizo” (Cadiz, 1848) as its creator in the nineteenth century. Clearly, flamenco took over as a style and the singers started using it in a similar way at about the same time. The following list presents some of the most important singers who have performed *saetas*.

Old-school Singers. The Basis

La Serrana²⁶⁷



Figure 2.9 La Serrana. Source: *El Arte de Vivir el Flamenco*

María de los Dolores Valencia Rodríguez (La Serrana) was born in 1868 in Jerez de la Frontera (Cádiz). She was one of the most prestigious Roma singers in the history of Andalusian flamenco singing. Her death was not recorded but occurred somewhere in

²⁶⁷ <https://elartedevivirelflamenco.com/cantaores144.html>

the first third of the twentieth century. She began her artistic career in the *cafes cantantes* of Seville in 1900 and toured various Andalusian cities. She made several records with the other great luminaries of her time.

Antonio Chacón²⁶⁸



Figure 2.10 Antonio Chacón. Source: *Blogteca*

Antonio Chacón García was born in Jerez in 1869 and, at 18 years of age, he moved to Seville. He was hired by Silverio Franconetti to sing in his café on Rosario Street; he soon became extremely popular with the Sevillian public. In 1922, he presided over the *Concurso de Cante Jondo de Granada* that was organized by Manuel de Falla and many prominent members of the musical and artistic communities. He married and remained in Seville for many years, until the closing of the Sevillian cafes and the rise of

²⁶⁸ <https://elcorreoweb.es/historico/el-dia-que-chacon-le-canto-doce-saetas-a-la-macarena-GAEC352253>

the flamenco genre in the capital of Spain encouraged him to settle in Madrid, where he died in 1926.

Chacón learned about the history of the Andalusian *saeta* from his mother and grandmother. He remembers that *saetas* come from Arcos and that they were the song of the Passion. As a professional he went on to interpret the *saeta* masterfully in three equal “*tercios*.”

Manuel Torre²⁶⁹



Figure 2.11 Manuel (Soto Lozano) Torre (Niño de Jeréz). Source: José Morente

Like María de los Dolores Valencia Rodríguez, Torre came from Jerez de la Frontera where he was born into a Roma family in 1878. He died in Sevilla in 1933. And

²⁶⁹ https://www.ivoox.com/en/manuel-torre-saeta-seguiriyas-1908-audios-mp3_rf_58604566_1.html

like Chacón García, he cut his professional teeth in the cafe scene of Seville. As an honored guest at de Falla's *Concurso de Cante Jondo* in Granada, he sang the *siguiriyas* but his repertoire as a flamenco singer, included *saetas* in which he excelled as well as in *soleá*, and *fandangos*. Known as *Majareta* (crazy guy) because of his emotional instability, stories abound of his eccentricities, as do the legends of his power to move people when the *duende* (spirit) possessed him. When he sang a *saeta* to the *Virgín de la Macarena*, bringing the center of Seville to a grinding halt for two hours during the Easter celebrations.

Medina El Viejo²⁷⁰

José Rodríguez Concepción, born in Arcos de la Frontera (Cádiz), in the mid-nineteenth century. He was a flamenco singer, better known in the history of the art of flamenco singing as Medina El Viejo. He lived for a long time in Seville and performed in different flamenco cafes. He was well known for his *petenera*, which his son Niño de Medina recorded. Medina El Viejo had a great repertoire and left it to be continued by the great masters of flamenco singing.²⁷¹

²⁷⁰ <https://elartedevivirelflamenco.com/cantaos994.html>

²⁷¹ <https://www.rtve.es/noticias/20120403/saeta-oracion-lamento-semana-santa-como-flamenco-patrimonio-humanidad/513176.shtml>

Manuel Centeno



Figure 2.12 Manuel Centeno. Source: *Diario de Sevilla*

Manuel Jiménez Centeno was born in Seville in 1885 and died in Cartagena (Murcia) in 1961. He was a singer, bullfighter, actor, and zarzuela tenor. From 1907 to 1912 he was dedicated to bullfighting but later abandoned bullfighting and devoted himself to flamenco singing. From 1922 on, he became the most requested *saetero* of his hometown, to sing on the balconies during the processions of Holy Week. He competed with Manuel Vallejo and other outstanding figures of his time. During his artistic career, he toured with many kinds of companies: comedy companies, zarzuela, and recording albums. Every spring, he was the most sought-after performer of *saetas* in Seville.

La Niña de los Peines



Figure 2.13 La Niña de los Peines. Source: Federico Alonso Pernía

Pastora Pavón Cruz was born in Seville in 1890. She was the sister of the singers Tomás and Arturo Pavón, she married flamenco singer Pepe Pinto. She began performing at the *Taberna de Ceferino*, in Seville and later moved to Madrid and Bilbao. In Seville and other Andalusian cities, she was part of various casts in the *cafés cantantes*. After the civil war, she returned to these traveling shows in 1939 and 1940. Considered the most complete and outstanding *cantaora* of an entire era, she was a friend of Manuel de Falla and Federico García Lorca. She recorded a wide range of styles from *sevillanas* to *saetas*.

Manuel Vallejo²⁷²



Figure 2.14 Manuel Vallejo. Source: *Expoflamenco*

Manuel Jiménez Martínez de Pinillo was born in Seville in 1891 and died in 1960. He began singing in his hometown, performing in private gatherings and *cafes cantantes*. During the 1920s and 1930s he made numerous recordings and toured throughout Spain. In 1925, he entered a contest organized by a Madrid theater, with Antonio Chacón as jury. The following year, he was awarded the *Llave de Oro del Cante* by Manuel Torre. Vallejo made more than 130 recordings between 1922 and 1950. As a *saetero*, he was considered one of the best of his time and he recorded more than 25 *saetas*, a number unsurpassed by any contemporary *cantaor*.²⁷³ Vallejo was also an excellent singer of *siguiriyas* and exceptional performer of *bulerías*. He was a non-Roma singer. He was known to be superstitious, and he abandoned a recording session to come and sing a *saeta* to the procession of La Macarena. He retired in the early fifties.

²⁷² <https://www.juntadeandalucia.es/cultura/flamenco/sites/default/files/flamenco/docs/vallejo.pdf>

²⁷³ <https://www.vintagemusic.fm/es/event/manuel-vallejo-murio-7-agosto-1960/>

Tomás Pavón²⁷⁴



Figure 2.15 Tomás Pavón. Source: *ABC*, Luis Ybarra.

Tomás Pavón Cruz was born in Seville in 1893 and died in 1952. He was a flamenco singer, brother of the singers Pastora Pavón, Niña de los Peines and Arturo Pavón. A physical defect at birth and the long pulmonary disease that led to his death, contributed to his retiring nature, and limited artistic career. He did not sing in *cafés cantantes* nor in bullrings during the era of flamenco opera and his *saeta* is much more sober than his sister's. He finished his *saeta* off with the musical form of *Toná del Cristo*, helping to preserve this very old form of unaccompanied cry, the *toná*.

²⁷⁴ <http://larazonincorporea.blogspot.com/2013/03/las-saetas-de-tomas.html>

La Niña de la Alfalfa



Figure 2.16 La Niña de la Alfalfa. Source: Ayuntamiento de Santiponce.

Rocio Vega “La Niña de la Alfalfa” was born in Santiponce (Seville) in 1894. Her family moved to the capital, where her parents ran a milk and cheese stand. She spent her childhood in Boteros Street, next to the Plaza de la Alfalfa, and from an early age she inherited her mother's love of singing. Rocio became known singing *saetas* in the old style, without ornaments (*gorgoritos*, or *ayes*, or *tercios por seguiriyas*). She inherited these *saetas* from her mother. She made her debut as a *saeta* singer in the Holy Week of 1916, because of a promise to the *Virgen del Refugio*, of the Brotherhood of San Bernardo. The *saetas* of Rocío were so well liked that the next day they requested her presence in the *Círculo de Labradores* Club to sing to the *Señor del Gran Poder*.

According to Angelita Yruela Rojas, “she would have to sing from the last balcony, because the entrance to the females was forbidden at that club.”²⁷⁵

Pepe Pinto



Figure 2.17 Pepe Pinto. Source: *Flamencoviejo*, Miguel Ortiz.

José Torres Garzón “Pepe Pinto” was born in Seville in 1903 and died there in 1969. He was a non-Roma singer, who married Pastora Pavón (Niña de los Peines) in Seville in 1931. The first time he sang in public was at the *Café Novedades* in Seville around 1917. Pepe Pinto recorded a modality of *saetas por martinetes* in 1945 that has remained as a reference for future singers.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁵ <https://www.flamencasporderecho.com/la-nina-de-la-alfalfa-i/>

²⁷⁶ Lucena, *De la saeta primitiva a la saeta flamenca. Los Cantes de Pasión bailenenses*, 120.

Pepe Marchena



Figure 2.18 Pepe Marchena. Source: *Flamencoviejo*, Miguel Ortiz.

José Marchena was born in Marchena (Seville) in 1903 and became known as *Niño de Marchena* early on. He won his first contest in 1916 and made his debut in Madrid in 1921. In 1926 he toured Spain. He starred in the films *Martín Gala* and *La Dolores* in 1940 and *Aires de Ronda* (1943). He toured America, Morocco, Algeria, and France, and collaborated with the program *Cabalgata Fin de Semana* on *Cadena SER*. In 1965 he received the Golden Record for his *Memorias Antológicas del Cante Flamenco* (Anthological Memoirs of Flamenco Singing). Pepe Marchena participated as a juror in a Marchena *saeta* contest that was created to preserve the *saetas* around 1970.²⁷⁷ He died in Seville in 1976.

²⁷⁷ <https://lavozdemarchena.es/firmas/13843-marchena-cuna-de-la-saeta-iii>

Manolo Caracol²⁷⁸



Figure 2.19 Manolo Caracol. Source: *Flamencoviejo*, Miguel Ortiz.

Manuel Ortega Juárez, “Manolo Caracol,” was born in Seville in 1909 into a dynasty of renowned singers and bullfighters. He started singing when he was 11 years old, toured the taverns of the neighborhood and cemented a solid and promising fame. In 1922, when he was 12 years old, he participated in the *Concurso de Cante Jondo* organized by Manuel de Falla, Ignacio Zuloaga and Federico García Lorca, among others. In Granada he won the shared first prize (one thousand pesetas) with Diego Bermúdez, “El Tenazas,” a 68-year-old *cantaor* from Morón. Caracol fascinated the jury and the audience with his singing and his youth.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁸ <https://www.expoflamenco.com/bordonazo/el-abuelo-y-la-saeta-sevillana/>

²⁷⁹ <https://www.universolorca.com/personaje/caracol-manolo-manuel-ortega-juarez/>

Antonio Mairena



Figure 2.20 Antonio Mairena. Source: Ayuntamiento de Mairena del Alcor.

Antonio Cruz García was born in Mairena del Alcor (Seville) in 1909. He was one of the greatest flamenco singers and a researcher and disseminator of this art.²⁸⁰ He attended flamenco parties where he met many of the great singers who would be his first teachers, such as Manuel Torre, Joaquín el de la Paula, or El Gloria. He participated as a *cantaor* in the dance companies of Antonio el Bailarín, Pilar López or Carmen Amaya. He was Honorary Director of the Chair of Flamencology and Andalusian Folkloric Studies in Jerez de la Frontera and was posthumously named honorary son of Andalusia. He died in September 1983. Although Mairena claimed that the *saeta* was never a flamenco song, the chant cannot and does not have to be hermetic and closed to creative initiatives.²⁸¹

²⁸⁰ <https://elcorreoweb.es/opinion/columnas/la-saeta-languidece-en-sevilla-CJ7218062>

²⁸¹ <https://loscaminosdelcante.com/2020/04/06/la-saeta-flamenca-segun-sevilla-y-sus-artistas-historicos-la-tona-del-cristo/>

Conclusion

The head of the Colegio Nuestro Padre Jesús, Eduardo Ternero Rodríguez, published several articles about the *saeta* in the newspaper of Marchena.²⁸² His interest on the topic may not be professional, nevertheless, the information contained in his writings could be of interest. According to Ternero, researchers have rescued names of *cantaos de saetas de Marchena* such as The Rueda family, “El Poyo,” “Macancho,” Pulido, “El Niño de la Viuda,” Juan “El Caeno,” José “El Lili,” “Aguilaro,” Miguel and Margarita (“Los Nazarenos”), Enrique Cáceres or Alberto Burguillos.²⁸³ However, little information about these singers has survived.

*There is no doubt, Marchena, has been a pioneer in many of the initiatives, has made a turnaround in the ways of representing and exalting the Holy Week, whether by the religiosity of the Duchy of Arcos, by the conservatism and fervor of the population, by the number of temples and therefore the large number of Brotherhoods and Guilds. Many of these scholars do not hesitate to affirm that the saeta has its origin in our town.*²⁸⁴

*All agree that the saeta evolved in Marchena, as we have said, by way of the Franciscan songs, which were picked up by the people and spread to other localities. It was the brotherhoods of Penitence that were working the miracle in the course of time. We are fortunate that they have been recovered and no less than ten types of saetas have survived, although it is believed that there may have been many more, although they have been forgotten from the atavistic memory, can hardly be recovered.*²⁸⁵

²⁸² Ternero Rodríguez, Eduardo, Rincón Flamenco - "Reflexiones sobre el flamenco" (blog) <https://sites.google.com/flamencodemarchena.org/rinconflamenco/inicio>

²⁸³ FLAMENCA, “Marchena, Cuna de la Saeta (III).”

²⁸⁴ <https://lavozdemarchena.es/firmas/13843-marchena-cuna-de-la-saeta-iii>

²⁸⁵ <https://sites.google.com/flamencodemarchena.org/rinconflamenco/marchena-cuna-de-la-saeta-i>

Therefore, we believe that our village is the most important saeta center of the world and as such should be cared for, promoted, and defended with pride.”²⁸⁶

²⁸⁶ No cabe duda, Marchena, ha sido pionera en muchas de las iniciativas, ha dado un vuelco en las formas de representar y exaltar la Semana Santa; fuese por la religiosidad del Ducado de Arcos, por el conservadurismo y fervor de la población, por la cantidad de templos y por ende del gran número de Hermandades y Cofradías. Muchos de estos eruditos no se cortan en afirmar que la saeta tiene su origen en nuestro pueblo. Todos coinciden en afirmar que la saeta surgió en Marchena, como hemos dicho, por los cantos franciscanos, que los recogió el pueblo y lo expandió por otras localidades. Queda claro que fueron las hermandades de Penitencia las que fueron obrando el milagro en el devenir de los tiempos. Tenemos la suerte de que se han recuperado y nos han llegado hasta nuestros días no menos de diez tipos de saetas, aunque se cree que pudo haber muchas más, pero olvidadas de la memoria atávica, difícilmente podrán ser recuperadas. Por ello, creemos que nuestro pueblo es el centro saetero más importante del mundo y como tal habría que cuidar, fomentar y defender con orgullo.

CHAPTER 3

Saeta in Classical Music Works

Introduction

In this chapter, we will examine Spanish composers who used the *saeta* in their music by integrating one of the characteristics of the chant into their works to deeply impact the audience as a through line. We will then focus on different composers who used the *saeta* in different ways in their compositions, both stage music pieces and instrumental works. We will trace a clear timeline and rationale for the use and development of the *saeta* in classical Spanish music.

Beginning in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, Spanish composers were influenced by feelings of nationalism. Spain's influential musical figures prioritized preservation of national identity through their music. Composers turned to Spain's rich popular traditions and music to express that national identity.

Holy Week celebrations are among those traditions, and it is one of Spain's most popular Catholic feasts. This commemoration of the passion and death of Jesus Christ is embodied in the Passover liturgy and reinforced by the religious processions that have become one of its main attractions: a compendium of art, devotion, faith, and passion.

Although the chant is a Catholic version of a dirge, *saeta* chant reflects a kind of musical expression common among the most profound of human emotional

manifestations. The chant differs from classical renditions, requiring a powerful and uninterrupted lament.

During the middle of the nineteenth century, the *old saeta* developed into the flamenco *saeta*. The flamenco elements²⁸⁷ complicated the performance of the *saeta* because of flamenco's particular melodic features. Its performance became the sole province of professional *cantaors*, many of them Roma who specialized vocal abilities. This precluded non-professional performance and led to a gradual abandonment of the old *saeta*.

Nevertheless, the ancient form was retained in the form of competitions designed to highlight the traditional *saeta* and as a melodic component of classical compositions. We will discuss those compositions here and will do a deeper analysis of those that used in staged productions such as operas, zarzuelas, or instrumental work.

We will start with Domenico Scarlatti's Sonata in D major for Keyboard, K.490, from 1804, which according to Antonio and David Hurtado was inspired by a *saeta* chant.²⁸⁸ Contrary to expectations, however, the piece suggests neither a chant nor a hymn, as we would expect of a piece that uses that title. In this case, Scarlatti may have used the *saeta*, merely as an "exotic" element rather than to exhibit the profound emotional and sensational impact we expect from a *saeta*. The compositional style of the time would not allow Scarlatti to reproduce the chant more precisely, technically

²⁸⁷ Elements such as "ay" and groups of grace notes.

²⁸⁸ Hurtado Torres, *La llave de la música flamenca*.

speaking. Although we will disregard his piece as a predecessor of the other works mentioned here, it is important to know the structure Scarlatti used in his attempts to recreate Andalusian music in general, and the *saeta* specifically.

*The characteristic pattern that Scarlatti used is the Phrygian sound, the descending tetrachord la-sol-fa-mi or A-G-F-E; and for its Moorish version A-G-sharp-F-E. but the Andalusian characteristics go beyond these patterns. It is accompanied by a drum beating the rhythmic pattern ♩ ♪♪♪ ♩ Scarlatti's Sonata in D major, K. 490/L. 206, is clearly a saeta.*²⁸⁹

²⁸⁹ Linton Powell, *A History of Spanish Piano Music*, Indiana University Press, 1980, p. 7.

Sonata K. 490

Domenico SCARLATTI
(1685-1757)
Révisé par : P. Gouin

Cantabile

5 9 13 17 21

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Figure 3.1 Domenico Scarlatti Sonata K. 490

Saetas in Staged Works

During the nineteenth century, and influenced by nationalistic ideas, Felipe Pedrell collected and transcribed popular Spanish chants.²⁹⁰ His *Cancionero musical popular español* contains notated *saetas* that a chanter sang for him in Seville. That recompilation of Spanish chants, an important part of his work as a composer, was designed to preserve the purity of the traditional music at a time when a new movement was introducing novel elements on the traditional style.

Francisco Asenjo Barbieri was the forerunner in using popular music in Spanish staged works. Both Barbieri's *zarzuela grande* (large zarzuela) and *zarzuela chica* (small zarzuela) used folkloric elements. His *Pan y Toros* (1864) and *Barberillo de Lavapiés* (1874) best exemplify the use of nationalistic elements in Spanish music after centuries of foreign portrayals of Spain.²⁹¹ In his 1857 zarzuela *El Relámpago*, Barbieri used the word *saeta* to mean an arrow in a poem, at a time when the transition to meaning a chant as well as a dart was taking place. However, musical definition or performance of a *saeta* is lacking. Therefore, Barbieri's work cannot be considered a starting point in its use in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Spanish staged works.

*Viene como una **saeta**
De las orillas del Miño
Para ofrecer su cariño
A su prima Enriqueta.*²⁹²

²⁹⁰ Pedrell, *Cancionero musical popular español*.

²⁹¹ Manuel de Falla, *Escritos sobre música y músicos*, Debussy, Wágner, el "cante jondo," Colección Austral, 950 (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe, 1950), 38.

²⁹² It comes like an arrow/From the banks of the Miño/To offer her affection/To his cousin Enriqueta.



Figure 3.1 *El Relámpago* by F. A. Barbieri. Source: *Todocolección*.

In 1916, Spanish composer Manuel de Falla expressed his opinion about composers' use of traditional chants applies to the use of the *saeta*:

*You must take inspiration straight from the people, and whomever does not understand that will only make their work a fairly clever refuge from what they set out to do.*²⁹³

When Falla talked about the use of traditional chants, he referred to “*fronteras de razas*” (racial frontiers) and the necessity of avoiding their fusion. He noted the importance of the consequences of WWI in establishing those racial borderlines.²⁹⁴ It is not clear what race Falla is referring to, but when talking about *saeta*, we can assume he meant Roma people and non-Roma Spaniards. A documented anecdote shows the opinion of Falla when referring to *cante jondo* (deep chant), and the fact that he believed that only the Roma perform authentic *cante jondo*. A Mexican diplomat, who accompanied Falla during Seville's Holy Week festivities in 1922, recounted Falla's reaction to numerous *saetas*, most of which the composer disliked, when he finally encountered what he called the authentic and pure chant. It was a Roma *cantaora* in *El Puente de Triana* who sang what he described as the authentic *saeta* of the *cante jondo*.²⁹⁵

²⁹³ Hay que tomar la inspiración directamente del pueblo, y quien no lo entienda así sólo conseguirá hacer de su obra un remedio más o menos ingenioso de lo que se proponga realizar.

Falla, *Escritos sobre música y músicos, Debussy, Wágner, el “cante jondo”* (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe Argentina, 1950), 40.

²⁹⁴ Falla, 2.

²⁹⁵ http://www.manueldefalla.com/pdfs/pdf130316114938_132.pdf

Professor Carol Hess writes that

[...] as flamenco came to enjoy a degree of popularization, however, its intellectual protectors feared that mass culture and commercialization were undermining its 'authenticity'.²⁹⁶

Moreover, she writes:

Spanish composer Manuel de Falla and his colleagues cherished an idealized view of flamenco as a vehicle for the 'purity' and 'sobriety' of ethnic expression. To preserve the purity of the music, in 1922 Falla organized²⁹⁷ a competition in Granada, where non-professional singers could perform the so-called cante jondo.²⁹⁸

Several composers used the *saeta* either to preserve popular chants and create a wave of Spanish nationalistic music, or to popularize Spain's folkloric expression.

Whether composers were recreating the spiritual context of Holy Week or preserving the phenomenon in musicals, it is important to evaluate the effectiveness of the *saeta* in those compositions.

We noted above that part of the reason the *saeta* has been preserved lies in the stylized usage either in Holy Week processions or in flamenco performances. Despite the importance of the chant's use in Spanish classical pieces, the world-at-large seems to

²⁹⁶ Hess, *Sacred Passions*, 128.

²⁹⁷ Federico García Lorca was his partner in this. His desire to conserve the traditions of the past that led Lorca to work with Manuel de Falla and many other artists (along with the bullfighter Ignacio Sánchez Mejías) to organize the first Concurso de Cante Jondo in Granada in June 1922—the earliest national competition for flamenco singers.

²⁹⁸ Hess, *Sacred Passions*, 130.

have remained singularly ignorant of this musical form. The difficulty of transcribing the melodies may well have confined its use to Spain.

Enrique Granados

Born in Lérida, Catalonia, in 1867, Granados moved to Tenerife at age three. In 1874, the family returned to Barcelona, and in 1882 Granados started piano lessons. After he met Felipe Pedrell in 1883, the musicologist and composer became his mentor until they had a parting of the ways in 1911.



Figure 3.2 Enrique Granados. Source: *Real Academia de la Historia*

In November 1898, Granados premiered his opera *María del Carmen* in Madrid, using a *saeta* during the procession scene,²⁹⁹ called *Virgen Santísima de la Fuensanta*.³⁰⁰ In the opera, María and Pencho are in love. However, Pencho flees to Algeria after

²⁹⁹ https://youtu.be/KZ4B5T89t_g

³⁰⁰ Some authors (e.g., Raquel Cantero) mention the piece “Dios te salve Macarena” as the *saeta* in *Maria del Carmen*. However, this is inaccurate. The opera score and recording (and other sources) clearly show that the only part that can be considered a *saeta*, is the “Virgen Santísima de la Fuensanta” aria, performed by choir and solo tenor.

injuring the wealthy Javier. María remained in the village to take care of Javier and to save Pencho. When Pencho returns, although he and María still love each other, she has developed feelings for Javier and fears the men will kill each other in a duel. As the opera draws to a close, Javier is diagnosed with tuberculosis, and he helps the couple to be together.

The first act ends in a procession, where a choir and a solo tenor duplicate the spiritual environment of Holy Week. Granados achieves this effect by using *sordini* in the strings. The music evokes the use of a wind ensemble accompanying a religious march, and the solo tenor represents a chanter performing a *saeta*. The *tremolo* in the strings evokes candles flickering in the breeze and pulsating breath. However, although the scene both lyrically and musically resembles a *Semana Santa* experience, the *saeta* is unrealistically short and almost unnoticeable, certainly failing to produce a profound emotional impact.



Figure 3.3 *Maria del Carmen* by Enrique Granados. Source: *Biblioteca de Catalunya*.

Returning to the critics' feedback after the premiere of *Maria del Carmen*, we can imagine that impact is very different and different individuals of the audience will receive it in a very diverse way. Nevertheless, after listening and analyzing the score and the specific *saeta* segment, we can conclude that the critics' conclusion was quite right.

Ruperto Chapí³⁰¹

Less than a month after the premiere of Granados's *Maria del Carmen*, Ruperto Chapí premiered his *Curro Vargas*³⁰² in Madrid in December of 1898. *Curro Vargas* has been described either as an opera or as a *zarzuela*. It deals with a love triangle that evokes the style of the Italian composer Pietro Mascagni at some points, especially in the third act.³⁰³ The second act, which is of special interest to us, is divided into three parts in the second of which the main character, Soledad, sings a *saeta*. Chapí uses the *saeta* in the religious procession of the second act of his lyric drama. A scream from Curro interrupts Soledad's rendering of the *saeta*.³⁰⁴ Chapí uses strings and oboe to create an atmosphere of mysticism and tension in the introduction to the *saeta*. A chord from the harp interweaves with the female *cantaor's* chant, creating a modal melody reminiscent of Moorish music. The "laboratory"³⁰⁵ *saeta* echoes those sung during Holy Week.

³⁰¹ Chapí was born in 1853 near Alicante and studied with Tomás Bretón in Madrid. After a five-year fellowship in Italy, he returned to Spain in 1878 and started his career composing *zarzuelas*. He composed many *zarzuelas*, both *género grande* and *género chico*.

³⁰² In 1923, a movie with the same name was aired. "De la zarzuela al cine: los medios de comunicación populares y su traducción de la voz marginal": Max Doppelbauer, Kathrin Saringen Meidenbauer, 2010 (Al tiempo que la zarzuela va desapareciendo a lo largo del siglo XX, surge un nuevo medio de comunicación popular, el cine. En ningún otro país, la sustitución lenta y paulatina del propio teatro lírico por el cine se realizó de manera tan fluida como en España. Por consiguiente, hasta el emblemático Teatro de la Zarzuela de Madrid se transformó en sala de cine y hubo temporadas en que la denominación se cambió por la de Cine de la Zarzuela. Sin duda alguna, en ambos medios la música desempeña un papel fundamental, muchas veces con la función enfática de poner de relieve a uno de sus personajes, de acompañar tipo leitmotiv a un individuo o grupo destacado o de dar énfasis a personajes antes periféricos que justamente a través de la música ganan estatus y voz. Tanto la zarzuela como el cine sirven como medios populares de representación y traducción cultural de grupos sociales.

El objetivo de este libro es, por tanto, doble: por un lado, quiere mostrar el papel de grupos sociales marginales en los medios de comunicación populares, siguiendo la historia de su escenificación en la zarzuela y el cine a través de los últimos siglos en España y Latinoamérica. Por otro lado, quiere examinar el cambio de registro, de voz y de representación en ambos medios populares.

³⁰³ Iberní, *Ruperto Chapí*, 310.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., 302, 310. <https://youtu.be/vnmV-LHZb7E> (min. 1:19:50).

³⁰⁵ Iberní, *Ruperto Chapí*, 310.

Nonetheless, Chapí's *saeta*, despite including a layer of musical complexity like that of a *saeta*, fails to evoke for the listener the impression of a genuine *saeta*. This is due to the way the composers write, and performers, with lyric type of voice, interpret the music. The emotional potential of the chant tends to remain poorly developed when the vocalization is not that of a genuine of a *saeta* chanter.³⁰⁶ A principal characteristic of the *saeta* is its profound emotional impact on the listeners. The *saeta* in *Curro Vargas* remains unnoticed, or at least, does not have the impact a genuine *saeta*. This may indicate two things: at the time when Chapí composed the piece, *saetas* were performed in a different way, and the strength and passion of the song was not a basic requirement for its performance or notated capture; and second, the composer may have been unfamiliar with the Andalusian performances, and the inclusion of a *saeta* may have been product of a fashionable desire to satisfy audience's need for exoticism. In Iberni's book on Chapí, the author says that the *saeta* in *Curro Vargas* was a novelty for Spanish audiences at the end of the nineteenth century.³⁰⁷

Joaquín Turina

Composer and musicologist from Seville, Joaquín Turina, recreated melodies in the style of the primitive *saetas* in several of his works.³⁰⁸ We will see here the *saeta* in his staged work, *Margot*.

³⁰⁶ The forcing of the vocal cords and the complete exhaustion of air are some of the characteristics of the *saeta* performed during the processions of Holy Week.

³⁰⁷ Iberni, *Ruperto Chapí*.

³⁰⁸ Gerhard Steingress, *Sociología del Cante Flamenco* (Sevilla: Signatura Ediciones, 1993), 104.

Turina's lyrical comedy, *Margot* Op. 11, premiered in 1914.³⁰⁹ The libretto was written by Gregorio and María Martínez Sierra. In this work, a *saeta* appears in a procession scene. The scene is called *Plazoleta de Sevilla en la Noche del Jueves Santo* (*A Square in Seville on the Night of Holy Thursday*), and the dramatic tension at the end of the second scene of the second act culminates in a *saeta*.³¹⁰ A Holy Friday procession passes by, and the faint sound of a *saeta* can be heard in the distance. The music of the wind ensemble comes to an end, and the drums prepare for the *saeta*. The sound of drums creates an auditive landscape of the nervous love triangle between Margot, José Manuel, and Amparo. Margot and José Manuel are declaring their love in secret, when Amparo suddenly starts singing a *saeta*.³¹¹

Turina uses wind instrumentation to portray the musical ambiance of Holy Week processions. Wind ensembles typically perform behind the platforms that carry the saints. The use of oboes as a lyrical instrument has been a customary practice among some Spanish composers. Rhythmical patterns issue from the drums with the drum roll creating a continuous accompaniment to the *saeta*. A soprano performs the chant, which lacks some of the ornamental elements of the *saeta* but seems closer to the old and plain version of the chant, than to the flamenco style. The passage ends when the wind ensemble interrupts the *saeta* chant, thus, Turina reminds the audience that they are listening to an opera and not a genuine Holy Week procession.

³⁰⁹ Fernández-Cid, *Cien años de teatro musical en España*, 517.

³¹⁰ García del Busto, *Turina*, 138.

³¹¹ <https://youtu.be/nya9lBXWUGc> (minute 3:35).

Margot is an example of a twentieth-century staged work that contains a *saeta*.

Turina not only recreates the chant and evokes the spiritual environment of the processions, but he captures their sacredness and spirituality. His use of the *saeta* is a convincing replica of the Holy Week atmosphere and an excellent tribute to the composer's mastery of its profound emotional impact. The understanding of what *Margot* represents today is well explained in this excerpt of a Holy Week enthusiast's words:

*The framing of this piece is very important, it emanates from that effervescence that arose at the time, the first third of the twentieth century, with composers very focused on cultivating nationalism, a musical trend that seeks to exalt cultural values, popular music, landscapes, through music, turning it into a source of worship. Music that breathes Andalusian cadences, popular music, descriptions of corners, Andalusian or Spanish landscapes, music of projection and diffusion of the values of the land. Joaquín Turina was no stranger to this; indeed, he was involved in the movement, pushed by that incitement that Albeniz launched when Don Joaquín Turina began to compose. He had already left his nationalist mark in "La procesión del Rocío" (1913, opus 9), and a year later he endorsed it again with "Margot." Therefore, to listen to Margot is to listen to that time, to listen to "Noche del Jueves al Viernes Santo" is to live the Holy Week of Seville in 1914, a brief and intense piece, brilliant, exciting, that keeps the listener in tension, a dreamy, intoxicating march, with charm and enchantment. A jewel that Oliva transcribes for band and that we hope it does not remain in the delivery folder, but that its notes seek the figure of a palio for the delight of the Sevillian people.*³¹²

³¹² El encuadre de esta pieza es importantísimo, emana de esa efervescencia que surgía en la época, primer tercio del XX, con compositores muy volcados en cultivar el nacionalismo, corriente musical que persigue enaltecer los valores culturales, la música popular, los paisajes, a través de la música, convirtiéndola en fuente de culto. Música que respira cadencias andaluzas, música popular, descripciones de rincones, paisajes andaluces o españoles, música de proyección y difusión de los valores de la tierra. Joaquín Turina no era ajeno a esto, es más, estaba inmiscuido en el movimiento, empujado por aquella incitación que Albéniz le lanzó cuando Don Joaquín Turina empezaba a componer. Ya había dejado su huella nacionalista en "La procesión del Rocío" (1913, opus 9), y un año después lo volvía a refrendar con "Margot". Por eso escuchar *Margot* es escuchar aquella época, escuchar "Noche del Jueves al Viernes

In a letter that Joaquín Turina sent to music critic Víctor Espinós, on October 9, the day before the premiere of *Margot*, he describes his intent:

My desires and hopes in writing Margot are none other than to help the revival of Spanish lyric drama, making a score in which the technique, although complex, does not hinder clarity; if the current revival is a fact, the collaboration of the public is necessary, and it is not convenient to give this gentleman opium in music. I have proceeded as in almost all my works, by elimination, using only the necessary materials. The plot of the composition is very clear, and the themes are concrete. The harmony is completely modern, avoiding vulgar cadences and the counterpoint is eliminated, except for a small fugato piece. The story of Margot begins in March [1914] at the Price Theater, during a performance of Las Golondrinas, although it was decided before Usandizaga's premiere. We proceeded by a trip to Seville, and another to Paris, studying the play on the spot. Afterwards, the work has been produced, book and music at the same time, scene by scene, and always in perfect communion of ideas. The book was finished in mid-August; I finished the music at the end of August [since May 18] and the instrumentation on September 27 [since July 1] (...). (...) Andalusia is, without a doubt, a source of lyricism for Andalusian composers. It has been so mistreated by foreigners and outsiders that it seems useless to insist on it. The background of the Andalusian feeling is sad, and they insist on a continuous tambourine! I believe that the importance of the score begins in the 2nd tableau of Act 2 (... it is impossible to do it before), and I have used the sung declamation. This number and the last one, a terrible mixture of unbridled joy and despair, are the most important of the work. The audience will say...].³¹³

Santo” es vivir la Semana Santa de Sevilla de 1914, una pieza breve e intensa, brillante, emocionante, que mantiene en tensión al oyente, una marcha de ensueño, embriagadora, con embrujo y encanto. Una joya que la Oliva transcribe para banda y que esperamos no quede en la carpeta de reparto, sino que sus notas busquen la figura de un palio para deleite del pueblo sevillano.

<http://www.patrimoniomusical.com/foro/viewtopic.php?t=730>

³¹³ Translation: “Mis deseos y esperanzas al escribir Margot no son otros que ayudar al resurgimiento del drama lírico español, haciendo una partitura en la que la técnica, aunque sea compleja, no estorbe a la claridad; si el resurgimiento actual es un hecho, es precisa la colaboración del público, y a este señor no conviene darle el opio en música. He procedido como en casi todas mis obras, por eliminación, no empleando más materiales que los precisos. La trama de composición está bien clara y los temas son

According to the review published on June 8, 1915, in the Union Mercantil, Margot caused a sensation among the Malaga public on the day of its premiere at the Vital Aza theater.

*We then savor a marvelous interlude of very elegant workmanship and move on to the third scene, the procession of the Virgen de la Esperanza, pages full of brilliance and sonority, and in which the famous musician has squandered all his powerful inspiration. The paso de la cofradia is reminiscent of some Wagnerian pieces due to its vigorous intonation and descriptive boast. The number concludes with the development of some saetas, of incomparable beauty. The audience, which had been a little reluctant to applaud some numbers, gave themselves completely to this one and the hall burst into a clamorous ovation.*³¹⁴

concretos. La armonía completamente moderna, evitando las cadencias vulgares y el contrapunto completamente eliminado, a excepción de un pequeño trozo fugado. La historia de Margot empieza en marzo [1914] en el teatro Price, durante una representación de Las Golondrinas, aunque estaba decidida antes del estreno de Usandizaga. Procedimos por un viaje a Sevilla, y otro a París, estudiando la obra sobre el terreno. Después se ha ido fabricando la obra, a la par libro y música, escena por escena, y en perfecta comunión de ideas siempre. El libro se terminó a mediados de agosto; yo terminé la música a fin de agosto [desde el 18 de mayo] y la instrumentación el 27 de septiembre [desde el 1 de julio]. (...) Andalucía es, sin duda, fuente de lirismo para compositores andaluces. Tan maltratada ha sido por los extranjeros y los forasteros, que me parece inútil insistir en ello. El fondo del sentimiento andaluz es triste, ¡y se empeñan en una continua pandereta! Creo que la importancia de la partitura empieza en el 2º cuadro del acto 2º (... es imposible hacerlo antes), y he empleado la declamación cantada. Este número y el último, terrible mezcla de alegría desenfrenada y desesperación, son los más importantes de la obra. El público dirá...”.

³¹⁴ Translation: Saboreamos a continuación un intermedio maravilloso de factura elegantísima y pasamos al cuadro tercero, la procesión de la Virgen de la Esperanza, páginas llenas de brillantez y sonoridad, y en las que el músico insigne ha derrochado toda su poderosa inspiración. El paso de la cofradía recuerda por su entonación vigorosa y alarde descriptivo, algunos trozos wagnerianos. Concluye el número con el desarrollo de unas saetas, de belleza incomparable. El auditorio, que se había mostrado un poco reacio para aplaudir algunos números, se entregó en este completamente y en la sala estalló ovación clamorosa.

Guillermo Fernández-Shaw

In 1930, Guillermo Fernández-Shaw wrote the libretto for a zarzuela called *La saeta*. It is a zarzuela in one act, divided in four scenes and an original intermission in prose.³¹⁵ Fernández Shaw was born in 1893 and is the author of the librettos of *Doña Francisquita*, *Luisa Fernanda*, *La Chulapona*, *La Canción del Olvido*, *La Rosa del Azafrán*, *La tabernera del Puerto*, and a long catalog of works amounting seventy titles. As it was usual among the authors of zarzuelas to write as a duo, he had Federico Romero and, later, his brother Rafael as great collaborators. Fernández-Shaw inherited this vocation from his father, Carlos Fernández-Shaw. Guillermo, like him, also graduated in Law at the Universidad Central and worked in the editorial office of the newspaper *Época*. For one season he directed the Teatro Colón in Buenos Aires. He spread our “género chico” and gave lectures in Mexico, Paraguay, Colombia, Venezuela, and Canada. He died in Madrid in 1965. The Fernández-Shaw brothers were fundamental to the zarzuela genre in Spain, both before and after the Spanish Civil War.

³¹⁵ <https://www2.march.es/bibliotecas/repositorio-fernandez-shaw/ficha.aspx?p0=fshaw%3A2372&l=2>

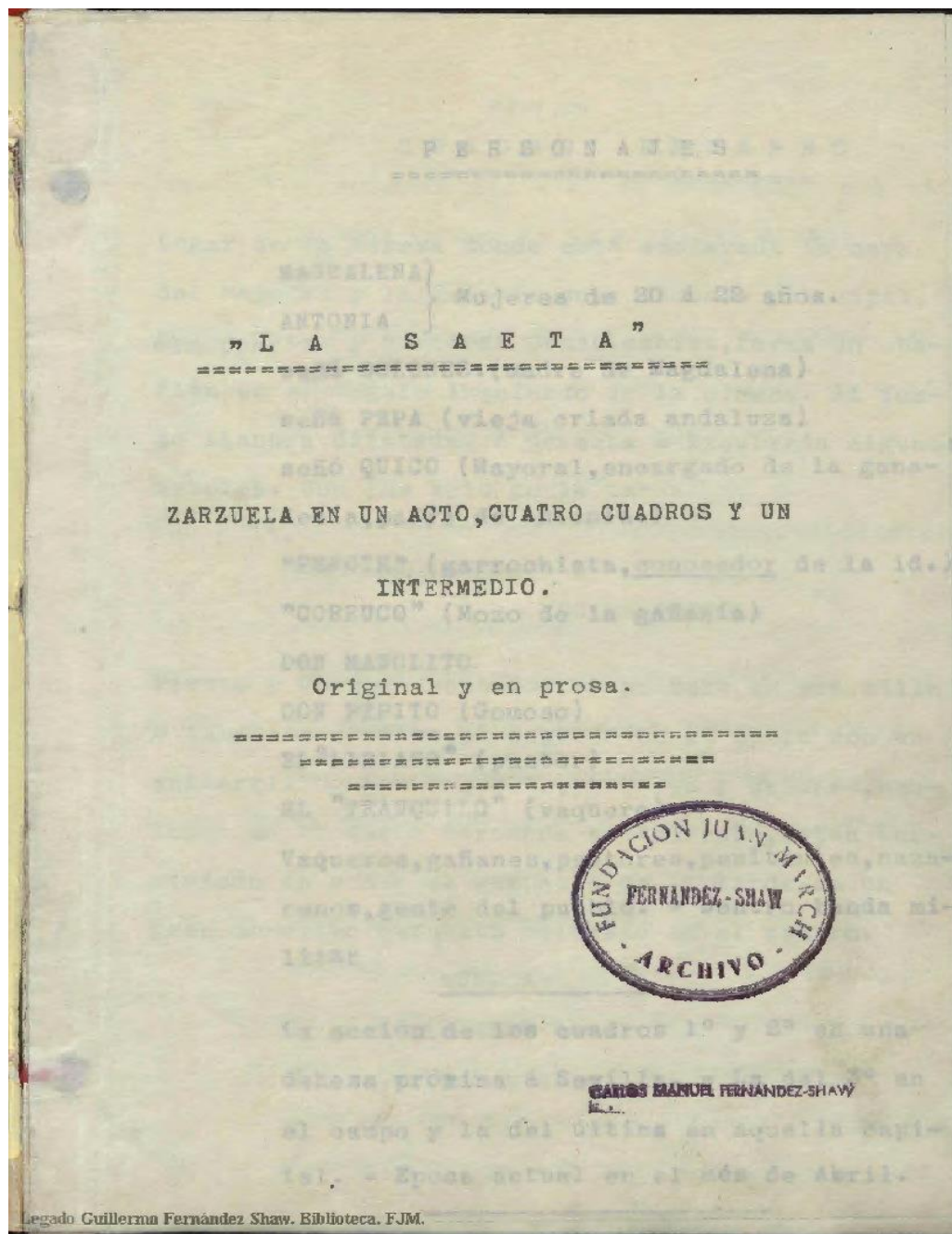


Figure 3.4 *La Saeta* by Carlos Fernández-Shaw. Source: *Fundación Juan March*.

Cristóbal Halffter

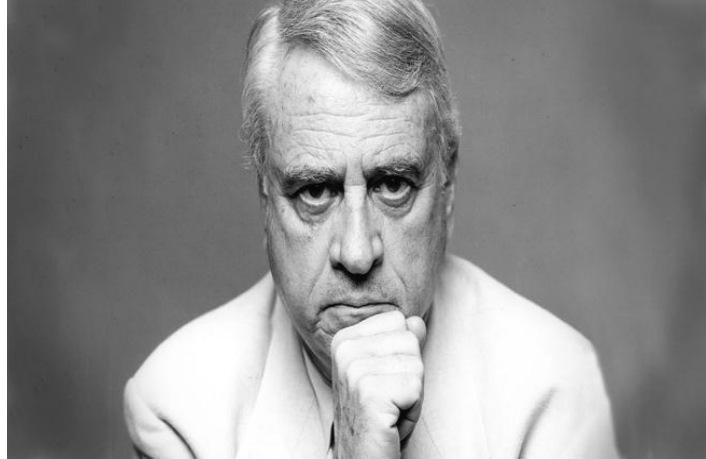


Figure 3.5 Cristóbal Halffter. Source: *Scherzo*

Cristóbal Halffter is a Spanish composer born in 1930 in Madrid. He is the nephew of two of the great figures of the Spanish Musical Generation of 1927, the brothers Rodolfo and Ernesto Halffter Escriche. Halffter's first trips abroad (Paris in 1954 and 1956, Italy in 1957) allowed him to learn first-hand about the creative trials of composers such as John Cage, Luciano Berio, Pierre Boulez, Karlheinz Stockhausen, or Henri Pousseur.

In 1954 -1955, Halffter composed a ballet called *Saeta*. Some of the stylistic constants of his music are since he was a pioneer in his generation of Schönbergian dodecaphonism. His compositions are impregnated with rhythmic incisiveness, filled with a universe of timbres and harmonic harshness.³¹⁶

³¹⁶ Germán Gan Quesada, *La obra de Cristóbal Halffter: creación musical y fundamentos estéticos*, tesis doctoral.

It should be noted that Paris, the destination of Halffter's first European outings in 1954 and 1956, was the non-Spanish city that at that time was most familiar with his music: The ballet *Saeta* Op. 11 was commissioned by the *Ballets Russes of the Marquis de las Cuevas*, and it was premiered in October 1955 at the Théâtre des Champs-Elysées.³¹⁷

Little is known about this ballet, except that the length of the piece was approximately 30 minutes and that after its premiere it remained unpublished.³¹⁸ However, we find Halffter's connection to religious music in another piece, which gives an idea of his style. In 1994 he composed a String Sextet called *Endechas para una reina de España*.

Endecha I - El sueño de la razón

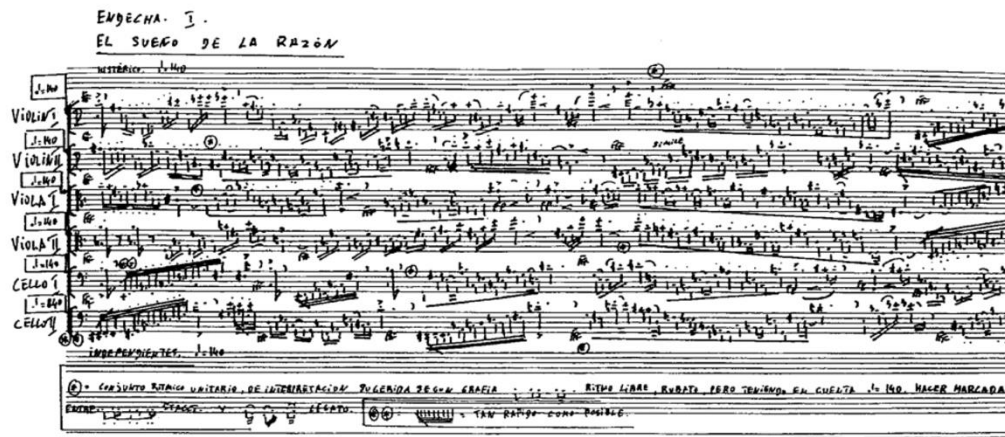
Endecha II - Las tinieblas de la consciencia

Endecha III - El vacío de la muerte

<https://recursos.march.es/culturales/documentos/conciertos/cc645.pdf>

³¹⁷ Quesada. (Performers of the premiere of the ballet: Wladimir Skovratoff (Gypsy), Ana Ricarda (Gypsy). Choreography: Ana Ricarda. Scenery and costumes: Stubbing.)

³¹⁸ An attempt to contact Halffter's family did not produce any further information on the state of the scores of the piece for a possible musical analysis.



Example 3.2 String Sextet by Cristobal Halffter. Source: *Fundación Juan March*.

***Saetas* in Instrumental Classical Music**

Intertextuality in music describes the relationship between pieces of music. The use of *saetas*, or rather the idea of *saetas*, in instrumental compositions is an example of that intertextuality in the auditory imagination of the audience. When composers use *saetas* as an inspiration or element in their compositions, they make sure that the audience knows it. In staged works, such as operas or zarzuelas, the context is usually religious, and the use of the *saeta* is obvious. However, in instrumental music, the movement related to the *saeta* chant typically adopts the same name, or a name that implies a connection to the religious chant.

The auditory impact of these instrumental *saetas* differs from those composed to be sung. Some barely resemble the *saeta* sung during Holy Week processions while others inspire and move the audience. There are pieces that appear to be inspired by a *saeta*; however, neither the composer nor anyone else hints that is the case. Take, for

example, the second movement of Manuel de Falla's harpsichord concerto. The composer never hinted that he uses a *saeta*, and indeed it is much more plausible that Falla used *cante jondo*, which has ties to the *saeta*, but is not a *saeta*.

On the one hand, we have composers' less than successful attempts to imitate the *saeta* chant; on the other hand, the characteristic features of the *saeta* chant are exquisitely represented in *cante jondo*, in a way that most deeply affects Spanish musical nationalism. This double application of the *saeta* chant has led to an interesting development in Spanish music. There is the unsuccessful attempt to filter the *saeta* through the Western notation system to produce a distilled product that evokes the same emotional response, and there is the phenomenon of the *saeta* itself, which has infiltrated much of Spanish nationalistic music. It is not the melodic aspect of the chant, but the rhythmic fragments that have established themselves as archetypal. Conscious efforts to integrate the *saeta* into the classical music repertoire went almost unnoticed. But when that same chant was filtered through the collective imagination of Spanish culture, it produced a combination of stylistic configurations unique to Spanish music. Let's remember that the *saeta*, with the symbolism of an arrow and the character of lamentation, is a funerary chant. Indeed, laments and funerary singing expressions are very old. The *saeta* chant has been the precursor of the entire development of traditional musical elements embedded into classical music compositions in Spain, and composers such as Joaquín Nin, Eduardo Torres, Gaspar Cassadó, Isaac Albéniz, Joaquín Turina, or Manuel Falla.

Eduardo Ocón

Eduardo Ocón composed in 1874, a song collection that included a *saeta*, *Cantos Españoles*.³¹⁹ *Colección de Aires Nacionales y Populares Formada e Ilustrada con Notas Explicativas y Biográficas*.³²⁰

³¹⁹<http://bdh.bne.es/bne/search/CompleteSearch.do?numfields=1&field1=materia&showYearItems=&field1val=%22Saetas%22&advanced=true&field1Op=AND&exact=on&textH=&completeText=&text=&pageSize=1&pageSizeAbrv=30&pageNumber=3>

³²⁰ Draayer, *Art Song*, 224.

Tomás Bretón



Figure 3.8 Tomás Bretón. Source: *Real Conservatorio Superior de Música de Madrid*

Tomás Bretón was a Spanish composer born in Salamanca in 1850.³²¹ He also worked as a conductor, principally with Madrid's Sociedad de Conciertos (from 1885 onwards), the capital's foremost orchestra at the time. He continued to conduct throughout his life. The considerable experience he gained through his conducting work is reflected in his own orchestral output, which includes three symphonies, a series of symphonic poems and various typically Spanish pieces. Andalucismo was key to Spanish nationalist music and, between them, the four highly coloured pieces that make up the

³²¹ He studied violin in his city, where he played in small orchestras since he was 12. In 1866 he moved to Madrid to carry on his studies in the Royal Music Conservatoire. He collaborated with Barbieri in the Concert Society. He traveled to Rome, Vienna and Paris on a scholarship from the San Fernando Academy of Fine Arts and Alfonso XII. In 1876, back in Madrid, he created the orchestra of the Artistic and Musical Association. In 1891, he made his debut in London as a director, supported by Albéniz. He was a teacher and director of the Music Conservatoire of Madrid, director of the Concert Society, member of the San Fernando Royal Academy of Fine Arts and director of the Symphonic Orchestra of Madrid. He died in Madrid in December 1923.

http://www.spainisculture.com/en/artistas_creadores/tomas_breton.html

*Escenas andaluzas*³²² (1894) features its central characteristics, establishing the foundations on which Albéniz and Falla were to build. The Bolero has the distinctive rhythm of that dance and provides a wealth of orchestral colour.

*Marcha y saeta*³²³ depicts a typical Holy Week procession: we hear the approach of a marching band and then, just as the music is at its loudest, it stops, to allow the low tones of the *saeta*—the devotional song par excellence of Andalusia—to be heard on the cor anglais. The work ends with a rhythmic and dazzling Zapateado, another typical Andalusian dance. This was one of the composer's most popular pieces, illustrative of both his nationalism and his talent for orchestral writing.³²⁴ Bretón also composed a song collection based on the poetry of Gustavo Becquer, *Seis Poesías de Gustavo A. Becquer*, the first of which is titled *Saeta que voladora*:³²⁵

*Saeta que voladora
cruza arrojada al azar,
y que no sabe dónde
temblando se clavará;
hoja que del árbol seca
arrebata el vendaval,
sin que nadie acierte el surco
donde al polvo volverá;
gigante ola que el viento
riza y empuja en el mar,
y rueda y pasa, y se ignora
qué playa buscando va;
luz que en cercos temblorosos
brilla próxima a expirar*

³²² Sobrino Sánchez, *Pintoresquismo y Andalucísimo en Tomás Bretón*, 215.

³²³ <https://youtu.be/Cs36hkW3rpU>

³²⁴ Víctor Sánchez Sánchez (Translated by Sussanah Howe), <https://www.naxos.com/MainSite/BlurbsReviews/?itemcode=8.572076&catnum=572076&filetype=AboutThisRecording&language=English>

³²⁵ Draayer, *Art Song Composers of Spain*, 246.

*y que no se sabe de ellos
cuál el último será;
eso soy yo que al acaso
cruzo el mundo sin pensar
de dónde vengo ni adónde
mis pasos me llevarán.³²⁶*

³²⁶ Translation: Flying arrow that/Randomly leaps forth/Without knowing where/Atrenble, it will pin/A leaf from that dry tree/Snatching a gale/Without anyone /pinpointing the furrow/where it will return to dust;/giant wave that the wind/ruffles and chases in the sea,/and rolls and passes by without knowing/what beach it's destined for;/a light that shines along barriers vibrating at the moment of death/and no one knows /what its final destiny will be;/That's what I am, perhaps my steps will take me traveling the world without a thought/about where I'm going nor where I come from /where do I come from or where/my steps will carry me.

Isaac Albéniz

To be sure, there are cases of mistaken identity in the repertoire of concert *saetas*. An example of a work often thought of as a *saeta* but which is not, is Isaac Albéniz's *Suite española no. 1*. Albéniz was born in Camprodón, Catalonia in 1860 and he composed this piece in 1886. He submitted to Madrid publisher Benito Zozaya with eight titles but only four completed pieces. One of the titles without actual music was "Cádiz (Saeta)." After Albéniz's death in 1909, publishers took pieces composed later and inserted them into the earlier *Suite española no. 1*, changing their titles to match those that were originally unaccompanied by music. One of these pieces was "Cádiz (Saeta)," which was originally published in 1890 by J.B. Pujol in Barcelona as the *Serenata española*. The posthumous publisher, Unión Musical Española, added this to its edition of the *Suite española no. 1* but appropriately changed the subtitle to "Canción," since it bears little resemblance to the real thing.³²⁷ One still encounters both subtitles, depending on the edition.

³²⁷ The complex history of this work is explained in detail in Jacinto Torres Mulas, *Catálogo sistemático descriptivo de la obras musicales de Isaac Albéniz* (Madrid: Instituto de Bibliografía Musical, 2001), 290-92. Torres that the *Serenata española* is "in no way" a *saeta*. In 1905, Albéniz composed a piece that depicts a religious procession: *El Corpus Cristi en Sevilla* [Corpus Christi in Seville] in his *Iberia* piano suite. See Orringer, *Lorca in Tune with Falla*, 86.

Suite espagnole.

Nº 4. CADIZ.

(Saeta.)

I. Albeniz.

Allegretto, ma non troppo.

Piano.

p

pp

poco rit.

cantando

dolce

pa tempo

tre corde

cresc.

poco rit.

a tempo

marcato

rit.

una corda

18

H. 8881.

Example 3.5 “Cádiz (Saeta)” from *Suite española no. 1* by Isaac Albéniz

Eduardo Torres



Figure 3.8 Eduardo Torres. Source: Rosanna Franzese

Eduardo Torres is a Spanish composer who penned a work for organ that is divided into four separate pieces. Each of the pieces is called a *saeta*. Born in Albaida, Valencia, in 1872,³²⁸ he was a capellmeister, an organist, composer, musical critic, and choir conductor. He pursued religious studies and became capellmeister of the Tortosa cathedral in 1895 and the cathedral of Seville in 1910. In 1925, he became a music critic for Seville's ABC newspaper. Torres introduced French impressionism to Spain's religious music. He also was the predecessor of the musical nationalism represented by Falla and Turina. Torre's most important work is his *Saetas* for organ, a collection of pieces based on Andalusian popular chants.³²⁹ Torres lived in Seville for almost 24 years and the city, and its religious celebrations strongly influenced his compositions. He is considered an ecclesiastical composer with influences from French music. At that time, in

³²⁸ <https://www.boileau-music.com/es/autores/torres-eduardo>

³²⁹ Ibid.

1903, there was a new rule for church music that required composers to hone their creativity close to the aesthetics of the church music of previous centuries. Gregorian chant became a source of inspiration and Torres' compositional style unifies French impressionism and Gregorian-chant modulations. Despite his extensive production (more than 130 pieces), and his influence in Falla and Turina's works, Torres has disappeared from the body of known composers.

Juan Carlos Sampere Bomboí transcribed Torre's *Saetas* for wind ensemble.³³⁰ During Holy Week processions, wind ensembles are among the major attractions and an inseparable element of the march. Sampere Bomboí's arrangement unfolds the original melody so it can be performed by several instruments at the same time.

³³⁰ <https://www.scribd.com/document/338467229/Saetas-E-Torres-Completo-pdf>

Saeta for Organ

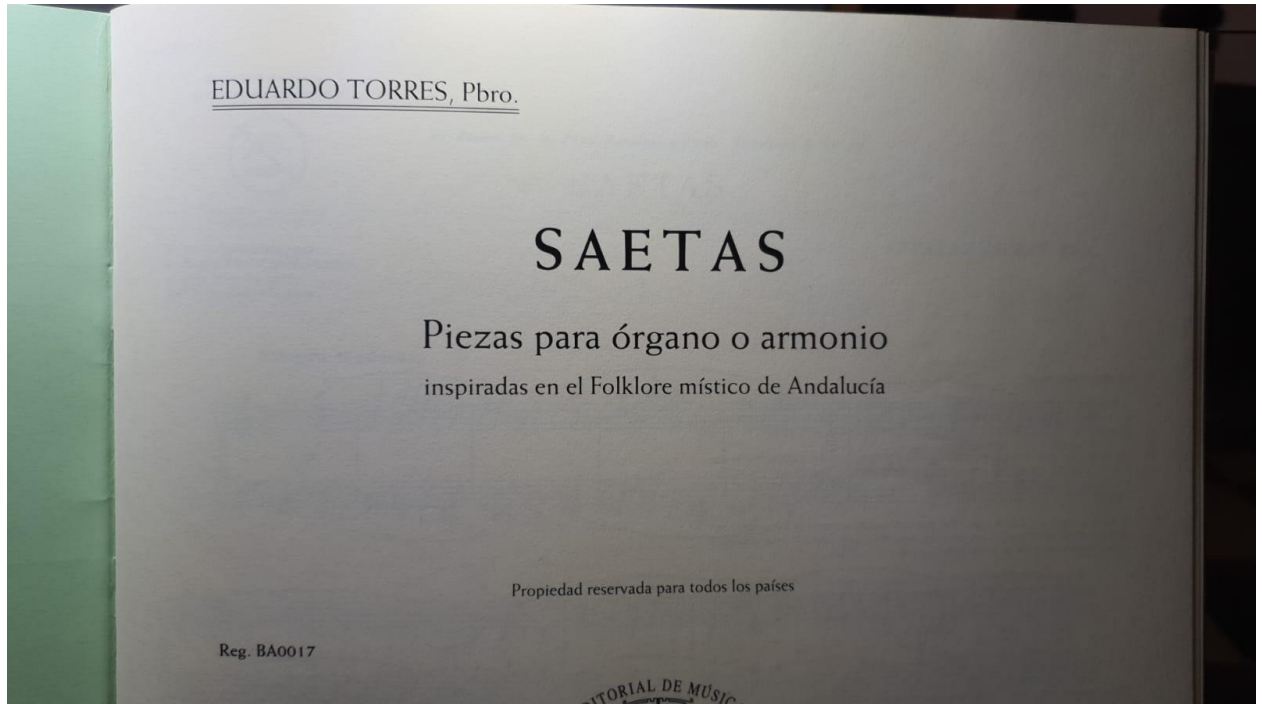


Figure 3.9 *Saetas para Organo o Armonio* by Eduardo Torres. Source: own material

Ecclesiastical composer Eduardo Torres (1872-1934) wrote a piece called *Saetas* for organ. There are four *saetas*. The first one, *Allegro Moderato*, has a short text at the beginning:

*En la calle l'Amargura
la Madre a su Hijo encuentra;
el Hijo lleva la cruz
pero a su madre le pesa.*³³¹

³³¹ On Amargura Street/the Mother finds her Son;/ the Son carries the cross/but it weighs heavily on his mother.

The text of the second one, the *Adagio*, is:

*Míralo, como viene
er mejó de los nasíos,
los ojos hechos dos fuentes,
el rostro descolorío.*³³²

The third one is an *Andante* and the text says:

*En la calle l'Amargura
Cristo a su Madre encontró,
no se pudieron hablá
de sentimiento y doló.*³³³

The fourth and last one is a *Poco Adagio*, and its text says:

*¡No hay quien me dé una limosna
para ayudar a enterrar
al Hijo de esta Señora,
que se quea esampará
huérfana, viuda y sola!*³³⁴

Curiously, some of the text combines Castilian Spanish, the official language of Spain, and the Andalusian dialect, written in italics. The pieces are for organ and the texts of the *saetas* are merely ornamental and maybe inspirational to the performer.

A musical analysis of the four *saetas* shows that the composer used compositional resources such as dodecaphony in *Saeta IV*. In general, there are no obvious similarities to *saetas*, however, within Torres' compositional style, there are suggestions of the chant.

³³² Look at him, as he comes/the best of the born,/his eyes like two fountains,/his face discolored.

³³³ On *Amargura* street/Christ found his Mother,/they could not speak/of feeling and pain.

³³⁴ There is no one to give me alms/to help bury/the Son of this Lady,/who is left helpless/orphan, widow and alone!

The originality of his style differs also from the nationalistic style of Spanish music from the same period (1920s). His use of atonalism and polytonalism, and the mixture of major and minor modes suggests an innovative influence that is applied to the organ. However, there are fragments that achieve a solemn religious sound, typical of the church organ. That may be a connection, not so much to the *saeta*, but rather to the religious atmosphere it is performed in. Specific rhythmic elements such as the triplets or triplet ornament suggest a popular Andalusian chant, but their presence is somewhat limited. In *Saeta IV*, the chant starts in the upper voice in measure 20. The composer uses repeated notes to increase the tension, which is a characteristic *saeta* performer's device.

Joaquín Nin Castellanos



Figure 3.10 Joaquín Nin. Source: *Mundo Gráfico*

Joaquín Nin Castellanos (1879-1949) was born in Havana to a Cuban mother and a Spanish father from Catalonia. He was a pianist, composer, and musicologist. As a

researcher, he did important work on Spanish traditional music, influenced by Pedrell. Nin Castellanos used popular elements in his compositions to introduce a sense of nationalism.³³⁵ He studied Spain's historic heritage and sought elements of musical identity by reviving musical traditions or "renovating them with a harmonization within the musical language of a concert performance."³³⁶ Nin Castellanos used different musical forms, genres, and materials from the diversity of Spanish traditional music from myriad regions. His *Vingt chants populaires espagnols*³³⁷ (Twenty Spanish Popular Songs) are the result of his investigation.³³⁸ He composed two volumes of this work between 1923 and 1924, and later he used some of the materials for posterior compositions. *Saeta* is among the chants he used in several compositions.

³³⁵ Liz Mary Pérez de Alejo, *Joaquín Nin y su legado: Valoración crítica y perspectivas de estudio en torno a Vingt chants populaires espagnols (1923)*, *Diagonal: An Ibero-American Music Review*, 2016, p. 57.

³³⁶ *Ibid*, 59.

³³⁷ *Chants de Espagne* by Joaquín Nin
 I. *Tonada de Valdovinos (Castilla)*
 II. *Cantar (Castilla)*
 III. *Tonada de la niña perdida (Castilla)*
 IV. *Montañesa (Castilla)*
 V. *Tonada del Conde Sol (Murcia)*
 VI. *Malagueña (Andalucía)*
 VII. *Granadina (Andalucía)*
 VIII. *Saeta (Andalucía)*
 IX. *Jota tortosina*
 X. *Jota valenciana*
 XI. *Primera canción gallega*
 XII. *Segunda canción gallega*
 XIII. *Tercera canción gallega*
 XIV. *Asturiana*
 XV. *Paño murciano (Murcia)*
 XVI. *Villancico catalán*
 XVII. *El canto de los pájaros (Cataluña)*
 XVIII. *El vito (Andalucía)*
 XIX. *Canto andaluz*
 XX. *Polo (Andalucía)*

³³⁸ Draayer, *Art Song Composers of Spain: An Encyclopedia*, 389.

- *Vingt chants populaires espagnols* (voice and piano) I vol. 1923— II vol. 1924.
- *Chants d’Espagne* for violin and piano (1926)
- *Chants d’Espagne* for cello and piano (1927)
- *La Vierge au Calvaire* (estampa andaluza) para soprano, coro femenino y piano (1932). Basada en “*Saeta*” de *Vingt chants*.

In 1926, Nin transcribed the piece for violin and piano.³³⁹ The *Saeta* is a short piece that starts with a violin glissando that characterizes the piece as a lament. There is a rhythmic pattern on the second beat of the left hand of the piano that evokes the redouble of the drums during the processions of Holy Week. It is a very faint hint since the indication of tempo of the piece is *Lento*. Most certainly, the $\frac{3}{4}$ measure suggests the slow steps of the *costaleros* as they carry the Holy Week statues on their shoulders during the processions. The prolonged beat evoked the small and slow steps, just skimming the ground, of believers enduring pain on the road. After the first six measures, the piano has a connection to the part of what would be interpreted as the *saeta*. The composer indicates, *Theme Populaire* in *Meno Tempo*. The chant starts on the violin with an ascending glissando. Measures 9, 10, 11, and 12 sustain the same note, an E, although with an ornament on measure 11. Just sustaining the same note does not represent a *saeta* but precisely on these sustained notes on the chant that the performer applies patterns that include semi-tones and fractions of tones. In the Western notational system during Joaquín Nin’s time, those sounds could not be reproduced, therefore, on the score we

³³⁹ Villar, *Músicos españoles: compositores, directores, concertistas, críticos*.

have only the plain repetition of the note. There are no indications of *ad libitum* interpretation or any other composer suggestion to embellish those measures. This lack of indications for the repetition of these notes distances the piece of the real *saeta*. It can be argued that the old *saetas* are not so ornamented, however, the chanters still used more embellishments than the one written in measure 11 and the vibrato that a performer violinist, in this case, could apply.

Nin's piece repeats the same melody several times using different violinistic resources such as the octaves, harmonics, or dynamic differentiation. In measure 43, the composer indicates the end of the popular chant part (*Fin du Theme Populaire*). The ending is reminiscent of the chant that through the dynamics and the *Perdendosi* indication end in disappearing sound. That atmosphere relates to the ambiance in which chanters perform *saetas* during the processions of Holy Week.

4^e Edition 1948

Joaquin Nin
Chants d'Espagne
pour Violon et Piano
♦
<u>Montañesa</u> (Montagnarde)
<u>Tonada Murciana</u> (Chanson de Murcie)
<u>Saeta</u> (Invocation)
<u>Granadina</u>
♦
♦ en Collaboration avec Paul Kochanski ♦
Max Eschig Editeurs, 48, rue de Rome, à Paris.

Figure 3.11 *Chants d'Espagne* for violin and piano (1926). Source: own material

Joaquín Turina



Figure 3.12 Joaquín Turina. Source: *Fundación Juan March*

Joaquín Turina used a *saeta* in different works. In 1908, he included a *saeta* in the second movement of his suite for piano, *Seville*, in the “El Jueves Santo a Medianoche” (On Holy Thursday at Midnight). Turina himself subtitled the piece as:

*Desfile de una cofradía por una callejuela de Sevilla, a mysterious description of Holy Week, seen through a prism somewhat different from the one used by most of my fellow countrymen; it is the expression of feeling of a Sevillian who did not know Seville until he left it. It is a descriptive picture of the parade of a brotherhood, with the saeta, either alone or several intertwined; the paso that approaches illuminated like a golden ember and that moves away leaving everything in shadow, from which the distant echo of the drums and bugles stands out, interrupting, sometimes, the silent parade of the nazarenos.*³⁴⁰

³⁴⁰ Desfile de una cofradía por una callejuela de Sevilla, una descripción misteriosa de la Semana Santa, vista a través de un prisma algo diferente del que suelen usar la mayoría de mis paisanos; es la expresión de sentimiento de un sevillano neto que no conoció a

LE JEUDI SAINT À MINUIT.

DÉFILÉ D'UNE COFRADIA^{*)} DANS UNE PETITE RUELLE.

Andante tranquillo.

ppp mystérieux.

lointain

pp

pp

expressif et un peu passionné

cresc.

f

pp

lointain

pp

cantabile

p

mf

dim.

*) Cofradías sont les processions de la Semaine Sainte à Séville.
9239

Example 3.6 “El Jueves Santo a Medianoche” from *Seville* by Joaquín Turina

Sevilla hasta que se marchó de ella. Es un cuadro descriptivo del desfile de una cofradía, con la saeta, bien sola o bien varias entrecruzadas; el paso que se acerca iluminado como un ascua de oro y que se aleja dejándolo todo en sombra, de la cual sobresale el lejano eco de los tambores y cometas, que interrumpen, a veces, el silencioso desfilar de los nazarenos. <http://www.patrimoniomusical.com/bd-marcha-3710>

Turina also used a *saeta* in his piece *Canto a Sevilla* (Song to Seville) in the movement “Semana Santa” (Holy Week).³⁴¹

9

A los nazarenos del Cristo de las Penas y de la Virgen de los Dolores

II •

Semana Santa

Allegretto $\text{♩} = 72$

15652

Example 3.7 “Semana Santa” from *Canto a Sevilla* by Joaquín Turina

³⁴¹ <http://joaquinturina.com/op37/>

Another piece of Turina that has a *saeta* is his lyric piece “Saeta en forma de Salve a la Virgen de la Esperanza” (Saeta in Form of a Hymn to the Virgin of the Hope), from his work *Poema en forma de canciones* (Poem in the Form of Songs).³⁴²



Figure 3.13 “Saeta en Forma de Salve a la Virgen de la Esperanza.” Source: own material

³⁴² Suzanne Rhodes Draayer, *Art Song Composers of Spain. An encyclopedia* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2009), 329.

¡Dios te salve Macarena,
Madre de los sevillanos, paz y vida!
¡La que alivia toda pena:
La que cura con sus manos toda herida!
¡Dios te salve, luz del cielo,
Siempre estrella y siempre aurora de bonanza!
¡La que ampara todo anhelo:
La divina sembradora de esperanza!
¡Dios te salve, María,
Madre de gracia llena:
Alma de Andalucía,
Sol de Macarena!³⁴³

The text was composed by the brothers Serafín and Joaquín Álvarez Quintero ten years before Turina put it to music, at a time when devotion to Our Lady was already beginning to emerge and they wanted to leave a record of it. All of them felt special predilection for the *Virgen de la Esperanza* (the brothers from Utrera also composed another *saeta* for her and Turina used it in his work *Margot*). It was composed between October 7 and 30, 1930, and premiered in London by the mezzo-soprano Conchita Supervía. On December 13 of the same year, the version for voice (soprano or mezzo-soprano) and orchestra (two clarinets, bassoon, two horns, four first violins, three second violins, two violas, two cellos and double bass) was completed. The piano version was delivered to the publisher on December 13, 1930, and the orchestration of the work was completed on April 28, 1931.

³⁴³ Hail Macarena,/Mother of the Sevillians, peace and life!/She who soothes every sorrow:/She who heals with her/hands every wound!/Hail Macarena, light of heaven,/Always star and always dawn of goodness!/She who shelters every longing:/The divine sower of hope!/Hail Mary, Hail Mary,/Mother of grace full:/Soul of Andalusia,/Sun of Macarena!

Gaspar Cassadó



Figure 3.14 Gaspar Cassadó. Source: *Seattle Chamber Music Society*

Gaspar Cassadó composed a sonata for violoncello and piano and the second movement is called *Saeta*. He was born in Barcelona in 1897. His father had a big influence on his musical culture and his Catholic faith. Cassadó's musical education was very complete, and after studying composition and cello in Spain, he took cello lessons from Pau Casals in Paris. There, Cassadó encountered many composers, especially with Manuel de Falla and Joaquín Turina, both composers who had composed pieces named *saeta*. As did Isaac Albéniz, whom Cassadó also met in Paris, with Enrique Granados and Eriquer Mompou. It is implied in Gabrielle Kaufman's book, although not confirmed, that Cassadó may have studied composition with Ravel and Falla.³⁴⁴

³⁴⁴ Gabrielle Kaufman: *Gaspar Cassadó: Cellist, Composer and Transcriber*

In 1925/26, Cassadó composed the Cello Sonata in A Minor and divided it into four movements, all of them inspired by traditional Spanish music. Kaufman said that the *saeta* movement of the cello sonata “has little connection with the original genre: a sung improvisation displayed during Holy Week processions in Andalusia.”³⁴⁵

³⁴⁵ Ibid

3. Saeta

Grave

Grave

ff

f

p

(Sostenuto)

f con passione austera

cresc. molto

f sempre

PED

f sempre

f sempre

f sempre

p teneramente

p

PED

Z.931.M

Example 3.8 Sonate for Cello and Piano by Gaspar Cassadó

However, a thorough analysis of the movement shows that the elements that Cassadó used were, indeed, very proximate to the chant and the atmosphere of the Holy Week processions, and, when compared to Torres's *saetas* for organ, the cello *saeta* has several elements that situate it closer to the Easter Andalusian aesthetics in a realistic and almost programmatic way.

The tempo is marked *Grave*. The piano introduction of six measures evokes the playing of trumpets or wind instruments during a Holy Week procession. The accents in the left hand emphasize the ascending eight notes and create the effect of calling attention to an upcoming event. Measures two and four anticipate the pattern that will be used in the cello voice later. The pattern of a dotted quarter note and two sixteenth notes is distinctive and specific to flamenco and *saeta*. Measures five and six of the piano introduction resemble the rhythmic configuration of the drums proclaiming the beginning of something. In the context of the Holy Week processions, the beginning of a *saeta*, and in this case, starting the cello part.

Cassadó's attempts to reproduce the rhythmic patterns that a singer's voice easily performs. The piano starts first, and after that the cello voice develops into even more sophisticated rhythms. The goal of the combined use of thirty seconds and triplets with longer values is to replicate the *saeta* of the processions. The real effect of that, however, as happens in all attempts to notate the chant in classical notation for instruments or voice, is not the one from the real *saeta*. It is not even close and if the pieces did not have the word *Saeta* as the title, most certainly it would be connected to any Andalusian chant.

José Peris Lacasa



Figure 3.15 José Peris Lacasa. Source: Beckmesser, Gonzalo Alonso.

José Peris Lacasa composed a piece called *Saeta*.³⁴⁶ Born in Maella (Zaragoza), in 1924, he studied in Madrid and thanks to a scholarship from the French Ministry of Education he was able to study in Paris with Nadia Boulanger. Lacasa extended his orchestration and composition studies with Darius Milhaud. In 1952, impressed by the music of various German composers such as Orff, Hindemith, and Henze, he decided to go to Munich to study with Carl Orff.

Peris is one of the composers of his generation who cultivated religious music. From his *Concierto espiritual*, his motet *Jubilate Deo* for two choirs dedicated to his friends Elzbieta and Krzysztof Penderecki, the *Ofertorio*, for four mixed choirs, to his *Saeta* for chanter and large orchestra dedicated to his H.H. Pope John XXIII.

³⁴⁶ <https://www.rtve.es/play/audios/grandes-ciclos/grandes-ciclos-jose-peris-lacasa-iv-05-10-17/4249213/>

La Saeta is a composition for large orchestra from his time in Germany. It premiered in 1970. In 2017, *La Saeta* was performed by *cantaor* José Menese and the RTVE Symphony Orchestra conducted by Krzysztof Penderecki.

*Following in the footsteps of his master Orff, José Peris' music is characterized by rhythmic strength and organic, spontaneous, and refined instrumentation. Compositional techniques are used with great freedom, from the most modern sounds (cluster) to the most traditional counterpoint.*³⁴⁷

The Sociedad Filarmonica de Zaragoza pays tribute to Peris with a compilation of news about his works. This is the part specifically about his *Saeta*:

In 1970 his Preámbulo para orquesta-Saeta was premiered at the Teatro Real in Madrid, performed by the Orquesta Nacional de España, conducted by Rafael Frühbeck. The critic Antonio Fernández-Cid, who praised Peris as "one of the most sensitive and gifted composers of his generation", highlighted then his remarkable handling of the orchestration (with abundant use of percussion) and a formal freedom "in which the harmonic blocks and the Spanish essence that culminates with the saeta have special prominence" (ABC). Xavier Montsalvatge comments in La Vanguardia in relation to the interpretation of this work in the III Semana de Música Mediterránea de Alicante: "work of sharp instrumental sharpness, of perfectly up-to-date concept (...) interesting sample of this author that would deserve a greater attention (...)" and on the occasion of the performance of this work in the III Semana de Música Mediterránea de Alicante: "work of sharp instrumental sharpness, of perfectly up-to-date concept (...) interesting sample of this author that would deserve greater attention (...)" and on the occasion of the homage paid to Peris by the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid at the Teatro Real in Madrid, the ABC critic, J.L. García del Busto, writes: "(...) its success was very great, and the ovations that the author received on stage were directed as much to the prestigious professor as to the admired composer." On April 16, 2000, at the Teatro Monumental in

³⁴⁷ <https://bibliotecacsma.es/web/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/compositores-aragoneses.pdf>

*Madrid, it was performed again by the Orquesta Sinfónica de la RTVE conducted by Antoni Ros Marbá, with a performance by the cantaor José Menese, as a result of which Enrique Franco wrote in El País: “In reality, the symphonic work prepares and resolves the emotional atmosphere for the old religious folk song, which the author achieves effectively at all times until yielding the climax of expression and significance to the solitary singing of the Andalusian saeta, jonda, ensimismada.”*³⁴⁸

Tomás Marco

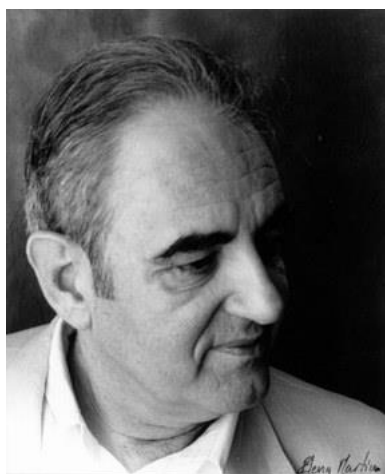


Figure 3.16 Tomás Marco. Source: CDAEM, Elena Martín.

³⁴⁸ <https://victorrebullida.blogspot.com/2012/03/la-sociedad-filarmonica-rinde-homenaje.html>

En 1970 se estrenó su *Preámbulo para orquesta-Saeta* en el Teatro Real de Madrid, interpretado por la Orquesta Nacional de España, dirigida por Rafael Frühbeck. La crítica de Antonio Fernández-Cid, quien elogió a Peris como “uno de los compositores más sensibles y dotados de su generación”, destacó entonces su notable manejo de la orquestación (con abundante empleo de la percusión) y una libertad formal “en la que tienen especial relieve los bloques armónicos y la esencia españolista que culmina con la *saeta*” (ABC). La obra se interpretó posteriormente en diversas ocasiones, Xavier Montsalvatge comenta en La Vanguardia con relación a la interpretación de esta obra en la III Semana de Música Mediterránea de Alicante: “obra de punzante agudeza instrumental, de concepto perfectamente al día (...) muestra interesante de este autor que merecería una mayor atención (...)” y con motivo del homenaje que la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid rinde a Peris en el Teatro Real de Madrid el crítico de ABC, J.L. García del Busto, escribe: “... su éxito fue muy grande, y las ovaciones que recogió el autor sobre el escenario tanto iban dirigidas al profesor prestigioso cuanto al compositor admirado”. El 16 de abril de 2000, en el Teatro Monumental de Madrid, fue interpretada nuevamente por la Orquesta Sinfónica de la RTVE dirigida por Antoni Ros Marbá, con la actuación del cantaor José Menese, a raíz de lo cual Enrique Franco escribió en El País: “En realidad, el trabajo sinfónico prepara y resuelve el ambiente emocional para el viejo canto popular religioso, lo que el autor logra con eficacia en todo momento hasta ceder el punto culminante de expresión y significación al canto solitario de la *saeta* andaluza, jonda, ensimismada”. (El País).

Tomás Marco is a Spanish composer born in Madrid in 1942. He was a disciple of K. Stockhausen, P. Boulez, B. Maderna, G. Lygeti, and T.W. Adorno. His compositions, the product of his interest in new techniques, are characterized by interesting sonorous experimentation. He has also cultivated musical theater and dance music. He was the director of the *Centro para la Difusión de la Música Contemporánea* (Center for the Diffusion of Contemporary Music) (1985-1995), member of the *Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando* since 1993, and director of the Festivals of the Community of Madrid and general director of the *Instituto Nacional de Artes Escénicas* (INAEM) since 1996. In 1998 he was named Doctor honoris causa by the Complutense University of Madrid.

According to the conductor and researcher José Luis Temes, who is also a close friend of Tomás Marco, there is a *saeta* among Marco's compositions. It is in the *Sonata en forma de cármenes* (Sonata in the form of Cármenes) from (2012), and although the composer did not write the title *Saeta*, another source affirms the presence of the *saeta* in the structure of the score. The 2012 Sonata that follows is structured in three movements, the first of which, "Profundo Carmen," opens the work rhythmically, although the dance is soon interrupted by a *saeta* in the middle register of the piano.³⁴⁹ The action is thus suspended until the rhythmic motif reappears only to be interrupted again. This constant succession of interruptions, like an unfulfilled desire, does not really lead to a clear resolution and leaves the listener in a state of perpetual waiting.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁹ <https://youtu.be/YZm5PCqN1ow>

³⁵⁰ Álvaro Menéndez Granda, https://www.codalario.com/critica/grabaciones/cd-sobre-la-obra-pianistica-de-tomas-marco-grabada-por-mario-prisuelos_6956_31_21124_0_1_in.html

Obra encargo del Festival de Úbeda en memoria de Manuel de Falla
Sonata en forma de Cármenes
A Joaquín Achúcarro en testimonio de admiración y cariño

Tomás Marco

$\text{♩} = 100$
Giusto senza fretta **1. Profundo Carmen**

5 *tr* *tr* 10

$\text{♩} = 48$
Lento molto libero e rubato

15 **Giusto senza fretta** $\text{♩} = 100$ *tr* *tr* 20 *tr*

mp *f* *mf* *f* *mf*

Lento molto libero e rubato $\text{♩} = 48$

25 **accel.**

mf *f* *mf* *f* *mf* *f*

Example 3.9 Sonata en forma de Cármenes by Tomás Marco

José García Román



Figure 3.17 José García Román. Source: *Codalarío*, José Antonio Cantón.

José Ramón García Román composed a piece called *Saeta* for soprano and piano. Born in Gabia Grande (Granada) in 1945, García Román is the director of the Luis de Narváez Award, founder of the *Coral Ciudad de Granada*, and member of the artistic commission of the International Festival of Music and Dance. In January 2009 the *Orquesta Filarmónica de Málaga* premiered his work *La rosa blanca*, a tribute to the group of German intellectuals who confronted Hitler and the Nazis from a thought of deep Christian and enlightened roots.

In 1978, the National Radio orchestra of Spain commissioned a piece called *La Saeta*, for soprano and piano. It was composed in Granada between December 1978 and February 1979. The composer used the text *Saeta* by the poet Antonio Machado. The approximately twelve-minute-long piece was premiered by the National Radio Orchestra

during Holy Week of 1979. The soprano that premiered it was Esperanza Abad and the pianist was Francisco Guerrero, and this duo recorded the piece in 1981.³⁵¹

José Luís Turina

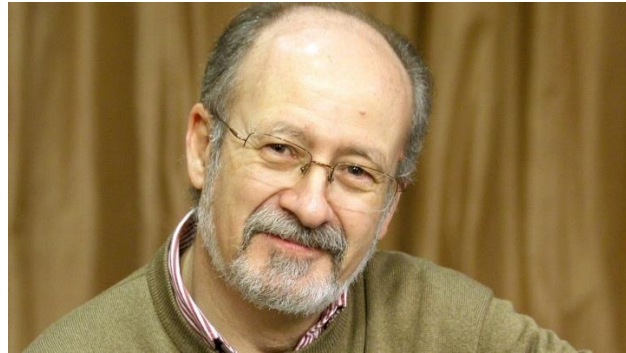


Figure 3.18 José Luís Turina. Source: ABC.

Spanish composer José Luís Turina was born in Madrid in 1952. He is the grandson of the composer Joaquín Turina, one of the leading figures of Spanish musical nationalism in the early 20 century.³⁵² Turina composed two pieces with the name *saeta*. The first one is for marimba solo and the second one is for voice and piano.

Written at the request of the percussionist Juanjo Guillem, the *Saeta*³⁵³ was composed during the summer of 2006. Since it was commissioned by a great interpreter

³⁵¹ https://www.codalario.com/entrevistas/entrevistas/jose-garcia-roman--compositor-entre-los-musicos-mios-tiene-beethoven-un-altar._9465_4_29558_0_1_in.html

³⁵² José Luís Turina studied at the conservatories of Barcelona and Madrid with some of the most important figures in the Spanish musical landscape. His most important work is the opera “D. Q. (Don Quixote in Barcelona),” with libretto by Justo Navarro, staged by La Fura dels Baus, and scenography by Enric Miralles, was premiered in October 2000.

http://www.españaescultura.es/es/artistas_creadores/jose_luis_turina.html

³⁵³ <https://youtu.be/XikXQLQ1a5U>

of astonishing technical and musical capabilities, this provided a magnificent opportunity for the composer. The *Saeta* contains aspects of great musical simplicity, but elaborated in an instrumental virtuosity that, far from masking it, highlights it, dressing it with a direct and effective attraction. Few works that we have looked at demonstrate so clearly the intention to combine in a single result an antagonistic musical approach, ascetic and overloaded at the same time. *Saeta* is structured around the alternation of strongly contrasting sections, frequently using disparate and rapidly changing elements. Sections of a light character alternate with others that are overly dramatic, and the use of different timbral procedures (drumsticks used both in the usual and unconventional ways, use of double bass bows) reaches a climax with the use of the performer's voice, who with *bocca chiusa* intones a succession of turns that by their diatonic character, openly modal, evoke by their dramatic content a propitious atmosphere for the appearance of a *saeta* - hence the title of the piece - which is merely suggested. *Saeta* was premiered by Juanjo Guillem at the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao in November 2006, as part of the XXVI BBK Festival.³⁵⁴

³⁵⁴ <https://www.joseluisturina.com/saeta.html>

A Juanjo Guillem

Saeta
Para Marimba

José Luis Turina

Sostenuuto e sempre rubato ($\text{♩} = 64$)

energico
ff *ppp* *mp* *ppp* *ff* *ppp* *sub.*

ff *ff* *pp* *mp* *ppp* *ff* *ppp* *sub.* *ff*

mp *mf* *ff* *mp* *f* *dim.*

senza rall.

p *molto* *ppp* *p* *ppp* *p*

come un mormorio

leggero

Copyright by José Luis Turina. Madrid, 2006

Saeta - 1

Example 3.10 *Saeta* for Marimba by José Luís Turina

José Luís Turina composed another *saeta*:

II

Saeta (*)

(del "Poema del Cante jondo")

Musical score for the song "Cris-ti-na" by Carlos Marín. The score is in 3/4 time with a tempo of 54 ca. It features a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are in Spanish. The score includes various musical notations such as dynamics (p, mf, f, pp, mp), articulation (accents, slurs), and performance instructions (rall., con ritmo popular, meno secco). The piano part includes a bass line with a 5th fingered note in the final measure.

Example 3.11 *Saeta* for voice and piano by José Luís Turina

The second poem, Saeta, comes from “Poema del cante jondo,” and is conceived for solo voice, with two very brief piano interventions. The predominance of the low register gives it a certain dramatic air, from which the melody tries to escape by progressing towards the high register. Said last register is reached for two moments – “Look at him where he comes from!” and “Watch him where he's going!” –, which are nothing more than quotes from a popular saeta embedded in Lorca's poem. Since the complete text of this saeta is also quoted in the poem by José Muñoz Sanromán that serves as the basis for the movement entitled Holy Week, from Joaquín Turina's Canto a Sevilla, I have not been able to resist the temptation to launch an affectionate “wink” to my illustrious ancestor and make appear, as a burst, the fragment of said work in which said quote is sung.³⁵⁵

The lyrics of the *saeta*:

*Cristo moreno pasa
de lirio de Judea
a clavel de España.

¡Miradlo, por dónde viene!

De España.
Cielo limpio y oscuro, tierra tostada,
y cauces donde corre
muy lenta el agua.
Cristo moreno,
con las guedejas quemadas, los pómulos salientes
y las pupilas blancas. ¡Miradlo, por dónde va!³⁵⁶*

³⁵⁵ <http://alfredogarcia.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/fundacionjuanmarchprogramaliricaespaolacontemp.pdf>

³⁵⁶ Brown Christ passes/from lily of Judea/to the carnation of Spain./Look at him, where he comes from!/From Spain./Clean and dark sky, toasted earth,/and riverbeds where the water runs/very slowly the water runs./Brown Christ,/with burnt locks, protruding cheekbones and white pupils./and white pupils. Look at him, where he goes!

The piece tries to replicate the ad libitum *saeta* style. The rhythmic figures are the imitation of the melodic twists that are very characteristic of flamenco and flamenco *saetas*.

Zulema de la Cruz



Figure 3.19 Zulema de la Cruz. Source: *UNIR*

Zulema de la Cruz composed a piece called *Saeta* in 2009. Born in Madrid in 1958, she holds a degree in Piano and Composition from the *Real Conservatorio Superior de Música de Madrid*, a Master of Arts degree in Composition and Computer Music from Stanford University (California, U. S. A.), and a Diploma of Advanced Studies from SEK University in Segovia. She furthered her knowledge of Electroacoustic Computer Music with J. Chowning, funded by the George Maile PhD fellowship at the CCRMA (Center for Computer Research in Music and Acoustic, Stanford University,

1986-88). D. in Culture and Communication from IE University in Madrid she presented her thesis in 2015 with the title *Laboratorio de Investigación y Composición Electroacústica y por Ordenador* (L.I.C.E.O.) del Real Conservatorio Superior de Música de Madrid (R.C.S.M.M.).”

Awarded in numerous composition competitions, she is a consultant and jury member for many institutions. Her works, commissioned by various entities, have been performed in Europe, USA, Canada, South America, Japan, China, and Australia.³⁵⁷

Zulema de la Cruz’s *Saeta* is part of a piece for tenor and piano called *Cánticos para García Baena*.³⁵⁸ The *Saeta* is the second of three movements, between *Fandango* and *Malagueña*, and is the only one for tenor solo. Lyrics are from Pablo García Baena’s poem called *Recuerdo*.

*Cercada la yedra
Estás tú, ahí, sola,
Blanca en el gris
Espectro de tu sombra.
En la noche del tiempo
La luna recorta
Tu blancura de mármol...
Cuando vuelven los días que se fueron
Tu rota imagen pasea por mí
Al son de tu rapsodia,
Y tu voz otra vez se levanta en la sombra
De lo pasado...
Tu voz melancólica
Que es un rumor confuso
De campanas que doblan.*³⁵⁹

³⁵⁷ <http://www.zulemadelacruz.com/es/biografia>

³⁵⁸ <http://www.zulemadelacruz.com/es/compositora/obra>

³⁵⁹ Fenced in the ivy/There you are, alone,/White in the gray/Specter of your shadow./In the night of time/The moon cuts out/Your marble whiteness.../When the days that are gone return/Your broken image

Zulema de la Cruz presented the *Saeta* to the Best Classical Music Author of the Academy of Music Arts and Sciences Awards in its XV edition in 2011.³⁶⁰ It was recorded by Joaquín Pixán, tenor, and Antonio Lopéz, piano, as part of the *Documentos sonoros del Patrimonio Musical de Andalucía* (Sound documents of the Musical Heritage of Andalucía).³⁶¹

In 2007, Zulema de la Cruz composed another *Saeta* - the second movement of a piano piece for four hands called *Estampas españolas*.³⁶² It is listed on the composer's website without any dedicatory or description.³⁶³ The piece has been difficult to trace, both as a recording and its scores, which may be a sign that it has not been performed often.

walks by me/To the sound of your rhapsody,/And your voice again rises in the shadows/Of the past.../Your melancholy voice/Which is a confused murmur/Of tolling bells.

³⁶⁰ <https://www.noticiasdegipuzkoa.eus/cultura/2011/02/25/banda-sonora-guipuzcoana-premios-musica-4501631.html>

³⁶¹ <https://youtu.be/AlyA7TvtTS4>

³⁶² <http://www.zulema.delacruz.com/es/15-compositora?start=>

³⁶³ *Estampas españolas*

I. Fandango

II. Saeta

III. Malagueña

Elliot Carter



Figure 3.20 Elliot Carter. Source: MereSeuer

American musician Elliott Carter composed a piece for timpani called “Saëta,” from a set of *Eight Pieces for Four Timpani*. Born in New York in 1908, the modernist composer and studied with Walter Piston and Gustav Holst at Harvard University. In the 1930s, he also studied in Paris with Nadia Boulanger.

Saëta,³⁶⁴ the first of the *Eight Pieces for Four Timpani*, is based on an Andalusian song of improvisatory character sung during an outdoor religious procession and is said to be the descendent of a rain ceremony during which an arrow (saëta) was shot into the clouds to release the rain.³⁶⁵

³⁶⁴ <https://youtu.be/El77dnsXXtoX>

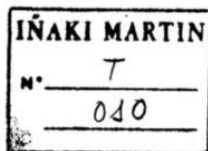
³⁶⁵ <https://www.yellowbarn.org/page/carter-saëta-arrow>

EIGHT PIECES

for Four Timpani
(one player)

to Al Howard

I. Saëta



Elliott Carter

(N) *ad lib. (accel.)* $\text{♩} = 150$
 $\text{♩} = 50$ (in tempo) *tr.*
mf *f* *p* *pp*

evenly and resonantly
 (N) $\text{♩} = 10$
 (C) *p*

(N) *ad lib. (accel.)* $\text{♩} = 50$ *molto rit.* *in tempo*
mf *f* *molto* *p* (C)

(N) *poco*
 (C)

(N) *piu p*
 (C) *p*

(N) *emphasize A and D more and more* *mf* *mf* *f* *f*
 (C) *pp* *p* (p) (p)

(N) $\text{♩} = 60$
 (C) *f marc.* *mf* *3*

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Example 3.8 *Eight Pieces for Timpani*, “Saëta” by Elliot Carter. Iñaki Martín personal archive.

Conclusions

The reason that so many composers, not only Spanish ones, used the idea of a *saeta* in their compositions may be that this chant is an expression of raw emotions. Whether they are religious or profound sorrow, the *saeta* encapsulates this common human sentiment.

We cannot claim that the *saeta* has become a formal entity in classical music compositions, even in Spain, but many Spanish composers have used it as an inspiration. It could be said that the *saeta* has been and still is a Spanish trademark, whose meaning is somehow understood at a local level. Several *saetas* remained unknown, some because the composer is not well known. Just as the *saeta* singers perform the chant in a personal way, so the *saeta* seems to connect with the composers intimately.

These *saetas* have nothing in common, formally speaking. This special piece of music uniquely expresses something personal, intimate, and painful. Depending on the composer, the *saeta* has become more important within their repertory and within the general repertory of the instrument or configuration the piece was created for.

The *saeta* has evolved in a similar way to the *symphony*, *concerto*, *suit*, or any other musical form. Its structure has changed and, as with other forms, the chronological evolution transformed it from a simple chant into a complex and developed dirge. We analyzed it by decontextualizing the *saeta* from the religious-traditional framework. A musicological approach allows a clear theoretical investigation into the *saeta* and opens it to a wider study. Interdisciplinarity plays a significant role. *Saetas* have been studied by those in the fields of musicology, folklore, flamencology, language, religious studies,

anthropology, sociology, or history. Each discipline provided a basis for study, but the historical musicology approach eventually offers the most wide-ranging exploration.

We have traced the gradual introduction of the *saeta* to Spanish musical performances. Spanish composers used the chant both to replicate the nationalism spreading through Europe and to indulge the fashion for traditional music. Their use of the *saeta* had differing effects on the audience, depending on the technical skill of composers, and performers. The *saeta* 's most important feature is a deeply emotional, even spiritual, impact on listeners. This essence has been preserved and transmitted by some composers, while others failed to achieve it.

Nonetheless, the presence of the *saeta* chant in Spanish staged and instrumental works is important. It enhances composers' desire to link the essence of musical performance as a spiritual experience connected to the deepest human experiences to classical music pieces that are products of reason and intellectual development based on knowledge.

CHAPTER 4

Other *Saetas*

In this chapter we will examine *saetas* that are used in different ways, outside the religious environment or in classical-music compositions. We will talk about women's involvement with *saetas* and then explore some examples of *saetas* in jazz and pop music, with a view to understanding their use and the artists' specific goals in naming their songs "*saeta*." Then we will talk about two new ways of performing *saetas*: in a duet and for the deaf. Both types of *saeta* developed in an attempt to reach the audience in a better way. Finally, let's look at *saeta* during COVID-19 and a humorous sketch for Holy Week enthusiasts that appeared on the local TV station, Canal Sur, which illustrates a current use of the chant.

Women in *Saetas*

An important part of this work will explore women performing *saetas*. We will examine Raquel Cantero's description of women performing old *saetas*. Also, we will look at what journalist Manuel Bohorquez wrote about women in flamenco *saeta*.

Holy Week processions may have their roots in the Jewish (and Arabic) modes of singing where they accompanied funeral processions. But in Jewish tradition and culture there is a specific connection to professional female mourners. Therefore, it would seem natural to expect to hear women performing the *saeta*, and for no one to be surprised when the quality of the rendition was impeccable. However, in Spain, female singers'

performance of flamenco was historically subjected to harsher criticism than that by a male. The similarity in stylistic execution between flamenco chant and *saeta* is obvious nowadays. But we must remember that, for decades, the Spanish bourgeoisie strongly disapproved of a “good and pious” woman singing flamenco or any related type of music in public.³⁶⁶ Flamenco dance and music were associated with marginalized and low-class elements of society, especially Roma people.³⁶⁷

However, because of its close association with religion in general and the Catholic Church in particular, the *saeta* was a way for women to become singers without having to confront the brick wall of repressive machismo erected by parents, husbands, or other menfolk. Documented performances from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries describe women singing *saetas* behind curtains. The tradition to remain hidden is described further:

*With respect to the saeta, all the attendees confirmed that it had been an important tradition in the town, although in recent years it was in full decline. The women sang them hidden behind the windows, and the collective memory included the names of Isabel López and Consuelo Gallego, now deceased.*³⁶⁸

Piedras Albas is a small municipality in the province of Cáceres, located in the west, very close to the border with Portugal.

³⁶⁶ Appendix D, Interview with Angelita Yruela.

³⁶⁷ English writer Robin Totton wrote a *Guide to Andalusia* in 1999. He later decided to study flamenco and write about it. He lived in Jerez and his observations about flamenco and Roma people are shared in this article.

<https://www.lavozdigital.es/cadiz/20080225/cultura/solo-jerez-margina-gitanos-20080225.html?ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F>

³⁶⁸ Translation: Con respecto a la saeta, todos los asistentes nos confirmaron que había sido una tradición importante en el pueblo, aunque en los últimos años se encontraba en plena decadencia. Las mujeres las cantaban escondidas tras las ventanas, y en la memoria colectiva figuraban los nombres de Isabel López y Consuelo Gallego, ya fallecidas. Cantero, 709.

Regarding the saeta, all the attendees confirmed that it had been an important tradition in the village, although in recent years it was in full decline. The women used to sing them hidden behind the windows.

*We remember those women who hid their faces behind the column of the Portal or leaning out from behind the half-leaf of the window, let fall without haste and tremolo in the voice the saeta cacereña, which often was fulfillment of a promise to the Nazarene for such a favor received in times of pain.*³⁶⁹

In the next example, we see how women's performance of old *saetas* is described.

However, Cantero does not explore in her work this idea of women performing the religious chant to connect to some other religious and cultural practices (e.g., Muslim practices).

*The women of the town accompany the Virgin during the processions of Holy Thursday and Good Friday, making several stops along the way so that all of them, in chorus, dedicate their songs to her.*³⁷⁰

What Cantero does talk about is how women who sing *saeta* chants in Badajoz, a region north of Andalusia, are the ones who maintained the tradition of singing *saetas* in that village.

³⁶⁹ Translation: Piedras Albas es un pequeño municipio de la provincia de Cáceres, ubicado en la zona oeste, muy próximo a la frontera con Portugal. Con respecto a la saeta, todos los asistentes nos confirmaron que había sido una tradición importante en el pueblo, aunque en los últimos años se encontraba en plena decadencia. Las mujeres las cantaban escondidas tras las ventanas. Recordamos aquellas mujeres que escondían la cara tras la columna del Portal o asomadas tras la media hoja de la ventana, dejaban caer sin prisa y trémolo en la voz la saeta cacereña, que muchas veces era cumplimiento de una promesa al Nazareno por tal cual favor recibido en momentos de dolor. Cantero, 550.

³⁷⁰ Translation: Las mujeres del pueblo van acompañando a la Virgen durante las procesiones del Jueves y el Viernes Santo, en cuyo trayecto se van efectuando varias paradas para que todas, a coro, le dediquen sus cantos. Cantero, 691.

In addition, we have documentary evidence that not only devout women, anonymous people, or individuals in a drunken state sang saetas. Thus, the press reports that in 1896 his execution was carried out by soldiers belonging to the regiment of Castilla (La Lid Católica, April 4, 1896).³⁷¹

The strong connection between the *saeta* chant and female mourners is still not widely recognized. This is due to the patriarchal nature of the Spanish collective imaginary, which, despite important changes resulting from newly enacted laws, is still deeply present in the various socioeconomic and ethnic strata of Spanish society. Flamenco has been mostly performed by male artists whereas women in flamenco who achieved fame as performers had to face hard criticism. In 2019, journalist Manuel Bohorquez wrote about women in flamenco³⁷²

Now that there is so much insistence on how marginalized women have been in flamenco, although it is not true -it is profitable as a topic in paid lectures or to coordinate cultural cycles. However, we should highlight not only the importance of women in all the facets of flamenco art, singing, dancing and guitar playing, but also to credit their importance as creators of styles in almost all the palos (forms) of flamenco. In every single form of flamenco singing, a female flamenco singer, gypsy or not, has imprinted her creativity or her personal mark. In all periods, moreover, from the very origins of cante jondo.³⁷³

³⁷¹ Translation: Además, tenemos constancia documental de que no sólo cantaban saetas mujeres devotas, gentes anónimas o individuos en estado ebrio. Así, la prensa recoge que en 1896 su ejecución corrió por cuenta de militares pertenecientes al regimiento de Castilla (La Lid Católica, 4 de abril de 1896). Cantero, 657.

³⁷² “La *saeta* con voz de mujer,” elcorreoweb.es, accessed January 6, 2023, <https://elcorreoweb.es/opinion/columnas/la-saeta-con-voz-de-mujer-EM5169475>.

³⁷³ Translation: Ahora que tanto se insiste en lo marginada que ha estado la mujer en el flamenco, algo que no es cierto – es un buen negocio decirlo mucho para trincar dando charlas o coordinando ciclos culturales –, estaría bien destacar no solo la importancia de la mujer flamenca en todas las facetas de este arte, cante, baile y toque, sino como creadoras de estilos en casi todos los palos de la baraja flamenca. No hay ni un solo palo del cante

Although Bohorquez defends the equal skill of women in flamenco performances, he does so in a rather clumsy way by using ironic expressions, “*es un buen negocio*,” implying that fighting for equality is “good business” nowadays.

Today, the *saeta* is sung by female and male singers alike, and critical reception of a performance is based solely on the singer’s abilities and style, rather than gender. However, during the Franco dictatorship in Spain, and until 1981, the law discriminated against women. For example, women were banned from opening bank accounts.³⁷⁴

In this interview with *El Abuelo*,³⁷⁵ Bohorquez demonstrates his interviewee’s opinion of female *saeta* singers. The interviewee represents the opinion that some people have about women in *saetas*.³⁷⁶

-Do you feel like talking about saeteros and saeteras?

-I always liked *El Gloria*, Manuel Torres, Tomás, Caracol and Pepe Valencia.

-No saetera?

-Not many, honestly. *Pastora*, *Isabelita de Jerez*, *La Finito*... The flamenco ones, of course. I can't cope with some of their long and folkloric *saetas* and as I don't have to answer to anyone. I just say it, and that's it.

-But you will recognize that women have sung very well in saetas, right?

-Of course, I do. It's a problem of mine, of my ear. I like the saeteros better.³⁷⁷

donde alguna cantaora, gitana o no, no haya dejado su capacidad creadora o su impronta personal. En todas las épocas, además, desde los mismos orígenes de lo jondo.

³⁷⁴ “Las Leyes y La Igualdad,” accessed March 19, 2019,

http://eap.gobex.es/external/guia_formacion_igualdad/contenido/cap4/2contenidos_de_la_clase-1igualdadyconstitucion.html.

³⁷⁵ *El Abuelo* is Bohorquez’ interviewee in several articles about flamenco.

³⁷⁶ Manuel Bohórquez, “El abuelo y la *saeta* sevillana,” *Expoflamenco* (blog), April 14, 2019, <https://www.expoflamenco.com/bordonazo/el-abuelo-y-la-saeta-sevillana/>.

³⁷⁷ Translation: ¿Te apetece hablar de saeteros y saeteras?

-Mucho, sí. Pues mira, siempre me gustaron *El Gloria*, Manuel Torres, Tomás, Caracol y Pepe Valencia.

This opinion was also presented by Bohorquez in his 2005 book *A palo seco*.³⁷⁸

*Who is the king of the saeta? [...] For many, Caracol and Tomás Pavón were a point and a part. [...] Of the women, on the other hand, very little is said. The opinion is unanimous: women, for saetas, nothing at all. [...] Juan Talega was of the same opinion. "Where has it been seen that a woman sings seguiriyas well?"*³⁷⁹

Bohorquez even makes an autocritique in the book to the journalists that covered *saeta* events, where *saetas* were performed by women.³⁸⁰ In the next example, he equivocates even in his self-criticism so that we doubt that he is describing a serious ending to his or others' pattern of discrimination.

*Not even we, today's critics for whom tolerance is a daily battle, admit that there are women who sing well in saetas. Well, we admit, yes, that they sing well, but we immediately add: "Yes, but...." No, we don't like women singing saetas. Some of us recognize it and others do not, but we do not like them.*³⁸¹

-¿Ninguna saetera?

-No muchas, sinceramente. Pastora, Isabelita de Jerez, La Finito... Las flamencas, claro. No puedo con esa saeta larga y folclórica de algunas, y como no tengo que responder ante nadie lo digo, y punto.

-Pero reconocerás que las mujeres han cantado muy bien por saetas, ¿no?

-Claro que sí. Es un problema mío, de oído. Me gustan más los saeteros.

³⁷⁸ Manuel Bohorquez, *A palo seco. Veinte años de crítica flamenca* (Signatura Ediciones, 2005), 119.

³⁷⁹ ¿Quién es el rey de la saeta? [...] Para muchos Caracol y Tomás Pavón fueron punto y aparte. [...] De las mujeres, en cambio, se habla muy poco. La opinión es unánime: las mujeres, por saetas, nada de nada. [...] Juan Talega era de la misma opinión. "Donde se ha visto que una mujer cante bien por seguriyas?" [...]. Ibid.

³⁸⁰ Manuel Bohórquez Casado, *A palo seco. Veinte años de crítica flamenca* (Signatura Ediciones, 2005), 119.

³⁸¹ Translation: Ni siquiera nosotros, los críticos de este tiempo, en que la tolerancia es la conquista diaria, admitimos que hay mujeres que cantan bien por saetas. Bueno, admitimos, eso sí, que cantan bien, pero en seguida apostillamos: "Sí, pero...". Que no, que no nos gustan las mujeres cantando por saetas. Unos lo reconocemos y otros no, pero no nos gustan.

We need to understand, that beginning in about 2005, we begin to see evidence in Andalusia, of gender equality politics,³⁸² But old attitudes were still prevalent. We can see it in the way Bohorquez uses the word “tolerance” even as he represents the voice of change by publishing articles and his book on flamenco. In this context, Bohorquez speaks about tolerance when referring to gender equality.

Regarding women’s role in the Holy Week organizations, let us look at what women experienced when becoming involved in activities previously performed only by men.³⁸³ In a 2018 *Diario de Cádiz* newspaper article, a male journalist acknowledged that women were being allowed to join brotherhoods as active members under almost equal conditions as the male members. He also recognized that the path was not always easy and free of impediments although he says that the current situation is of a normalization of female presence in the brotherhoods of Holy Week.³⁸⁴ As we have seen before, the structure of the brotherhoods includes positions of great social importance. In this article, we have a defensive position to the development towards the acceptance of women in brotherhoods, nevertheless, it is still a one-sided opinion from a male journalist. In another 2018 issue appears a series of editorials about the topic of *micromachismos*.³⁸⁵

³⁸² <https://www.juntadeandalucia.es/boja/2005/227/2>

³⁸³ There are brotherhoods around churches that use *saetas* in their gatherings, however, in a slightly different use since they improvise and invent texts. Those gatherings only admit women to festivities where they are needed to organize lunches. According to the brothers of the club, women are not allowed because the brothers will drink wine and talk inappropriately.

³⁸⁴ *Diario de Cádiz*, “La mujer cofrade en la actualidad,” *Diario de Cádiz*, March 12, 2018, https://www.diariodecadiz.es/semana_santa/cuaresma/mujer-cofrade-actualidad_0_1226277464.html.

³⁸⁵ *Micromachismo* or *micro machismo* applies to the microaggressions of a gender and sexual discrimination nature.

(It should be noted that both appeared in March, the month of International Women's Day, March 8.) The writer notes that in Andalusia, and in Spain as a whole, although women are being integrated into the Holy Week brotherhoods, they still don't feel that they are being treated equally. Their comments reflect the lack of cultural education about neutral gender coexistence in Spain.³⁸⁶ At the time this article appeared, two brotherhoods, which had initially accepted women into their membership, did an about turn and banned them again. Their rationale was twofold: that women are a distraction to the men, many of whom are leading figures in the local communities; that women are not strong enough to carry the processional carriages. The proponents of both arguments were brotherhood leaders such as a priest and an *Hermano Mayor* (Big Brother).³⁸⁷ A woman from Seville claimed that, because she always used a *capirote* hood,³⁸⁸ she never witnessed discrimination, but she acknowledged that there were no women in higher leadership positions in her brotherhood.³⁸⁹

***Saeta* in Other Music Genres**

We will see how *saeta* has inspired other musical genres such as jazz, pop, film music, or military marches. The *saeta* in these pieces is designed to invite the listener to

³⁸⁶ Belén Remacha, "Cuando eres mujer y cofrade: 'Esto es una procesión y no puedes salir con esa falda,'" *ElDiario.es*, March 28, 2018, https://www.eldiario.es/micromachismos/mujeres-semana-santa-sale_132_2200361.html.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁸ A pointed hood that the members of the brotherhoods use during the processions.

³⁸⁹ Remacha, "Cuando eres mujer y cofrade."

reflect at emotional depth, whether achieved by the music itself, however, the use of the name *Saeta* may have enclosed that purpose from the beginning.

Miles Davis

In the world of jazz, none other than Miles Davis composed a piece in 1960 called *Saeta*.³⁹⁰ The fusion between flamenco and jazz had started to develop in the 1960s, when this *Saeta* was published, although the first evidence of linkage of the terms jazz and flamenco appeared in 1956 with Lionel Hampton's recording for the RCA Spain label.³⁹¹



Figure 4.1 *Saeta* by Miles Davis. Source: *Spotify*.

³⁹⁰ <https://youtu.be/yAsQIpiMK8E>

³⁹¹ Zagalaz, “Los orígenes de la relación jazz–flamenco.”

There has been considerable exploration into what Miles Davis' inspiration for his piece *Saeta* had been, as we read in the paragraph below.

According to George Avakian, former Miles Davis producer, as recorded on the box set Miles Davis and Gil Evans. The complete Columbia Studio Recordings (Columbia, CXK 67397), particularly attracted Gil Evans to a 10-inch 78 rpm record by La Niña de los Peines, mentioning especially the brass and the cantaora's voice, and that it was the inspiration for creating the record, Sketches of Spain. This information puts us on the track of which version I could have heard, considering two factors: on the one hand, that it was published in the United States. On the other hand, it had been made by Columbia itself. Thus, we find possible options, such as the album Cante Flamenco. La Niña de los Peines (Columbia C - 59), released in 1941 and consisting of four Shellac 10-inch 78 rpm records, in one of which we find a Saeta, entitled "Se enturbecieron los cielos." In the biography of Miles Davis published by John Szwed in 2003, he repeats Avakian's idea talking about Gil Evans and La Niña de los Peines. However, he introduces a new parameter. According to Szwed, actress Beverly Bentley brought Davis from Spain a copy of the Antología del Cante Flamenco, published by Hispavox in 1958 (HH 1201-2-3), which includes four saetas, two by Lolita Triana and two by Roque Montoya, Jarrito.³⁹²

³⁹² Translation: Según George Avakian, antiguo productor de Miles Davis, según consta en la caja Miles Davis and Gil Evans. The complete Columbia Studio Recordings (Columbia, CXK 67397), a Gil Evans le llamaba especialmente la atención un disco de 10 pulgadas y 78 rpm de La Niña de los Peines, mencionando especialmente los metales y la voz de la cantaora, y que fue la inspiración para crear el disco, Sketches of Spain. Esta información nos pone en la pista de qué versión podría haber oído, teniendo en cuenta dos factores: por una parte, que se hubiera publicado en Estados Unidos. Por otra, que lo hubiera hecho la propia Columbia. Así, encontramos posibles opciones, como el disco Cante Flamenco. La Niña de los Peines (Columbia C - 59), editado en 1941 y compuesto por cuatro discos de Shellac de 10 pulgadas y 78 rpm, en uno de los cuales encontramos una Saeta, titulada "Se enturbecieron los cielos." Además, fue reeditado en 1953. En la biografía de Miles Davis publicada por John Szwed en 2003, este reincide en la idea de Avakian hablando sobre Gil Evans y la Niña de los Peines. Sin embargo, introduce un nuevo parámetro. Según Szwed, la actriz Beverly Bentley trajo a Davis desde España una copia de la Antología del Cante Flamenco, publicada por Hispavox en 1958 (HH 1201-2-3), y en la cual se incluyen cuatro saetas, dos de Lolita Triana y dos de Roque Montoya, Jarrito.
<https://www.juanzagalaz.com/2016/11/30/529/>

After releasing the album, Davis talks about the difficulties he experienced in recording *Saeta* in his album, *Sketches of Spain*.³⁹³ The album met with great success, doubtless introducing many Americans to the *saeta* for the first time.

Carlos Montoya

The *saeta* was also introduced to the United States by its adopted son, Carlos Montoya. Montoya was born in Madrid in 1903 to a Roma family. Carlos' mother realized how talented her son was and asked her brother Ramón, a famous flamenco guitar player, to teach Carlos. During Holy Week, the Montoya clan traditionally performed at family gatherings.³⁹⁴ When the Second World War broke out in Europe in 1939, Montoya was touring the United States and, because of the political situation, he decided to marry and settle in New York. Carlos then made his career in the United States, where the public was completely unfamiliar with Spanish guitar players. As he rose to fame, Montoya broke free from the pressure of being part of the famous Montoya clan. In the United States, Montoya found a canvas on which to develop his creativity and work through his experimentation. He also solidified solo performance on an international level.³⁹⁵

In the 1960s, Montoya introduced the U.S. public to the *saeta*. He reveled in recreating the sounds of the many Spanish musical traditions³⁹⁶ and created his own

³⁹³ Miles Davis and Quincy Troupe, *Miles, The Autobiography* (New York: Simon & Schuster, reprint ed., 1990), 242.

³⁹⁴ Gregorio D'Alessio, "Interview with Carlos Montoya." *The Guitar Review* 19 (1956): 24, 25.

³⁹⁵ <https://elartedevivirelflamenco.com/guitarristas116.html>

³⁹⁶ Michael Brooks, "Carlos Montoya." *Guitar Player* (date unknown) (1971).

version of the *saeta* for guitar. The technique that he used caused such a stir that Montoya patented it. He reproduced on the guitar the sounds of drums, trumpets, and other military band instruments commonly found in Holy Week processions. Montoya created the percussive effects that imitate the drums that accompany the *pasos* (floats) by hitting the front and sides of the guitar with his right hand while repeatedly strumming a chord progression with his left. He pulled the sixth string over the fifth with his left hand and strummed the two together with his right. This technique imitated quite realistically the snare drum during the processions. In the higher chords, he reproduced the sound of the bands that march behind the images of Christ and the Virgin and played melodies in a single note that resembled the mournful *saetas* that are sung to the statues. Clearly, he was trying to evoke the Holy Week atmosphere that he has experienced in his youth.

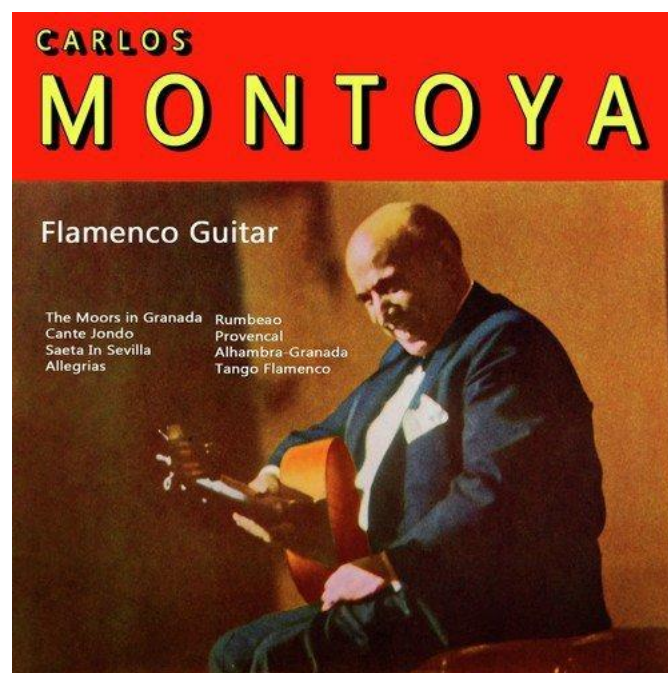


Figure 4.2 *Seata* by Carlos Montoya. Source: *Spotify*.

Military *Saeta*

Miguel Asins Arbó (1918-1996), a military musician of the last century, composed the slow band march “*Saeta militar*”³⁹⁷ in 1968. This march was recorded as part of the *Antología de la música militar de España*.³⁹⁸ Military music director Asins composed purely military wind music but did not get involved in non-military processional music.

Incidentally, there is another off-beat connection between the *saeta* and the military. In 1955, the Spanish aeronautic industry constructed its first jet aircraft, which was used only for military purposes. The plane was called La *Saeta* HA-200.³⁹⁹



Figure 4.3 Plane La *Saeta* HA-200. Source: Jose Manuel Serrano Esparza

³⁹⁷ <http://musicomayor.blogspot.com.es/>

³⁹⁸ <http://www.patrimoniomusical.com/foro/viewtopic.php?t=3916>

³⁹⁹ <http://elrectanguloenlamano.blogspot.com/2012/04/hispano-aviacion-ha-200-saeta-el-ultimo.html>

***Saeta* in Pop Music**

Celebrities have also delved into the world of *saetas*. Several popular performers, not involved in the flamenco genre, chanted a *saeta* for the audience.⁴⁰⁰

Joan Manuel Serrat

Joan Manuel Serrat is a Spanish singer, songwriter, and an activist. performed a 1969 song titled *La Saeta*,⁴⁰¹ based on a 1914 poem by the poet Antonio Machado (1875-1939).



Figure 4.4 *Saeta* by Joan Manuel Serrat. Source: *Granada Hoy*

⁴⁰⁰ <https://www.yourwaymagazine.com/9-artistas-espanoles-cantando-saeta/>

⁴⁰¹ <https://jmserrat.com/biografia-jmserrat/>

Original Poem by Antonio Machado:⁴⁰²

*¡Oh, la saeta, el cantar
al Cristo de los gitanos,
siempre con sangre en las manos,
siempre por desenclavar!
¡Cantar del pueblo andaluz,
que todas las primaveras anda pidiendo escaleras
para subir a la cruz!
¡Cantar de la tierra mía, que echa flores
al Jesús de la agonía,
y es la fe de mis mayores!
¡Oh, no eres tú mi cantar!
¡No puedo cantar, ni quiero
a ese Jesús del madero,
sino al que anduvo en el mar!*

Text of Serrat's song⁴⁰³:

*Dijo una voz popular
¿Quién me presta una escalera
Para subir al madero
Para quitarle los clavos
A Jesús el Nazareno?
Oh, la saeta, el cantar
Al Cristo de los gitanos*

⁴⁰² Translation: Oh, the *saeta*, the song/to the Christ of the gypsies, /always with blood on their hands, /always to untie! /Song of the/Andalusian people /that every spring goes around asking for ladders /to go up to the cross! /Song of the land of my/land, that throws flowers /to the Jesus of agony, /and is the faith of my elders! /Oh, you are not my song! /I cannot/sing, nor do I want /that Jesus on the cross, /but the one who walked on the sea!

⁴⁰³ Translation: A well-known voice said:/Who will lend me a ladder/to climb the wood/to remove the nails/from Jesus of Nazareth/Oh, the *saeta*, the chant/to Christ of the gypsies,/always with blood on their hands,/always from removing nails/Chant of the Andalusian town/where every spring/they ask for ladders/to climb the cross/Song of my homeland/that tosses flowers/to the Jesus of agony/and is the faith of my elders /Oh, you are not my singer?./I can't/sing, nor want to/To this Jesus of the cross,/but to He who walked in the sea...

<https://lyricstranslate.com/en/la-saeta-chant.html>

*Siempre con sangre en las manos
Siempre por desenclavar
Cantar del pueblo andaluz
Que todas las primaveras
Anda pidiendo escaleras
Para subir a la cruz*

*Cantar de la tierra mía
Que echa flores
Al Jesús de la agonía
Y es la fe de mis mayores*

*¡Oh, no eres tú mi cantar
No puedo cantar, ni quiero
A este Jesús del madero
Sino al que anduvo en la mar!*

*¡Oh, no eres tú mi cantar
No puedo cantar, ni quiero
A este Jesús del madero
Sino al que anduvo en la mar!*

*¡Oh, no eres tú mi cantar
No puedo cantar, ni quiero
A este Jesús del madero
Sino al que anduvo en la mar!*

¡Oh, no eres tú mi cantar!

This text provides a critical view of Holy Week and its commemoration in the streets of Seville.⁴⁰⁴ Ironically, in 1983, the music of that same protest song was adopted as a processional march performed during the Holy Week. Thus, *La Saeta* became better known for the chords that the wind ensembles play in their Holy Week itinerary than for

⁴⁰⁴ https://www.granadahoy.com/opinion/analisis/saeta-Ramos_0_1453955112.html

Machado's verses.⁴⁰⁵ This speaks to the overwhelming cultural importance of Holy Week, that it can subsume even criticism of itself.

Saeta

Juan Manuel Serrat



Musical example 4.1. Music by Serrat used in wind ensembles.

Like Machado, Serrat was very much a political activist throughout his musical career. And, like Machado, his outspoken criticism of the powers-that-be saw him sent into exile. In 1974, he was prosecuted for insulting the head of state, forcing him to stay in Mexico for a year. On his return to Spain, he was the object of a huge enthusiastic welcome at the Barcelona airport.⁴⁰⁶ An inspiration for many Serrat songs, poet Machado felt little identification with his birthplace Seville, and in the elections of 1931, he was

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ In 1975, while Serrat was in Mexico, he expressed his “absolute repudiation of the death penalty and the established official violence” following the executions of five anti-regime fighters in Francisco Franco’s Spanish regime. <https://jmserrat.com/biografia-jmserrat/>

among the supporters of the Republic and was forced to flee over the French border, abandoning a suitcase containing his notes and letters.⁴⁰⁷

***Sãeta*⁴⁰⁸ by Nico**

Christa Päffgen, known by her stage name Nico, was a German singer, songwriter, musician, model, and actor born in 1938.⁴⁰⁹ She spent several years in Spain and passed away in Ibiza in 1988.⁴¹⁰ In 1981, Nico released a song named *Sãeta*. The spelling of the word with a tilde over the *ã* suggests an intentional separation from the original chant. The style of the singer differs from the Andalusian *saeta*, and the 7/8-time signature is a gesture of uneven rhythmic patterns present in music from other cultures.⁴¹¹ Based on the *motorik* beat, *Sãeta* marks its progress with a rhythmic synthesizer and the repetitive melody of electric piano.⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁷ At the age of eight Machado left Seville and went to Madrid. He studied at a secular and modern school. Later he traveled to Paris, where he met Oscar Wilde and poet Rubén Darío. After the death of his young wife, he moved to Baeza (Andalusia), living a lonely life. <http://meetingbenches.com/2017/05/antonio-machado-spanish-poet/amp/>

⁴⁰⁸ <https://youtu.be/O43H6JB6jWY>

⁴⁰⁹ She was born in 1938 and had roles in several films, including Federico Fellini's *La Dolce Vita* (1960) and Andy Warhol's *Chelsea Girls*. (1966) <https://www.lavanguardia.com/cultura/20220926/8542857/nico-heroina-pop-biografia-cantante-modelo-velvet-warhol.html>

⁴¹⁰ Nico went to Ibiza for the first time when she was sixteen years old and continued returning to Spain for health issues. Jennifer Otter Bickerdike, *You Are Beautiful, and You Are Alone* (New York: Hachette Books, 2021).

⁴¹¹ <https://rateyourmusic.com/list/SolidGoldTooth/nico/>

⁴¹² Ibid.

Gerardo Frisina

Italian DJ Gerardo Frisina⁴¹³ released in 2003 a piece called *Saeta*.⁴¹⁴ This piece has truly little to do with any idea of *saetas* this work intends to form.

*Gerardo Frisina's journey continues with this new production "Saeta;" a piece of unquestionable energy that's not included in his recent album "Ad Lib." This new track confirms Gerardo's love for Latin-American music. It arrives quickly and directly from an unquestionable erotic and rhythmic charge like the title that it represents. Saeta is certainly a killer track for the club scene. In Saeta the wood blocks mark the bossa clave in a hypnotic way, while the piano reinforces the rhythmical structure of the congas, all in one constant evolution that brings us back to his first single Descarga.*⁴¹⁵

Giorgos Papadopoulos

Giorgos Papadopoulos is a Cypriot singer who began his career in Cyprus and became very popular in Greece. In 2014, he released his *Orchard Enterprises* by FM Records. One of the songs is called *Saeta* and it has a guest performer, the chanter José González.⁴¹⁶ The song starts with an introduction of wind instruments⁴¹⁷ and percussion.

⁴¹³ Frisina is one of the most important artists of the Italian jazz scene, in his multiple facets of producer, composer, DJ, compiler, editor and artistic director of the Ishtar label. His music is a fusion of jazz, Brazilian jazz and traditional Afro-Cuban jazz with the modern production techniques of today's club music, that is, mixing acoustic (served by virtuoso musicians called to the studio) and electronic elements, with which he intends to enhance the danceable component of jazz. Frisina's main goal as a composer is to bring jazz back to its original place, which is the dance floor, updating classic jazz (always with a predilection for Latin and Brazilian flavors) and bringing it closer to club music.

⁴¹⁴ <https://www.last.fm/es/music/Gerardo+Frisina/+wiki>

⁴¹⁵ <https://gerardo-frisina.bandcamp.com/album/saeta>

⁴¹⁶ <https://youtu.be/mmpwZfhZ00k>

⁴¹⁷ The Zurna is a double-reed woodwind instrument. Its sound is loud and strident, so it is most suitable for outdoor playing. Zurnas are frequently played in pairs. For village celebrations such as weddings, one or two zurnas may be combined with a large drum, or davul. This combination is so well established that in some regions the term davul-zurna means "music." The Zurna is an instrument used in the folk music of the Byzantine Empire and North Africa.

This is Papadopoulos' attempt to represent the wind bands of the Holy Week processions in Andalusia. The introduction is closer to a Middle Eastern performance than to Spain, however, and a demonstration of a fusion and an endeavor to unify comparable sonorities.

*Ay yo no sé si va despierto,
Ay, yo no sé si va dormío
Cachorro mío
Cuando pasa en el puente
Y te reflejas en el río
Ay, yo no sé si va despierto
Cachorro mío.*⁴¹⁸

India Martínez

Andalusian singer India Martínez⁴¹⁹ released her song *Saeta* in 2020. She used the same text as Serrat, which is based on the poem by Antonio Machado. India Martínez talked about her song *Saeta* in an interview:⁴²⁰

Serrat is a master and geniuses like him have no borders. We feel it very much ours, how he musicalized Machado's poem, so beautiful... I took the liberty of doing my version at a time when fear and uncertainty pushed me to do it. It was in Holy Week, and it is not that I am so religious, but I agree with that phrase, that the saeta was dedicated not so much to the Christ of the wood but to the one

⁴¹⁸ This is a *saeta* performed to the processions of the Brotherhood of El Cachorro from Seville.
Translation:

Ay, I don't know if he's awake,/Ay, I don't know if he's asleep/My Cachorro/When you pass by on the bridge/And you reflect in the river/Ay, I don't know if you're awake/My Cachorro.

⁴¹⁹ India Martinez is a popular Spanish singer who was nominated for Grammys twice.

⁴²⁰ <https://www.lavanguardia.com/magazine/protagonistas/20220914/8522708/india-martinez-barrio-flamenco.html>

*who walked on the sea and that his word made works. I admire people for their deeds, for what they do in life, not for an image.*⁴²¹

Martinez released her *Saeta* in a moment that people needed spiritual experience and COVID-19 during 2020 caused Holy Week to be canceled. Martínez used the moment to both release a new song on the one hand, and on the other, to satisfy the audience's search for Holy Week experiences.

Jon Balke

Jon Balke⁴²² is a Norwegian musician, who in 2022 released the album *Siwan - Hafla*. One of the songs on the album is called *Saeta*.⁴²³ The song is performed by Jon Balke and a description depicts the album in this way:

Siwan, the transcultural, trans-idiomatic musical collective led by Norwegian keyboardist/composer Jon Balke, continues along its special path, with new music inspired by the creative spirit of Al-Andalus. The ensemble weaves lines of communication between musicians from multiple traditions and locations. Siwan - Hafla' is a paradigmatic example of what one in Spain called "Alliance of Civilizations," surely to confront it with that of "Clash of Civilizations." The songs are interpreted both in Arabic and in the Spanish of those centuries, so this album not only appeals to the

⁴²¹ Translation: Es que Serrat es un maestro y los genios como él no tienen fronteras. Lo sentimos muy nuestro, cómo musicalizó el poema de Machado, tan bonito... Me tomé la libertad de hacer mi versión en un momento en que el miedo y la incertidumbre me empujaron a ello. Fue en Semana Santa y no es que sea tan religiosa, sino que coincido con esa frase, que la saeta se la dedicaba no tanto al Cristo del madero sino al que andaba sobre la mar y que de su palabra hacía obras. Soy de admirar a las personas por sus hechos, por lo que hacen en vida, no por una imagen.

⁴²² Balke has been a professional musician since 1974 and has no formal education in music or composition and has mainly worked within the realm of improvised music. His main instrument has been the piano, and this has led, in time, to the use of electronic keyboards. He has composed works for the theater and various chamber ensembles, in addition to big bands and jazz ensembles.

⁴²³ *Saeta* is on Spotify, within the Album *Siwan-Hafla*.

*multiculturalism of the here and now, but it is also a very interesting look at a past that is often not only little known, but also ignored.*⁴²⁴

Balke's *saeta* is an example of the use of the name of the chant in a song, locally related to the idea of the creator of the album. In this case, the song *Saeta* seems to be unrelated to the *saeta* chant, except in name. According to the critic:

*There are some debatable pieces (Saeta), but the whole of Jon Balke's latest album, intimate and serene, as befits a poetry based on love and desire.*⁴²⁵

***Saeta* in Film Music**

Thomas Newman⁴²⁶

Thomas Newman is an American film-score composer and conductor. In 2002 Newman released an album, *The Salton Sea*,⁴²⁷ as the soundtrack of a movie of the same name. *Saeta*⁴²⁸ is one of its songs. The protagonist, a trumpeter who was involved in

⁴²⁴ Siwan, el colectivo musical transcultural y transidiomático dirigido por el teclista y compositor noruego Jon Balke, prosigue su especial trayectoria con nueva música inspirada en el espíritu creativo de Al-Andalus. El conjunto teje líneas de comunicación entre músicos de múltiples tradiciones y lugares. Siwan – Hafla' es un ejemplo paradigmático de lo que en España se llamó "Alianza de Civilizaciones," seguramente para confrontarlo con lo de "Choque de Civilizaciones." Las canciones están interpretadas tanto en árabe como en el español de aquellos siglos, por lo que este disco no sólo apela a la multiculturalidad del aquí y ahora, sino que es también una interesantísima mirada a un pasado a menudo no sólo poco conocido, sino también ignorado. <http://www.districtjazz.com/off-jazz/discos-off-jazz/jon-balke-siwan-hafla>

⁴²⁵ Hay alguna pieza discutible ('Saeta'), pero el conjunto del último disco de Jon Balke, de carácter íntimo y sereno, como corresponde a una poesía basada en el amor y el deseo, se merece. <http://www.districtjazz.com/off-jazz/discos-off-jazz/jon-balke-siwan-hafla>

⁴²⁶ He was born in Los Angeles in 1955. The Newman family is of Russian-Jewish descent and includes several other well-known musicians. Thomas took regular lessons in violin as a child. Thomas received his musical education while attending the University of Southern California and Yale University. Thomas Newman graduated with a Bachelor of Arts in 1977, and a Master of Music in 1978.

⁴²⁷ *Saeta* is track 15. <https://www.discogs.com/master/772717-Thomas-Newman-The-Salton-Sea-Original-Motion-Picture-Soundtrack>

⁴²⁸ The *Saeta* track by Thomas Newman: <https://youtu.be/XF9QE349NJw>

dealing methamphetamine, sees his wife killed by drug kingpins. It features a solo trumpet performed by Terence Blanchard and uses a sonority reminiscent of flamenco and mourning chants.

Other Uses of *Saetas*

Duo *Saeta*

Saetas can also be performed as a duet, when two *saeta* chanters sing concurrently during the Holy Week processions.⁴²⁹ That way of performing *saetas* has been documented since the beginning of the twentieth century.⁴³⁰ Since performance of the *saeta* during the processions depends on a tight schedule, having two *saeta* singers at the same time is a time-saver. However, the individuality of each singer and the deep personal feelings of the performer involved makes this arrangement problematic.

***Saeta* for the Deaf**

In 2017, in the Andalusian city of Granada, singer Iván Centenillo and the sign language interpreter Esther Ramallo performed the first *saeta* for the deaf. Iván Centenillo, in addition to being one of Granada's most promising flamenco singers, is also a social worker. The new *saeta* was performed in Granada, due to the gesture of the founder of *La Ciudad Accesible* Association, and director of the guide *Accessible Holy Week* of the city of Granada, Antonio Tejada. This guide is edited and designed by *La Ciudad Accesible* since 2015 in collaboration

⁴²⁹ An example of a *saeta* performed by two *saeta* singers: https://youtu.be/C0B6Uq1_UDc

⁴³⁰ *Candil: boletín de la Peña Flamenca de Jaén*. No. 85, 1-1993.

with the Granada City Council and the Real Federación de Hermandades y Cofradías.

According to the organizers, the motive for creating this *saeta* was the “inclusion to break down barriers” and “equal opportunities for all people because no one should be more than anyone else because of disability, different ability or special needs.”⁴³¹ The audience described the performance as very emotional and a necessary part of the Holy Week events. The rich visual stimulus during that time was welcomed as a helpful translation of one of the most emotional auditive elements.

The recording of this performance was uploaded to social media.⁴³² The video shows the *saeta* singer and the interpreter of sign language in the street, surrounded by a procession. The brotherhood’s wind ensemble is performing while the singer is delivering the *saeta*. The interpreter, next to the singer, reproduced the text of the chant moving their lips but without sounds, while moving the body and gesturing in an expressive way. The lyrics of the *saeta* are:

*Eres reflejo en esta mirada,
de la pasión que a ti te escucha,
de la fragancia de mi Granada.
En el paladeo de tus abrazos
siento la fuerza de la mañana.*⁴³³

⁴³¹ <https://www.20minutos.es/noticia/3300446/0/santa-la-primera-saeta-para-sordos-recoge-elogios-colectivos-personas-con-discapacidad/>

⁴³² <https://es-es.facebook.com/ABCes/videos/10157639895444896/>

⁴³³ You are a reflection in this look,/of the passion that listens to you,/of the fragrance of my Granada./In the taste of your embrace/I feel the strength of the morning.

For a traditional society, like Andalusian, this performance may have caused surprise. Although the goal was integration and diversity, the audience cannot easily overcome the habits disguised in tradition.

***Saeta* During COVID-19**

Another contemporary use of the *saeta* was during the pandemic of COVID-19 in Seville. There were no processions for the Holy Weeks of 2020 and 2021. There was an extremely strict policy of no contact in Spain, and specifically in the city of Seville, during the Holy Week of 2020.⁴³⁴ People were not allowed on the streets, unless for such reasons as going to the supermarket, and there was a strict schedule for visiting city parks. Every day, at 8 p.m., people from the neighborhoods would stand in their balconies and clap for ten minutes as a sign of gratitude to the members of the health system and their work.⁴³⁵ During Holy Week, however, besides the clapping, there was a *saeta* performance in the Sevillian village of Bollullos, and a female *saeta* chanter performed a *saeta*.⁴³⁶ Enthusiasts repeated the performance from balconies in several city neighborhoods, where they employed the chant as it was originally intended, as a prayer in moments of pain.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁴ <https://www.diariodesevilla.es/temas/Semana-Santa-Sevilla-2020-sin-procesiones-coronavirus/>

⁴³⁵ https://sevilla.abc.es/sevilla/sevi-aplauso-sevilla-para-animar-profesionales-sanitarios-crisis-coronavirus-202003142248_noticia.html

⁴³⁶ https://www.diariodesevilla.es/semana_santa/Saeta-coronavirus-Bollullos-Mitacion_0_1454254776.html

⁴³⁷ https://www.diariodesevilla.es/sociedad/Saeta-mujer-perro-confinamiento-coronavirus_0_1447355380.html

A *Saeta* Joke⁴³⁸

In 2022, a TV show called *El Palermasso*, which broadcast humor and jokes on topics related to the Holy Week, presented a *saeta* performance from a balcony in a humorous way. After starting the *saeta*, the singer starts improvising and follows a responsory dynamic with the participants in the processions, who are down on the street. The *saeta* singer begins singing a song by Queen in a humorous way, which provokes the laughter of the audience.

The video shows a sort of humor mostly appreciated by Holy Week enthusiasts. This type of consumer knows the correct dynamics of the event, such as a *saeta* performed from a balcony and the joke consists in alternating these dynamics. The use of modern music to change the sonority of the *saeta*, and the responsorial action, shift the essence of the chant. The reactions of the critics to the clip are positive.⁴³⁹ The joke about the *saeta* chant seems to not affect their respect or to break their bond to the religious experience. No disrespectful comments appear as comments under the YouTube video, where the video was posted after streaming on TV.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁸ https://youtu.be/_hct4OLhcSY

⁴³⁹ https://www.diariodesevilla.es/semana_santa/saeta-estilo-Queen-capitulo-Palermasso-video_0_1666335422.html

⁴⁴⁰ The comments below the YouTube video are very positive and congratulate the talent of the script and actors. Some people showed some doubts about the grade of humor; however, they did express it in a very polite way.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen the role of women in *saeta* performance through history and the reception by audiences, critics, and male performers. We have also seen how several musicians used the idea of *saeta* in their music and the different musical genres in which chant was used. Finally, we have seen how *saeta* went beyond its initial function and satisfied other purposes. The development of the *saeta* and its multipurpose assimilation is significant to the scope this chant has achieved over the years. Creative people from numerous countries have recognized the emotional charge of the chant and have contributed to the expansion of the chant outside its geographical and cultural limitations.

CONCLUSIONS

In this work, we have traced the evolution of the *saeta* and the theories about its roots and its name. Documents that trace its roots can mostly be traced to monasteries. That implies that the main and legitimated argument today would be made from Catholic point of view.

There are two main schools of thought about the word *saeta* as applied to this chant. One argument posits that *saeta* is a corruption of the Latin *sagitta*, and the other that it originates from the Arabic *sawt*. In a more extensive future work, Arabic sources could be reviewed in search of the term *sawt* and its origin. Then, connect that term to the chant and its development.

The Latin term *saeta* had been used in a religious context some centuries ago but without an association with music. It is unclear when the word's usage to denote the chant happened. In the absence of documentation those theories will remain unproven.

There also are several theories about how the chant has been performed. Different popular practices have not eased the description of its characteristics. At different points in time, *saeta* has been performed in groups in a responsorial way, in processions by monks as an educational tool, or as a lament by people in need to alleviate their emotional pain are settings that are common to the general musical performance. One characteristic common to all these kinds of performance is the religious context. But I believe that this predates Christianity and the mourning of the death of Christ. Chants of

this type are common to mourning throughout time, cultures, and religions – in short, they are musical expressions of human pain.

Cante jondo describes musical expression proper to a specific region and implies profound emotion. The combination of different cultural, sociological, and historical factors gave as a result that approach to musical expression. *Saeta* represents one aspect of this expression. Over time, musical analysis and a study of texts using the term *saeta* seem to have embraced a wide range of musical manifestation. It is the term *saeta* that has remained the same through its chronological development.

Today the *saeta* is employed in several contexts: The performance during the Holy Week processions and every ritual that uses the *saeta*; public performances in contests and concerts; video and audio recordings (propagated through social media); and finally, the use of *saetas* outside any popular context, neither religious nor folkloric as an esthetic or artistic expression.

There remain areas ripe for future research into the *saetas*. Holy Week continues to be the main venue for performing the *saeta* chant and it provides constant opportunities for innovation in its use both during the processions and in the method of performing it. Take for example, the use of two singers performing from a balcony – introducing an element of competition over status and vocal power rather than devotion or musicality.

Will the *saeta* survive over the coming decades? Researchers would do well to trace its popularity over time: How many versions are used during Holy Week festivities in different locations year on year?

Since the chant entered the flamenco genre, both as a musical expression and as flamenco performance its musical development is linked to flamenco's development. It is uncertain if it has come into a culmination. The *saeta* has developed since it was first performed. The old *saeta* developed into flamenco *saeta*, which changed the performance of the chant, but the name remained.

Flamenco has begun to evolve by integrating fusion with other types of music. If we accept the *saeta* as a component of flamenco, the chant will evolve in that context along whatever new paths flamenco takes. If *saeta* disassociates itself from flamenco, it will continue its own journey of musical expression as evolution of a mourning chant.

The following general reflections will help see how *saeta* chant could develop and its study approached.

1. There has been an increased Arab population in Spain, especially in Andalusia. At present, the performance of *saeta* appears untouched by this population growth. Arabic music is performed in festivals and concerts, but the performances seem confined to nostalgia rather than fusing with local music.
2. The members of the brotherhoods that collect Holy Week usually are fans of wind music bands. The *saetas* have not emerged as a collectible item and tend to remain within the circle of *saeta* performers.

3. For the present research, attempts to access the Franciscan archives of Constantina have been rebuffed. Future exploration of these archives could glean additional information about the *saeta*, its roots and trajectory.

4. The *saeta* of the Holy Week, like the figures in the processions, belongs to a specific regional experience. This work aims to present the *saeta* to a broader public outside Spain.

5. The effect that a *saeta* has on the audience is contradictory. People who dislike showing emotions or seeing them in others tend to feel uncomfortable with the chant. For an explanation, we will have to look to students of psychology. Since mourning is a phenomenon common to most people, the decision to show grief or not is also universal.

6. There are lamentation chants in Syria, Pakistan, or Iran that are like *saetas*. Recordings that can be used to compare the two chants. The same can be applied to the study of the chants performed during the processions of the Holy Week in Latin America.

Controversy still rages over claims that old *saeta* and flamenco *saeta* are one and the same. This research intends to place the *saeta* chant within a bigger picture. On the one hand, the chant is an intimate expression of emotions; it has been born, has developed, and exists today in a localized environment. On the other hand, those emotions are universal, and the chant could emerge as familiar to many people.

The use of music during life-changing moments such as during wartime, during world pandemic, or during natural disasters is a universal practice. Death is the ultimate human pain experience and *saeta* is the musical expression of that pain. The distinct grades of suffering affect individuals differently, and the *saeta* has adapted to all of them.

APPENDIX A

Magazine *La Saeta*



The magazine *La Saeta* was launched in Malaga in 1922. Founded by the journalist Francisco Morales, it is the oldest publication in Spain dedicated to Holy Week events and brotherhoods.⁴⁴¹ Since its inception, it has disseminated information about Málaga's Holy Week and the Nazarene brotherhoods who run it and includes literary and research articles. Since 1997, Andrés Camino Romero has served as its editor. During the one hundred years of its existence, its publication has been interrupted by external events such as the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. After twelve years of hiatus, and the incursion of the magazine *Guión*, it resumed publication in June 1981, when the release of issue number 0, marked a new era. Since then, *La Saeta* has been published annually, characterized as a Lenten magazine. But starting in 1999, it grew to two issues a year: *La Saeta de Cuaresma* and *La Saeta de Otoño*,⁴⁴² the goal being to disseminate knowledge

⁴⁴¹ <https://www.diariosur.es/semana-santa/revista-saeta-repasa-20220225214116-nt.html?ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F>

⁴⁴² https://www.centroculturalmva.es/6804/com1_md3_cd-45196/el-mva-ofrece-un-recorrido-fotografico-por-la-historia-cofrade-de-malaga-de-los-ultimos-cien-anos

of the Holy Week to a wider readership.⁴⁴³ In 1926, Jose Morales composed a *saeta* specifically for the magazine.



⁴⁴³ <https://www.diaariosur.es/semana-santa/revista-saeta-cumple-siglo-20220405233729-nt.html> “*La Saeta es una revista de Semana Santa, sí, pero para los cofrades malagueños es más que eso. Es una revista de cultura popular. Se mantiene porque la cultura la hace el pueblo, preservando sus tradiciones. No es una cultura para una élite, sino para todos.*”

Translation: *La Saeta* is a Holy Week magazine, yes, but for the *cofrades* of Malaga it is more than that. It is a magazine of popular culture. It is maintained because culture is made by the people, preserving their traditions. It is not a culture for an elite, but for everyone.

Roberto Escámez composed in 1931 a *saeta* for piano and published it in *La Saeta* magazine.

LA SAETA

Escrita expresamente para esta revista • • • Música de Alberto Escámez

Marcha

dim. p

CORNETAS

Tambora

3º Peje

2º Peje

1º Peje

con arduamente

Cornetas

Marcha

Al compás de 2/4

vol. a 2º Peje

PIAZZA Y ENCINA.-NUEVA, 46-48
Música, Pianos, Pianola, Gramófonos, Discos — Composiciones y afinaciones

Ricardo Dorado compuso marcha y saeta para piano para la revista La Saeta en 1929.

“ LA PIEDAD ”

Marcha de procesión con Saeta, para piano Música de RICARDO DORADO JANEIRO

M.M. 54. da

Despacio

1.º Paso

www.musica.com

APPENDIX B

Saetas from Seville and Marchena

Saetas of Seville

I

*Una mañana temprano
Detrás de su hijo avanza
Llena de angustia y de pena
La Virgen de la Esperanza Honra de la Macarena*⁴⁴⁴

II

*En el cielo hay una mare (madre)
Soberana deermosura (de hermosura)
En el mundo está su imagen
La virgen de la Amargura
Reina de tierra y mare (tierras y mares)*⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴⁴ Translation: An early morning/Behind her son she goes/Full of anguish and sorrow/The Virgin of Hope Honors of La Macarena.

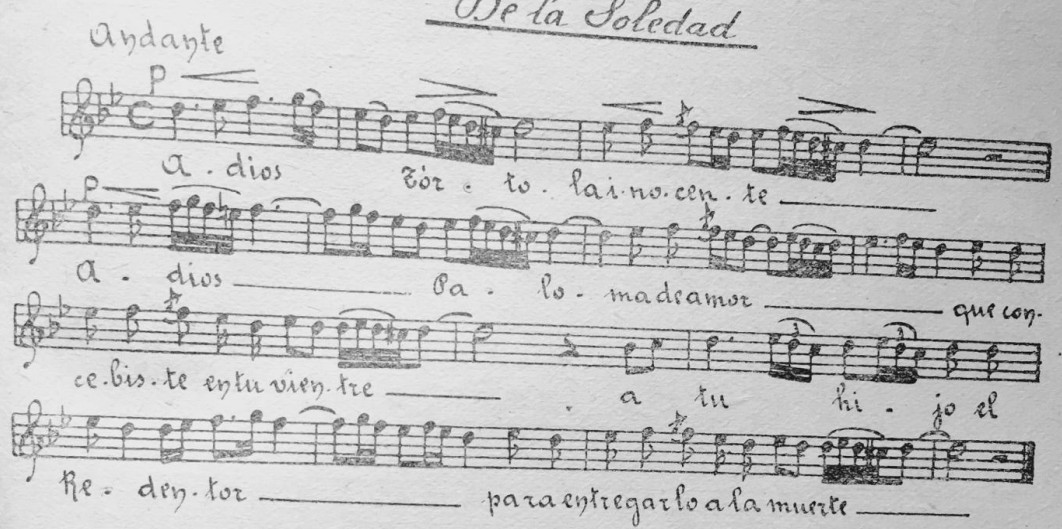
⁴⁴⁵ Translation: In heaven there is a mare (mother)/Sovereign deermosura (of beauty)/In the world there is her image/The virgin of Amargura (bitterness)/Queen of earth and mare (lands and seas).

Saetas of Marchena. Old Saetas type

Saetas de Marchena
Transcripción de D. José Rodríguez Guisado.

De la Soledad

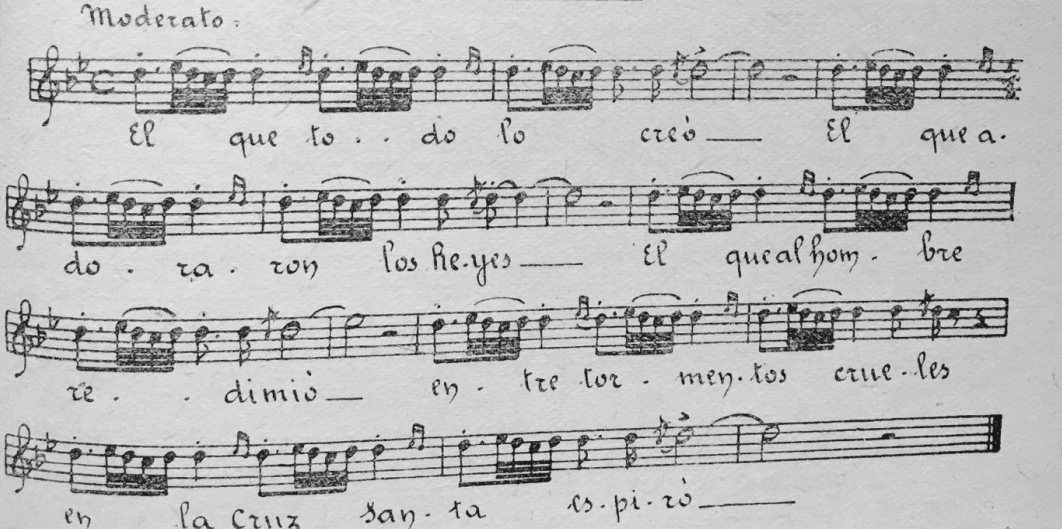
Andante



a . dios for . to . lai . no . cen . te
a . dios Pa . lo . ma de amor que con .
ce . bis . te en tu vien . tre a tu hi . jo el
Re . den . tor para en . tre ga rlo a la muerte

Quinta.

Moderato.



El que to . do lo creó El que a .
do . ra . ron los Re . yes El que al hom . bre
re . di mió en . tre tor . men . tos crue . les
en la Cruz San . ta es . pi . ró

Saetas of Marchena

I

De la Soledad

*Adios tórtola inocente
Adios paloma de amor
que concebiste en tu vientre
a tu hijo el Redentor
Para entregarlo a la muerte.⁴⁴⁶*

II

Quinta

*El que todo lo creó
El que adoraron los Reyes
El que al hombre redimió
entre tormentos crueles
En la cruz santa expiró.⁴⁴⁷*

⁴⁴⁶ Translation: Goodbye innocent turtledove/Farewell dove of love/who conceived in your womb/your son the Redeemer/To give him up to death.

⁴⁴⁷ Translation: He who created all things/He whom kings worshipped/He who redeemed man/amid cruel torments/He expired on the holy cross

Sexta.

Andante

Fue vic - ti - ma del fu - ro - de - a. que - l pue - blo amo - ti -
nado y te - me - ra - rio. Pe - ro fue tan - to su amor
— que a los hom - bres ha sal - va - do
en el Cal - va - rio —

De Jesús.

Moderato

Cargado con el ma - de - ro y co - ro - na do de es pi -
nas ha - cia el Sol. go - ta ca - mi - na el i - no - cen - te co - r - de - ro.

Del Señor de la Humildad.

Ho - y sa - le de san - ta cla - ra — — — — — este se - ra fin - la - ga - do —
— — — — — con la ma - no en lame - ji - lla — — — — — con la ma - no en
lame - ji - lla — — — — — y en un pe - ñas - co sen - ta - do — — — — —

Sexta

*Fue víctima del furor
de aquel pueblo amotinado y temerario
Pero fue tanto su amor
que a los hombres ha salvado en el calvario.⁴⁴⁸*

De Jesús

*Cargado con el madero y corona de espinas
Hacia el Gólgota camina el inocente cordero.⁴⁴⁹*

El Señor de la Humildad

*Hoy sale de Santa Clara
Este serafín llagado
Con la mano en la mejilla
Con la mano en la mejilla
Y en un peñasco sentado.⁴⁵⁰*

⁴⁴⁸ Translation: He was a victim/of the fury of those riotous and reckless people./But His love was so great that He saved men on Calvary.

⁴⁴⁹ Translation: Burdened with the wood and crown of thorns/Towards Golgotha walks the innocent lamb.

⁴⁵⁰ Translation: Today it leaves Santa Clara/This wounded seraphim/With his hand on his cheek/With his hand on his cheek/And on a rock seated.

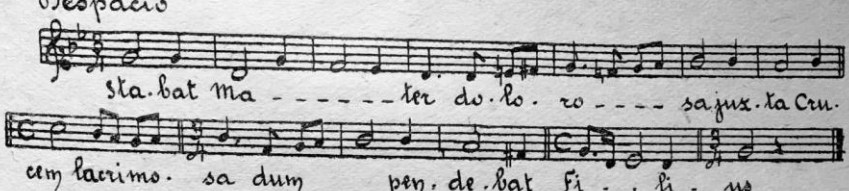
Stabat Mater y Miserere de Marchena⁴⁵¹

*Stabat Mater y Miserere
de Marchena*

Transcripción de D. José Rodríguez Simado.

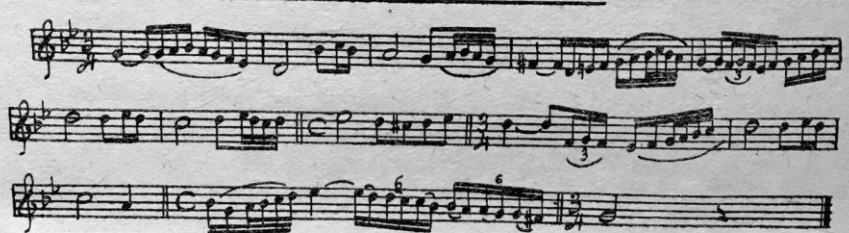
Stabat

Despacio



sta-bat ma - - - - - ter do-lo-ro - - - - - sa jux-ta Cru-
cem lacri-mo-sa dum pen-de-bat Fi-li-us

Variación sobre el Stabat



Miserere

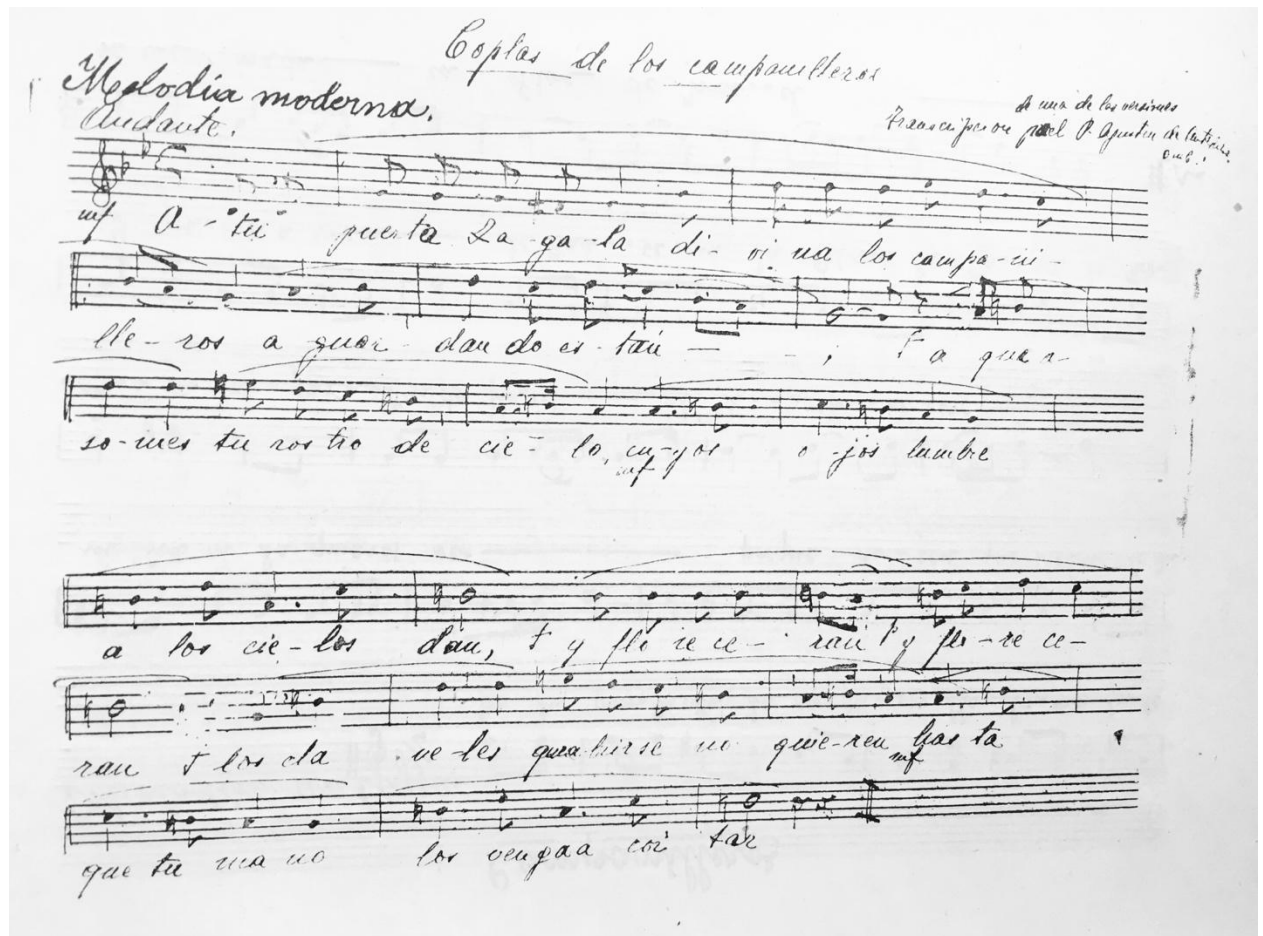
Andantino



Text: *Stabat Mater dolorosa juxta Crucem lacrimosa dum pendebat Filius.*

⁴⁵¹ Miserere verses used as *seatas* in Marchena. Linares Lucena, *De la saeta primitiva a la saeta flamenca. Los Cantes de Pasión bailenenses*, 127.

Coplas de Campanilleros⁴⁵²



A tu puerta la Zagala divina los campanilleros aguardando están a que asomes tu rostro de cielo con los ojos lumbre a los cielos dan, y florecerán y florecerán los claveles que abrirse no quieren hasta que tu mano los venga a cortar.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵² The prayer of the Rosary was performed by the *Campanilleros*. Cantero Díaz, “La saeta en Extremadura,” 112.

⁴⁵³ Translation: At your door, the divine Zagala, the bell ringers are waiting for you to show your heavenly face with your eyes and give light to the heavens, and the carnations will bloom and bloom, but they do not want to open until your hand comes to cut them.

Campanilleros are “people who celebrate singing in some regions of Andalusia Rosary of Dawn (‘Rosario de la Aurora,’) accompanied with small bells (*campanillas*), guitars and other percussions.”⁴⁵⁴ “Rosary *Saetas*” is an expression used for some of the prayers of the Rosary of Dawn, which is the public recitation of the rosary in the streets. On certain special days, a procession goes through the streets praying or singing the rosary at dawn. The first *coplas* are usually of short and simple stanzas, derived from *saetas* that the preachers intoned during the missions.

Prayer of the Rosary is: *A prayer of the Catholic Church in which the twenty principal mysteries of the life of Jesus Christ and the Virgin are commemorated, reciting after each one an Our Father, ten Hail Marys and a Glory Be.*⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵⁴ <https://www.flamencoexport.com/palos-en/campanilleros-en.html>

⁴⁵⁵ <https://dle.rae.es/rosario>:

Rezo de la Iglesia católica en que se conmemoran los veinte misterios principales de la vida de Jesucristo y de la Virgen, recitando después de cada uno un padrenuestro, diez avemarías y un *Gloria*.

Campanilleros

Melodías antiguas

En tu puerta está la campanilla la levántate
niña si la quieres ver ————— porque dicen que viene la Au-
ra-ur re-par-tiendo flores — al a-manecer —
Y vamos a ver — la A-ru-ce-na la Pal-ma la To-nela la Ro-
sa encarnada — la Flor de Isra-el —

En tu Puerta está la campanilla, levántate niña si la quieres ver porque dicen que viene la Aurora repartiendo flores al amanecer. Y vamos a ver la Azucena, la Palma, la **Tonela** Rosa encarnada la Flor de Israel.

APPENDIX C

Saeta transcription⁴⁵⁶

Niño Gloria. Saeta. 1931.

A - y a y a y a -

To a las ma - res - pa san pe - na(s) a mar gu ra -

A - y A - y pe ro la tu - ya -

c(s) c la a a - ma yor

o - por quea zo tan lo(s) ju dí os -

por que lo(s) ju u - dí o a zo tan a -

tu Hi jo el Re - e - den tor. A - y - por e so to a las ma res -

tie - nen c - nen pe - na(s) (a) pe - ro -

la tu ya es ma yor

⁴⁵⁶ Transcription of a *saeta* performed by Niño Gloria. This transcription differs from the actual performed *saeta* by Niño Gloria. This *saeta* can be listened to on Spotify or partially in Deezer.

*Ay, toas las mares pasan pena(s) amargura
ay, pero la tuya es la mayor
porque azotan los judíos
porque los judíos azotan
a tu Hijo el Redentor
por eso toas las mares tienen pena,
pero la tuya es la mayor.⁴⁵⁷*

⁴⁵⁷ <https://deezer.page.link/kpEdd8vh6c2zUfC66>

Translation: Oh, all the seas go through sorrow(s) bitterness/ay, but yours is the greatest/because the Jews scourge/because the Jews scourge/your Son the Redeemer/therefore all the seas have sorrow,/but yours is the greatest.

APPENDIX D

Transcribed interviews

1. ANGELITA YRUELA⁴⁵⁸



Angelita Yruela is a *saeta* singer and the most veteran *saetera* in Seville. She started singing when she was 12 years old, at a time when women were banned from the brotherhoods. She cried and cried when she saw her brother dressed as a Nazarene and she was forced by custom to stay at home.

In her early years as a *saetera*, Yruela she shared experiences with the most notable flamenco artists of the time, Antonio Mairena, la Niña de la Alfalfa, Manuel Centeno, Naranjito de Triana or Manuel Vallejo, from the golden age.

⁴⁵⁸ <https://youtu.be/BHBQ020AxVc>

“The *señoritos* paid the *saeteros* very well, and they would later invite them to their jamborees. One day, a flamenco singer said to me, ‘It’s easier to earn a hundred bucks singing a *saeta* than taking potatoes out of the field.’”⁴⁵⁹

-What nationalities or religious people groups claim to own the *saeta* chant?

I only know, have lived, and studied, the Andalusian roots. When the four⁴⁶⁰ communities lived together: the Arab-Jews,⁴⁶¹ the old Castilians (who were the *marrajos*) and the Jews, who chanted in their Synagogue and communicated through the *albaicines*? and called for prayers. All their chants were influenced by the others: the old Castilians sang like the Arabs or the Jews, the Arabs like the old *marrajos*, but they were the same chants. When, in 1492, all the Jews were forced to be Catholics, they were forbidden (from singing??) for many years, until the old custom surfaced again and returned only as the Andalusian chant. Then the friars started doing missions through the villages and brought with them *saetas* as penitence.⁴⁶² *Saetas del pecado mortal* (of the mortal sin) or *saetas penetrantes* (piercing or penetrative). They built a confessional and as a penitence made the sinners sing a *saeta* out loud to shame the sinner.

-How old could the *saeta* chants be and what do we know about them?

Around 1835 people started singing *saetas* (flamencas) in the streets. The Academy (Language) gave it a definition at that time: short and dogmatic couplets (*coplas*) that

⁴⁵⁹ https://www.elespanol.com/sociedad/20200405/saeteros-sevillanos-no-cantaran-domingo-ramos-sanitarios/479952422_0.html

⁴⁶⁰ That is the number the interviewee states.

⁴⁶¹ She uses the word *Judaicos*.

⁴⁶² Penitence here is used to show one’s remorse publicly.

were sung to the Holy Week procession images to excite popular devotion. It was in 1810 when *saeta* was first mentioned in a written text.⁴⁶³ It was recognized as an art, neither greater nor lesser, but an Andalusian art. For that reason, flamenco (style) entered the world of the *saeta* because it was easier for the performers to make money. The *saetas* paid very well then, and it was easier to sing to a Holy Week (procession) image than work in the countryside.

-What regions could have nurtured the roots of the *saetas*?

-Students of the *saeta* claim that it is a mix of Arabic and Andalusian influences.

Whether Arabs took the chants to their countries and modern Arabs returned them to Spain circa. 1870-75 is unknown. Like the chants of *Ida y Vuelta*⁴⁶⁴, the original chants don't originate in pure flamenco, which it is claimed came from the Arabs. The *quejíos*⁴⁶⁵ are quite similar.

-Does the *saeta* chant have significant cultural significance for Spain?

I developed a passion for the *saeta*, from the time I first experienced it as a 12-year-old. Initially, women were forbidden to enter the church, or the brotherhoods and I became a *saeta* singer to get into the brotherhoods. Sixty years have passed since then, and I still sing *saetas*, and still learn new ones.

⁴⁶³ This is untrue.

⁴⁶⁴ Expression that defines the set of flamenco styles of Hispanic-American descent.

⁴⁶⁵ "Ay" (Ayes) that are performed in the chant, at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end.

-What kind of music is the *saeta*, is it religious or folkloric?

In the past, it was religious. It was a plain *quarteta*. Let me give a demonstration. (*Saeta demonstration*). When the *saeta* adapts to flamenco style, it needs the *seguidillas compás* (pulse, beat). Then it falls into one of three groups: affective, representative, and narrative. The narrative describes what is happening when the processions of Holy Week are in the streets. The friars had abandoned the custom of making the sinners sing *saetas* at the street corners. The sentencing of Christ was sung as an announcement (*pregón*). In other words, the Holy Week festivity becomes more cultured/sophisticated. Back then there was no television, no media, no artistic agents, and the performers were the people from the villages. With the confiscation of all the goods of the friars (*desamortización*), and their enclosures, the villages retained this custom. And it expanded to the capital of Andalusia (Seville). I think the roots of the current *saeta* (the one that is performed nowadays) are solidly planted in Andalusia. That does not mean that there is not a *saeta* performed in *jota* style in the Aragón region, or *saetas* in *sardana* style in the Catalanian region. But here, in Andalusia, the *saeta* is performed in flamenco style. What is the difference with the one that I sang before? An intermediate one that is *also an* old, plain, smooth *saeta*, that is a compliment to the Virgin, while the one to Christ or to the Lord is always a prayer. (*Saeta demonstration*).

-Besides in Spain, in which other countries there are *saetas*?

Wherever there is an Andalusian, *saetas* are sung during Holy Week. I know that in Italy, there are also people who sing *saetas*, in their own style, not in flamenco, of course, but there are. There are Spaniards that have toured Italy and have seen a Way of the Cross procession, because there are no Holy Week processions like here, and they have performed a *saeta*. People demonstrate their passion as they feel it.

-How do you study *saetas*, who writes the texts?

The couplets (*coplas*) are no one's, they are anonymous, coming from the village people. The poet Antonio Machado drew attention to that fact. If I invent a text, then it goes to the people and it is theirs. When I sing a *saeta*, I invent my own words. I write my own texts. I believe it is very important to have a good text to “bite” into people's emotions and feelings. To perform *saetas* well, you need abilities, feelings, and brain. The brain over abilities and feelings. For example: (Text demonstration).⁴⁶⁶ The texts need to reach those who listen, whether they are Catholic or not, flamenco fan or not, believer or not, if they're there out of curiosity, interest, passion, hobby. I think the *saeta* cannot be learned nor taught, it can be only listened to.

-Who are the most important *saeta* performers in the last 80 to 100 years?

When I started singing *saetas*, there was less of everything. I started singing when I was 12 years old, when a group of *saeta* singers came from the villages with their bundles of

⁴⁶⁶ “Viéndote a ti padecer, morao se puso el lirio, sangre brotó del clavel y la rosa en su delirio te llamó del Gran Poder.” A la Virgen: “Las piedras no tienen sentío, pero también se estremecen y tiemblan de escalofríos cuando por las calles mecen a la Virgen del Rocío”.

saeta texts on their shoulders. From a village called Mairena came the *niño Rafael* that later became Antonio Mairena, Manolo Mairena, Curro Mairena. Later, Manuel Torres came from Jerez, and Torres was not his name, but people changed it to Torres. When Manuel Torres performed, time stopped and the *costaleros* did not walk (people that carry the *pasos* on the Holy Week processions). These are some very interesting stories, very sentimental, and there were people like dukes, marquises, or other noblemen who paid *saeta* singers to perform when the processions passed in front of their homes. But later, the (flamenco) *juerga* (practice) evolved and the *saeta* singer was well paid to sing for the entire night. The *saeta* performance during Holy Week is only one week in the entire year, while a *juerga* is not.⁴⁶⁷ There are also people like me, who never studied the *saeta*. I sing up to 14 different styles of *saeta*. I invented for the most devoted ones a *saeta* of *Padre Nuestro* and *Ave Maria* in *seguidilla* style. *Seguidillas*, *carceleras*, and *martinetes* are the three *saeta* styles that are performed nowadays.

-Are there movies that use *saetas*?

There are *saetas* in the plays by the Andalusian brothers Álvarez-Quintero. There is a *saeta* in the movie *Malvaloca*, sung by *Currito de la Cruz*, about a boy who was nursed by nuns, then becomes a toreador and the bull kills him. The typical Andalusian movies of those times. There are movies with *saetas*. But always using a regionalist topic of Andalusia.

⁴⁶⁷ A *juerga* takes place during the entire year.

-What writers or poets wrote about *saetas*?

Aguilar Tejera, who wrote from 1895 to 1930, wrote a book about *saetas*. The friar Diego de Cádiz also wrote a book and gave a speech about *saetas* in 1943 in the *Academia de Buenas Letras* of Seville. He referred to the *saetas* as chants that belonged to the people of the villages. But Agustín Aguilar-Tejera, and all the authors that wrote about that topic, all of them created some *saeta* texts in *quintilla* form. As for instance, the composer Joaquín Turina. He also composed a very beautiful *saeta* in *salve* form dedicated to the *Macarena* Virgin. There are images (sculptures from the processions) that are more prone to inspire *saeta* texts: *Gran Poder*, *Macarena*, *El Cachorro*, *Estudiantes*.⁴⁶⁸ (Text demonstration). I write my own texts the moment I think of them, and then I sing them.

-What are the elements of the *saeta* chant?

Right now, the melody of the *saeta* is purely flamenco style. I don't much like the current style of *saetas*, I prefer the classical style. Today, performers do fusions and modern styles, and I prefer the classical style, as in the paintings. Like singing, an opera is always an opera. The flamenco should always be flamenco and the *saeta* should always be simply *saeta*. If the *saeta* was one more of the flamenco *palos* (style, type), it would be in the festivals and would be performed as one more of the flamenco *palos*. But it is not. The *saeta* is only performed in the church (I have worked on bringing back the *saeta*

⁴⁶⁸ Those are examples of processional images pertaining to brotherhoods with the same names.

inside the churches, or from the balconies during Holy Week. Although I like the *saetas* performed close to the *pasos* (processional tracks) where I can see the face of the image.

-Is there anything else you would like to say?

I told you that I invented *saetas* with the texts of *Padre Nuestro* and *Ave Maria*, and my recording is in the Vatican. Because in 1929, when the International Iberic-American Fair took place in Seville, they took the representative chants from Seville to Pope Pius XI. The bell ringers (*campanilleros*), who performed the *Rosario de la Aurora* on sunrise, a *saeta* performed by *La Niña de la Alfalfa*, and the *Seises* chant. In 1996, when I visited the Vatican and had the chance to tell my *saeta* history, I wanted the Pope John Paul II, to have my *saeta* disque, the recording of Angelita Yruela, together with the recording of my teacher, *La Niña de la Alfalfa*. So, my disque is there; the furthest I took my *saeta* chant was to Rome. I have also taken it to Barcelona, to Madrid, wherever I have been, the *saeta* came with me. It is part of me. I do not know if I am attached to it, or the *saeta* is attached to me.

-How did you study with your teacher, *La Niña de la Alfalfa*?

The flamenco world was always underestimated as unsophisticated: The performers did not go to school; they were almost always from lower classes in those days. Not today, thank God. *La Niña de la Alfalfa* succeeded by wanting to be something. Her husband worked in City Hall, she was educated, and had an interest in the chant, above all in the chant. In 1929, when the King of Spain came to Seville to inaugurate the International Iberic-American Fair, there was a performance behind a curtain, because it was

prohibited back then for women to perform in public. (*La Niña de la Alfalfa*) performed some *Ida y Vuelta* chants, a *colombiana*, and then she was asked to sing a *saeta*. She performed the *saeta* and when she finished the King wanted to meet her. When they met, the chanter said, “I toast the Spanish King!” The King replied, “And I toast the *saeta* Queen!” After that, he sponsored her singing career and sent her to study in Italy. She performed opera, as well, but never wanted to forget her Andalusian roots and created her own *saeta* in the *carcelera* style. She performed operas with Hipólito Lázaro during that time. I do not sing opera, but I have learned her style and after 60 years, I have compiled the history of the *saeta*. I have recorded a *saeta* that I recovered belonging to *La Niña de la Alfalfa* and Manuel Centeno in pure flamenco *martinete* and *seguidilla* styles. (*Saeta demonstration*).

2.ROBERTO NARVÁEZ⁴⁶⁹



-What nationalities or people with their religions claim to own the *saeta* chant?

Mainly Andalusia because here there are the oldest Franciscan convents in Spain.

Specifically related to Marchena, outside the village, the first Franciscan convent was founded in 1420. Inside the village, there was another Franciscan convent, founded in 1530. The name of *saeta* comes from the Franciscan and Dominican monks. These monks are in many Andalusian villages, and from them started the name of *saeta*.

However, those *saetas* were not intended for the images (of the tracks of the Holy Week processions), but these religious orders (Franciscans and Dominicans), used the *saeta* to

⁴⁶⁹ <https://youtu.be/v1v1Uu9pvHk>

convert people, for repentance, and it was performed in the streets by the religious people. These prayers sang out loud were known with the name *saetas*. They do not have anything to do with the *saetas* performed to the images (of the processions).

-How old could be the *saeta* chant and what do we know about them?

There is much written about this topic. In Marchena, there is conserved the oldest (score of) *saeta* in Spain. The oldest written document about a *saeta* in Marchena is from the end of the 17th century and beginning of the 18th. But the *saeta* must be studied musically, because the oldest documents about the chant say that it is already a musical practice for many years. But we do not have the date when *saetas* started to be performed to the images. The ones performed on the streets out of repentance are from the 14th, 15th, even 16th centuries, until those religious *saetas* passes from the religious figures to the people.

-What regions could have the roots of the *saetas*?

There are many Andalusian villages where there were Franciscan convents, and they had their *saetas*. But these *saetas* are disappeared now because they were not used for a long time. There are still Andalusian villages that have their own style of *saetas*. In Marchena, we have conserved up to ten different styles and some others that were lost.

-What types of *saetas* are there?

There are many types of *saetas*, but they are not documented or catalogued. Each Andalusian village, where there was a Franciscan order, or convent, had their own *saeta*, which were lost in time. They are all different: the *saeta* from Marchena is different from

the ones from Puebla de Cazalla, Castro del Río, Puente Genil, Lucena, or Cabra. All the region of Arahal and Parada. There are two main sources of the old *saeta*, the primitive *saeta*. The province of Córdoba and the province of Seville. In Córdoba, there are the villages of Puente Genil, Cabra, Lucena, Montalbán, and in the city of Córdoba there is an old *saeta* (type). In Seville, there is Marchena (as a principal source). In the village of Córdoba, castro del Río, there are 10 different types of *saetas*, and in Marchena, there are 11 types. Arahal has its own type of *saetas*, Paradas has a different one, the Puebla de Cazalla village, another one, Villaverde del Río has also its own type. We are all conserving all these very old types of *saetas*.

-Does the *saeta* chant have a big cultural significance for Spain, and what would this significance be?

The main purpose of the *saeta* is a religious one: as religious education, as a praise, or as a plea or supplication. It also can be a confession of the *saeta* singer, who would confess to the image of the processions. And, of course, as a devotion to the image. The people started sing *saetas* to the images. Unlike before, when the *saeta* was only performed by the clergy, at some point, the devoted started singing, too. The music passed to the people, and they made it their own. They made the *saeta* their own chant using different melodies, the ones they knew, such as: Gregorian, Arab, or Moorish. All these types of music were mixed and formed a different type of *saeta*.

-What kind of music is the *saeta*, is it religious or folkloric?

It is totally religious. It is not folkloric. It could be a little bit folkloric, which is also not true, when the *saeta* is in flamenco style. The *saeta* is a religious chant as much now as before. Even the flamenco type *saeta* is also religious, it has a sense of a prayer. The flamenco *saeta* has more musical evolution, but without a doubt, it is a religious chant and a prayer.

-Besides in Spain, in which other countries there are *saetas*?

I have been to Italy, but in Italy they do not sing *saetas*. I know of a chant in New Mexico that is a song like *saeta*, called *alabados*. I have that recording at home, in Marchena. A professor from New Mexico gave it to me. I have listened to it, and it is a chant that reminds our *saeta*, it is very close to it. New Mexico and Mexico had Spanish influence. There were Franciscan monks also in New Mexico, Mexico, and all South America. There was a transcendence.

-How do you study *saetas*, who writes the texts?

The texts have been preserved over time, but the important thing is to keep the music, which is what gets lost. There are some *saeta* styles that have been lost in Marchena. And other villages completely lost their *saeta* styles. The *saeta* chant is orally transmitted, from fathers to sons, that is how it was transmitted. In the 19th century, there were no recordings, it is since the 20th century when we have recordings. There are many lost *saeta* styles. The transmission is without any doubt oral from fathers to their sons. In Marchena, that oral transmission has given us lots of *saeta* styles, and others are lost. I

have recovered many styles in the *saeta* School of Marchena. Studying *saetas* is an oral practice because there are very few written scores. What is notated of the *saetas* dates from the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, from when we have notated *saetas*. Before that, it was always an oral transmission.

-Who are the most important *saeta* performers in the last 80 or 100 years?

The most important performers of the *saeta* are the people, the people from the villages. We cannot talk about artists because the *saeta* is not artistic, although there are people that sing that way, the *saeta* belongs to the people. People sing for the people, and for the images. We cannot talk about artists or *saeta* geniuses, because the *saeta* is not a professional chant. It is a chant of prayer, a liturgy, and the owner of this is the people.

-What writers or poets wrote about *saetas*?

There are a lot of books about *saetas*, but I am talking about the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. The brothers Álvarez-Quintero, Antonio Machado. There are many authors that wrote about the *saeta*.

-Are there any movies with *saetas*?

There are a lot of documentaries about the *saeta*. There are also movies with a *saeta* performance. In documentaries, TV movies, or in the cinema, every time they represent Holy Week, there is always a *saeta*.

-What are the elements of the *saeta* chant?

The principal element is religiousness. I do not think the *saeta* is a folkloric chant at all. Yes, it is a chant of a cultural tradition, but the real meaning of the *saeta* is the prayer, the

performed prayer of the people to the images as a form of confession, supplication, repentance, or devotion. All this forms the prayer. Without any doubt it is a religious chant.

-What is the reaction of the Vatican towards the *saetas*?

There are *saeta* singers that have performed for Pope Pablo the VI. The Church considers the *saeta* as a prayer, no doubts about that. *Saetas* have been performed in the Vatican.

-Are there people from other countries that have learned *saetas*?

I don't know.

-Would it be a joy if a foreigner learned a *saeta*?

Yes, very much. What foreigners like very much is the flamenco style *saeta* because it is very connected to the flamenco chant. Foreigners like *saetas* very much. Once I performed a *saeta* in flamenco style on the street and a foreigner came and told me "Thank you for singing a copla!".

-How old is the Marchena School of *Saetas*?

It has existed since 1985. It was created to avoid losing our *saetas*. The old *saeta* singers were dying and the *saetas* were disappearing with them. Then I decided to create a school, which was a sensation back then. People said to me that the *saetas* could not be learned in school, it passed from fathers to sons. But the old people were dying, and the young were not preserving the tradition.

-Are there any music scores of *saetas*?

Yes, I have scores of *saetas*. I have some old *saeta* scores: *Las Quintas* and *Sextas de Cristo*, *Las Quartas de Nuestro Padre Jesús*, *Las Cuartas de la Humildad*. I have some scores that are very complicated because the old *saetas* used half steps and quarter steps.

-Is this an influence from other musics?

No doubt about it. Our old *saeta* has an Arab and Moorish origin. Also, Gregorian music is mixed there. Gregorian music. (*Saeta* demonstration of quarter steps). This *saeta* is a *Sexta del Cristo de San Pedro*. It is called *Sexta* because it has six verses. It is very old, the oldest known *saeta* in Spain, and it is from the end of the 17th century. It is still performed in Marchena, and it is preserved there. The story of this *saeta* is about the image of the *Cristo de San Pedro* that went out in the processions in 1550 and it was in a Dominican convent. Then, there is no doubt that the Dominican monks sang old *saetas*, until the members of the brotherhoods took those *saetas* and added different texts and music, dedicated them to the Passion of Christ. The clergy sang *saetas* like this on the streets: (*saeta* demonstration). And it did not have anything to do with the images of the processions. But this brotherhood (San Pedro?), at the end of the 17th century, made this music theirs, approximately the same as the clergy performed it, with their own musical expression, but with texts pointed to the images of the Lord and the Virgin.

-Can you give us an example of a modern *saeta*?

A more developed *saeta*? This is the *saeta Carceleras de La Soledad*. The previous one that I performed was from the 17th century. We will go now to the 19th century. (*Saeta*

demonstration). This one is from the beginning of the 19th century. And its name is *Cuarta del Señor de la Humildad*. And now, a flamenco *saeta*, from the 20th century. The flamenco joins the *saeta* and the *saeta* loses its simple and old style. Through different styles (*tercios de martinete*, *tercios de carceleras*), the *saeta* adapts to the flamenco style. (*Saeta* demonstration).

-Why does the *saeta* make people cry?

Because it has a big amount of sentimental content. The *saeta* performer confesses, talks about his calamities, and prays to the Virgin. All that is a matter of feelings and heart. A lot of heart.

3.MANUEL CUEVAS⁴⁷⁰



-This is Manuel Cuevas. I would like to ask you, what do you know about the history of the *saeta*?

Well, the *saeta* is a chant that becomes bigger and bigger over time. It was enriched by the flamenco and its nuances. I do not really study the *saeta*. I just sing them; it is my passion. My people were all very religious, and before, it was different, it was a people's chant. Anyone could sing and it was their way of expression and a prayer to the image. Over time, it was enriched with other elements, but I think the *saeta* always existed. It is a prayer to the images.

-How did you learn to sing *saetas*?

My father is a good *saeta* singer and since I was a child, he always took me to the *saeta* competitions in my village. There is this famous competition that has existed for twenty-six, twenty-seven years now, and it is called El Carmentor. Since I was a child, he took

⁴⁷⁰ <https://youtu.be/iow5faWqtLw>

me to competitions to listen to the *saeta* singers. My aunt, from my mother's side, also sings *saetas* very well. Also, on the streets, on the balconies, it is something that we always lived with. My village is very traditional, and it has always been very connected to the *saeta* chant.

-What is the way to learn a *saeta*?

The truth is, I have very good friends that have great skills, and I ask them why they do not sing *saetas*. Because when it is the *saeta* time (Passover), there is no flamenco. And for us, flamenco performers, it is good to perform *saetas* during that time because it is an entire month full of *saeta* performances. We can use that time to perform *saetas*. But not all big flamenco singers are *saeta* singers as well. I think that the *saeta*, besides being a very challenging chant, you must feel it. I would not be able to perform a *saeta* and not finish it exhausted or even getting emotional. I finish singing (a *saeta*) and it is like the *siguirilla* in flamenco: if you sing a *siguirilla* you cannot smile or not think about what you are singing. You need to think about the tragedy. The *saeta* is a prayer and that is your way to express it. I am also very religious, of course.

-What do you see in people's eyes when you are performing a *saeta*? Do you think they are feeling the same thing as you are when you sing?

I do not look at the people when I sing. Afterwards, when seeing people's reactions is when I know that they liked it, that you shared that moment with them. I feel happy and fulfilled when I know that people perceived what I wanted to tell them. But I always look at the image and I see even beyond the image. I go in my own world and at that moment

it is only me singing not to the image, but to what we believers think is behind it. And I thank God to be able to do that.

-Is the *saeta* religious music, or also folkloric?

Thank God more and more the *saeta* has been demonstrating that it is a very rich chant and because of its enrichment from the flamenco, there are more *saeta* shows. There is also a way to orchestrate them. What I can tell you from my experience when I have been performing in important music halls, such as the Maestranza Theater, is that when you see three thousand people stand and clap, that must be for something. I think the *saeta* has its moment, because if it is not during Holy Week, I personally do not like performing it. But people know that I sing well, and they ask me to perform in August. For example, I am at a festival somewhere, during the summer, and the audience asks for a *saeta*. It has its times. It is like the *villancicos* are only performed during Christmas. It is beautiful music, but it has its moment. It is not like the flamenco that can be performed during the entire year.

-Are there places outside Andalusia where you know of performances of *saetas*?

I was last year in Paris, and we had flamenco performances. I always had to finish the performances with a *saeta*. The truth is that I was surprised. But I think that its roots and the place where it is better understood, is in Andalusia.

-What was the reaction of the people of Paris to the *saeta*?

I performed it the first night a *saeta* at the end. We had to do a second performance, because they ran out of tickets for the first night. People were asking already if I would perform a *saeta* the second night, too, after the flamenco recital.

-Who are the *saeta* singers you admire?

I admire Rogelio Barrera very much. He was an old singer, whom I did not even meet. Not only because of his incredible skills, but the way he reached the audience. He used to perform *saetas* in *carceleras* type and they were so beautiful. I think he was the one that established himself as the reference for the *carceleras* type of *saeta*. When a *saeta* lover thinks of that type of *saeta*, he always comes to mind. He was the best one singing that type and he was not even a professional. Other singers that I like are Vasijo, La Niña de los Peines, or El Gloria. There have been very good *saeta* singers. But I think it is different the way *saeta* is being performed from the 80s until now. It has changed a lot and I think it has been enriched. I have colleagues that are very good *saeta* performers, such as Kiki de Castilblanco, who, apart from being a friend of mine, is incredibly talented. With him, together we start singing *saetas* on Palm Sunday (Holy Week), and we finish on Easter Sunday, and he has the same abilities as the first day. He has incredible skills. Also, Raul Montesinos, also a friend of mine. My brother, Evaristo Cuevas.

-Where do you think the *saeta* is going? Is it going to develop even more outside Andalusia? What future do you see for the *saeta*?

I think the *saeta* is the less known flamenco. From experience, I always take flamenco dance with me abroad, because the audience there is interested in the dance if they do not understand Spanish. They are more attracted to the dance. With the *saeta* you must be very careful. For example, I do not understand opera, but I can listen to Pavarotti and cry the same way I have cried with Camarón⁴⁷¹. And this is for a reason. I believe that if when you perform a *saeta* you are careful to transmit what this *saeta* is about, you can reach everyone. The singer and the audience need to have sensibility.

-Do you know of any other countries where *saetas* have been performed? In Latin America, for example?

I do not know. There was an Argentinian team that came to my village to record me singing, but I have not heard from them again. They were very happy with the recording.

-Do you know any movies that have *saetas*?

There are some Spanish movies with *saetas*. But they are the old *saetas*, and they have nothing to do with ones performed today. They are like Gregorian chant, they are simpler. (Flamenco *saeta* demonstration).

⁴⁷¹ Flamenco singer.

4. RAQUEL CANTERO⁴⁷²

-Where does the *saeta* come from?

What I can tell you about your question is that nowadays, the *saeta* is a flamenco chant, it is the chant that the flamenco artists perform towards the images of the processions that go on our streets and squares during Holy Week. So, where does this flamenco *saeta* come from? The most accepted theories defend that this flamenco *saeta* comes from a process of flamenco-ization of an old *saeta*, a simple and primitive one. It was a popular *saeta*, one that common people performed. Around mid-19th century, the flamenco artists take that melody and give it a strictly flamenco aesthetic such as making longer phrases, introduce embellishments, melisma, or Arabic style vocal ornaments. In other words, they convert it in a difficult piece, one that not anyone can perform, but people with special vocal skills can perform. This process of flamenco-ization is easy to trace through the discography. If we listen to the first *saeta* recordings, at the end of the 19th century, we can observe that the melodic pattern of that *saeta* is very similar to the one of the old, simple, and popular *saeta*. Clearly, this is because the ones that are recording are flamenco artists. Next question that we should ask ourselves, I think, is: where does this old, simple, and popular *saeta* come from? The truth is that we still do not know, it is still a mystery. Why is that? Because, as we said before, the old *saeta* is a popular chant, an

⁴⁷² https://youtu.be/dPtidB_nfWI

oral tradition, and we cannot state any conclusions because there are not written sources related to it. However, although we do not have any written sources, we do have indications that allow us to build an historical approximation to *saeta*'s evolution. The first documented references about the *saeta*, connect it to the missionary atmosphere of Spain during the 17th and 18th centuries. We need to remember that this is a socio-cultural period affected by the counter-reform. Therefore, what does the Church intend? It developed several mechanisms of ideological control of the population, most of which were illiterate. The intention was avoiding a contamination of the dangerous ideas, according to the Church, coming from the new wave of spiritual reformation. Among those mechanisms that the Church used to indoctrinate the population in the truthful Christian faith, there are the popular missions. Those popular missions were developed during the 17th and 18th centuries, they had similar structure everywhere, and were composed by different acts. It has been proved that in all these acts, the preaching friars used *saetas*. We know that the missionaries sang *saetas* during the night processions, with which started the missions, and as a way of attracting people. Also, there were *saetas* performed before and after the sermons, on the Way to the Cross, or during the penitence processions. In other words, the religious used the *saeta* chant in different acts of the mission. From a literary point of view, they are couplets of two, three, and four verses with the theme centered around preventing the sinners of the danger of dying in sin. They are sententious warnings. An example of a missionary *saeta* or *saeta del*

desengaño, as it is also called, according to some sources.⁴⁷³ (Reciting example.) This is from the literary point of view. From a musical point of view, we do not know how these missionary *saetas* sounded because there is no auditive documentation. We only have some descriptions that allow us to have an idea, but this information is very little. We do know that the missionaries performed those *saetas* in a mournful way.... Sometimes, those missionary *saetas* were not even sung. Instead, they were recited with a measured and resounding voice. The goal was to emotionally appeal to the audience and put the people in the state that the Church wanted. If we carefully analyze what relation these missionary *saetas* have to the other ones that are performed during Holy Week to the images, we will see that the relation is purely nominal. But they are completely different manifestations. This is because the *saeta* we sing during Holy Week to the images on the processions, have different content. They are narrative *saetas*, they tell us and explain to us the different episodes of the Passion of Christ. Sometimes, they are even laudatory *saetas*... But it was considered a tasteless and provincial custom, not in accordance with the spirit of the big city, as Sevilla was. This couplet, those romances, and those chants left a mark in the popular memory until the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, when the *saeta* is part of the customs of Holy Week and a way to express the faith.

⁴⁷³ “El arco de horror acaba todo cuanto el mundo alaba.” “Si algún pecado callaste, en la confesión que hiciste, pero que entraste, saliste.” (Translation) “The bow of horror ends all that the world praises.” “If any sin thou didst keep silent, in the confession thou didst make, but that thou wentest in, thou wentest out.”

-Where can we find the roots of the *saeta*?

We do not exactly know. For that reason, I am saying that we are facing a chant with a popular origin. There are no documents that allow us to confirm that the *saeta* comes from “here” or “there”. We do not know. However, if we go back to the period of the Catholic Kings (Ferdinand and Isabella), we know that there was a moment where the three cultures coexisted. In fact, we know, because there are documents, that there were Jewish and Arab chanters who participated in the rituals of the Catholic Church. All that blended and once there was the expulsion (of the Jews and the Arabs), this sediment stayed there. It is very difficult, after that blending, to separate it. And that sediment would also cross to the popular layer. Now, trying to find out from which is what, I think, that would be impossible.

-Besides Spain, are there other countries where the *saeta* exists?

Yes. There are places outside Spain where *saetas* are performed, but it is, logically, because of the Spanish influence there. Besides, it is quite old tradition, and we need to go back to the Conquest of the Americas, which entailed an important transmission of culture in both directions: from Spain to Hispano-America, and from Hispano-America to Spain. Evangelizing friars left from Spain to the Americas to evangelize the Indies. They took with them the romances, the couplets, and their rites. In fact, in New Mexico, I think, there is a chant that is called *alabados*.

-Are the *saetas* religious music or folkloric?

Maybe both. The thing is that about the musical origin of the *saeta* there are several theories. There is a theory that tries to connect the *saeta* to the chant of the muezzins to call for prayers. Another theory tried to connect it to Jewish chants, with the *Kol Nidrei* chant. This is a chant to ask forgiveness for the Jews. Also, another theory, logically, tried to connect the *saeta* with church chants. We do not know. There are no documents to prove it. We can choose one or another theory and some will be more accurate than others, but we cannot say scientifically that the *saeta* comes from “here” or “there.”

Everything leads, from my point of view to the theory that says that the *saeta* comes from a liturgical chant of the Church. The old *saeta* chant, not only exists in Andalusia. It exists in the region of Extremadura, Alicante, or Madrid, but with other, different, names. They are not known as *saetas*, but as popular chants of Holy Week. The fact that this melody exists in different places in Spain, makes us think that it had to come from a very strong and powerful institution, which institutionalized it in the rites. For that reason, its expression is very uniform in all these geographical points. We do not know, but it is possible that this theory is the one with the most weight.

-Is the *saeta* very important for Spanish culture?

Yes, logically the *saeta* has a big significance for Spanish culture. It is true that its roots are in Andalusia. It is also true that the *saeta* chant, the popular one, is spread through Spain, as the famous researcher Blas Vega argued. But the flamenco *saeta* is also starting to expand through Spain. There are more and more places that call the *saeta* singers to

perform in their Holy Week processions in Andalusia, Extremadura, Madrid, Bilbao, and many other places. It is a custom that is expanding through the entire Peninsula.

-How do you learn *saetas*?

To be able to sing them? Well, as you study any other musical piece. In the case of flamenco performers, by listening over and over, and by memorizing the melody and the texts. Usually, we choose a source that we consider trustworthy, a singer or a chanter that we really like, and we try to sound like the way in which this person sings. But we also try to put something aside from our own personality.

-Who are the famous *saeta* singers in the last 80 or 100 years?

There are many. From Enrique El Mellizo on, we are talking about the 19th century here, it was said about him that he performed flamenco *saetas*. He may be the first one that performed *saeta* in flamenco style. This is a very risky statement, but this is the oral tradition, right? So, Enrique El Mellizo, Don Antonio Chacón, La Niña de los Peines, Manuel Centeno, a very important singer from Seville, La Niña de la Alfalfa, and so many others. Other current singers are Angelita Yruela and my friend Manuel Cuevas. There are so many out there.

-Are there movies with *saetas*? Did the *saeta* make it into the movies?

Yes, there are *saetas* in the movies. Yes, for sure... There is a moment, in the history of the flamenco *saeta*, when it is performed not only on the streets during Holy Week, but also on any occasion a *saeta* could be performed. There are *saeta* performances in theaters, in competitions, or in flamenco performances. There are many posters from that

period that announce a flamenco show and a *saeta* competition or a movie projection with a live *saeta* performance in it. Therefore, for sure the *saeta* made it into the cinema.

-What poets and writers wrote *saetas* or about *saetas*?

The old *saetas* have people's roots. However, once it goes to the people, and from them to the flamenco performers, there are several poets who give attention to it. Then, some authored *saetas* begin to appear. But in time, these *saetas*, which are also orally transmitted, the authorship gets lost. It goes to the wide world of anonymity, as well.

-Are there *saeta* scores?

There are scores of *saetas*, but the old ones. In fact, the first time there was a notation of a *saeta*, is in 1874. It appears in the *Cancionero* by Eduardo Ocón. There is a melody and the text is: "Caminando con la cruz, por la calle (de) la amargura, fatigado con la cruz, encontró la Virgen Pura, Madre del ... (?)." This is the first *saeta* we know the melody of. And it is very similar to the old *saeta* that exists today in many villages of Andalusia and Extremadura. Rodríguez Marín, in his *Cantos populares españoles*, also collects a *saeta* score. Those are always the old *saetas*. Father García Barruso Patrocinio, also has a score of the old *saeta*. Federico de Valencina, as well. There are several scores of old *saetas*. The problem is that the first one we know of, appears quite late. It would have been interesting to have a score of an old *saeta* that would allow us to see its melody from earlier times... The *saeta* is flamenco. It is flamenco because the flamenco performers make it flamenco. The *saeta* is today, a style within flamenco... The old *saeta* is a simple *saeta*, one that almost anyone can sing because it does not demand a big vocal

instrument. For example, (*Saeta* demonstration). This is an old *saeta*. Obviously, it sounds a bit flamenco because I am a flamenco performer. But the old ladies that performed it before, from which I took this *saeta*, sound much simpler. (*Saeta* demonstration). Much more lineal and simpler.

APPENDIX E

Translated *saeta* texts from the *saeta* text compiled by Agustín Aguilar y Tejera.⁴⁷⁴

THE SAETA

*The first saeta was born
At the foot of the cross
And she wrapped itself in a sigh
From the mother of Jesus.*

*Seven silver saetas
Destroying your heart
And from the blood you spill
Seven stanzas have been born.*

EXITING PROCESSIONS

*The Lord is at the door
From the Temple of Truth
And life.
Come, people, revive and wake up
The faith that to a God of goodness
We are due.*

*The Lord is coming out,
Come, people, to follow his example,
His favors to ask:
Come and you will receive
The blessing in the temple.*

OF CONVENTS

*Come, Mother of Consolation,
Come out nuns of Santa Clara
And you will see through your veil
Of Glory the clear light
Of the Empress of heaven.*

*Come, you daughters of Zion,
To accompany this Mother
Who is alone on Calvary*

⁴⁷⁴ Aguilar y Tejera, *Saetas populares*.

There is no one to accompany her.

CARCELERAS

*Christ of the Expiration
Who gets out this afternoon,
Give the blessing
To the inmates of the prison,
We beg your pardon.*

*Christ of the Expiration,
Pride of Triana,
Who is the King of the piety
To the inmates of the prison,
Give them health and freedom.*

...

PRAYERS FOR THE SICK

*Open, Mother, the window,
Passes by the brotherhood:
I die, and I want to see
My God in agony
I want to die with him!*

*Help beg for the sick
Who is in his bed
And ask for remedies,
Of the blood you shed,
From your crown of thorns.*

VARIOUS

*Lights two by two,
Stars four by four
Light the Redeemer
The night of Holy Thursday.*

...

*Father of mine, let it not rain
On Good Friday morning,
When the seven gifts come forth
And the powers of the soul.*

...

*At the funeral concert
To his divine memory
The men play for death
And the angels to Gloria.*

...

*My Father of Jesus,
I'm begging you on my knees
Catch the killers
From the Seville Express.*

...

*At the foot of Sierra Nevada
They are doing a convent
Of fine stone carved,
For the Holy Sacraments
And His holy Majesty.*

APPENDIX F

Schedule of *Saeta* Performances During the Holy Week Processions in Jerez

Viernes de Dolores. 8 de abril

19 horas. A.C. Amigos de Estella a la Agrupación Parroquial de Nuestro Padre Jesús del Amor de Estella del Marqués.

Canta: Lucía Aliaño.

Sábado de Pasión. 9 de abril

17 horas. Peña La Zúa a la Agrupación Parroquial de Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Humildad de la Capilla Barbadillo.

Canta: Macarena de Jerez.

21 horas. Tertulia Flamenca Pepe Alconchel a la Hermandad de la Sagrada Mortaja de Capuchinos.

Canta: Alberto Sánchez 'El Almendro'.

Domingo de Ramos. 10 de abril

18.45. Hermandad del Transporte en Calle Gaitán, 7.

Canta: Eva del Cristo

23.50 horas. Hermandad de la Coronación en Gaspar Fernández esquina con Bizcocheros.

Canta: Manuel Fernández 'Borrigo'

Lunes Santo. 11 de abril

18.30. Hermandad de la Candelaria en Calle Guadalete, 12.

Canta: José Méndez

23.55. Hermandad de la Sagrada Cena en Plaza San Marcos, 5

Canta: Juan de la Bárbara.

Martes Santo. 12 de abril

Sin Hora. En la Peña Tío José de Paula al paso de la Hermandad de los Judíos de San Mateo.

Cantan: Joaquín Fernández y Rafael Reguera.

23.30 horas. Hermandad del Desconsuelo en Plaza San Lucas.

Cantan: 1º y 2º Premio Nacional de *Saeta*.

Miércoles Santo. 13 de abril

17.30 horas. C.C.F. Don Antonio Chacón a la Hermandad de las Tres Caídas. Balcón Plaza San Lucas.

Canta: Coral de los Reyes.

17.30 horas. Peña El Pescaero a la Hermandad del Consuelo a su paso por El Pelirón.

Canta: Eva del Cristo.

18.15 horas. Hermandad del Desconsuelo en Calle Porvera, 38.

Canta: Macarena de Jerez.

19.30 horas. Peña Luis de la Pica a la Hermandad del Prendimiento a su salida de Santiago.

Canta: Rafael del Zambo.

23 horas. Hermandad de las Tres Caídas en Plaza Belén, 9.

Canta: Elu de Jerez.

01:00 horas. Hermandad de la Amargura en Iglesia de los Descalzos.

Canta: Juan Lara.

Jueves Santo. 14 de abril

23.30 horas. Hermandad de la Vera Cruz en Calle San Juan, 4.

Canta: Manuel de Cantarote.

Viernes Santo (madrugada). 15 de abril

01:55 horas. Hermandad de San Miguel en San Miguel, 16.

Canta: Tomás Rubichi.

02:30 horas. Peña Los Cernícalos a la Hermandad de la Yedra en balcón de la Albacería en Cruz Vieja.

Canta: Ana de los Reyes.

Viernes Santo. 15 de abril

17 horas. Peña La Bulería a la Hermandad del Cristo desde el balcón de su sede.

Canta: José 'El Berenjeno'.

19.30 horas. P.F. La Barca de la Florida a la Hermandad del Santísimo Cristo de la Piedad. Barca de la Florida.

Canta: Tomás Rubichi.

Sin hora.⁴⁷⁵ Desde el palco del Casino de Labradores A.F. Fernando Terremoto a la Hermandad de las Viñas.

Canta: Lidia Hernández.

21 horas. Hermandad del Loreto en Carpintería Baja, 14.

Canta: José 'El Berenjeno'.

01:00 horas. Hermandad de la Soledad en Porvera, 57.

Canta: Lidia Hernández.

⁴⁷⁵ This “sin hora” schedule could be the only time that the *saeta* chanting has been improvised. Although it does not say the time, the information does point to the way that the procession will take and that the *saeta* will be performed somewhere along that way.

APPENDIX G

COMPARISON OF THE HOLY WEEK BROTHERHOODS OF SEVILLE AND MARCHENA

This is a comparison of the Brotherhoods and Cofradías of Seville and Marchena. The number of groups in Seville is much higher than the groups of Marchena. The number of brotherhoods that process during the Holy Week is much lower than the total.

The organization of the Brotherhoods can be by character or typology:

1.Character

Penitential⁴⁷⁶

Levitical⁴⁷⁷

Sacramentals and of Religious Pilgrimage⁴⁷⁸

2. Typology

Third or Religious Order⁴⁷⁹

Archconfraternity or principal confraternity⁴⁸⁰

Confraternity, Brotherhood, Congregation or Pious Union⁴⁸¹

Subconfraternity⁴⁸²

⁴⁷⁶ Penitenciales

⁴⁷⁷ Levíticas

⁴⁷⁸ Sacramentales y de ánimas romeras

⁴⁷⁹ Orden tercera o religiosa

⁴⁸⁰ ArchiCofradía o Cofradía matriz

⁴⁸¹ Cofradía, Hermandad, Congregación o Pía Unión

⁴⁸² Subcofradía

Parish group or Brotherhood Association⁴⁸³

Association of the faithful and Cultural Association⁴⁸⁴

SEVILLE⁴⁸⁵

1. Humilde y Fervorosa Hermandad y Cofradía de Nazarenos de Nuestro Padre Jesús despojado de sus vestiduras, María Santísima de los Dolores y Misericordia, Mayor Dolor de Nuestra Señora, San Juan Evangelista, San Bartolomé Apóstol y San Antonio María Claret
2. Real y Fervorosa Hermandad Sacramental del Señor San Sebastián y Ntra. Sra. del Prado y Cofradía de Nazarenos de Ntro. Padre Jesús de la Victoria y María Santísima de la Paz
3. Antigua, Real, Ilustre y Fervorosa Hermandad Sacramental Esclavitud de Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación y Cofradía de Nazarenos de la Sagrada Cena, Santísimo Cristo de la Humildad y Paciencia y Nuestra Señora del Subterráneo
4. Real e Ilustre Hermandad Sacramental de la Inmaculada Concepción, Franciscana, Primitiva y Cisterciense Cofradía de Nazarenos de la Piedad de Nuestra Señora, Santísimo Cristo de la Buena Muerte, Santa María Magdalena y María Santísima de la Hiniesta Dolorosa y Gloriosa Coronada
5. Real, Ilustre y Fervorosa Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento, Pura y Limpia Concepción y Ánimas Benditas, Santísimo Cristo de San Agustín y Hermandad de Nazarenos de Nuestro Padre Jesús de las Penas y Nuestra Señora de Gracia y Esperanza
6. Pontificia, Real, Ilustre y Fervorosa Hermandad Sacramental y Cofradía de Nazarenos de Nuestro Padre Jesús de las Penas, María Santísima de la Estrella, Triunfo del Santo Lignum Crucis, San Francisco de Paula y Santas Justa y Rufina
7. Pontificia, Real e Ilustre Hermandad Sacramental y Cofradía de Nazarenos de Nuestro Padre Jesús del Silencio en el Desprecio de Herodes, María Santísima de la Amargura Coronada, San Juan Evangelista y Santa Angela de la Cruz
8. Primitiva archicofradía Pontificia y Real Hermandad de Nazarenos de la Sagrada entrada en Jerusalén, Santísimo Cristo del Amor, Ntra. Señora del Socorro y Santiago Apóstol
9. Fervorosa y trinitaria Hermandad del Santísimo Sacramento y Cofradía de Nazarenos de Nuestro Padre Jesús cautivo y rescatado, Nuestra Señora del Rosario Doloroso, San Juan de mata y San Ignacio de Loyola
10. Real e Ilustre Hermandad del Santísimo Sacramento y Cofradía de Nazarenos de Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Redención en el Beso de Judas, María Santísima del Rocío, Nuestra Señora del Carmen, San Fernando Rey y San Lucas Evangelista

⁴⁸³ Agrupación Parroquial o ProHermandad

⁴⁸⁴ Asociación de Fieles Asociación Cultural

⁴⁸⁵ <https://www.CofradiasyHermandades.es/ficha localidad.php?l=Sevilla&p=1&g=1&s=1&r=1&cc=759&g0=1&g1=1&g2=1&g3=1&g4=1&g5=1&g6=1>

11. Hermandad y Cofradía de Nazarenos del Santísimo Sacramento, Nuestro Padre Jesús Cautivo en el Abandono de sus Discípulos, y Nuestra Señora de las Mercedes Coronada y San Juan Evangelista en la Tercera Palabra, Inmaculada Milagrosa y Santa Genoveva
12. Real, muy Ilustre y Venerable Hermandad del Santísimo Sacramento, Inmaculada Concepción, Ánimas Benditas y Cofradía de Nazarenos del Santísimo Cristo de la Caridad en su Traslado al Sepulcro, Ntra. Sra. de las Penas y Santa Marta
13. Pontificia y Real Hermandad del Santísimo Sacramento y Cofradía de Nazarenos de Nuestro Padre Jesús en su Soberano Poder ante Caifás, Nuestra Señora de la Salud y San Juan Evangelista muy Antigua, siempre Ilustre, venerable, Pontificia, Real, Fervorosa, Humilde y Seráfica Hermandad y archicofradía de Nazarenos de la Santísima vera-Cruz, Sangre de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo y tristezas de María Santísima
14. Hermandad y Cofradía de Nazarenos de Nuestro Padre Jesús de las penas y María Santísima de los Dolores
15. Real, Antigua, Ilustre y Fervorosa Hermandad de la Santa Cruz y Nuestra Señora del Rosario y Archicofradía de Nazarenos del Santísimo Cristo de las Aguas, Nuestra Madre y Señora del Mayor Dolor y María Santísima de Guadalupe
16. Real, Ilustre y Fervorosa Hermandad del Santísimo Sacramento y Archicofradía de Nazarenos de la Sagrada Expiración de Ntro. Señor Jesucristo y María Stma. de las Aguas
17. Fervorosa Hermandad Sacramental y Cofradía de Nazarenos del Santísimo Cristo del Desamparo y abandono, Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Humildad y Nuestra Señora de los Dolores
18. Hermandad y Cofradía de Nazarenos del Santísimo Cristo de las almas, María Santísima de Gracia y Amparo, María Inmaculada y San Francisco Javier
19. Fervorosa Hermandad y Cofradía de Nazarenos de Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Salud y buen viaje, María Santísima Madre de los Desamparados, San Juan de Ribera y Protomártir San Esteban
20. Pontificia, Patriarcal e Ilustrísima Hermandad y Archicofradía del Santísimo Cristo de la Buena Muerte y María Santísima de la Angustia
21. Hermandad del Santísimo Sacramento, Pontificia y Real Archicofradía de Nazarenos de la Sagrada Presentación de Jesús al pueblo, Santísimo Cristo de la Sangre, Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación Coronada y San Benito Abad
22. Real, Imperial, Ilustre y Fervorosa Hermandad del Santísimo Sacramento, Ánimas Benditas, Nuestra Señora del Subterráneo y Cofradía de Nazarenos de Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Salud, María Stma. de la Candelaria y Señor San Nicolás de Bari
23. Pontificia Fervorosa, Ilustre y Antigua Hermandad y Cofradía de Nazarenos de Nuestro Padre Jesús ante Anás, Santo Cristo del Mayor Dolor, María Santísima del Dulce Nombre y San Juan Evangelista
24. Ilustre y Antigua Hermandad del Santísimo Sacramento y Nuestra Señora de la Paz, Fervorosa Cofradía de Nazarenos del Santísimo Cristo de las Misericordias, Santa María de la Antigua y Nuestra Señora de los Dolores
25. Hermandad Carmelita de las Maravillas de María y Cofradía de Nazarenos de Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Paz y Nuestra Señora del Carmen en sus Misterios Dolorosos

26. Hospitalaria Hermandad Sacramental de Congregantes de la Concepción Inmaculada de la Santísima Virgen María y Cofradía de Nazarenos del Santísimo Cristo de la Sed y Santa María de Consolación Madre de la Iglesia, San Juan Evangelista y San Juan de Dios
27. Real, Ilustre y Fervorosa Hermandad Sacramental de la Pura y Limpia Concepción de la Santísima Virgen María, Ánimas Benditas del Purgatorio y Cofradía de Nazarenos del Santísimo Cristo de la Salud, María Santísima del Refugio, Santa Cruz, Nuestra Señora del Patrocinio, Santa Bárbara y San Bernardo
28. Real, Ilustre, Antigua, Fervorosa y Franciscana Hermandad Sacramental y Cofradía de Nazarenos del Santo Sudario de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, Santísimo Cristo del Buen Fin, Nuestra Señora de la Palma Coronada, San Francisco de Asís y San Antonio de Padua
29. Imperial, Antigua, Ilustre y Fervorosa Hermandad del Santísimo Sacramento, Inmaculada Concepción de Nuestra Señora, Santa espina de la Corona de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, Ánimas Benditas del Purgatorio, San Martín de Tours Obispo, Nuestra Señora de la Esperanza Divina Enfermera y Real Archicofradía de Nazarenos de la Sagrada Lanzada de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, Nuestra Señora de Guía, San Juan Evangelista y María Santísima del Buen Fin
30. Antigua y Fervorosa Hermandad de la Santa Cruz y Cofradía de Nazarenos del Santísimo Cristo de la Misericordia y Ntra. Señora de la Piedad, Patriarca Bendito Señor San José y María Santísima de la Caridad en su Soledad
31. Pontificia, Real, Ilustre y Fervorosa Hermandad del Santísimo Cristo de Burgos, Negaciones y Lágrimas de San Pedro y Madre de Dios de la Palma
32. Real e Ilustre Hermandad Sacramental de Nuestra Señora del Rosario, Ánimas Benditas del Purgatorio y Primitiva Archicofradía del Sagrado Corazón y Clavos de Jesús, Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Divina Misericordia, Santísimo Cristo de las Siete Palabras, María Santísima de los Remedios, Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza y San Juan Evangelista
33. Pontificia, Real, Ilustre y Fervorosa Hermandad y Archicofradía de Nazarenos de Nuestro Padre Jesús del Soberano Poder en su Prendimiento, María Stma. de Regla y San Andrés Apóstol
34. Muy Antigua, Pontificia y Franciscana Hermandad y Cofradía de Nazarenos del Santísimo Cristo de la Fundación y Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles Coronada
35. Pontificia, Real e Ilustre Hermandad Sacramental Purísima Concepción Ánimas Benditas del Purgatorio, San Sebastián mártir y Archicofradía de Nazarenos del Santísimo Cristo de la Exaltación y Nuestra Señora de las Lágrimas
36. Real e Ilustre Hermandad y Cofradía de Nazarenos de la Sagrada Columna y Azotes de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo y María Santísima de la Victoria
37. Pontificia, Real, Ilustre, Antigua y Dominica Hermandad y Archicofradía de Nazarenos de la Sagrada Oración de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo en el Huerto, Santísimo Cristo de la Salud y María Santísima del Rosario en sus Misterios Dolorosos Coronada y Santo Domingo de Guzmán
38. Pontificia y Real Hermandad y archiCofradía de Nazarenos del Dulce Nombre de Jesús, Sagrado Descendimiento de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo y Quinta Angustia de María Santísima Nuestra Señora

39. Pontificia Real y Primitiva Archicofradía de Nazarenos del Santísimo Cristo de la Coronación de Espinas, Nuestro Padre Jesús con la Cruz al Hombro, Nuestra Señora del Valle y Santa Mujer Verónica
40. Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento, Pontificia y Real de Nazarenos de Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Pasión y Nuestra Madre y Señora de la Merced
41. Primitiva Hermandad de los Nazarenos de Sevilla, Archicofradía Pontificia y Real de Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazareno, Santa Cruz en Jerusalén y María Santísima de la Concepción
42. Pontificia y Real Hermandad y Cofradía de Nazarenos de Nuestro Padre Jesús del Gran Poder y María Santísima del Mayor Dolor y Traspaso
43. Real, Ilustre y Fervorosa Hermandad y Cofradía de Nazarenos de Nuestra Señora del Santo Rosario, Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Sentencia y María Santísima de la Esperanza Macarena
44. Pontificia y Real Hermandad y Cofradía de Nazarenos del Santísimo Cristo del Calvario y Nuestra Señora de la Presentación
45. Pontificia, Real e Ilustre Hermandad y Archicofradía de Nazarenos del Santísimo Sacramento, de la Pura y Limpia Concepción de la Santísima Virgen María, Santísimo Cristo de las Tres Caídas, Nuestra Señora de la Esperanza y San Juan Evangelista
46. Real, Ilustre y Fervorosa Hermandad Sacramental Animas Benditas y Cofradía de Nazarenos de Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Salud y María Santísima de las Angustias Coronada
47. Pontificia y Real Archicofradía de Nazarenos del Santísimo Cristo de la Salud, María Santísima de la Luz en el Sagrado Misterio de sus Tres Necesidades al Pie de la Santa Cruz, San Francisco de Paula, Gloriosa Resurrección de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo y Nuestra Señora del Mayor Dolor en su Soledad
48. Real, Ilustre y Franciscana Hermandad y Cofradía de Nazarenos de la Santa Cruz en el Monte Calvario, Santísimo Cristo de la Salvación y Ntra. Señora de la Soledad
49. Pontificia, Real e Ilustre Hermandad y Cofradía de Nazarenos del Santísimo Cristo de la Expiración y Nuestra Madre y Señora del Patrocinio en su Dolor y Gloria
50. Pontificia, Real e Ilustre Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento, Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazareno y María Santísima de la O
51. Antigua e Ilustre Hermandad del Santísimo Sacramento, María Santísima de las Nieves y Ánimas Benditas del Purgatorio y Pontificia y Real Archicofradía de Nazarenos de Nuestro Padre Jesús de las Tres Caídas, Nuestra Señora de Loreto y Señor San Isidoro
52. Pontificia, Real, Ilustre, Antigua y Primitiva Hermandad de Nuestra Señora del Rosario y Cofradía de Nazarenos del Santísimo Cristo de la Conversión del Buen Ladrón y Nuestra Señora de Montserrat
53. Antigua, Real e Ilustre Hermandad de Nazarenos de Nuestro Padre Jesús Descendido de la Cruz en el Misterio de su Sagrada Mortaja y María Santísima de la Piedad
54. Fervorosa y Mariana Hermandad del Santísimo Sacramento y Cofradía de Nazarenos del Triunfo de la Santa Cruz, Santo Cristo Varón de Dolores de la Divina Misericordia, Nuestra Señora del sol y San Juan Evangelista

55. Real, Ilustre y Venerable Hermandad de Nazarenos y Primitiva Cofradía Servita de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, Santísimo Cristo de la Providencia, María Santísima de la Soledad y San Marcos Evangelista
56. Pontificia, Real, Muy Ilustre y Trinitaria Hermandad Sacramental y Archicofradía de Nazarenos del Sagrado Decreto de la Santísima Trinidad, Santísimo Cristo de las Cinco Llagas, María Santísima de la Concepción, Nuestra Señora de la Esperanza Coronada y San Juan Bosco
57. Real Hermandad Sacramental del Santo Entierro de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, Triunfo de la Santa Cruz y María Santísima de Villaviciosa
58. Pontificia y Real Hermandad Sacramental, Nuestra Señora de Roca Amador, Ánimas Benditas, Beato Marcelo Spínola y Primitiva Cofradía de Nazarenos de María Santísima en su Soledad
59. Ilustre y Lasaliana Hermandad Sacramental de la Santa Cruz y Cofradía de Nazarenos de la Sagrada Resurrección de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, Nuestra Señora de la Aurora y San Juan Bautista de la Salle
60. Hermandad y Cofradía de Nazarenos de Nuestro Padre Jesús de Nazaret, María Santísima del Amor, San Marcos Evangelista y San Isidro Labrador
61. Archicofradía del Inmaculado Corazón de María, Hermandad Sacramental y Cofradía de Nazarenos del Santo Cristo de la Misión, Nuestra Señora del Amparo, San Juan Evangelista y San Antonio María Claret
62. Hermandad de Penitencia y Cofradía de Nazarenos de Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Salud y Remedios y María Santísima del Dulce Nombre en sus Dolores y Compasión
63. Hermandad de Santa María del Buen Aire y Cofradía de Nazarenos del Santísimo Cristo de Pasión y Muerte, Resurrección de Nuestro Señor y Nuestra Señora del Desconsuelo y Visitación
64. Hermandad y Cofradía del Santísimo Cristo de la Corona y Nuestra Señora del Rosario
65. Hermandad Sacramental de Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Salud y Clemencia, Santísima Virgen Madre de la Divina Gracia y San Juan de la Cruz
66. Humilde y Fervorosa Hermandad Sacramental del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús y Cofradía de Nazarenos de Nuestro Padre Jesús Cautivo ante Pilato, María Santísima de los Dolores y San Antonio de Padua
67. Humilde y Fervorosa Hermandad Sacramental y de Gloria de San José Obrero, San Francisco de Paula e Inmaculada Concepción y Cofradía de Nazarenos de Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Caridad y Nuestra Señora de los Dolores
68. Franciscana Hermandad de penitencia y Cofradía de Nazarenos de María Santísima de la Purísima Concepción, Santo Cáliz de Nuestro Padre Jesús del Divino Perdón y beata Ana María de Javouhey
69. Hermandad Sacramental de Nuestra Señora de la medalla milagrosa y Cofradía de Nazarenos de Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Esperanza en el puente del cedrón, María Santísima del Rosario y San Juan evangelista
70. Agrupación Parroquial de Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Bendición en el Santo Encuentro y Santa María de la Esperanza en su Soledad

71. Agrupación Parroquial del Santísimo Sacramento, Nuestro Señor de los Afligidos, María Santísima de las Maravillas y Santa María de la Cabeza
72. Agrupación Parroquial del Santísimo Cristo de la Paz y Nuestra Señora de la misericordia
73. Agrupación Parroquial de Nuestra Señora del Rosario, Nuestro Padre Jesús del Amor en su Divina Misericordia, María Santísima de la Salud y Santa Angela de la Cruz
74. Fervorosa Asociación de Devotos del Santísimo Cristo de los Desamparados, María Santísima de la Salud, Santo lignum Crucis, San Juan de la Cruz y Santo Ángel Custodio
75. Grupo de Fieles de María Santísima de la Caridad
76. Asociación de Fieles del Santísimo Cristo de la Humillación y Nuestra Señora del Amor
77. Asociación de Fieles Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Humildad
78. Asociación de Fieles del Santísimo Cristo de la misericordia y Nuestra Madre y Señora de la Merced
79. Asociación de Fieles de Nuestro Padre Jesús del Consuelo y Santa María del Rosario y Esperanza
80. Asociación de Nuestro Padre Jesús del Sacrificio
81. Real e Ilustre Hermandad del Santísimo Sacramento, Nuestra Señora María Santísima de la Alegría, Ánimas Benditas y San Manuel González
82. Antigua, Real e Ilustre Hermandad del Dulce Nombre de Jesús, Nuestra Señora de la Salud y San Ignacio de Loyola
83. Pontificia y Real Hermandad Sacramental de Nuestro Padre Jesús del Poder, Gloria de Nuestra Señora de la Anunciación y Beato Juan XXIII
84. Antigua, Fervorosa, Ilustre y Franciscana Hermandad del Redil Eucarístico de la Divina Pastora de las Almas
85. Antigua, Ilustre y Fervorosa Hermandad de la Pura y Limpia Concepción de la Santísima Virgen María
86. Franciscana Hermandad de Nuestra Señora de Araceli
87. Franciscana Hermandad Sacramental de la Santa Cruz y Nuestra Señora de los Desamparados
88. Real Hermandad Sevillana de Nuestra Señora de Montemayor Coronada
89. Hermandad Filial de Sevilla de Nuestra Señora del Mar, Patrona de Almería
90. Cofradía del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús
91. Hermandad del Santísimo Sacramento, Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria Madre de Dios y el Santísimo Cristo del Perdón y Caridad
92. Antigua, Real, muy Ilustre y Fervorosa Hermandad de Nuestra Señora del Carmen y Beato Marcelo Spínola, María Santísima del Rosario y Santo Domingo de Guzmán
93. Real, Ilustre y Fervorosa Hermandad y Cofradía de Nuestra Señora del Carmen
94. Real, Ilustre, Fervorosa y Antigua Hermandad de la Santa Cruz del rodeo y Nuestra Señora del Carmen
95. Ilustre y Fervorosa Hermandad Sacramental del Santísimo Cristo de la Bondad, Nuestra Señora del Carmen y San Leandro
96. Hermandad de Nuestra Señora del Carmen
Franciscana Hermandad de Nuestra Señora de guadalupe

97. Hermandad del Santísimo Sacramento, Nuestro Padre Jesús Cautivo en su Soledad y Nuestra Señora del Juncal
98. Antigua, Real e Ilustre Hermandad de Nuestra Señora de la Luz
99. Primitiva, Real, Ilustre, Venerable, Franciscana y Fervorosa Hermandad del Rebaño de la Divina Pastora de las Almas María Santísima, Emperatriz de los Cielos y de la Tierra y Santa Marina
100. Real, Ilustre y Fervorosa Hermandad de la Divina Pastora de las Almas, Patrona del Deporte Nacional, y Santa Ángela de la Cruz
101. Hermandad de Nuestra Señora de Valvanera, San Benito Abad y San Fernando Rey
102. Real, Antigua, Venerable, Ilustre y Fervorosa Hermandad Mercedaria del Patrocinio de Nuestra Señora, Santo Cristo de la Redención, Nuestra Señora de las Mercedes Coronada, San Pedro Nolasco y San Fernando Rey
103. Primitiva, Ilustre y Fervorosa Hermandad de Santa Lucía, Virgen y Mártir
104. Antigua, Real y Fervorosa Hermandad de Nuestra Señora de los Reyes, San Mateo Apóstol y San Fernando
105. Hermandad del Inmaculado Corazón de María Ç
106. Real Cofradía Sevillana de Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza de Sierra Morena
107. Hermandad de Nuestra Señora del Rosario
108. Primitiva, Real y Muy Ilustre y Fervorosa Hermandad de María Santísima del Pilar y Santiago Apóstol
109. Hermandad de Nuestra Señora del Rosario y Santo Cristo de la Paz
110. Antigua Archicofradía, Pontificia, Real e Ilustre Hermandad de Madre de Dios del Rosario, Patrona de Capataces y Costaleros de Sevilla
111. Pontificia, Real e Ilustre Hermandad, Primitiva Orden Tercera del Santísimo Rosario de la Virgen Santa María y del Gran Patriarca Santo Domingo de Guzmán
112. Humilde, Fervorosa y Sevillana Hermandad de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, Patrona de Úbeda
113. Antigua y Fervorosa Hermandad del Rosario de María Santísima de las nieves y Santa Teresa de Jesús Doctora de la Iglesia
114. Hermandad Filial de Sevilla de María Santísima de la Sierra, Patrona de Cabra
115. Real, Antigua, Ilustre y Fervorosa Hermandad Sacramental de Nuestra Señora Reina de Todos los Santos, Madre del Amor Hermoso y Medianera Universal de Todas las Gracias, y Ánimas Benditas del Purgatorio
116. Real, venerable e Ilustre Hermandad de Nuestra Señora del Amparo
117. Hermandad de Nuestra Señora del Prado
118. Ilustre y Antigua Hermandad del Santo Rey Mártir Hermenegildo
119. Hermandad de Nuestra Señora de la Antigua y San Antonio de Padua
120. Hermandad de las Benditas Ánimas del Purgatorio y Señor San Onofre
121. Pontificia e Ilustre Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento del Sagrario de la Santa Metropolitana y Patriarcal Iglesia Catedral de Sevilla
122. Real, Fervorosa y Antigua Hermandad y Cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento, Pura y Limpia Concepción de la Virgen María, Santo Rosario y Ánimas Benditas del Purgatorio de la Real Parroquia de Santa María Magdalena

- 123.Hermandad del Santísimo Sacramento y Ánimas Benditas del Purgatorio de la Parroquia de San Gil
- 124.Antigua Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento, Pura y Limpia Concepción y Ánimas Benditas
- 125.Hermandad del Santísimo Sacramento y Ánimas Benditas del Purgatorio de la Parroquia del Señor San Pedro
- 126.Hermandad Sacramental de la Parroquia del Santísimo Redentor
- 127.Hermandad Sacramental del Santísimo Corpus Christi y Nuestra Señora de la Inmaculada Concepción
- 128.Pontificia, Real, imperial, Ilustre, Fervorosa y Antigua Hermandad de Nuestra Señora del Rocío de Sevilla (Triana)
- 129.Pontificia, Real, Ilustre y Fervorosa Hermandad de Nuestra Señora del Rocío de Sevilla
- 130.Hermandad de Nuestra Señora del Rocío (Cerro del Águila)
- 131.Real, Ilustre y Fervorosa Hermandad de Nuestra Señora del Rocío de Sevilla - Sur
- 132.Real, Ilustre y Fervorosa Hermandad de Nuestra Señora del Rocío de Sevilla - Macarena
- 133.Fervorosa Hermandad y Cofradía del Redil Eucarístico de la Divina Pastora de las Almas y San Pío de Pietrelcina
- 134.Hermandad del Redil Eucarístico de la Divina Pastora de las Almas Coronada y Beato Diego José de Cádiz
- 135.Archicofradía de María Auxiliadora Coronada y San Juan Bosco
- 136.Archicofradía de Nuestra Señora del Carmen, Milagroso Niño Jesús de Praga, Esclavitud del Glorioso Patriarca San José y Santa Teresa de Jesús
- 137.Agrupación Parroquial del Santísimo Sacramento, Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles y San Juan de Ávila
- 138.Agrupación Parroquial del Santísimo Sacramento, María Santísima del Carmen, San Francisco Javier y ánimas benditas
- 139.Real e Ilustre Hermandad castrense de Nuestra Señora del rocío Asociación de María auxiliadora de Triana
Asociación de María Auxiliadora de San Vicente
Asociación de María Auxiliadora del Polígono Sur
- 140.Asociación de María Auxiliadora de Nervión
- 141.Asociación de María Auxiliadora de San Juan de Ávila
- 142.Asociación de Fieles de Nuestra Señora de los Reyes y San Fernando
- 143.Agrupación Parroquial de Nuestro Padre Jesús del Amor, Nuestra Señora de las Veredas en sus Dolores, San Simón de Rojas y Beato Marcelo Espínola
- 144.Asociación de Fieles de San Francisco Javier y María Santísima del Silencio Grupo Parroquial de Nuestra Señora del Carmen
Grupo Parroquial de Devotos del Cristo del Perdón
- 145.Primer y Única Hermandad Conventual del Santo Escapulario de Nuestra Madre y Señora María Santísima del Carmen, Santo Patriarca Señor San José, Profeta San Elías y Todos los Santos Carmelitas

- 146.Grupo de Fieles de San Benito Abad de Sevilla Archicofradía de Nuestra Señora del Perpetuo Socorro
- 147.Hermandad de Nuestra Señora del Carmen, Santa Madre Teresa de Jesús y Ánimas Benditas
- 148.Asociación de Nuestra Señora de los Desamparados Hermandad Sacerdotal de San Pedro Ad Víncula
- 149.Humilde Agrupación de Fieles de Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Caridad en su Tercera Caída y Nuestra Señora del Desconsuelo
- 150.Asociación Cofrade y Cultural del Santo Lignum Crucis, Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Piedad, Nuestra Señora de la Salud y Esperanza y San Juan Evangelista
- 151.Asociación Cofrade y Cultural de la Santa Cruz y Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Abnegación de San Bernardo
- 152.Asociación Cofrade y Cultural de Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazareno de las Lágrimas, María Santísima de las Almas en su Cuarto Dolor y Nuestra Señora de la Pasión
- 153.Grupo de Fieles de Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Luz Despojado de sus Vestiduras, María Santísima de la Resignación y Santa Cruz
- 154.Grupo de Devotos de María Santísima de la Bondad y Esperanza Agrupación de Fieles María Santísima de los Reyes
- 155.Asociación de Fieles de María Santísima de Paz y Esperanza. Reina, señora, Madre y Patrona de San José de Palmete
- 156.Asociación Cultural de Nuestro Padre Jesús del Amor en el Misterio del Lavatorio de Los Apóstoles
- 157.Asociación del Santísimo Cristo de la Clemencia y María Santísima de Fe y Entrega
- 158.Asociación Cultural y Cofrade de Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Paz en su Sagrado Lavatorio y Nuestra Señora del Consuelo y Desamparo
- 159.Grupo de Fieles Nuestra Señora del Consuelo
- 160.Grupo de Fieles de Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Salud y Bondad en su Calvario y Nuestra Señora de las Nieves
- 161.Asociación Cofrade de la Santa Cruz, Nuestro Padre Jesús Cautivo en su Esperanza y Nuestra Señora de la Soledad
- 162.Asociación Cofrade del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús y Nuestra Señora de Gracia y Esperanza
- 163.Asociación Cultural Humildad y Agrupación de Fieles de Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazareno, María Santísima de la Humildad y San Pablo Apostol
- 164.Asociación Cultural Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Salud y los Apóstoles San Pedro y San Pablo
- 165.Grupo de Devotos de Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazareno y Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y Consuelo
- 166.Asociación Cultural y Cofrade de Nuestra Señora de Consolación Asociación Cofrade Nuestro Padre Jesús Caído
- 167.Asociación Cofrade y Cultural de Nuestra Señora de la Estrella Gloriosa y Santiago Apóstol
- 168.Asociación de Fieles de Santa Ángela de la Cruz y María Santísima del Amparo

MARCHENA⁴⁸⁶

Major Entities or Groups, General Council of Brotherhoods and *Cofradías* of the town of Marchena, Brotherhoods and *Cofradías*:

- 1.Real Hermandad Mercedaria de Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Paz en su Entrada en Jerusalén y María Santísima de la Palma
- 2.Hermandad de Nuestro Padre y Señor de la Humildad y Paciencia, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y Santa Clara de Asís
- 3.Pontificia y Real Hermandad Sacramental y Cofradía de Nazarenos del Dulce Nombre de Jesús, Nuestra Señora de la Piedad y San Juan Evangelista
- 4.Antigua y Fervorosa Hermandad Sacramental de Ánimas, Archicofradía del Señor de la Santa Vera Cruz, Santa María Virgende la Esperanza Coronada y San Juan Evangelista
- 5.Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento, Pontificia y Real Hermandad de Nuestro Padre Jesús Nazareno, María Santísima de las Lágrimas, Nuestra Señora de los Remedios y San Juan Evangelista
- 6.Archicofradía del Santísimo Sacramento y Real Hermandad del Santísimo Cristo de San Pedro y María Santísima de las Angustias, Nuestra Señora del Rosario y San Juan Evangelista
- 7.Antigua, Real e Ilustre y Fervorosa Hermandad del Santo Entierro de Cristo, Nuestra Señora y Madre de la Soledad y Triunfo de la Santa Cruz
- 8.Asociación Parroquial de Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Salud, Madre de Dios de la Merced Redentora de Cautivos y Niño Jesús de la Divina Misericordia
- 9.Hermandad del Bienaventurado San Isidro Labrador Corte de Honor de María Santísima del Pilar Hermandad de Nuestra Señora del Rocío

⁴⁸⁶<https://www.CofradiasyHermandades.es/fichalocalidad.php?l=Marchena&p=1&g=1&s=1&r=1&cc=728&g0=1&g1=1&g2=1&g3=1&g4=1&g5=1&g6=1>

APPENDIX H

Official music performed by Brotherhoods' Wind Bands in Seville to the images in the processions of the Holy Week until 2010⁴⁸⁷. It is organized by the day of the week and by the names of the Brotherhood processing that day. The names of the pieces premiered are organized chronologically, pointing the composer and the year in parenthesis.

VIERNES DE DOLORES⁴⁸⁸

1. LA MISIÓN

Sagrado Corazón de María (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 2000)

Dulce Corazón de María (Joaquín Francisco Drake García, ¿?) Amparo Cordimariano (Joaquín Francisco Drake García, 2008)

2. PINO MONTANO

Reina del Amor (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 2003)

Virgen del Amor (Javier Calvo Gaviño, 2007)

3. DULCE NOMBRE – BELLAVISTA

Dulce Nombre de María (Joaquín Caballero Payán, 2007)

4. PALMETE – PADRE PÍO

Madre de la Divina Gracia (Antonio Paniagua Pueyo, 2006)

5. PASION Y MUERTE

María en su Desconsuelo (Bienvenido Puelles, 2007)

⁴⁸⁷ This list has been uploaded on the website called *Cofradías TV* on June 28, 2017.
<https://www.cofradiastv.es/2017/06/todas-la-marchas-dedicadas-nuestras.html>

⁴⁸⁸ The previous Friday to the Holy Week.

SABADO DE PASION

6. DIVINO PERDÓN - PARQUE ALCOSA

Divino Perdón

7. TORREBLANCA

Dolores de Torreblanca (Pablo Molina Bautista, 1995)

Reina de Torreblanca (José Alberó Francés, 2002)

M^a Santísima de los Dolores (Juan Manuel Velázquez Ruiz, 2005)

Dolores (Carlos Llano Picón, 2009) A la Gloria de María (Juan Manuel Cutiño Garrido, 2010)

DOMINGO DE RAMOS

8. JESÚS DESPOJADO

Virgen de los Dolores y Misericordia (Pedro Vicedo Beneyto, 1981)

Jesús Despojado (Miguel Vázquez Garfía, 1985)

Dolores de Molviedro (Francisco Javier Alonso Delgado, 2004)

Dolores y Misericordia (Ismael Jiménez Gómez, 2006) Madre de Misericordia (Juan Velázquez Sánchez, 2009)

9. LA PAZ

Regina Pacis (Manuel Borrego Hernández, 1956)

Victoria y Paz (Juan Sánchez Sellés / Pedro Gámez Laserna, 1958)

Virgen de la Paz (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 1970)

Paz del Porvenir (Abel Moreno Gómez, 1989)

Ingenieros de la Paz (Andrés Martos Calle, 1999)

A mi Virgen de la Paz (Juan J. Puntas / Jorge Gómez, 2002)

Pasa la Virgen de la Paz (Martín Salas Martínez, 2002)

Fruto de la Victoria (José Ramón Lozano Garrido, 2007)

Blanca Paz (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 2008) La Paz por el Parque (Paco Lola, 2008)

Reina del Porvenir (Juan Antonio Carmona Páez, 2008) Tras tu blanco manto (Vicent Cerdà i Peris, 2009)

10. LA CENA

Virgen del Subterráneo (José Martínez Peralto, 1953)

María Santísima del Subterráneo (Pedro Gámez Laserna, 1961)

La Cena del Señor (Manuel Mateo Ramos, ¿años 60?)

Cristo de la Humildad (Julio Contreras Perales, 1974)

La Sagrada Cena (Pedro Gámez Laserna, 1980)
 Reina del Subterráneo (Antonio Pérez Funes, 1987)
 Al Señor de la Humildad y Paciencia (Antonio Pérez Funes, 1994)
 Señor de la Santa Cena (José Alberó Francés, 1996)
 Rosa del Subterráneo (Ismael Jiménez Gómez, 2001)
 La Realeza de María (Bienvenido Puelles Oliver, 2004)
 Al Señor de la Humildad (Javier José López Padilla, 2004)
 Sra del Subterráneo, Reina de los Cielos y Tierra (J. Barba, 2004)
 La Esclava del Señor (Ismael Jiménez Gómez, 2008)

11. LA HINIESTA

La Estrella Sublime (Manuel López Farfán, 1925)
 Cristo de la Buena Muerte (José Martínez Peralto, 1943)
 Hiniesta (José Martínez Peralto, 1945)
 Nuestra Señora de la Hiniesta (José Martínez Peralto, 1960)
 Hiniesta Coronada (José Alberó Francés, 1974)
 M^a Santísima de la Hiniesta (José Delgado Rodríguez, 1997)
 Madre Hiniesta (Manuel Marvizón Carvallo, 1997)
 Azul y Plata (Manuel Marvizón Carvallo, 1997)
Saeta desde el suelo (Manuel Rodríguez Pedrinazzi, 1997)
 Buena Muerte en San Julián (José Alberó Francés, 1998)
 Hiniesta Inmaculada (Javier Alonso Barba, 2001)
 Hiniesta Madre Sevillana (Manuel Jesús Navarro Sánchez, 2001)
 Coronada de Hiniestas (Francisco Arnáiz González, 2002)
 Hiniesta de San Julián (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 2002)
 Entre varales (Bruno Marvizón Carvallo, 2010)

12. SAN ROQUE

Nuestra Señora de Gracia y Esperanza (Pedro Braña, 1960)
 Gracia y Esperanza (José Alberó Francés, 1975)
 Esperanza de San Roque (Pedro Braña Martínez, 1988)
 Gracia y Esperanza Coronada (Martín Salas Martínez, 1998)
 Centenario en San Roque (Abel Moreno Gómez, 2001)
 El Señor de Gracia y Esperanza (Fulgencio Morón Ródenas, 2001)
 Gracia y Esperanza Nuestra (Juan Velázquez Ruiz, 2005)
 Salve, Gracia y Esperanza (Alberto Fernández-Palacios, 2009)
 Al compás la cera llora (Juan Manuel Velázquez Ruiz, 2010)
 Madre de Gracia y Esperanza
 Virgen de Gracia y Esperanza

13. LA ESTRELLA

Virgen de la Estrella (Pedro Gámez Laserna, 1970)
 Estrella (José Albero Francés, 1977)
 Estrella de Triana (Jesús Jarén Galán, 1989)
 Jesús de la Penas, una oración (José Bernal Montero, 1995)
 Estrella, Virgen y Madre (José Manuel Rodríguez Sánchez, 1996)
 Corona de Estrellas (Bienvenido Puellas Oliver, 1999)
 Estrella de Triana Coronada (Jesús Jarén Galán, 1999)
 La Estrella de Triana (Fulgencio Morón Ródenas, 1999)
 Virgen Coronada de Estrellas (Manuel Rebollo Orden, 1999)
 Estrella Coronada (Francisco de Asís Manzanero Osuna, 1999)
 La Valiente (Jesús Salas Orden, 1999)
 La Estrella en Sevilla (José Manuel Bernal Montero, 1999)
 La Estrella Radiante del T. Milenio (M^a Luisa Palomares, 1999)
 Estrella (Manuel Marvizón Carvallo, 1999)
 Luz de Triana (Juan Antonio Barros Jódar, 2004)
 Las manos de la Estrella (Juan Velázquez Sánchez, 2007)
 Estrella, Luz Marinera (Abel Moreno Gómez, 2009)
 Pasa la Virgen por el Altozano (Jacinto Rojas Guisado, 2009) (midi)
 Tu nombre, Estrella (M^a Luisa Palomares, 2010)
 Salve, Estrella (José Manuel Bernal Montero, 2010)

14. LA AMARGURA

Amarguras (Manuel Font de Anta, 1919)
 Camino del Gólgota (José del Castillo Díaz, 1938)
 San Juan de la Palma (Salvador Ruiz de Luna, 1966)
 Jesús del Silencio (José Albero Francés, 1996)
 Amara (José María Redondo Márquez, 1998)
 Cincuentenario (Francisco Javier Alonso Delgado, 2004)
 Mater (Juan José Luque Vela, 2005)
 En Tu Amargura (Jacinto Manuel Rojas Guisado, 2009)
 Sevilla en su Amargura (Jesús Navarro Muñoz, 2010)

15. EL AMOR

Al Santísimo Cristo del Amor (Manuel López Farfán, 1907)
 Santísimo Cristo del Amor (Pedro Braña Martínez, 1959)
 Nuestra Señora del Socorro (Pedro Gámez Laserna, 1962)
 Cristo del Amor (Manuel Berná García, 1980)
 Virgen del Socorro (Juan Santos Sánchez, 1984)
 Virgen del Socorro (Enrique Baéz, 1984)
 Amor y Socorro (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 1994)
 Al Amor Crucificado (Juan Velázquez Sánchez, 2006)
 Amor (Manuel Marvizón Carvallo, 2007)

LUNES SANTO

16. SAN PABLO

Rosario de San Pablo (Juan de Dios Espinosa Ordóñez, 1993)
Rosario Trinitaria (José Juan Gámez Varo, 1997)
Reina y Madre de San Pablo (Juan Antonio Barros Jódar, 2006)
Virgen del Rosario (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 2008)
Virgen del Rosario Doloroso (Jacinto Rojas Guisado, 2009)
¡Dios Te salve, Rosario! (Pascual González / David Hurtado, 2010)

17. EL BESO DE JUDAS

Rocío del Cielo (José María Mancha y Mancha, 1961)
Rocío del Cielo (Juan Velázquez Sánchez, 1996)
María Santísima del Rocío (Juan Manuel Velázquez Ruiz, 2003)
Rocío de Santiago (Fernando Jesús Romero Triguero, 2004)
Rocío Redentor (José Alberó Francés, 2005)
María Santísima del Rocío (Joaquín Caballero Payán, 2010)

18. SANTA GENOVEVA

Nuestra Señora de las Mercedes (Luis Lerate Santaella, 1956)
Mercedes (José Antonio de los Santos Saavedra, 1957)
Nuestro Padre Jesús Cautivo (Miguel Quirós Parejo, 1975)
Reina de las Mercedes (Juan Velázquez Sánchez, 1992)
Madre de las Mercedes Coronada (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 2000)
Milagrosa de Santa Genoveva (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 2000)
Mercedes Coronada (David Alba / Miguel Ángel de la Serna, 2002)
María Santísima de las Mercedes (Juan José Puntas, 2003)
Señora de Santa Genoveva (José Manuel García Pulido, 2004)
Mercedes, Reina de los Cielos (Juan Antonio Barros Jódar, 2005)
Virgen de las Mercedes (Manuel Marvizón Carvallo, 2006)

19. SANTA MARTA

Cristo de la Caridad (Francisco Pastor Bueno, 1998)
Nuestra Señora de las Penas (Francisco Pastor Bueno, 1998)

20. SAN GONZALO

Salus Infirmorum (Manuel Borrego Hernández, 1957)
Virgen de la Salud (José Alberó Francés, 1981)

Salve a Ntra Sra. de la Salud (Rafael Romero / Bienvenido Puelles)
Salud de San Gonzalo (Jesús Salas Orden, 1995)
Azahar de San Gonzalo (César Cadaval Pérez, 1997)
Madre de la Salud (David Gómez Ramírez, 2000)
Fuente de la Salud (Bienvenido Puelles Oliver, 2002)
A tu Lado (Francisco Javier Torres Simón, 2004)
Salud del barrio mío (Bienvenido Puelles Oliver, 2005)
Aires de Triana (Felipe Sigüenza López, 2005)
Salud de Triana (José Miguel López Rueda, 2007)
Salud del Soberano (Jesús Manuel Martín Prieto, 2008)
Pasa la Virgen por el Altozano (Jacinto Rojas Guisado, 2009)

21. VERA-CRUZ

Virgen de las Tristezas (Pedro Braña Martínez, 1949)
Lignum Crucis (José Alberó Francés, 2007)
Vera-Cruz

22. LAS PENAS DE SAN VICENTE

Jesús de las Penas (Antonio Pantión Pérez, 1943)
Virgen Dolorosa (Pedro Braña Martínez, 1945)
Tus Dolores son mis Penas (Antonio Pantión Pérez, 1970)
Primer Centenario de las Penas (José Alberó Francés, 1975)
Dolores de San Vicente (Antonio Ignacio Gil Vargas, 1999)
Jesús Caído (Pedro Vicedo Beneyto, 2000)
Dolores de San Vicente (Juan Velázquez Sánchez, 2007)
Las Penas de San Vicente (Ismael Jiménez Gómez, 2008)

23. LAS AGUAS

Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (Antonio Pantión Pérez, 1968)
Guadalupe de las Aguas (Vicente Muñoz García, 1988)
Guadalupe, Madre de la Hispanidad (José Velázquez Sánchez, 1991)
Guadalupe, Reina del Arenal (Ginés Sánchez Torres, 1992)
Guadalupe sobre tu costal (Julio Páez Cano, 1998)
Guadalupe Sevillana (César Cadaval Pérez, 2000)
Lágrimas de Guadalupe (Juan José Puntas Fernández, 2002)
Niña Guadalupe (José de la Vega Sánchez, 2006)
María de Guadalupe (Juan Velázquez Sánchez, 2007)
Rosario, Patrona del Arenal (Vicente Muñoz García, 2008)
Rosario de Gloria – Mater Amabilis (José de la Vega Sánchez, 2009)

Cristo de las Aguas (Luis Pedro Bedmar Estrada, 2010)

24. EL MUSEO

Expiración (Manuel Font Fernández de la Herranz, 1941)

Virgen de las Aguas (Santiago Ramos Castro, 1953)

Sagrada Expiración (José Albero Francés, 1988)

Reina del Museo (Pascual González Moreno, 1991)

Lunes Santo en el Museo (José Manuel Delgado Rodríguez, 1997)

Resignación (David Hurtado Torres, 1999)

A mi Virgen del Museo (José Manuel Delgado Rodríguez, 2003)

Virgen del Museo (Manuel Torres Díez, 2006)

Museo (José Manuel Bernal Montero, 2008)

MARTES SANTO

25. EL CERRO

Dolores del Cerro (Juan Velázquez Sánchez, 1984)

Virgen del Cerro (Ginés Sánchez Torres, 1994)

Santísimo Cristo del Desamparo y Abandono (Fco. Herrera, 1995)

Rosa del Cerro (Francisco Herrera Míjuez, 1995)

Pasa la Virgen del Cerro (Ismael Jiménez Gómez, 2000)

Virgen de los Dolores Coronada (Francisco del Toro Zamora, 2002)

Coronación (Manuel Marvizón / Juan José Puntas Fernández, 2002)

Patrona del Cerro Coronada (Fernando Romero Triguero, 2002)

Salve a la Virgen de los Dolores (J. A. Martín / E. Sánchez, 2002)

El Cerro (Francisco Montero López, 2006)

La Virgen del Cerro (Bienvenido Puelles Oliver, 2007)

Reina y Madre del Cerro (Juan Manuel Cutiño Garrido, 2007)

Pasa la Virgen de los Dolores Coronada

Dolorosa del Cerro (Cristóbal López Gándara, 2009)

Reina del Cerro (Jacinto Manuel Rojas Guisado, 2010)

26. LOS JAVIERES

Cristo de las Almas (Ignacio Otero Nieto, 1987)

María Santísima de Gracia y Amparo (Ignacio Otero Nieto, 1989)

Gracia y Amparo (Abel Moreno Gómez, 1990)

Amparo de nuestras Almas (Juan Velázquez Sánchez, 1996)

Llena eres de Gracia (Francisco Javier Alonso Delgado, 2003)

En Tu Gracia está mi Amparo (José Manuel Jódar Marín, 2009 Amparo)

27. SAN ESTEBAN

Virgen de los Desamparados (Marcelina Fortunati Bas, 1960)
Virgen de los Desamparados (Familia Rosendo Navarro, 1966)
Nuestra Señora de los Desamparados (Miguel Vázquez, 1983)
Señora de San Esteban (José Vicente Micó Álvarez, 1998)
Desamparados (Francisco Javier Alonso Delgado, 2004)
Reina de San Esteban (Juan Velázquez Sánchez, 2006)
Madre de los Desamparados (José de la Vega Sánchez, 2008)
María Santísima de los Desamparados (Francisco Caba, 2009)

28. LOS ESTUDIANTES

Angustia (Pedro Braña Martínez, 1945)
Cristo de la Buena Muerte (José Albero Francés, 1974)
Virgen de los Estudiantes (Abel Moreno Gómez, 1987)
Virgen de la Angustia (Andrés Martos Calle, 2000)
Virgen de la Angustia (Juan Velázquez Sánchez, 2003)

29. SAN BENITO

Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación (Pedro Braña Martínez, 1971)
Cristo de la Sangre (José Campano Bravo, 1972)
Encarnación de la Calzada (Juan Santos Sánchez, 1983)
Cristo de la Presentación (Abel Moreno Gómez, 1986)
Madre de la Encarnación (Manuel Torres Díez, 1986)
Encarnación Coronada (Abel Moreno Gómez, 1994)
Coronación en La Calzada (Pascual González Moreno, 1994)
El Ángel Te corona (Juan Santos Sánchez, 1995)
Costaleros de San Benito (Francisco José Escobar Lama, 2002)
Palomita de Triana (Francisco José Escobar Lama, 2004)
Presentado a Sevilla (Palio)

30. LA CANDELARIA

Candelaria (Jacinto Guerrero y Torres, 1938)
Jesús de la Salud (José Albero Francés, 1988)
María Santísima de la Candelaria (Antonio Pérez Funes, 1989)
Candelas del Cielo (Pedro López López, 1989)
Candelaria (Pedro Vicedo Beneyto, 1990)
Jesús de la Salud (Fulgencio Morón Ródenas, 1991)
A Ntro. P. Jesús de la Salud (Rosalía Bautista / Antonio Tena, 1993)
María Santísima de la Candelaria (Pedro Braña Martínez, 1992)
Candelaria Nuestra (Juan Velázquez Sánchez, 1995)
Candelaria de San Nicolás (Roberto Bautista Rangel, 1995)

Candelaria (Manuel Marvizón Carvallo, 2001)
Mi Candelaria (Juan Manuel Velázquez Ruiz, 2009)
Reina de San Nicolás
La Candelaria por la Alfalfa (Manuel Jesus Navarro Sánchez, 2010)

31. EL DULCE NOMBRE

Jesus Christus (Moisés García Espinosa, 1920)
El Dulce Nombre (Manuel López Farfán, 1925)
María Santísima del Dulce Nombre (Luis Lerate Santaella, 1955)
Virgen del Dulce Nombre (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 1986)
Cristo del Mayor Dolor (Luis Lerate Santaella, 1989)
Jesús ante Anás (Luis Lerate Santaella, 1992)
Al Cielo con Ella (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 1995)
Fons Pietatis (Juan José Luque Vela, 2007)
La Gracia de Sevilla bajo palio (Juan Velázquez Sánchez, 2007)
Señora del Dulce Nombre (Jacinto Manuel Rojas Guisado, 2010)

32. SANTA CRUZ

Stmo. Cristo de las Misericordias (Pedro Braña Martínez, 1958)
Misericordia Señor (José Albero Francés, 1973)
Dolores de Santa Cruz (José Albero Francés, 1976)
Cristo en la Alcazaba (Fulgencio Morón Ródenas, 1980)
Nuestra Señora de los Dolores (José Carlos Albero Tamarit, 1989)
Azahar de Santa Cruz (Fulgencio Morón Ródenas, 2003)
Santa Cruz (Manuel Marvizón Carvallo, 2003)
Madre de Santa Cruz (Juan Velázquez Sánchez, 2005)
Martes Santo en Santa Cruz (Antonio Martín Roldán, 2009)

MIERCOLES SANTO

33. EL CARMEN DOLOROSO

Reina del Carmen (Manuel Cabalgante Ortiz, 2006)
Dolorosa del Carmen (Francisco Javier Alonso Delgado, 2009)
Carmen (Juan Manuel Velázquez Ruiz, 2009)

34. LA SED

Cristo de la Sed (Pedro Gámez / Juan Antonio Cuevas Muñoz, 1973)
Consolación de Nervión (Abel Moreno Gómez, 1987)
Aniversario en Nervión (Abel Moreno Gómez, 1993)
Carmen, Consolación Ntra. (Manuel Carrillo / M. Abollado, 1995)

Virgen de Consolación, Madre de la Iglesia (Fco. José Escobar, 1998)
 San Juan Evangelista (Andrés Martos Calle, 1998)
 El Consuelo de Tus ojos (Francisco Pastor Bueno, 1999)
 Madre de la Iglesia (José Alberó Francés, 2001)
 Consolación (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 2002)
 Consuelo de María (Francisco Javier Alonso Jiménez, 2002)
 Consuelo de San Juan de Dios (Juan Antonio Cuevas Muñoz, 2002)
 Madre de Consolación (José Juan Gámez Varo, 2007)
 La Quinta Palabra (Francisco Pastor Bueno, 2007)
 Crux Immissa (José Manuel Bernal Montero, 2009)
 Consolatrix Afflictorum

35. SAN BERNARDO

El Refugio de María (Manuel López Farfán, 1921)
 El Refugio (Manuel Ruiz Vidriet / Rafael Carretero Carretero, 1925)
 El Cristo de la Salud (Manuel López Farfán, 1939)
 Refugio de San Bernardo (José Alberó Francés, 1976)
 Virgen del Refugio (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 1981)
 Refugio, eres Tú (Juan Santos Sánchez, 1986)
 Virgen de San Bernardo (Abel Moreno Gómez, 1988)
 Madre del Refugio (Juan Velázquez Sánchez, 1997)
 Refugium Peccatorum (Andrés Martos Calle, 1999)
 San Bernardo (Manuel Marvizón Carvallo, 2009)
 Puente de San Bernardo (Palio)

36. EL BUEN FIN

Cristo del Buen Fin (Luis Lerate Santaella, 1948)
 Virgen de la Palma (Manuel López-Quiroga Miguel, 1950)
 Buen Fin (Juan Manuel Velázquez Ruiz, 2003)
 Virgen de la Palma (Manuel Marvizón Carvallo, 2004)
 Mi Palma Coronada (David Gómez Ramírez, 2005)
 Palma, los niños Te coronan (Abel Moreno Gómez, 2005)
 Reina de San Antonio (Juan Manuel Cutiño Garrido, 2005)
 H. de la Coronación de Ntra. Sra de la Palma (Juan Velázquez, 2005)
 Palma del Buen Fin (José Manuel Delgado Rodríguez, 2008)
 Ntra. Sra. de la Palma
 Palma Franciscana (Juan Manuel Velázquez Ruiz, 2010)

37. LA LANZADA

La Sagrada Lanzada (Manuel Font Fernández, 1928)
 Esperanza Divina Enfermera (José de la Vega Sánchez, 1980)

IV Centenario de la Sagrada Lanzada (José Albero Francés, 1996)
Salve a la Divina Enfermera (Pascual González Moreno, 1999)
Buen Fin (Francisco Pastor Bueno, 2000)
Reina de San Martín (Juan Velázquez Sánchez, 2003)
Madre y Señora del Buen Fin (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 2005)
María Santísima del Buen Fin (Manuel Navarro Sánchez, 2005)
A nuestra Madre (Alberto Toribio Díaz, 2006)
A mi Madre Buen Fin (Manuel Jesús Navarro Sánchez, 2010)

38. EL BARATILLO

Virgen de la Piedad (Juan Vicente Más y Quiles, 1955)
Caridad (Fernando Oliveras González, 1962)
Caridad del Baratillo (José Albero Francés, 1977)
Hermano del Baratillo (Ángel Alcaide Barroso Vázquez, 1991)
Piedad (Ángel Alcaide Barroso Vázquez, 1992)
Señora del Baratillo (Pascual González Moreno, 1993)
María Santísima de la Caridad (Francisco Cano Ruiz, 1999)
Reinas del Baratillo (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 1999)
Caridad del Guadalquivir (Paco Lola, 2000)
La Chicotá del Baratillo (Martín Salas Martínez, 2001)
Salve Baratillera (Paco Lola, 2002)
Cuando pasa la Caridad (Juan Antonio Barros Jódar, 2006)
Capataz y Maestro (José Manuel Jódar Marín, 2008)
Piedad del Baratillo (Pedro Vicedo Beneyto, 2010)
Caridad Coronada (Manuel Cabalgante Ortiz, 2010)
La Caridad del Arenal (Jesús Joaquín Espinosa, 2010)
Nuestra Señora de la Caridad

39. EL CRISTO DE BURGOS

Nuestra Señora de la Palma (Manuel López Farfán, 1927)
Madre de Dios (José Martínez Peralto, 1954)
Madre de Dios de la Palma (Pedro Braña Martínez, 1962)
Cristo de Burgos (José Albero Francés, 1979)
Una *saeta* a la Virgen (Manuel López-Quiroga Miguel, 1980)
Santo Cristo de Burgos (Juan Velázquez Sánchez, 1998)
Madre de Dios de la Palma (Francisco Javier Alonso Delgado, 2001)

40. LAS SIETE PALABRAS

Pasan los Campanilleros (Manuel López Farfán, 1924)
Santísimo Cristo de las Siete Palabras (Antonio Pantióñ Pérez, 1955)
Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza (Antonio Pantióñ Pérez, 1973)

Nuestro Padre Jesús de la Misericordia (Miguel Vázquez, 1981)
Virgen de la Cabeza (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 1991)
María Santísima de los Remedios (Francisco Alonso Delgado, 2007)
Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza (Manuel Serrano Rodríguez, 2009)

41. LOS PANADEROS

Nuestra Señora de Regla (Manuel Borrego Hernández, 1943)
Virgen de Regla (Rafael Ruiz Amé, 1975)
María Santísima de Regla (José Albero Francés, 1988)
Regla de San Andrés (Ángel Alcaide Barroso Vázquez, 2001)
Salve, Reina de los Panaderos (Luis Miguel Villalba Ángel, 2003)
Santa María de Regla (José Ramón Lozano Garrido, 2003)
Virgen de Regla (Jacinto Manuel Rojas Guisado, 2010) (midi)
Virgen de Regla Coronada (José Ramón Lozano Garrido, 2010)

JUEVES SANTO

42. LOS NEGRITOS

Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles (Antonio Pantión Pérez, 1960)
Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles (Rafael Fernández Alba, 1968)
Virgen de los Negritos (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 1972)
Regina Angelorum (Francisco del Toro Zamora, 2003)
Señora de los Ángeles (Ángel Alcaide Barroso Vázquez, 2003)
A Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles (Julián Martín Fernández, 2004)
Cristo de la Fundación (Ángel Alcaide Barroso Vázquez, 2006)
Ángeles de Fundación (Juan Velázquez Sánchez, 2009)
Los Ángeles (Carlos Llano Picón, 2009)

43. LA EXALTACIÓN

El Cristo de la Exaltación – En mi amargura (Manuel Farfán, 1896)
Al Santísimo de la Exaltación (Manuel López Farfán, 1907)
La Virgen en sus Lágrimas (Manuel López Farfán, 1926)
Nuestra Señora de las Lágrimas (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 1995)
Cristo de la Exaltación (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 1996)
Exaltación (Vicente Muñoz García, 1996)
Lágrimas de Exaltación (Juan Rafael Vilchez Checa, 2008)
Reina de las Lágrimas

44. LAS CIGARRERAS

Nuestra Señora de las Victorias (Ceferino Morales López, 1918)

La Victoria de María (Manuel López Farfán, 1921)
Victoria Dolorosa – Resignación (José Font de Anta, 1924)
Virgen de la Victoria (Francisco Barril Cortés, 1982)
Victoria Cigarrera (José Velázquez Sánchez, 1991)
Victoria (David Hurtado Torres, 1996)
Salve, Victoria (Juan Antonio Barros Jódar, 2004)
Señora de la Victoria (Francisco Javier González Ríos, 2007)
Madre de Dios de la Victoria (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 2009)

45. MONTE-SIÓN

Paso de palio (Manuel Borrego Hernández, 1950)
Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Montesión (Pedro Braña, 1954)
Rosario de Montesión (Juan Velázquez Sánchez, 1986)
Salmo Penitencial (Pedro Braña Martínez, 1994)
Reina del Rosario (José Manuel Delgado Rodríguez, 1998)
Salve Rosario (Joaquín Ruiz González, 1998)
Virgen del Rosario (Roberto Bautista Rangel, 2001)
H. de Coronación de la Virgen del Rosario (Abel Moreno, 2003)
Coronación en Montesión (Abel Moreno Gómez, 2003)
Madre de Montesión Coronada (David Gómez Ramírez, 2004)
Monte-Sión (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 2009)

46. LA QUINTA ANGUSTIA

Marcha Fúnebre – Quinta Angustia (José Font Marimont, 1895)
Dulce Nombre de Jesús (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 1982)
Sagrado Descendimiento (Antonio Pérez Funes, 1989)
La Quinta Angustia (Francisco Grau Vergara, 1991)

47. EL VALLE

La Coronación de Espinas (Manuel Lerdo de Tejada, 1895)
Virgen del Valle (Vicente Rodríguez Gómez-Zarzuela, 1898)
Una lágrima (Moisés García Espinosa, 1924)
Cristo de la Coronación de Espinas (José Alberó Francés, 1987)
Jesús con la Cruz al Hombro (José Delgado Rodríguez, 1987)
Virgen del Valle Coronada (José Alberó Francés, 1990)
Valle de Sevilla (José de la Vega Sánchez, 1990)
Sine Labe Concepta (Antonio Moreno Pozo, 2010)

48. PASIÓN

El Señor de Pasión (Ramón González, 1897)

Marcha fúnebre a Ntro. P. Jesús de la Pasión (Joaquín Turina, 1899)
Nuestra Señora de la Merced (Pedro Braña Martínez, 1951)
Jesús de Pasión (Pedro Braña Martínez, 1971)
Pasión (José Albero Francés, 1983)
Nuestro Padre Jesús de Pasión (Miguel Vázquez Garfia, 1983)
Nazarenos de Pasión (Fulgencio Morón Ródenas, 1994)
Al Señor de Pasión (Abel Moreno Gómez, 1999)
Nuestra Señora de la Merced (José Manuel Bernal Montero, 2007)

LA MADRUGA

49. EL SILENCIO

La música del Silencio (Francisco Melguizo Fernández, 1981)
Concepción Inmaculada (Juan Antonio Pedrosa Muñoz, 2003)
La Purísima (Luis Ignacio Marín García, 2003)
Madre y Maestra (Francisco Grau Vergara, 2009)

50. EL GRAN PODER

Ante el Gran Poder (Pedro Gámez Laserna, 1974)
Jesús del Gran Poder (José Albero Francés, 1978)
Al Señor de Sevilla (Abel Moreno Gómez, 1988)
M^a Santísima del Mayor Dolor y Traspaso (José Bernal, 2008) Mayor Dolor y Traspaso
(Antonio Paniagua Pueyo, 2009)

51. LA MACARENA

Spes Nostra (Manuel López Farfán, 1904)
La Esperanza (de la Macarena) (A. Monsalves, ¿principios s. XX?)
Macarena (Emilio Cebrián Ruiz, 1943)
Macarena (Jacinto Guerrero y Torres, 1946)
Esperanza Macarena (Juan Vicente Más y Quiles, 1948)
Pasa la Virgen Macarena (Pedro Gámez Laserna, 1959)
Coronación de la Macarena (Pedro Braña Martínez, 1964)
Esperanza Nuestra (Pedro Braña Martínez, 1964)
Esperanza y Macarena (Quintero, León y Quiroga, 1964)
Esperanza Macarena (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 1968)
Virgencita Macarena (José Albero Francés, 1975)
Costalero de la Macarena - Hermano Costalero (Julio Páez, 1979)
Donantes de flores - Cirios y claveles (Abel Moreno Gómez, 1985)
Macarena (Abel Moreno Gómez, 1988)
Aniversario Macareno (José Velázquez Sánchez, 1989)
Esperanza de Sor Ángela (José Velázquez Sánchez, 1991)

Cuando sonr e la Macarena (Pascual Gonz lez Moreno, 1993)
 Sentencia de Cristo (Pedro Morales Mu oz, 1994)
 Virgen de la Esperanza (Pedro Morales Mu oz, 1995)
 Estrellas de la Ma ana ( ngel Alcaide Barroso V zquez, 1996)
 Himno a la Esperanza Macarena (Abel Moreno G mez, 2000)
 Esperanza (Manuel Marviz n Carvalho, 2001)
 Macarena (Bienvenido Puelles Oliver / Mart n Salas Mart nez, 2002)
 Rosario de la Macarena (Pedro Morales Mu oz, 2002)
 Ya viene la Macarena (Antonio Paniagua Pueyo, 2003)
 Rosario Macareno (Jos  Albero Franc s, 2003)
 Madre del Rosario Macareno (Antonio P rez Silva, 2003)
 Reina de San Gil (Javier Calvo Gavi o, 2003)
 Sevilla Macarena (Jos  Antonio Ram rez Garc a, 2003)
 La Macarena (Francisco Joaqu n P rez Garrido “Paco Lola”, 2004)
 Plegaria Macarena (Juan Jos  Puntas Fern ndez, 2004)
 La Macarena en Sor  ngela (Jos  P rez / Fernando J. Romero, 2004)
 Virgen Macarena (Francisco Javier Alonso Delgado, 2005)
 Macarena (Sergio Bueno de la Pe a, 2006)
 Pas n por Macarena (Jos  de la Vega S nchez, 2006)
 Sentencia Macarena (Juan Antonio Barros J dar, 2006)
 Madre de Dios, Macarena (Juan Manuel Vel zquez Ruiz, 2006)
 Macarena, Madre de Dios (Jos  Manuel Delgado Rodr guez, 2006)
 Azahar de La Juliana para Ti... Macarena (Rafael Moreno, 2006)
 Claudia Pr cula (Alberto Barea Tejada, 2007)
 Al Cristo de la Sentencia (Alberto Toribio D az, 2007)
   Amp rala, Virgen Macarena! (Juan Vicente Mas Quiles, 2007)
 Macarena y Sevillana (Marcelo Dur n, 2008)
 Macarena Sevillana (Luis Bedmar Encinas, 2008)
 La Pas n de la Macarena (2009)
 La Virgen de Sevilla (Victor L pez L pez, 2009)
 Esperanza Nuestra, Macarena (Jos  Manuel Bernal Montero, 2009)
 Macarena, Mi Esperanza (Jacinto Manuel Rojas Guisado, 2009)
 Sol de la Macarena (Juan Vel zquez S nchez, 2009)
 Madrug  Macarena (Pablo Ojeda Jim nez, 2010)
 Mea Domina (Rom n Garc a D az, 2010)
 Luz de la Madrug  (Daniel L pez Mart n, 2010)
 Madre Pur sima Macarena (Francisco Pizarro G mez, 2010)

52. EL CALVARIO

Virgen de la Presentaci n (Pedro Bra a Mart nez, 1961)
 Cristo del Calvario (Jos  Albero Franc s, 1990)

53. LA ESPERANZA DE TRIANA

La Esperanza de Triana (A. Monsalves, ¿principios s. XX?)
Soleá, dame la mano (Manuel Font de Anta, 1918)
La Esperanza de Triana (Manuel López Farfán, 1925)
Esperanza Trianera (José Martínez Peralto, 1940)
Nuestra Señora de la Esperanza de Triana (Manuel Pantión, 1954)
Pasa la Esperanza de Triana (José Albero Francés, 1974)
Esperanza de Triana Coronada (José Albero Francés, 1984)
Reina y Hermosura de Triana (José González García, 1984)
Esperanza Marinera (Abel Moreno Gómez, 1991)
Esperanza Trianera (Ángel Alcaide Barroso Vázquez, 1993)
Estrellas de la Mañana (Ángel Alcaide Barroso Vázquez, 1996)
Cristo de las Tres Caídas (Ángel Alcaide Barroso Vázquez, 1996)
Ángeles de Triana (Ginés Sánchez Torres, 1998)
Esperanza, Reina de Triana (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 1998)
Trianera (Francisco Joaquín Pérez Garrido “Paco Lola”, 2001)
Himno a la Esperanza (Juan Velázquez Sánchez, 2003)
Esperanza de Pureza (Francisco del Toro Zamora, 2003)
Soleá de Triana (David Hurtado Torres, 2003)
Triana, Tu Esperanza (José de la Vega Sánchez, 2003)
Reina de Triana (José Miguel López Rueda, 2004)
Tu dulce mirada (Juan José Puntas Fernández, 2004)
Dolorosa de mi Triana (Salvador Hidalgo Dorado, 2004)
Triana de Esperanza (Claudio Gómez Calado, 2004)
Madre de los Trianeros (Juan Antonio Barros Jódar, 2006)
Bendita sea tu Pureza (Juan Antonio Verdía Díaz, 2007)
Amanecer con Triana (Jesús Manuel Martín Prieto, 2007)
Esperanza, Pasión de Triana (José Manuel Delgado Rodríguez, 2007)
Viva la Esperanza de Triana (Juan José Puntas Fernández, 2008)
Esperanza de Triana. La Corona (José de la Vega Sánchez, 2009)
Esperanza de Triana (Manuel Marvizón Carballo, 2009)
Aniversario en Pureza (Manuel Jesús Navarro Sánchez, 2009)
Esperanza, Coronada de Pureza (Juan Antonio Carmona, 2009)
Pasa la Virgen por el Altozano (Jacinto Manuel Rojas, 2009)
Triana con su Esperanza (Antonio Moreno Pozo, 2009) (midi)

54. LOS GITANOS

Nuestra Señora de las Angustias (Francisco Mena del Rosal, 1959)

Jesús de la Salud (Pedro Braña Martínez, 1969)
 Angustias de los Gitanos (Juan Velázquez Sánchez, 1987)
 Madre de los Gitanos Coronada (Abel Moreno Gómez, 1988)
 Cristo de los Gitanos (Ginés Sánchez Torres, 1990)
 A Ti, Manué (Juan José Puntas Fernández, 1990)
 Reina de San Román - Arroró (Ginés Sánchez Torres, 1991)
 Angustias de la Madrugá (Vicente Muñoz García, 1997)
 Amanecer gitano (Luis Manuel Mejías Navarro, 1999)
 Salve Angustias (Francisco del Toro Zamora, 2002)
 Madrugá de los Gitanos (Jorge Gómez / Juan José Puntas, 2003)
 Angustias (Javier Calvo Gaviño, 2006)
 Flamenca Madrugá (Francisco Javier Torres Simón, 2008)
 Sentimiento Gitano (Antonio Martín Roldán, 2008)
 Madrugá de canela y clavo (Juan Manuel Velázquez Ruiz, 2009)
 Angustias de Sevilla (Jacinto Manuel Rojas Guisado, 2010)
 Nazareno y Gitano (Palio)

VIERNES SANTO

55. LA CARRETERÍA

Nuestra Señora del Mayor Dolor (Manuel López Farfán, 1927)
 Virgen de la Carretería (José Alberó Francés, 1977)
 Ntra. Sra. del Mayor Dolor - V. de la Soledad (Vicente Muñoz, 1989)
 Ntra. Señora del Mayor Dolor en su Soledad (Ginés Sánchez, 1994)
 Madre del Mayor Dolor (José Manuel Delgado Rodríguez, 2001)
 Mayor Dolor en Sevilla (Claudio Gómez Calado, 2002)
 Las Tres Necesidades (Juan Velázquez Sánchez, 2005)
 Ecce Homo (Francisco Manuel Rivero Gallardo, 2009)
 Golgotha (Jacinto Manuel Rojas Guisado, 2010) (midi)

56. LA SOLEDAD DE SAN BUENAVENTURA

Mater Lacrimosa (Manuel Borrego Hernández, 1930)
 Soledad (Manuel Rodríguez Ruiz, 1967)
 Cristo de la Salvación (Manuel Rodríguez Ruiz, 1967)
 Soledad de San Buenaventura (José Alberó Francés, 1980)
 Soledad Franciscana (Abel Moreno Gómez, 1987)
 Lágrimas de Soledad (Andrés Martos Calle, 1999)
 Salvación en Tu Soledad (Juan Velázquez Sánchez, 2002)
 Salvación y Soledad (Juan Antonio Barros Jódar, 2004)
 Soledad del Viernes Santo (Francisco Grau Vergara, 2010)
 Cristo de la Salvación (Antonio Moreno Pozo, 2010)
 Cristo de la Salvación (Lucidio Quintero Simancas, 2010)

Salvación (David Hurtado Torres, 2010)

57. EL CACHORRO

La Expiración – El Cachorro (Arturo de Ysaura Pont, 1923)
Stmo. Cristo de la Expiración – El Cachorro (Pedro Braña, 1952)
Nuestra Señora del Patrocinio (Pedro Braña Martínez, 1953)
Cristo del Cachorro (Germán Álvarez Beigbeder, 1956)
El Cachorro – *Saeta* Sevillana (Pedro Gámez Laserna, 1967)
Nuestra Señora del Patrocinio (Pedro Gámez Laserna, 1969)
Cristo de la Expiración (José Alberó Francés, 1987)
Cachorro (Abel Moreno Gómez, 1991)
Al Cachorro (José Manuel Bernal Montero, 1995)
Después de la Madrugá (David Hurtado Torres, 1995)
Patrocinio (Jesús Salas Orden, 1997)
Salve Madre del Patrocinio (Juan Velázquez Sánchez, 1998)
Madre y Señora del Patrocinio (Luis Manuel Mejías Navarro, 1998)
Señorita de Triana (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 1999)
Pasa la Virgen por el Altozano (Jacinto Rojas Guisado, 2009) (midi)

58. LA O

Virgen de la O (José Gardey Cuevas / Luis Rivas Gómez, 1960)
María Santísima de la O (Abel Moreno Gómez, 1990)
Santa María de la O (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 1997)
A la voz de mi capataz (Manuel Rodríguez Pedrinazzi, 1999)
Callejuela de la O (Paco Lola, 2003)
Virgen de la O (Manuel Marvizón Carvallo, 2007)
Santísimo Sacramento (Francisco Pizarro, 2009)
Pasa la Virgen por el Altozano (Jacinto Rojas Guisado, 2009)

59. SAN ISIDORO

Domus Aurea (Jorge Manuel Gómez González, 2000)
Loreto (Joaquín Ruiz González, 2003)

60. MONTSERRAT

Nuestra Señora de Montserrat (Antonio Pantión Pérez, 1955)
Nuestra Señora de Montserrat (Pedro Braña Martínez, 1963)
Virgen de Montserrat (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 1970)
Cristo de la Conversión (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 1984)
Montserrat Sevillana (Pascual González Moreno, 1993)
Conversión del Buen Ladrón (José Alberó Francés, 1997)

Reina de Montserrat (Pedro Morales Muñoz, 2001)
Realeza de Montserrat (Juan Antonio Barros Jódar, 2004)

61. LA MORTAJA

Sagrada Mortaja (José Alberó Francés, 1986)

SABADO SANTO

62. EL SOL

Nuestra Señora del Sol (Francisco Pastor Bueno, 1999)
Varón de Dolores (Jose Ignacio Cansino González, 2001)
Virgen del Plantinar (Andrés Martos Calle, 1999)
María Santísima del Sol (Francisco Cano Ruiz, 2001)
Lignum Crucis (Jose Ignacio Cansino González, 2004)
Sagrada Conversación (Ángel Alcaide Barroso Vázquez, 2008)
Sol y Misericordia (Juan Velázquez Sánchez, 2009)
Sol de Esperanza (Guillermo Martínez Arana, 2009)

63. LOS SERVITAS

Soledad de los Servitas (Abel Moreno Gómez, 1988)
Siervo de Tus Dolores (Fulgencio Morón Ródenas, 1989)
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Cristo de las Cinco Llagas (José Alberó Francés, 2002)
Virgen de la Trinidad (Francisco José Gómez Calado, 2002)
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A la Derecha del Padre (David Hurtado Torres, 2009)
La Esperanza Blanca (Manuel Ramos Rincón, 2010)

65. EL SANTO ENTIERRO

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66. LA SOLEDAD DE SAN LORENZO

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