

Artigo

ASPECTS AND EVOLUTION OF MUSIC EDUCATION IN SALAMANCA: FROM THE GOLDEN AGE TO THE DICTATORSHIP

Javier Cruz Rodríguez* 

Gabriel Parra Nieto* 

ABSTRACT

This article studies the evolution of music education in Salamanca from its Golden Age in the 16th century through to Franco's dictatorship in the 20th, prior to Spain's transition to democracy. Salamanca is a distinguished Spanish University city whose academic tradition is widely acknowledged, and it will be our case study for revealing that in many aspects and epochs, music education remained anchored in the past. Based on the compilation of numerous sources and on new data, this study will therefore address music's contexts and influences, its teachers and students, and its centres of learning, as well as other aspects related to the methodology, content, and resources involved. This long journey provides valuable insights into gender, culture, religion, and politics within the overall need to analyze each era and context, and continue exploring a field in which there is still considerable work to be done.

Keywords: music education, Evolution, Salamanca (Spain), 16th century, 20th century.

ASPECTOS E EVOLUÇÃO DA EDUCAÇÃO MUSICAL EM SALAMANCA: DA IDADE DE OURO À DITADURA

RESUMO

Este artigo estuda a evolução do ensino de música em Salamanca, desde seu período áureo no século XVI até a ditadura de Franco no século XX, antes da transição da Espanha para a democracia. Salamanca é uma cidade universitária espanhola de grande prestígio, amplamente reconhecida por sua tradição acadêmica, e

* Universidad de Salamanca. Salamanca, Espanha.

será nosso estudo de caso para revelar que, em muitos aspectos e épocas, a educação musical permaneceu ancorada no passado. Com base na compilação de diversas fontes e em novos dados, este estudo abordará os contextos e influências da música, seus professores e alunos, e seus centros de ensino, além de outros aspectos relacionados à metodologia, aos conteúdos e aos recursos envolvidos. Essa longa trajetória oferece perspectivas valiosas sobre gênero, cultura, religião e política, dentro da necessidade geral de analisar cada época e contexto e continuar explorando um campo no qual ainda há muito a ser investigado.

Palavras-chave: Educação musical, Evolução, Salamanca (Espanha), século XVI, século XX.

ASPECTOS Y EVOLUCIÓN DE LA EDUCACIÓN MUSICAL EN SALAMANCA: DEL SIGLO DE ORO A LA DICTADURA

RESUMEN

Este artículo estudia la evolución de la educación musical en Salamanca desde su Siglo de Oro en el siglo XVI hasta la dictadura de Franco en el siglo XX, antes de la transición de España a la democracia. Salamanca es una distinguida ciudad universitaria española cuya tradición académica es ampliamente reconocida, y será nuestro caso de estudio para revelar que, en muchos aspectos y épocas, la educación musical permaneció anclada en el pasado. Basado en la recopilación de numerosas fuentes y en nuevos datos, este estudio abordará, por lo tanto, los contextos e influencias de la música, sus docentes y estudiantes, y sus centros de enseñanza, así como otros aspectos relacionados con la metodología, los contenidos y los recursos implicados. Este largo recorrido proporciona valiosas perspectivas sobre género, cultura, religión y política dentro de la necesidad general de analizar cada época y contexto, y continuar explorando un campo en el que aún queda un considerable trabajo por hacer.

Palabras clave: Educación musical, Evolución, Salamanca (España), siglo XVI, siglo XX.

INTRODUCTION: AIMS AND METHODOLOGY

In terms of music, Spain's education model has undergone a sea change in recent times, above all regarding certain methodologies. The didactics involved now are all too familiar, inspired by Orff, Dalcroze, Willems, and Kodály, which were first disseminated in Spain towards the end of the 20th century and brought new resources and models for teaching and learning (Montoya, 2017). By contrast, the trend in the country's music education up to and during Franco's dictatorship (1939-1975) was not so dynamic, as this article will seek to explain. The article will focus on the university city of Salamanca, which will reflect how the teaching of this subject has evolved, in this case, from the 16th century onwards, in an attempt to shed light on a historical example of music education in Spain, and which may prompt future research and comparative studies with other locations. In this regard, it is important to note that this study draws on the historiography of education and institutional history to understand educational settings as cultural spaces where knowledge, norms, and professional identities are produced and negotiated (Escolano 2017). In this sense, music education is examined through its continuities and ruptures across periods, rather than as a linear progression.

We should not forget that Salamanca is a key historical reference in an area of education that has always been linked to the State. Its University has produced celebrated teachers

and students throughout its trajectory stretching back over more than 800 years, and it was undoubtedly the country's foremost seat of learning at least until the 17th century, wielding a major influence over all the other universities (Rodríguez-San Pedro, 1991). Regarding the subject of music, Salamanca University was the first in western culture to officially include the teaching of music in its syllabuses in the form of a Chair in Music. It adopted both a theoretical and a practical approach to become one of the most important in Spain for many years (Martín, 2005a). Furthermore, this referent of music education was closely linked to the Cathedral. This imposing religious landmark that was remarkable for having two adjoining temples with myriad facilities and resources. These two settings, which permit a comprehensive analysis of the main teaching ambits at the time, meant that for several centuries musicians of renown journeyed to the city where they could combine different positions in these two institutions that taught a subject that, in time, would forgo its prestige. Salamanca is therefore the finest example for observing this evolution and the appearance of new colleges or centers of music from the early years of the monarchy in Spain, at the end of the 15th century, through to the Franco era in the 20th century, when the city once again emerged as a major champion in defense of the State, in this case the dictatorship (Arias, 2013).

In short, the aim here is to use the case of Salamanca to explore its historical development and redress that lack of in-depth scholarship that still affects Spain in this field of knowledge (Corzo, 2020). This process requires not only being precise about the types of information sources available in the different epochs but also about the information to select or highlight in those selfsame sources. This includes such vital aspects as the temporal organization and distribution of the disciplines, the content taught and the messages conveyed, and the places, people, and resources involved (Grady, 2019). To address this point, the article engages with both foundational bibliographies and more recent contributions, combining long-established historical perspectives with contemporary debates in the history of education (Viñao, 1994; Sanz Simón et al. 2022), as well as in music education research. This helps situate the Salamanca case within a broader and up-to-date historiographical conversation.

We may therefore subdivide the study's overall purpose of extending our understanding of the history of music education in Salamanca, and by extension in Spain, into the following specific areas: an analysis of its ideological principles and its context; the identification of its spaces or centres, advocates, and recipients; and the specification of the content taught, and the methodologies and resources used. A study that encompasses a broad range of aspects within what has historically been considered the teaching and learning of the artistic experience, from conceptual frameworks to a focus on materials, models, and procedures (Tort i Bardolet and Colledemont Pujadas, 2017).

"The History of Education is constructed, among other elements, with the contributions of recognized teachers" (Sarason, 2018, p. 683), as evidenced in this paper by the identification of outstanding teachers in the main institutions in Salamanca and the analysis of their contributions. In this sense, our methodology adopts a qualitative approach "with an ethnographic perspective" (Sarason, 2018, p. 685), which seeks to describe the life context of

the people studied. This approach considers that the environment influences the subject and the groups to which they belong, making it possible to interpret and understand the historical and educational processes in their context.

This research has used the historical method, designed to shed light on the history of academic institutions, teaching practices, and the influence education has on the formation of societies, by accessing and analysing not only primary sources but also any secondary materials required for the study. It is important to note that it is not strictly necessary to make a critical interpretation of these direct sources that provide the main information, but instead simply detail them to create a historical narrative based on the evidence they contain (Escolano 2017). This method is therefore used to give a voice to education's materials and protagonists to identify their codes, practices, and uses (Sanz Simón et al. 2022). It therefore studies the testimonial evidence provided by the documents analyzed –Cathedral records, visitors' books at the University's Chair of Music, performance reports on the teachers at schools, students' personal academic records, and *cancioneros* (songbooks), among others– as living examples. This is compounded by other information from secondary sources, as well as by some revealing images, which enable us to conduct a brief review of the historical literature and strengthen the discourse.

HISTORY OF MUSIC EDUCATION IN SALAMANCA AND ITS CENTERS OF LEARNING

Salamanca University and the Cathedral were largely the only channels for studying music in the Modern Era, although we should remember that schooling was not compulsory (Cox and Stevens, 2016). In this sense, we should not forget that the city's main events have always revolved around the Cathedral, which has played not only a major pastoral role in daily worship, but also taken centre stage in public ceremonies, which explains its influence in promoting disciplines such as music. Its ideological influence is therefore undeniable within a system in which Church and State were all-controlling, as is clearly to be seen in cities such as Salamanca, which from at least the 17th century onwards becomes a stronghold of Christianity and projects a theocratic image in support of the ruling monarchy (Rodríguez de la Flor, 1989).

As regards the University, by the second half of the sixteenth century, and after a period of remarkable expansion, the discipline was considered “didactic content in a minor faculty [the arts faculty] where learning was preparatory for the later study in the so-called major faculties, that is, theology, civil law, canon law, and medicine” (Carabias and Gómez, 2014, p.126). This meant it was considered a lesser subject, which is probably why it was one of the rare occasions when it was taught in Spanish instead of Latin. Its classroom was moved from the *Escuelas Mayores* [Major Colleges –where the main faculties would remain– to the *Escuelas Menores* [Minor Colleges], and it was one of the lowest paid faculty chairs (Cruz, 2021).

Nevertheless, during the 16th century and the first decades of the 17th, it seems that the faculty chair managed to maintain its prestige thanks to the illustrious figures that held the post (e.g., Diego de Fermoselle, the distinguished brother of the renowned poet, playwright, and musician Juan del Encina, the equally famous playwright and musician Lucas Fernández, the distinguished music scholar Francisco Salinas, Bernardo Clavijo del Castillo, who would leave his numerous positions to join the Court, and Sebastián Vivanco, close companion to the acclaimed Tomás Luis de Victoria). These illustrious personages considered Salamanca to be one of the kingdom's foremost centres of music and were able to combine their positions with those of organist at the University and chapel master and organist at the Cathedral, following the creation of these positions in the 15th century (Baz, 2018).



Figure 1 – Author's photo of the Escuelas Mayores building with the Cathedral tower behind it (Salamanca).

Note should also be taken of the major importance music education had in the Cathedral, with the choir as the main focus, above all until Sebastián of Vivanco's time. He was the chapel master at the beginning of the 17th century, and following his departure, as had happened at the University, there was a sharp decline, with few references to music until Manuel Doyagüe appeared on the scene at the end of the 18th century (Torrente, 2002). Thus, the 17th and, above all, the 18th century marked a period of decline for the discipline, as we will later describe in a number of examples, despite the strong and ongoing relationship between music and education, both in episcopal and monastic schools and at universities.

It is important to remember that the two main institutions that shaped cultural and educational life in Salamanca faced financial troubles at that time. In the case of the Cathedral, there was a scant renewal of the chapel's musical components, which had always been scarce (Montero, 2011a). In view of the lack of personnel and the drop in students both there and, above all, at the University, the problems with teachers were equally apparent not just in terms of availability but also of quality, bearing in mind there were no longer any prebendaries occupying faculty chairs at the same time. This absence of teachers at the University was a cause for concern, resulting in one last temporary chair before its disappearance in 1792: the aforementioned Doyagüe, who would link medieval traditions with those of the University and the Cathedral, and the new model forthcoming from the Royal Conservatory in Madrid (Torrente, 2002).

A further cause of the University's overall decadence at the time was the unpopular 1771 syllabus (Plan de Estudios), which was designed to modernise higher education. However, it was strongly opposed by the students, who rejected any change to the social and political practices that favoured them. Likewise, the professors charged with implementing the teaching reform lacked the necessary will. The outcome was that many universities, including Salamanca, maintained similar systems without addressing the issues pending (Milano, 2017).

Before turning to the Contemporary Age, a period marked by profound and definitive change, it is necessary to underscore the close relationship that existed between the Cathedral and the University with regard to musical education and practice. During almost the entire Early Modern Age, this relationship was generally fluid, as both institutions shared musicians and instructors who occupied key positions such as chapel master, professor, and organist, in addition to other members of the cathedral chapel. Consequently, until the establishment of its own musical chapel in the 18th century, the Cathedral supplied the University with singers and instrumentalists for its ceremonial functions. Religious music was performed at both institutions, and their repertoires frequently included works by the same composers, even after the University established its own music chapel. In this respect, it should also be noted that, as will be examined later, both institutions transmitted the practical training of sacred music in a similar manner (Cruz, 2011; García-Bernalt, 2014).

These two institutions that had historically addressed music education were replaced, causing a major upheaval. It therefore needs to be remembered that Church control over education was abolished during the reign of Isabel II in the 19th century, with the enactment

of the most far-reaching education reform in Spain's history: The Moyano Law, which would remain in force for over a century. Its overriding purpose was to resolve the historical bane of illiteracy, as well as the long-standing tradition of male-only education. This law therefore signalled a major step forward in female education compared to prior legislation by acknowledging for the first time girls' right to receive primary schooling. It is important to note, nevertheless, that despite focusing on female education, the law was based on the traditional division of labour between the two sexes, as would subsequently continue to be the case (Scanlon, 1987).

Furthermore, we cannot ignore the ensuing introduction of the ILE –by the acronym in Spanish “Institución Libre de Enseñanza”– which was an educational project developed in Spain between 1876 and 1936 designed to finally end with the Church's power and influence in education. Its values were tolerance and secularisation, and considered freedom to be the only way forward on the road to progress and regeneration (Ruiz, 1993). Despite the advances made toward public, secular, and equal schooling, Franco's seizure of power saw education restored to the confessional nature it had in preceding centuries, and girls and boys were once again segregated in schools. This backward step, contrary to the trend being followed in the rest of Europe, was tempered by new legislation in 1970 – Ley General de Educación – which partially ratified Spain's acceptance of Europe's new liberal democratic values, and constituted a sea change in the way education had been addressed beforehand, as became readily apparent in subjects such as music, for example (Corzo, 2020).

We should emphasize this notion that from the 19th century onwards, music education in Spain shifted toward a secular model, and music schools gradually replaced the cathedral chapels accordingly (Martín, 2005b). In Salamanca, chapel masters had been key figures until establishments such as the San Eloy Academy of Noble and Fine Arts assumed the instruction of young people and began teaching music theory, canto, violin, and piano. This academy would also instruct mature students, thus becoming the main music centre for adults since the withdrawal of the faculty chair. The academy would eventually be housed in the Palacio de San Boal, which would later provide a home for the music conservatory (García, 2001).

Music was also taught by the Salesian Order at their church schools, with substantial participation and considerable activity, and at the Escuela Normal, a major new secular teacher training college that taught music from 1899 onwards (Álvarez, 2015). Until 1931, the college was segregated, with the male facility housed in the former residence at the San Bartolomé College and the female one at the Magdalena College, being subsequently relocated to the aforementioned Palacio de San Boal. They merged the following year at the San Bartolomé College, which together with the Palacio de San Boal constituted its two main premises, at a time when the trend was toward co-education, which was finally introduced during the Republic, but was then abolished once more under the dictatorship. There are, however, records of other premises where music was taught, as the number of music colleges increased through into the 19th century (García, 2001).



Figure 2 – Author's photo of the Palacio de San Boal (Salamanca).

This historical overview in which we have focused on the main centres of learning identifies certain aspects of music that are related to our specific goals.

PRINCIPLES AND CONTENT

Regarding the content taught over time in the classes, which is related to the context in which it is framed, particular mention should be made of the enduring presence of sacred choir music. Accordingly, and assuming that the origins of formal education in most settings derive from the initiatives of religious orders (Cox and Stevens, 2016), the teaching of sacred content hardly evolved even in private lessons or at the University, where it was also customary.

At the University, where half an hour was devoted to the study of the theory not taught at the Cathedral, we encounter the following topics, among others: “the proportions of music”, intervals or the genres and divisions of the monochord (“diatonic diapason, chromatic, and enharmonic”) (Cruz, 2021, p. 593-606), and other musical language content, such as metrical feet, ecclesiastic modes, etc. The other half-hour was devoted to the practice of religious music, and revolved around voice training, working on plainchant, polyphonic singing, and counterpoint (subjects that were also studied in the Cathedral chapels). However, as time passed, teachers' individual license appears to have influenced this class division, whereby in



Figure 3 – Author’s photo of the old residence at the San Bartolomé College (Salamanca).

the 17th century we find Sebastián de Vivanco and his use of one half-hour for plainchant and the other half-hour for polyphonic singing, and Roque Martínez, who sometimes devoted a whole hour to plainchant (Cruz, 2021).

It seems that throughout the 17th century practice would begin to prevail over the theory that had adopted a more mathematical approach and contrasted with later approaches, replacing the latter’s privileged position that had previously dominated in the three-year course, at the most, in which students had been required to attend music classes (García, 2006). This improvement in the students’ practical instruction, which simplified their overall training, was also well received on their part. This was apparent even in the second half of the 17th century, at the time of the famous scholar Francisco de Salinas, when it was noted that in the half-hour devoted to theory “there will be more or less a dozen listeners and two dozen when singing.”¹

¹ (University of Salamanca Archive) AUsa_AI,942, f. 34v.

Only plainsong, polyphonic singing, and counterpoint were taught by the chapel master at the Cathedral. Likewise, chapel musicians were trained by the minstrel master, who is sometimes mentioned in both the 16th and 17th centuries,² although they were convened less assiduously given the dominance of the vocal part and the more frequent rehearsals of choir singers. On the subject of the chapel masters' lessons, we should mention the choir boys and the time when students first entered the chapel. It seems their training alternated between the Cathedral and the master's own home; he lived with the boys and chaperoned them at all times while they were taught Latin, reading, writing, and grammar. We know that in Salamanca, for example, from at least the 16th century onwards, those masters, besides caring for the boys, instructed them specifically in "everything they have to say in the choir and in organ singing and counterpoint besides what is compulsory for everyone".³ This procedure seems to have changed when the Boys' Choir School was built on San Pablo street in the 15th century, albeit not used for that purpose until the 18th. The council used it for boys aged around nine, with a good voice, who received a formal education in which Latin and music prevailed (Montero, 2011a).

In the 19th century, *canto* continued to be deemed the core subject that children were expected to acquire, although now in everyday schools, taught by a master who presumably practiced with them (Rusinek and Sarfson, 2016). This meant that the subject of music and *canto* was one of the three academic blocks taught in schools. Mention should also be made of the content studied by prospective teachers in their prior training from the end of the 19th century through to the Franco dictatorship, with almost all the syllabuses containing that same subject of music and *canto* (de la Vega, 2015).

Staying with Salamanca as our example, the syllabus at the *Escuela Normal* in the 20th century contained music theory and mainly voice training. In this case, the school repertoire was rehearsed with one or two voices, with Franco's dictatorship imposing the need to learn patriotic, religious, and popular or traditional songs, besides other new topics such as Music History and even piano (García, 1994). The former would mitigate the previous deficiencies these schools seemed to record, which were initially focused on "the knowledge of the theory and the practice of music without, however, any discipline related to its historical or aesthetic aspects" (Martín, 2005b, p. 90).

Just as in earlier times when religious content clearly prevailed, political content came to dominate this latter period, with music being used as a tool for propaganda and control, imposing the teaching of music and songs that were deemed "patriotic". This has been ratified by one of the teachers in his report on his teaching placement, stating that sundry songs make "music's instructive purpose in schools a reality."⁴

2 (Salamanca Cathedral Archive) ACSa, cj. 30, lg. 1, n^o 8, f. 140v, ACSa, AC 29, f. 155r.

3 (Salamanca Cathedral Archive) ACSa, AC 26, f. 473v, ACSa, cj. 44, lg. 5, no. 1, f. 549r, ACSa, AC 28, ff. 436 and 437.

4 (University of Salamanca Archive) AUSa_AI,775/ Personal academic record of the student Jesús Martín del Olmo. Report on his teaching placement (1942), f. 5.

Both within and outside schools, there are myriad examples of these songs that convey a religious or political message through a preferentially syllabic music-text relationship. Nevertheless, the dynamics, tempos and texture are clearly composed to entertain as the voices reach the final coda, normally in homophony to stress the underlying message, as so often was the case with other musical genres.⁵

Besides sacred and patriotic songs, the 20th century's vocal repertoire necessarily included traditional songs specific to Spanish folklore, which were also considered the best way of unifying the State (Manrique, Monreal, and Vicente-Mariño, 2017). A final mention should be made of those songs sung by girls, if only because of their presence in the school day, whether in a specific situation or as a mere accompaniment to everyday activities. These songs were fomented by the *Sección Femenina*, the women's branch of the Falange political movement in Franco's Spain, and played an important part in conveying the feminine ideals of the time, as they projected a series of values associated with women promoting an image in which women were above all to be housewives, devoted mothers, and faithful wives, in all cases subordinate to men. The message was clear: a woman's role was to be confined to the home and ensure the reproduction of a patriarchal society. This approach went beyond the simple teaching of songs, as it was part of an all-encompassing ideological project designed to shape women's behavior and aspirations as a clearly subordinate species.⁶

TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

Teachers have played a key role in the history of education in Salamanca, considering not only that it has always revolved around them, but also that the city was once very attractive for scholars and musicians, as they could hold several positions at the same time. In some cases, the same candidate was even considered for the positions of both chapel master and faculty chair (García-Bernalt, 2014). The general profile of these candidates is readily apparent. Firstly, they were all men until the 19th century, if we remember how the corresponding positions at the University evolved until they were abolished at the end of the 18th century, and the part the Cathedral played. This was to change from this century onwards when, as stated in the internal rules from the conservatory in Madrid, "female pupils will be instructed and [...] for the first time in Spain there will be female teachers who will, in turn, replace the [...] male teachers in the teaching of young ladies" (Hernández, 2012, p. 861).

The aforementioned ILE had a major impact on this process of change, manifesting a special interest in the training and promotion of music involving women. This trend was followed by Franco's *Sección Femenina*, which would nominate female teachers that had

⁵ The musical and vocal history of the *Sección Femenina*'s repertoire retrieved from the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cáceres. Lorenzo Lancho, <https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/revista-de-folklore-358-num-484-2022-1200385/>, 56.

⁶ We can see some examples of these Francoist songs in Cancionero/ [de la Sección Femenina del Frente de Juventudes de F.E.T y de las J.O.N.S]. (1943) Available at: <https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra/cancionero--1/>, 110, 117, 479, etc.

nonetheless been previously trained by their male counterparts (Corzo, 2020; Parra *et al.*, 2024). This means that if they completed their training, which was not always the case, they were recruited and clearly influenced by the regime's loyal instructors, who had, above all, a clear political mission for them. It was mainly for this reason that these teachers addressed the training of their women students with major gaps not only in specific subject areas, but also in teaching and methodological ones (Castañón, 2009).

All this is succinctly summarised in the *Sección Femenina*'s publication for women teachers *Consigna: Revista de la Sección Femenina dedicada a las maestras*: "Many of them have not studied *magisterio* [primary school teacher training] but they become teachers out of vocation, not to teach arts or physics, etc., but instead to cultivate the girls' souls in the greatness of the *Patria*, the Fatherland".⁷ We should not forget that the Franco dictatorship was aware of the value of primary school teaching – *magisterio* – for drumming its principles into teachers, ensuring that only those loyal to the regime remained in the education system, as a sound reflection of their profile (Martín and Ramos, 2017).

Male teachers, by contrast, had traditionally received a comprehensive education in voice training, and often in the art of organ playing, knowing that many combined their position as organist at the University or the Cathedral with that of faculty chair. In addition, they were schooled in Latin. Until modern times, the chapel master was clearly first among equals, as he was responsible for auditioning minstrels, singers, and choir boys, for example, as well as also being convened by the University for the election of faculty chairs. This explains the demand for their high qualification and standing compared to the candidates at the University. Successful candidates for chapel master had to pass a theoretical and practical exam, both oral and written, where questions were asked about the content they would later teach in their lessons (e.g., authors such as Boethius, and the topics of plainsong, polyphonic singing, and counterpoint exercises) (García, 1998).

In more modern times, the so-called "special teachers", who taught this subject to trainee teachers at the *Escuela Normal*, also received thorough training and were held in great esteem (de la Vega, 2015). Salamanca provides the pertinent example of Hilario Goyenechea, who at the beginning of the 20th century became the longest serving teacher of music theory, as well as of piano and harmony. He was also the chapel master at the Cathedral and organist both there and at the University. He produced some outstanding works on the didactics of music, among others (García, 1994).

If there were any issues with the musical instruction of teachers at that time, they were certainly not due to any shortcomings among the teachers themselves but rather to a lack of time and courses devoted to the subject, which only seemed of importance to certain interests (de la Vega, 2015). There are occasional allusions to exams, which at the *Escuela Normal* in

⁷ *Consigna: Revista de la Sección Femenina dedicada a las maestras*. Salamanca University Library. M 463/1 (1942): 10 (section Frente de Juventudes – Youth Front).

Salamanca appeared to consist of a practical exercise in front of the children themselves and an in-depth essay on a topic chosen at random from a pre-set list.

As to the students, and although we also know of privately arranged voice and organ lessons for girls taught by male university professors in the 16th and 17th centuries (Cruz, 2018), it should once again be stressed that in the past, both at the University and the Cathedral, they were male and few in number; this is consistent with what we know about other Cathedral chapels and universities (Rodríguez-San Pedro, 1991). This is also related to the high demand for musicians for the Cathedral chapel and, later in the 18th century, for the University (García-Bernalt, 2014). There are, however, records of high student attendance, as in Juan de Oviedo's classes, who in 1564 had between 40 and 50 students.⁸ Likewise, there were also times in the 18th century when membership of the Cathedral chapel was combined with university studies, which would complement the education of chapel members. Previously, this combination had been less common, revealing the faculty's decline as a training college: from a primary focus to a somewhat secondary status (García-Bernalt, 2014).

There were some noteworthy students at the University, especially in its early days. However, it is difficult to know what their real level was, as there were no exams for students but rather a final test or academic degree (bachelor, graduate, doctor), albeit not specifically for music (Rodríguez-San Pedro, 1991). By contrast, there were exams for recruiting new members for chapel music. These auditions, which revealed the high level this group had in terms of practice, included providing the music for a set of lyrics, interpreting certain pieces, and conducting exercises, for example (Jiménez, 2009).

Finally, the lack of music education in primary schools in more recent times was amply reflected through the absence of music in the early schooling system that, faced with widespread illiteracy, had to be made compulsory and, as mentioned, segregated by sexes (Rusinek and Sarfson, 2016). Nevertheless, during Franco's time, and despite the numerous impositions described, the teacher's own reports on their placements mention that the discipline was very popular among the children, who "love music, singing makes them happy, and this is just as necessary for them as jumping or running".⁹

MODELS AND METHODS

With regards to the methodology, several aspects need to be mentioned. Firstly, the strict control over student attendance in the Cathedral as from the 16th century, affecting even choir boys, who were often threatened with losing a year's seniority if they were absent for

⁸ (University of Salamanca Archive) AUSA_AI,941, f. 84v.

⁹ (University of Salamanca Archive) AUSA_AI,770/9. Personal academic record of María Concepción Hernández Rodríguez. Subjects taught in the 4th year in primary school teacher training at the Escuela Normal de Magisterio Primario de Salamanca (1936), no numbering (f. 2).

eight days, or even expulsion in the case of a two-week absence.¹⁰ At the University, in 1772 it was compulsory for all teachers to keep an attendance register to discourage the absences that had been recorded in the past and ensure that “all the students in all faculties attend their respective lessons on time and do not leave a minute before they are over.”¹¹ Likewise, an order was issued in 1779 within this plea for full attendance that under no circumstances were students to be released before the end of the lesson, and this was introduced because of students’ poor conduct. Students were not even allowed to speak in class (Alejo, 1994). It should be noted accordingly that in medieval and modern times there was much greater tolerance in higher education than in the 18th century, and especially the 19th, in terms not just of absenteeism but also of general behaviour (Viñao, 1994).

There were also requirements on teachers to conduct themselves in a due and proper manner. Apart from certain exceptional cases of serious misdemeanour that would lead to a teacher’s suspension (Torrente, 2002), their conduct was generally good, even though absences were commonplace, mainly because they held different positions. This was the case in the 16th century with the aforementioned Juan de Oviedo, who was absent several times in order to prepare the Christmas music at the Cathedral. In these cases, or on some other occasions, when they had no choice, the students themselves stood in for the teacher.¹² Likewise, choir boys frequently replaced chapel staff in the event of sickness or absence. When the faculty chair was not also the chapel master, he was sometimes substituted by the latter, as happened in the 17th century in the cases of Roque Martínez and Diego Pontac.¹³ Another illustrative case occurred in the final and controversial years of the faculty chair, following Aragües’s retirement in 1773, when the University instructed his substitute “not to send a replacement without the Chancellor’s permission”. This contradicted the approved standards making the chair responsible for nominating his own replacement.¹⁴ There was, nonetheless, a somewhat chaotic situation and the proposal was to use a graduate as acting professor; a highly controversial move that would end with the aforementioned Doyagüe (Montero, 2011a).

In terms of working methods, the chapel master at the Cathedral read two lessons (supplementing the half-hour taught at the University): one hour in the morning before midday and another one later, as part of an education that began when the students arrived at the chapel and ended at a much higher level when, many years later, they left it.¹⁵ Oral lessons prevailed over written instruction at the University, understanding that these oral explanations without a printed text would require a greater mastery of the subject by the

¹⁰ (Salamanca Cathedral Archive) ACSa_AC.26, f. 703r.

¹¹ (University of Salamanca Archive) AUSA_AI,954 bis, f. 6r.

¹² (University of Salamanca Archive) AUSA_AI,941, ff. 84v and 103r, AUSA_AI,944, f. 116r, AUSA_AI,949, ff. 47v-48r.

¹³ (University of Salamanca Archive) AUSA_AI,954, f. 345v.

¹⁴ (University of Salamanca Archive) AUSA_AI,954 bis, f. 23v.

¹⁵ (Salamanca Cathedral Archive) ACSa, AC 29, f. 136r and following.

teacher, who would read *in voce*.¹⁶ Even though there were such texts, as described later in the section on resources, teachers at the University were not permitted to dictate or use notebooks or paper (Alejo Montes, 1994). Likewise, questions were usually answered and the teacher “asked everyone”. This was clearly a requirement in the 17th century onwards when the general rule was to ask students in class, as part of a methodology that aspired to be more interactive and less of a masterclass, as had happened in the past.¹⁷

More precisely, the University’s method for teaching theory was universally applied, and included “lessons”, “repetitions” and “disputations”; that is, analytical commentary on texts, public lectures, and dialectical exercises, which partially compensated for the lack of exams (Rodríguez-San Pedro, 1991, p. 11). As to the practical lessons, a number of aspects are important in the Modern Era. The first one is that the professor joined the students, providing them with a first-hand experience of singing, with expressions such as “he sings” or “he sings to them” the tones of different songs, “he does exercises and demonstrations”, and so on.¹⁸

It might also be reasonably assumed that this voice training had an instrumental accompaniment, despite there being no evidence of any keyboard instruments. We do know there was an organ in the University chapel in 1509 and that many of the professors were organists (Cruz, 2011). There is also a 17th century reference to a teacher playing “with expertise and finesse” in the practical voice lesson.¹⁹ There is clearly solid evidence up to contemporary times of a historic instrumental accompaniment in the Cathedral, where the presence of at least an organ in the choir is documented from very early on (Torrente, 2002).

Finally, a lot of time was spent on the lyrics, confirming their importance, as is apparent in certain comments (e.g., “the exercise is undertaken with great interest and the lyrics are added at the end of the song”, and “grammar is followed with the utmost care”).²⁰ It therefore stands to reason that these lyrics were repeated orally until they were committed to memory. This method would later change and, according to 20th century references to other contexts apart from the University or the Cathedral, students copied the lyrics into their notebooks in order to memorise them. This means that the simplest folk songs that were most easily remembered by students that heard them often in other settings do not appear in school notebooks.²¹ By contrast, those same notebooks do tend to contain the scores of religious songs, even if only because of their greater difficulty.²²

¹⁶ (University of Salamanca Archive) AUSA_AI,952, digitalised page number 288.

¹⁷ (University of Salamanca Archive) AUSA_AI,954, f. 389r and AUSA_AI,954 bis, f. 26r.

¹⁸ (University of Salamanca Archive) AUSA_AI,953, f. 229r and AUSA_AI,954, f. 444v.

¹⁹ (University of Salamanca Archive) AUSA_AI,953, f. 187v.

²⁰ (University of Salamanca Archive) AUSA_AI,953, ff. 71r and 78v, and AUSA_AI,954, f. 340r.

²¹ Other notebooks: *cuadernos de música*, no. 79 y 6.3, «Fondo documental de cuadernos escolares del Centro Museo Pedagógico de la Universidad de Salamanca, Zamora».

²² Other notebook: *cuadernos de música*, no. 51, «Fondo documental de cuadernos escolares del Centro Museo Pedagógico de la Universidad de Salamanca, Zamora».

In due course, in the years prior to Franco's dictatorship, the Republic seems to have given music greater importance. Some textbooks also included "methodological instructions on the use of the text in class" (de la Vega, 2015, p. 285), for the first time diverging from the exclusive oral guidelines of past times. Naturally enough, the 20th century, in general, also had a system of oral repetition of songs that were short and frequently repeated.²³ This and other aspects of the way of studying music, which do not appear to have evolved very much despite certain specific moments, would start to change with the advent of democracy.

MATERIALS AND RESOURCES

Finally, some of the materials and resources used appear to have been repeated over a long period. Besides the keyboard instruments at the University and the Cathedral, there are a number of printed sources that we know were used and which also shed light on the content addressed. These major texts or treatises are scarce and outdated, with certain highly influential sources involving a handful of authors that have perdured over time, and to some extent this reflects the decadence of education in more recent times.

In terms of the theoretical part of the lessons at the University, and besides other available references whose use in class cannot be confirmed, we should first single out Boethius's *De institutione musica*; an essential reference for the discipline from the 9th century onwards, its approach to music theory dates back to ancient Greece, which is far removed from the musical discourse of the Middle Ages and subsequent periods. Besides the references that show it was used in Modern Era lessons,²⁴ we should also remember what was said about its use for the faculty chair exam in that period.

Another major reference is the first book of the Venerable Bede's *De Arithmetice Prepositionibus* from the High Middle Ages, which we know was used as a theoretical classroom text from at least the 16th century.²⁵ Another one, now adopting both approaches, is *Tractado de principios de música practica y teórica*, written by Juan Espinosa, a 16th century scholar, which was used from at least the second half of that century.²⁶ Finally, there is the renowned *De Musica libri septem*, written by Francisco Salinas, the celebrated 16th century faculty chair, which was probably designed initially as a textbook for his classes, being used by Salinas himself even before its actual publication in 1577 (Cruz, 2021). Nevertheless, although other professors at the University, such as Juan Escribano, would also use this treatise as their

²³ (University of Salamanca Archive) AUSA_AI,770/9, personal academic record of the student María Concepción Hernández Rodríguez. Subjects taught in the 4th year at the teacher training college - *Escuela Normal de Magisterio Primario* – in Salamanca (1936), no pagination (f. 2).

²⁴ (University of Salamanca Archive) AUSA_AI,953, f. 229r.

²⁵ (University of Salamanca Archive) AUSA_AI,951, f. 11v.

²⁶ (University of Salamanca Archive) AUSA_AI,942, f 87v.

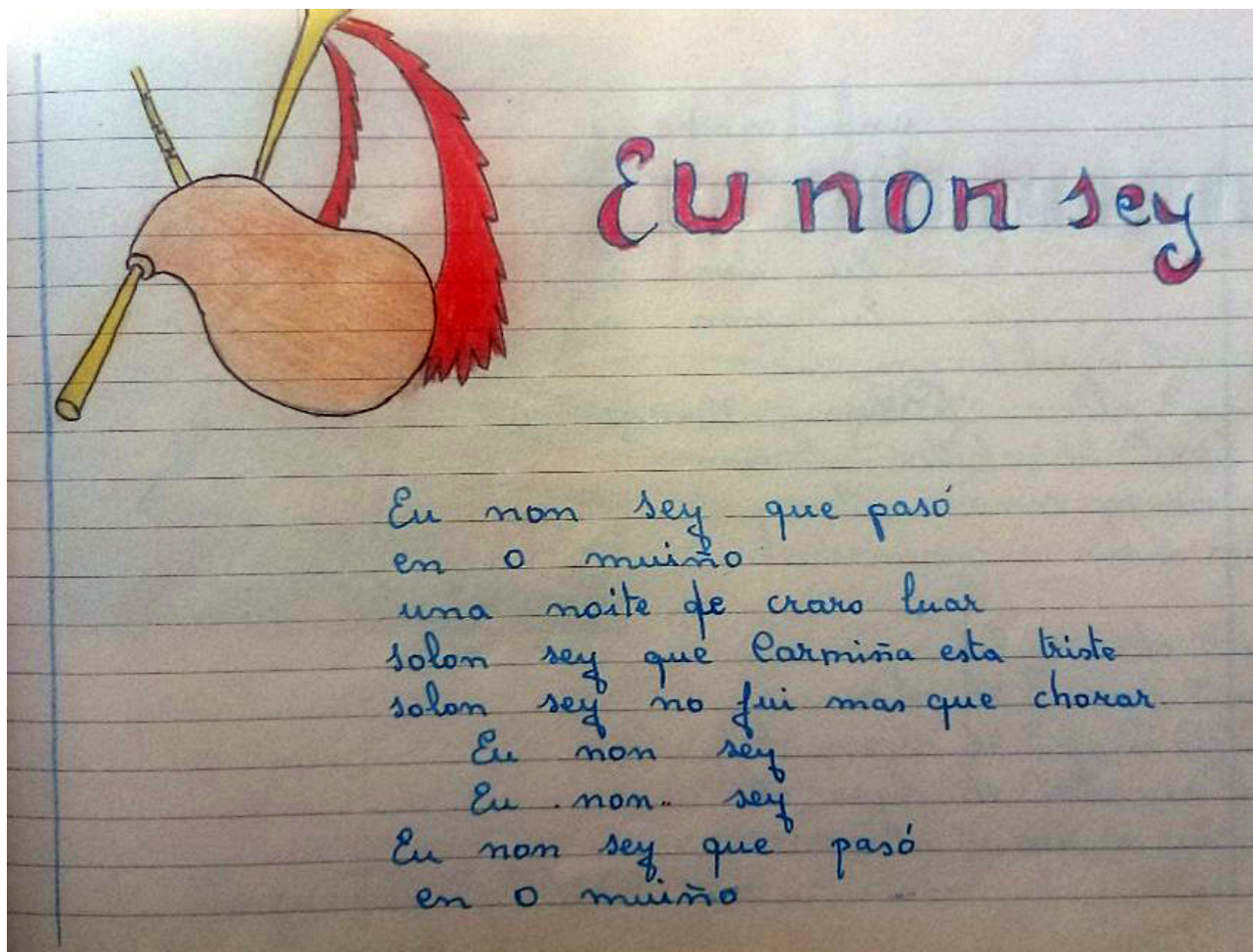


Figure 4 – Author’s photo of the first part of the lyrics of the Galician song “Eu non sey”. Otros cuadernos: cuadernos de música no. 79, no page numbering (thanks to “Fondo documental de cuadernos escolares del Centro Museo Pedagógico de la Universidad de Salamanca, Zamora”).

reference book,²⁷ it does not seem to have been widely used or influential in Spain, despite interesting factors such as the practical compilation that Salinas makes of popular melodies to illustrate the theoretical approaches (Rubio de la Iglesia, 2014), together with the acclaim it would subsequently receive (Becedas, 2014).

On the practical side, a distinction may be made between those texts used for monodic singing and those for polyphonic singing. As regards the former, mention should again be made of Juan Espinosa’s treatise, as well as Juan Martínez’s *Arte del canto llano*, the most widely used texts in the 16th and 17th centuries in several locations in the Spanish-speaking world, including Salamanca (Mazuela, 2014). In terms of polyphonic singing, there are the first and second missals by Cristóbal de Morales, which are also mentioned in the University chapel inventory, which might have been used together with other musical texts, as well as

²⁷ (University of Salamanca Archive) AUSa_AI, RE 8, 1 (Juan Escribano), f. 83r.

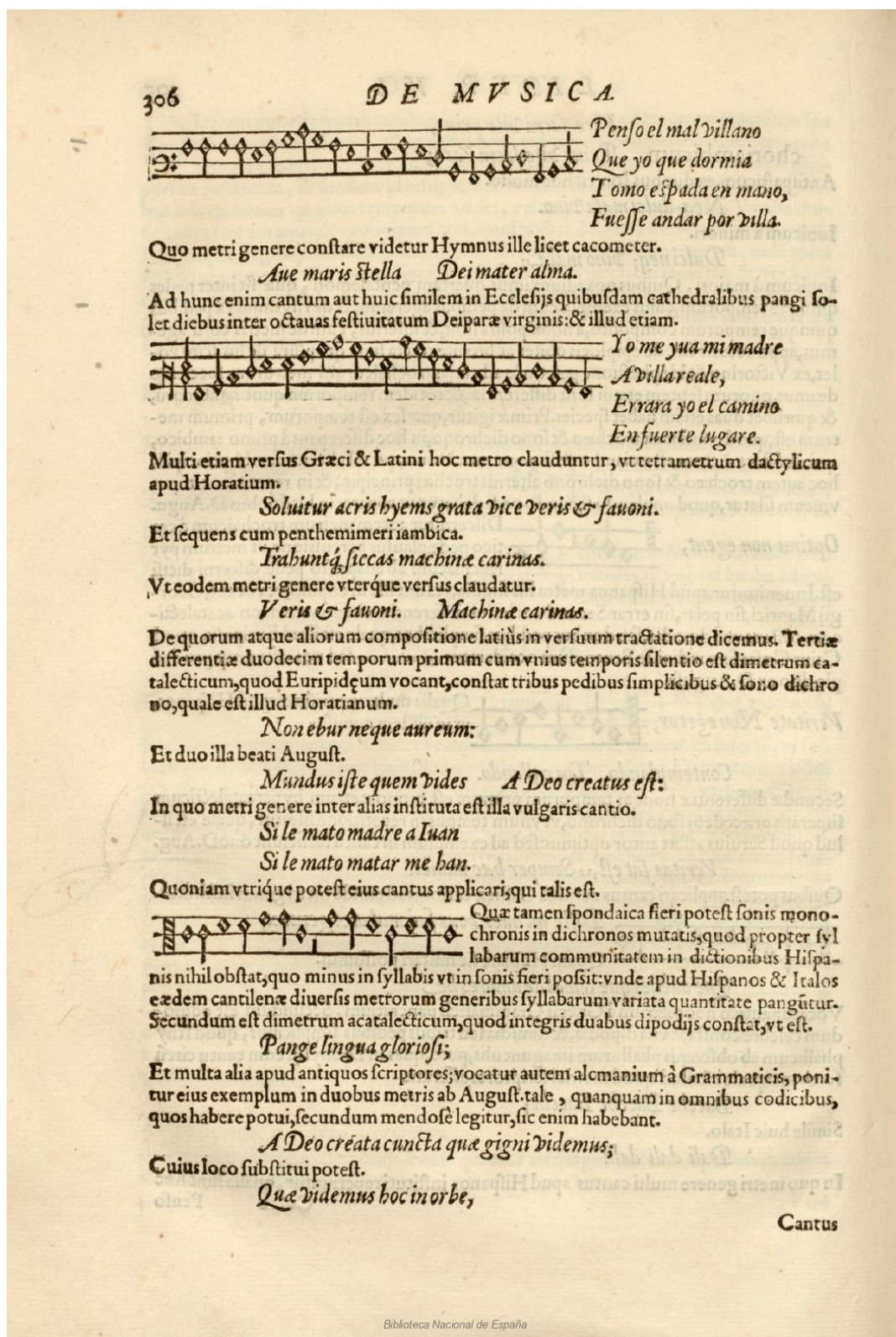


Figure 5 – Photo of *De Musica libri septem* with the addition of popular melodies, in Spanish, within the Latin text. Salamanca, thanks to Biblioteca General Universitaria, f. 306.

Josquin's masses for four voices or Clemens non-Papa's missal. This confirms a degree of internationalization of the repertoire through composers such as Josquin, who were highly esteemed abroad (Cruz, 2021).²⁸ Some of these texts were also used at the Cathedral, which we should remember had no theoretical lessons, thereby explaining the lack of such references. Its remarkable inventory, however, has records of books by Morales and other musicians and teachers such as Vivanco and Doyagüe (Montero, 2011b).

Now in more contemporary times, resources for the *Escuela Normal* were slightly different, albeit equally scarce if we consider the period involved, as all that survives are references to texts. Some of the main ones are M^a Teresa García Cañizal's *Música y cantos Escolares para las clases del Magisterio Primario* and Aníbal Sánchez Fraile's *Didáctica de la Música. Manual de solfeo vocal y canto escolar*. The former, published in 1944, was a curriculum of 24 music lessons used at teacher training colleges, whose content was music theory and voice training, which does not appear to differ much from what came before. The latter, published in 1967, is a handbook for prospective music teachers with theoretical-practical exercises on vocal music, designed not only for the teachers but also for the children they would be teaching. This text, with a varied repertoire of folk and popular songs and for the first time with a number of questions on music and movement, was used in the first year of primary teacher training - *magisterio* - when the syllabus introduced other subjects apart from the ever-present theory and intonation (García, 1994).

Finally, at this same time, but within the field of primary education, we should not forget the testimonies of the teachers themselves on the texts used with children in the classroom. They refer to the fact that teachers should always use the popular songbooks *Cantos Populares españoles* by Rafael Benedito and *Canciones Españolas* by Martínez Torner.²⁹ This choice of repertoire, far removed from the political or religious pieces that were to make a strong comeback under the Franco dictatorship, alludes to the 1924 *Cantos populares españoles*, for mixed-voice choirs and the increasingly present piano, by the folklorist and pedagogue Rafael Benedito. He later became national music advisor to the *Sección Femenina* and contributor to the publication *Consigna* (Manrique, Monreal, and Vicente-Mariño, 2017),³⁰ and to the *Cuarenta Canciones Españolas* harmonised by the composer and musicologist Eduardo Martínez Torner, and also published in 1924.

²⁸ Some texts by Juan de Montoya on music and singing donated to the University by the author himself, who was the priest and organist at the famous San Giacomo degli Spagnoli church in Rome (University of Salamanca Archive. AUSA_AI,1306, ff. 30v-31r and AUSA_AI,74, f. 97r).

²⁹ (University of Salamanca Archive) AUSA_AI,770/9. Personal academic record of the student María Concepción Hernández Rodríguez. Subjects taught in the 4th year at the primary teacher training college - *Escuela Normal de Magisterio Primario* - in Salamanca (1936), no pagination (f. 2).

³⁰ *Consigna: Publication of the Sección Femenina for women teachers*, Salamanca University Library, M 463/1 (1942), 25 (no. 20, Year II)

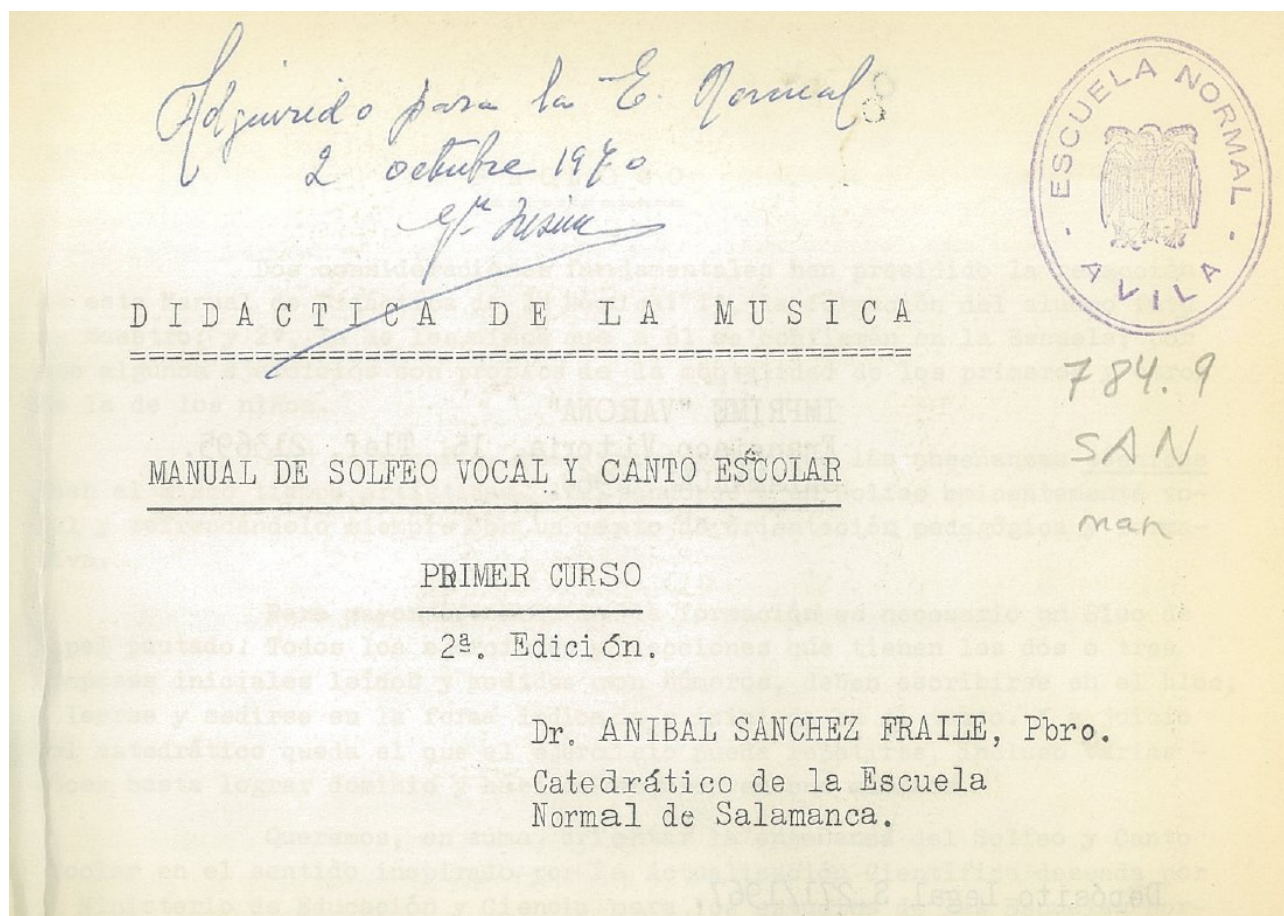


Figure 6 – Author's photo of *Didáctica de la Música. Manual de solfeo vocal y canto escolar*, front page with information on how the copy of the teacher at the *Escuela Normal* in Salamanca is for the *Escuela Normal* in Ávila. Aníbal Sánchez Fraile, 1967. Biblioteca de Educación y Turismo de Ávila, Universidad de Salamanca.

CONCLUSIONS

Teachers have undoubtedly played a key role in an approach to music education that has historically focused on males. In this regard, we have described their workspaces, focused on the Cathedral and the University in Salamanca down to modern times, the scarcity of materials and resources, which highlights the teacher's importance as the core provider of knowledge, their basic training, and their different professional circumstances.

In addition, we have also outlined certain aspects about their students, historically also mostly male, and the kind of traditional and oral lessons and methods used, as well as the content they usually taught until the 20th century, focusing on vocal music as a practice and on basic music theory. The latter was initially taught mainly at the University in the 16th century, when it was the main focus, with a certain detachment from the practical side. In time, the gap between them would gradually close as practice gained in importance.

This is all part of a discipline that, against a background of educational deprivation that has affected Spain at many times in its history, became consolidated in the Modern Age and hardly evolved over the centuries, mainly because of the Cathedral's influence as the mainstay of education. Accordingly, it had its heyday in the 16th century and gradually declined until a major change occurred in the 19th century following the disappearance of the university faculty and the emergence of other music schools that would take over what had been historically taught at Cathedral chapels or, in some cities, at the university.

Franco's dictatorship in the 20th century failed to see music education evolve as it was expected. Thus, despite the education system opening up to women and girls and certain advances in the system of teaching or the new popular or folkloric music involved, this education returned to those almost forgotten times when the discipline was clearly conditioned by the political and religious zeitgeist or by issues of gender. All this occurred as part of a music education that transmitted values, in this case associated with the lyrics of the songs, which would influence a type of teaching that following the end of the dictatorship would embrace precepts closer to current ones.

Following the contribution of new information and its conflation with what was already available, there seems to be a clear need to continue working to complete the history of music education even in Salamanca, as a benchmark in this field. It thus stands as the only reference for the early days of music education in Spain, and in turn reveals the decadence of its foremost institutions, above all the University, and the new options that would emerge. In short, Salamanca provides a clear reference to focus on as a heritage site with regard to the discipline of music. A musical legacy inherited and integrated by both tangible and intangible aspects such as practices, protagonists, narratives, facilities, and documents that have been presented here for their appreciation (Hernández-de la Cruz, Martínez-Rodríguez, García-Ceballos and Rivero, 2023), based on the fact that any historical-educational legacy should first be reassessed through each place and time (Martínez and Fontal, 2020).

This means two clear research streams that need to be addressed in the future: comparing certain aspects commented here (models and methods, materials and resources...) with other important centres of learning in Spain, which would reinforce some of the findings made, and, in the same way, comparing the music education described here with its history outside Spain, for example in its neighboring Latin America. This will contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of, at least, the history of music education in Spain that has concerned us here, but which still requires further study.

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Gabriel Parra Nieto é Doctor en Educación, Licenciado en Pedagogía y Diplomado en Magisterio por la Universidad de Salamanca.

E-mail: gabrielparra@usal.es

Javier Cruz Rodríguez é Professor Permanente Laboral. Departamento de Didáctica de la Expresión Musical, Plástica y Corporal. Doctor en Historia y ciencias de la música, Licenciado en Historia del Arte, así como en Historia y Ciencias de la Música por la Universidad de Salamanca.

E-mail: javiercruz@usal.es

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