

Sound and urban life in a small Spanish town during the *ancien régime*

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ABSTRACT: Although urban historians have recently begun to study the city and the senses, relatively few have investigated the aural environment experienced by the ear. To a certain extent, towns are thus characterized as silent societies and sounds of whatever kind are not viewed as an integral part of urban life. This article, based on a small Spanish town called Jaca, aims to describe some of its most notable sounds during the *ancien régime* and to explore how inhabitants perceived them. Such an approach provides a deeper and more comprehensive insight into the totality of the urban experience of townspeople of the period, and also suggests some new lines of enquiry for future musicological research.

‘Laus Deum verum, voco populum,
congrego clerum, satam fugo,
defunctos ploro, festa decoro’
(inscription frequently found on bells)

If we could walk around the streets of a pre-industrial town, what sounds would we hear? In general, urban historians have paid relatively little attention to this question and have largely ignored the aural element of urban experience. The question has, however, stimulated the imagination of musicologists, especially since the chapter ‘Townscape – soundscape’ in Reinhard Strohm’s highly-praised book on Bruges.¹ Yet, musicological studies have themselves focused on the elaborate written or improvised music of towns, which was generally performed by professionally qualified, trained musicians.² Indeed these sounds – largely associated with elite institutions and performers – have been the almost exclusive focus in musicological studies of recent decades, even

* For further details, see M.A. Marín, *Music on the Margin. Urban Musical Life in Eighteenth-Century Jaca (Spain)* (Kassel, 2002). The research has been supported by Institución Fernando el Católico (Saragossa), Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses (Huesca) and the Central Research Fund of University of London. The following abbreviations have been used: AMJ: Archivo Municipal de Jaca; ACEPZ: Archivo del Colegio de las Escuelas Pías de Zaragoza; ACEPJ: Archivo de las Escuelas Pías de Jaca; LG: *Libro de Gestis* (Cathedral chapter’s record books); s.: *sueldo* (the Aragonese currency).

¹ R. Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford, 1985; 2nd edn 1990), 1–9; for other works see the publications listed by Kisby in the present volume.

² See, for instance, two recent monograph issues dedicated to listening practice: *Early Music*, 25, 4 (1997), and *Musical Quarterly*, 82, 3/4 (1998).

in those works that have purported to take an 'urban approach'. Although there is no doubt that plainchant, polyphony and other kinds of concerted music shaped the urban soundscape, they formed only a portion of the total auditory environment and it seems that they did not always constitute the central part of the aural experiences of most urban dwellers. Indeed many citizens' experiences in this respect derived primarily from other 'noises'.³

It is the study of these other sounds, many of which were produced during the mundane occasions of everyday life, in the Spanish town of Jaca, that forms the core of this article. It will aim to take into account some of the approaches of anthropological and ethnographical work on urban history which have recently drawn attention to the importance of noise in towns and the meanings it communicated.⁴ It will also endeavour to draw on theories put forward by cultural historians who have emphasized the historicity of the balance of the senses and have stressed how this factor should be taken into account when trying to understand the perceptions of contemporaries from other historical societies.⁵ In the light of this, I will now turn first to the inhabitants of Jaca – who listened and heard during the period under consideration – and describe the urban space that they occupied.

Space and inhabitants

The town of Jaca has 700 houses and it is the fourth largest in this kingdom [of Aragon]. It is situated at the foot of the highest range in the Pyrenees, on flat ground and in pleasant surroundings. Defined by strong stone walls with towers, it is the closest Aragonese town to the French kingdom, as it is only four leagues away from the border. There are nobility in the town, although they are not very rich because this is a remote place with little activity.⁶

³ The presence of voices and screams occurring during music in royal entries in Spain has been considered in J.J. Carreras, 'El Parnaso encantado: Las representaciones de la música en la entrada real de Ana de Austria (Madrid, 1570)', in F. Checa (ed.), *Felipe II. Un monarca y su época* (Madrid, 1998), 252–67, and in T. Knighton and C. Morte, 'Ferdinand of Aragon's entry into Valladolid in 1513: the triumph of a Christian king', *Early Music History*, 18 (1999), 119–63.

⁴ For Spanish towns see, for example, J.A. González Alcántud, 'Territorio y ruido en la fiesta', in P. Córdoba, J.P. Entienve and E.R. Bueno (eds), *La Fiesta, la ceremonia, el rito* (Granada, 1990), 63–78.

⁵ P. Burke, *The Historical Anthropology in Early Modern Italy. Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge, 1987), 3.

⁶ This is an excerpt from a report made before 1566 on the north Aragonese dioceses. It is cited in A. Durán Gudíol, 'Un informe del siglo XVI sobre el obispado de Huesca', *Argensola*, 32 (1957), 277. The original in Spanish reads: 'La ciudad de Jaca es de 700 casas y la cuarta en este reino en voto y lugar. Está edificada a las faldas de lo más alto de los Pirineos y en lugar llano, y para en montaña apacible. De fuertes y torreados muros de piedra, es la más vecina ciudad del reino de Francia que hay en Aragón, porque apenas está a cuatro leguas de sus mojonés. Hay en ella gente noble aunque no muy rica, porque es lugar apartado y de poco trato'.

This is how Jaca appeared to an anonymous mid-sixteenth-century cleric who was not a native of the town. This perceptive observer perfectly described the main characteristics of the town's physical setting: a strategically defensive site (symbolized by the 'stone walls with towers') on a boundary ('only four leagues away from the border') and on the geographical periphery ('a remote place').⁷ The cleric also drew attention to the surrounding landscape formed by the Pyrenees, which impeded any concentration of population and economy and led to the establishment of dispersed settlements in small decentralized units.⁸ Jaca was for centuries the only urban settlement in the overwhelmingly rural Aragonese Pyrenees.

This distinctive location has played a part in the history of Jaca since the second half of the eleventh century, when as the temporary capital of Aragon it experienced rapid urban growth. Afterwards the town steadily declined, before witnessing an urban renaissance during the fifteenth and especially the sixteenth centuries: the local economy boomed, a civic bourgeoisie emerged and new institutions were established. Most of the institutions active in Jaca during the *ancien régime* came into being in the brief period between 1555 and 1616, when the institutional map underwent dramatic changes: the bishopric, three – out of the total five – religious communities and the military citadel were all established during this 61-year period. Along with the cathedral, these buildings were the most prominent and their steeples came to dominate the skyline.

The town plan, which originated in the eleventh century, remained essentially unaltered until the beginning of the twentieth century.⁹ The 21 streets in the town by the early eighteenth century were lined with 463 houses built in rows and inhabited by 498 families.¹⁰ Only 66 families lived in shared accommodation, with relatives in many cases, which

⁷ The peripheral location of Jaca had its impact on the documentation that it engendered. There is an exasperating lack of references in diaries and other personal accounts of travellers, but no fewer than fourteen eighteenth-century maps of the town and its surroundings have been found (listed in Marín, *Music on the Margin*, 21).

⁸ According to L.H. Nelson, 'The foundation of Jaca (1076): urban growth in early Aragon', *Spectrum*, 53, 4 (1978), 689, focused on medieval Jaca, but equally applicable as a general trend until the development of transport and communications in the nineteenth century.

⁹ For an early, but still valid study of the medieval urban development of Jaca, see J.M. Lacarra, 'Desarrollo urbano de Jaca en la Edad Media', *Estudios de la Edad Media en la Corona de Aragón*, 4 (1951), 139–55. This aspect has also been thoroughly studied in J. Passini, 'La structure urbaine de Jaca aux XIe et XIIe siècles', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 24 (1988), 71–97.

¹⁰ Figures taken from a population census made in 1718 with an exhaustive attention to detail are reproduced in A. Canellas López, 'Demografía de la ciudad de Jaca en el reinado de Felipe V de Borbón', *Pirineos*, 83–86 (1967), 203–69; figures in this article come from this source, unless otherwise stated. Passini, 'La structure urbaine', 96, counts some 40 roads by the end of the century. See also his splendid Tables 1 and 2 for the different names of roads and a summary account of the history of all the institutions.

suggests that most dwellings had either one or two storeys. Larger residential blocks had interior orchards and small cultivable plots, especially in the more sparsely populated southern half; most of the farmers also lived in this area. As is shown in the street plan, the Calle Mayor constituted an east-west axis that clearly divided the town into northern and southern halves, marking a separation not only in the urban physiognomy (the north consisting of shorter streets that were more densely populated), but also in the social status of the town's inhabitants and the symbolic perception of the urban space.¹¹ The different financial and sanitary resources of these two halves appears to be exemplified by the death rate during the plague that devastated the town between October 1653 and December 1654. A significantly smaller proportion of the population north of the Calle Mayor fell victim to the disease.

For a contemporary visitor the dimensions of the town must have appeared to be rather small. The entire length of the Calle Mayor, separating the Puerta de las Monjas and the Puerta de San Francisco, is a distance of only approximately 415 metres, while from the southernmost point of the town walls (at the end of the Calle Castellar) to the northernmost (at the Campo del Toro) is around 670 metres (Figure 1). In this urban space, inhabited by between 2,300 and 3,200 people during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were produced the sounds upon which this article is based.

The generally accurate census made in 1718 paints a fairly complete picture of the occupational structure in Jaca. Of the 2,539 inhabitants listed, 978 declared a profession.¹² A wide range of occupations is recorded (no fewer than 85), and Jaca clearly exhibited the occupational heterogeneity characteristic of many other towns. Interestingly, 75 per cent of the working population pursued just seven different professions: domestic servants, farmers, clergy, wool-processors (*pelaires*), weavers, day-labourers (*jornaleros*) and shoemakers. This particular characteristic was largely a result of Jaca's status as a diocesan town (clergy made up 13 per cent of the working population) and the economic characteristics of its surrounding area, consisting of fertile valleys for agriculture and vast quantities of upland for sheep.¹³ Purely urban professions, such as doctors, surgeons, notaries or teachers, are also recorded in the census, if in far smaller numbers. Painters and sculptors were frequently hired by

¹¹ J. Maiso González, *La peste aragonesa de 1648 a 1654* (Zaragoza, 1982), 147.

¹² Canellas, 'Demografía', 216, gives the figure 929. However, the religious personnel do not add up to 83 individuals (p. 217) but 132 (p. 253), including the regular clergy.

¹³ For a general account of the main economic activities in eighteenth-century Jaca, see I. Asso, *Historia de la economía política de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1798), 24–31 [facsimile edition by J.M. Casas Torres, Zaragoza, 1983] and M.C. Ansón Calvo and S. Gómez, 'Estudio socio-económico de la zona de influencia de Jaca en la Modernidad', in I. Falcón Pérez (ed.), *Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. Jaca en la Corona de Aragón (Siglos XII-XVIII)* (Jaca, 1993), vol. 3, 111–29.

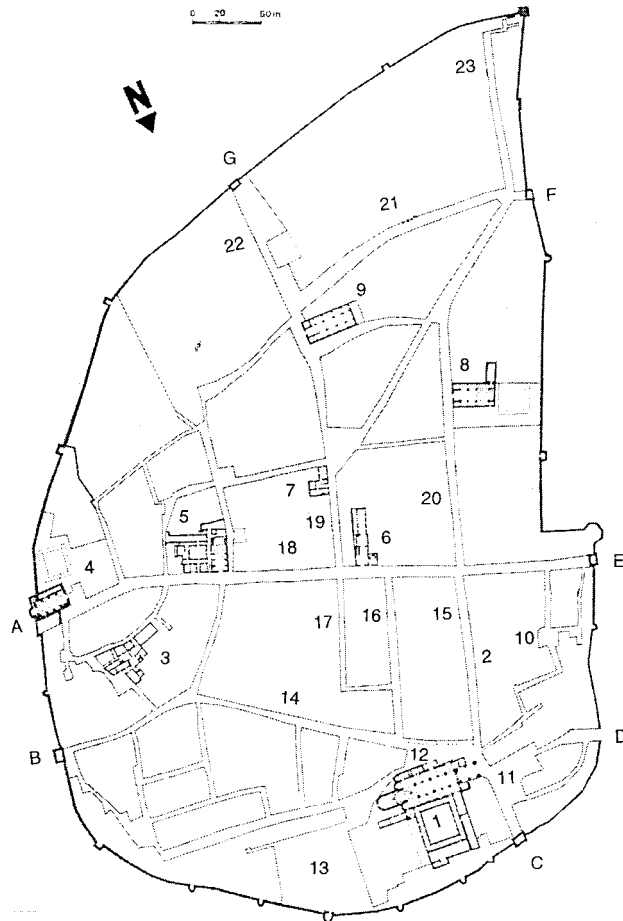


Figure 1: Street plan of early modern Jaca

Key: (A) Puerta de las Monjas, (B) Puerta Puerta Nueva, (C) Puerta de San Pedro, (D) Puerta de Santa Orosia, (E) Puerta de San Francisco, (F) Puerta de los Baños, (G) Puerta Estudio, (1) Cathedral, (2) Bishop's Palace, (3) Hospital, (4) Convent of Santa Cruz, (5) Escuelas Pías, (6) Town Council, (7) Prison, (8) Monastery of Carmen, (9) Monastery of Santo Domingo, (10) Seminar, (11) Plaza de San Pedro, (12) Plaza del Mercado, (13) Plaza del Toro, (14) Calle Clavería, (15) Calle del Obispo, (16) Calle Damas, (17) Calle Carnicerías, (18) Calle Mayor, (19) Calle del Reloj, (20) Calle del Carmen, (21) Calle del Coso, (22) Calle Ferrenal, (23) Calle Castellar.

Note: Puerta = gate; Calle = road. *Source:* AMJ [caja 267, street census from 1786] and Passini 'La structure urbaine', 73.

confraternities. Although printers and booksellers were not established as residents, itinerant booksellers may have visited the town.¹⁴

The same census also provides information about the social configuration of the population. This source records 17 French merchants and servants, and more than 110 natives of nearby villages living in the town as domestic servants. Similarly, the number of military personnel stationed at the citadel outside the town's walls could number several dozen in peacetime or up to several hundred during a war, although they are scarcely ever represented in the municipal documentation.¹⁵ Many soldiers were outsiders, and their cosmopolitan character, as well as their influence on the Jaca soundscape as drum players, cannot be doubted. In addition, trade brought regular visitors to the town from the hinterland and passers-by from further afield. Jaca's close commercial interdependency with the surrounding area was combined with trade activities beyond. It meant that citizens could acquire a quite wide variety of products, ranging from Saragossan cloths to spirits from Hendaye (France) and even Milanese steel.¹⁶ Moreover, Jaca was the first urban settlement that pilgrims entering the Iberian Peninsula through the Somport Pass encountered on the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela.

Thus villagers from the nearby hinterland perceived the town as the urban settlement where they could sell their surplus and buy manufactured goods. High-ranking clergy and soldiers who came from more distant regions or countries would have perceived the town respectively as a diocesan see and as a defensive site. Whereas from a local perspective Jaca was *the* centre of a rural area, from the national perspective Jaca was a border town close to a different country. These dual perceptions, arising from the town's particular location, were inextricably linked with its mixed and varied social composition.

Sound and urban life

What sounds invaded the urban activity of Jaca and how were they perceived by inhabitants? Life in Jaca, as in all towns, was shaped by all kinds of sounds of varied nature and complexity. The buzz of urban activity produced a constant background noise, particularly some enterprises. The work of the seventeen shoemakers, six bricklayers, four

¹⁴ A census made in the 1790s of the foreigners who visited the town records one bookseller (*librero*), two *papeleros* (either stationers or paper manufacturers) and two sculptors: AMJ, caja 348.

¹⁵ In 1787 there were 106 soldiers stationed at the citadel, according to M.C. Ansón Calvo, 'La emigración desde la zona de influencia de Jaca en el siglo XVIII', in Falcón Pérez, *Jaca en la Corona de Aragón*, vol. 3, 106.

¹⁶ According to the account book of the shopkeeper Juan Antonio de Campo. This is one of the few sources that does not come from an institution, thus reflecting the private world of an individual: AMJ, caja 78, f. 90v-91r.

boilmarkers and one blacksmith active in 1718 would surely be noticed in the areas of the town in which these occupations were clustered. By the same token, inevitable noises arose from marketing, conversation or manufacturing, probably coinciding with other Spanish places of equal size and profile.

The liturgical calendar played a significant role in shaping the Jaca soundscape. On non-feast days or ferial days, by far the most numerous in the annual liturgical cycle, bells reminded inhabitants of the moment to pray while the crier's shouts announced news in the main squares and streets. Special feast days within the local calendar were also loudly signified by bells and fireworks, as is documented by records of payments to town council employees for ringing the bells and of expenses for gunpowder.¹⁷ Also, the townspeople would have noticed the pealing of bells announcing the twenty-one main feast days (plus all Sundays) celebrated by the town each year on which they were expected to attend a mass, work being strictly forbidden.¹⁸ On most Sundays, the sound of bells was mixed up with the voices of the students of a college run by the Scolopian religious order who paraded 'harmoniously and solemnly singing the Holy Rosary' and other 'devout songs'.¹⁹ In addition, elaborate vocal and instrumental music would have also formed part of the festal celebrations, though it seems it was performed less frequently, usually outdoors and mainly on special occasions. On a specially significant political celebration on the first Friday of May – the commemoration of a medieval victory over the Moors – the drum-playing of soldiers marching through the Calle Mayor would have been heard in both halves of the town.

Among the sounds that could be heard in all Spanish towns during the *ancien régime*, the trumpet was surely one of the most noticeable. In Jaca, the town crier, employed by the council, publicly announced news and decrees, attracting the townspeople's attention with a trumpet call. The holder of this position, dressed in red and blue and wearing a hat, is referred to either as crier (*pregonero*) or trumpeter (*trompeta*) in the municipal sources, indicating the indistinguishable nature of these two functions since the late Middle Ages.²⁰ For the delivery of some cries, perhaps those containing particularly important news, the collaboration

¹⁷ An example of bell-ringing payments on the feasts of San Sebastián (20 Jan.) and Santa Águeda (5 Feb.) is in AMJ, caja 519 (1769). Expenses for gunpowder and payments to the muleteer for bringing it from Saragossa appear, for example, in AMJ, caja 517 (1725, 1727, 1730 and 1731).

¹⁸ This was one of the printed regulations approved by the synod of Jaca diocese held in 1756 under the auspices of the Bishop Pascual López in his *Constituciones Sinodales de la Diócesis de Jaca* (Zaragoza, 1766), 31, where the feast days are listed.

¹⁹ Respectively ACEPZ, 39.c.27 and ACEPJ, 2/736.

²⁰ Two documented cases in point are the large cities of Bruges and Barcelona, respectively in Strohm, *Music*, 4 and K. Kreitner, 'The city trumpeter of late-fifteenth-century Barcelona', *Musica Disciplina*, XLVI (1992), 135. On p. 137, the latter calculates that as a rough average the trumpeter made one announcement every eleven days.

of drummers was requested. Thus, when the 1714 peace treaty with Holland in the final stage of the War of Succession was proclaimed to the townspeople of Jaca, two drummers accompanied the crier.²¹ In fact, documentation from the town council reveals that it possessed a trumpet, and also one or more drums, although no regular position for a drummer is ever mentioned.²²

According to the account books of the town council, the crier-trumpeter seems to have carried out other civic and entertaining duties. An entry in 1735 records a payment of 8s. 'to the trumpeter for the pillory of a thief and having played the trumpet'.²³ Similarly, the trumpeter also played during the bull-fighting in celebration of the feast of Santa Orosia (25 June), a feast in which soldiers also took part playing drums. Moreover, this municipal musician seems occasionally to have staged some sort of concerts, perhaps with other musicians. On 2 October 1729, the town council gave him 34s. 'to pay for his shoes and other repairs for the day of the concert', although no further explanation is given of what this 'concert' may have consisted.²⁴ The frequency of these public performances, the musicians involved and the repertory performed are all largely unknown. In the same way, the authorities in a number of Spanish cities stipulated that minstrels had to give regular public performances in open spaces. In the early seventeenth century, the three trumpeters employed by Granada City Council had to play to entertain pedestrians, as did the five trumpeters from Saragossa City Council. Significantly, in both cases the performances took place on summer evenings on the banks of the river.²⁵

Evidence concerning the identities of those who held this post is scarce. Between 1713 and 1726 it is known to have been held by Juan Casaferrat (or Jean de Casafoursat, as he signed himself) who was probably of French extraction. A population census of 1729 names José Montes as 'trumpeter', suggesting that he had succeeded Casaferrat. Cristóbal Turrado, who was born in the citadel, appears in this post between 1732 and 1735, and Pablo Benito in the years 1785–87. The dates on which they took up or relinquished the post are not recorded, so each of them might have served for longer than the surviving documentation

²¹ AMJ, caja 218, 'A dos tambores por asistir al bando de la paz con Holanda'. There was another payment to drummers for a similar purpose in 1717 in AMJ, caja 516.

²² An inventory of the town council's possessions made in 1675 cites 'one of the two trumpets that there used to be' ('una trompeta de dos que había'), in AMJ, caja 850. A new trumpet was bought in 1728 for 84s., see AMJ, caja 517. Repairs to what was apparently the only drum belonging to the town council were frequent throughout the century; a case in point is that of 1762, AMJ, caja 519.

²³ 'al trompeta por haber puesto a un ladrón en la argolla y tocó la trompeta', AMJ, caja 518.

²⁴ 'al trompeta 34s que la ciudad le había ofrecido dar para zapatos y otros remiendos el día del concierto', AMJ, caja 517.

²⁵ Respectively, P. Ramos, *La música en la Catedral de Granada en la primera mitad del siglo XVII*. Diego de Pontac, 2 vols (Granada, 1994), vol. 1, 41, 60, and P. Calahorra, *La Música en Zaragoza en los siglos XVI y XVII*, 2 vols (Zaragoza, 1978), vol. 2, 256, 295.

suggests. The salary of the 'trumpeter' in the early 1720s amounted to 200s. a year, while between 1727 and 1740 a considerably higher sum of around 320s. a year was paid. In addition, in 1731 the town council refurbished the house inhabited by the trumpeter, suggesting that he was helped with accommodation arrangements.²⁶ Significantly, the town trumpeters (*clarines*) of a reasonably small town like Bilbao have been characterized as mainly foreigners and former soldiers.²⁷ These characteristics were also apparent in the profiles of the four documented trumpeters of eighteenth-century Jaca.

Another typically urban sound included the shouts of the crier in open spaces, which are distantly echoed in the several dozen surviving cries (*pregones*).²⁸ They were the official, and probably most effective, method of informing townspeople about both local and national events. After the formulaic beginning of 'Listen that they let you know' ('Oíd que os hacen saber'), the crier read out his notice in a loud voice in the crowded areas of the town. The contents of the cries provide a vivid insight into the daily concerns of the authorities and the population: the stipulation of prices for meat, bread and oil; the obligation to clean the streets for the commemoration of the first Friday of May; or the prohibition against mistreating foreigners, particularly French inhabitants. Oral transmission was undoubtedly the most frequent channel for publicizing things, but as the century progressed, written communication apparently became more effective in Jaca. When a general procession was held in 1769 to implore divine help to mitigate a plague, the cathedral chapter decided to 'put decrees up on church doors so that people will be informed'.²⁹ This decision suggests that at least some inhabitants were able to read, and that the crier's oral delivery of news was not considered completely satisfactory in all circumstances.

Above all, the sound most inextricably associated with the daily urban experience of townspeople during the *ancien régime* was undoubtedly that of the bells. The importance of bells is substantiated by disputes from time to time arising among the institutions wishing to control them.³⁰ Due to the small size of Jaca, the peals of bells emanating daily

²⁶ The sources containing the earliest and latest reference to these incumbents, all in AMJ, are: Casaferrat: cajas 513 and 221; Montes: caja 222; Turrado: cajas 517 and 518; Benito: caja 520. Receipts for payments appears in cajas 515 and 516 (1710s) and 184 (1727–40). The house refurbishment is recorded in cajas 184 and 517.

²⁷ M.C. Rodríguez Suso, 'El patronato municipal de la música en Bilbao durante el Antiguo Régimen', *Bidebarrieta*, 3 (1998), 44.

²⁸ AMJ, caja 336.

²⁹ LG, 28.11.1769, 'poniendo cédulas en las puertas de las iglesias para que tenga noticia el pueblo'. Only seven years earlier, a petitionary procession that took place in Borja, another small town in Aragón, was announced by a crier; see E. Jiménez Aznar, *Actas del Cabildo de la Colegia y del Capítulo Parroquial de Santa María la Mayor de Borja (Zaragoza). 1546–1954* (Zaragoza, 1994), entry 1502.

³⁰ See, for instance, the confrontation in Jaca among the town council and the cathedral about the installation of a newly cast bell at the very end of the sixteenth century in J.F. Aznárez, 'Historia Monumental de Jaca', *Argensola*, 35 (1958), 206–8. For a complete

from its towers could be heard by everyone, marking the activity of the town in virtually all senses. If time was primarily ordered by the chiming of bells dictated by the liturgical calendar, any failure of this practice would have been perceived as a failure of order by the townspeople. Significantly, most of the documents that inform us about the role played by bells are related to the confusion caused when pealed at wrong moments. In 1684, the bell-ringer of Jaca Cathedral was told to chime the bells at fixed times in the day to signify the services, as:

it creates great confusion if the hour-bell does not give the time and people are governed by the sun, being to the detriment of those who live away [from the cathedral] and are guided by the hour-bell, and to the detriment of the faith since people stop coming [to the cathedral].³¹

It would seem from this excerpt that bells performed not only a practical, but also a devotional function. It appears that even those parishioners who lived furthest from the cathedral tower in the southernmost part of the town could hear, and were led by, the cathedral bells and clocks. That the bells hanging in the Romanesque cathedral tower played a crucial function in Jaca is also indicated by an agreement of the cathedral chapter from the end of the eighteenth century which stated that:

Mr Tapia, as current prior of the Brotherhood of Santa Orosia, should organise the bell-ringing on the eve of the confraternal meeting, and . . . [bell-ringing] should be altogether different from that which occurs in the Church, and with different bells so that it will not be confused with a fire alarm, death-knell or other signal.³²

This decision, taken in 1767, clearly reflects the clergy's awareness of the importance of bell-ringing in the everyday functioning of a small town such as Jaca. That a bell was rung to call confraternity brethren to worship was not only stipulated in most confraternities' regulations, but was also customarily practised, as this act indicates. The chapter's awareness of the necessity for different kinds of bell-ringing according to

bibliography in Spanish on this issue, see F.J. Guerrero Carot, 'Una aproximación a la bibliografía de campanas en el panorama del Estado Español', in E. Gómez Pellón and J. Guerrero Carot (eds), *Las campanas. Cultura de un sonido milenario* (Santander, 1997), 613–700.

³¹ LG, 22.7.1684. The full excerpt reads: 'Mas propuso que al campanero se le diera fija orden para tocar a las horas por reguardar muchas bruces sin dar la hora del reloj y gobernarse por el sol, siendo en perjuicio de los que viven distantes que atienden al reloj y también en menoscabo del culto por lo que dejan de venir por dicho aspecto.' Another reference with a similar sense can be found in Borja in 1729: Jiménez Aznar, *Actas del Cabildo*, entry 1195.

³² LG, 22.5.1767. The original in Spanish reads: 'Se acordó que el Sr. Tapia, como prior actual de la Hermandad de Santa Orosia, disponga los toques de campana que se hayan de hacer para llamar a junta de Hermandad la tarde de antes que la haya de haber, y que aquellos [i.e. los toques] sean en todo diferentes de todos los demás que ocurren en la Iglesia y con campana que [no] se equivoquen con los de tocar a fuego, agonía y semejantes.'

the occasion probably echoed that of the ordinary townspeople, whose daily life was to a great extent shaped by the sound of bells.

Another context in which a particular kind of bell-ringing transmitted a specific message to inhabitants was at funerals, where the tolling was closely associated with and an indication of the social status of the deceased. Funerals of lay personnel of the cathedral such as sub-sacristans, churchwardens (*porteros*) and bell-ringers (*campaneros*) were held with 'small bells' (*campanas menores*), as in the case of the singer Calixto Pueyo, who died in 1758 before having been ordained. Conversely, nobility and high-ranking clergy, civic and military personnel were honoured with 'large bells' (*campanas mayores*) at their funerals, as at the burials of a lieutenant from the citadel and that of the Countess of La Rosa Antonia Lozano.³³ Most of the townspeople outside these social groups would have been buried with the so-called *campanas de casalero* (literally, a person who lives in a country house), except infants, for whom 'angel bells' (*campanas de ángel*) were tolled.

The burial rites associated with the four different kinds of bell-ringing also varied accordingly. The Dominican monk Francisco Lalana outlined the funeral services offered by his order in the early 1770s, in which the complexity of the ceremonial rites corresponded with the funeral tolling described above.³⁴ Whether the four different chimes used in Jaca were only distinct from one another due to the size of the bells employed, or whether the differences were established in terms of complexity and length remains open to conjecture, but evidence strongly suggests that townspeople could recognize the distinction. In the daily soundscape, then, the tolling of bells meant death to the townspeople, but it also symbolized the social status of the deceased.

Conclusion

The sound of bells, trumpets, drums and crier's shouts, among others, were indeed fully meaningful for the contemporary townspeople of Jaca. Bell-ringing was probably a local feature that only natives would be able to decode and understand properly. Indeed, archival records from other towns show that distinctive local bell-ringing practice or tradition was something that the personnel in charge of pealing bells had to learn. In some cases, complex regulations that describe how to chime them depending on the occasions were written with the main purpose of prescribing and preserving the practice.³⁵ This point is further substan-

³³ For the burial of Pueyo see LG, 16.9.1758; the stipulation regulating the use of *campanas menores* is clearly expressed in the chapter act of 1.2.1691. For the burials of the lieutenant and the countess see LG, 29.1.1748, and CL, Burials, 25.11.1772, respectively.

³⁴ F. Lalana, *Historia de el Monasterio Real de Sancta Christina de Summo Portu de Aspa, del Orden de Predicadores de la Ciudad de Jacca* (manuscript dated c. 1773; facsimile edition in Huesca s.n.), ff. 279–80.

³⁵ Revealing regulations are fully transcribed in F. Llop i Bayo, *Los toques de campanas de*

tiated by ethnographical fieldwork carried out in Spanish villages in the last few years. A wide range of messages transmitted by varied bell-ringing according to the occasion is a feature that has survived in some rural communities until very recently.³⁶

If this idea is taken further it could be argued that the sound of bells helped, in some degree, to create a sense of spatial awareness and of local identity. If the latter is true, it is open to conjecture whether this sense of identity operated in the same way in towns of different size. Certainly, there is abundant documentation attributing to the sound of bells the capacity of delimiting territory, especially the areas surrounding small places. In some instances, council town regulations explicitly specified the obligation of townspeople to attend funerals or other events if they found themselves within the space in which bells could be heard.³⁷ The imaginary line between the urban and the rural worlds may have been as subtle as something that only the ear could appreciate. What seems beyond question, nevertheless, is that in small places like Jaca virtually all the sounds studied in this article would have been heard by most of the inhabitants regardless of the location of their dwellings.

Although the material in this article has necessarily been covered only briefly, two basic points do emerge. First, musicologists are now encouraged to widen their perspectives and begin to re-map the urban soundscape to include sounds that more traditional investigations have overlooked. Second, urban and cultural historians, for their part, need to pay attention to the importance of sound when considering the sensory aspects of urban life.

Zaragoza (notas para su estudio) (Zaragoza, 1983), 14–16; I. Ursua Irigoyen, *Las campanas de la Catedral de Pamplona* (Pamplona, 1984), 25–27; and P. Rubio Merino, *Reglas de tañido de las campanas en la Giralda de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Sevilla* (Seville, 1995).

³⁶ Two cases in point are H.L. Suárez Pérez: 'Las campanas en las comarcas leonesas' and A. Vallejo Cisneros: 'El viejo lenguaje de las campanas de la "Torre Gorda" de Miguelturra', both in Gómez Pellón and Guerrero Carot, *Las campanas*, 369–96 and 413–26 respectively.

³⁷ Examples from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are cited in J.L. Alonso Ponga, 'Refuerzo de identidad, fragmentación temporal y delimitación espacial a través de las campanas: el caso de la provincia de León', in Gómez Pellón and Guerrero Carot, *Las campanas*, 103.