Introduction to *A Panoramic View of Popular Music in Argentina* *with an essay on the science of folklore*

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150 melodies and 6 maps
Illustrated by Aurora de Pietro

To Professor Martin Doello Jurado and to Doctor Ricardo Rojas

[...] of the music department of the aforementioned museum in which he entrusted me; Doctor Ricardo Rojas, Professor emeritus and Director of the Institute of Argentinian Literature at the School of Philosophy and Letters, offered me the opportunity of participating as a specialist at the Department of Folklore. They both supported me in my travels and kindly endeavored to sponsor the present studies. The National Committee of Culture helped to ease my workload by granting me a scholarship in the year 1937 and lending me 'companionship and liberty'. I owe them my sincere gratitude and hope to receive an opportunity to convey this to them in person sometime.

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Introduction

1. The science of folklore

Folkloric facts – Superior and inferior – The survived – Popular and folkloric – Dynamics of folklore – Conditions of the processes – Folklore and ethnology – Folklore and sociology – Folklore and the people – Definition of folklore: the facts and their character – Projections of folklore: politics, morals and art

The knowledge and interpretation of any kind of folkloric facts – including musical facts, which are my area – presupposes that those who study them at least possess general ideas on the other types, notions on the nature and purpose of the science of folklore, as well as some concept of the scientific activity itself. Everyone, even the improvising amateurs of journalistic folklore, sees a purpose in their study that each understands in their own unique way.

Practically specialized in one or more related branches, nearly all theorists can conceive of the general doctrine of the science, mainly as an extension of the material collected in their own particular field. Although this may have made it harder to view the subject as a complete and integrated whole, in truth there seems to be no other way. No single researcher has been able to study the full scope of areas covered by the science of folklore in great depth, since no one could conceive of the doctrine of one particular form without at least holding provisional ideas on the subject in general. Thanks to a reciprocal action between the whole and its parts, our doctrine is able to continually refine itself in regard to its concepts.

I believe that this may be the second time – Mr. Adolfo Salazar precedes me with a brief essay – that a musical expert has attempted to outline the theory of the science of folklore. These few pages certainly contain no idle digression: Firstly, I possess clear ideas on the nature of the musical facts of folklore and the scientific aim pursued while studying it. Even if these cannot exceed the scope of their conception without encountering problems, my ideas are created in close relation

to a general understanding of the subject, insofar as musical facts can be seen as the folkloric facts of any other discipline. In this context, the understanding, interpretation, and definition of musical facts are equally a product of the science to which they belong, for one could hardly conceive of a discipline in its entirety, if one were forced to recognize its parts by means of different concepts.

Secondly, it seems to me that we are entering a moment of uncertainty with regard to nothing less than the nature and purpose of the science of folklore itself. Till now, the object of our discipline has never been exclusively or formally characterized; moreover, the types of folkloric facts is randomly enlarged or reduced through unconscious personal occurrences. It began with little more than oral literature, customs and beliefs; these subsequently expanded to encompass all spiritual values and material objects. Some scholars now propose to limit the scope of their interest strictly to beliefs and practices; the people of Latin America must believe that folklore involves little other than music and dance with an artistic purpose. Ancient folklorists tried to invade the fields of neighboring subjects or, conversely, attempted to incorporate our discipline into other scientific areas, such as ethnography. Now, modern treatise writers wish to dilute folklore into sociology.

It is with surprise and alarm that, while folkloric activity continues to multiply and consolidate itself, its doctrine stalls due to an imposed curtailment and excessive limitation, deviation, and sheer defeatism. There is little encouragement in the skeptical opinion of a contemporary Belgian folklorist, quoted by Veragnac: "There is no point worrying about where folklore begins and ends. That would be a waste of time, as no one knows what it is."

If folklore were unable to delimit its own field or characterize its own facts it would be a hobby, not a science. Here, perhaps with a little overconfidence, I propose to delineate the boundaries of the field of folklore and the characteristics of its facts. Should I prove only to have wasted time, I hope the virtue of my purpose will excuse me.

On the other hand, once embedded in folklore as a whole, our ideas on music are consolidated and musical facts are defined according to the object we attribute to science. With this in mind, a conception of the discipline is required in order to define our position at the forefront of folkloric music.

Therefore, I have decided to present a summary of notes that I have gathered over many years, to create a new treatise on folklore. By the same means, this will demonstrate to what extent and in which way I adhere to older concepts and how much I contribute to folkloric thought myself.

1.1 Folkloric facts

Folklore is a historical science that has envisaged its own true course right from the start. Within the great variety of definitions created over the better part of a hundred years, there is one coincidence that prevails throughout, despite twists of contradiction and doubt: which is that folklorists design to study *ancient, traditional, archaic, unusual facts; vestiges,* that which has *survived;* the works *of*

primitive man, things related to *past* and *long-forgotten times* – all expressions used by both ancient and modern writers. The term *folk-lore* itself was introduced to replace the word '*antiquity*', which preceded it in similar necessity. It has even been claimed that the word '*lore*' not only signifies 'knowledge', but knowledge *that has passed the test of time*.

These ancient facts are mostly found in the realms of the so-called 'inferior' classes; contemporary, but fully steeped in the past, they speak of man's earlier cultural ventures. Their useful suggestions are eliminated to satisfy a predetermined appetite for knowledge, while their experts aspire to scrutinize the past of the human culture and to belong to the great family of historians.

In the modern world, the word *culture* encompasses the entire heritage of man.[1] Consequently, any goods – whether spiritual or material – are, or may in certain situations, be regarded as folkloric facts: legends, tales, fables, poetry; sayings, riddles, rhymes; games, art, traditions; rites, ceremonies, customs, uses; myths, beliefs, superstitions; peculiarities of language; tools and equipment, means of transport, shelter, etc. One should bear in mind that any detail, no matter how insignificant, will inevitably enter the category of folkloric fact, such as, for example: a mode or occasion of employment, a way of doing something, a technique, resource, or supplement; a form of emission, pronunciation, or realization; a style, etc., that is applied to a fact, even if not folkloric in its own right. It is important to eliminate the idea that folklore only considers one or another particular family of facts, such as beliefs and practices, as it is not a particular class of goods that is of interest to our discipline, but any within a folkloric context.

Over many decades, the science of folklore has tried to characterize the facts related to its purpose, but the attempt has been unsuccessful. Theorists do not know where their field begins and where it ends; there has been a lack of precision in the attribution of characteristics to folkloric facts; and the determination to define them as the rightful property of the people counteracts the meaning of the relationship, as it is in fact the people who are defined through ownership of their folklore. The folkloric nature of its facts does not lie in the character or quality of the facts themselves, similar to how we do not recognize the fundamental difference between aristocratic, popular, and primitive goods. In fact, it is a condition, accident or situation that allows us to distinguish between an 'aristocratic' and folkloric fact, i.e. primitive and folkloric, as we soon shall see.

Scholars have tried to identify their objects by means of the circumstances of adoption, mode, transmission, etc. Thus, *collective facts* – whether *regional, transferable, empirical, traditional, oral, anonymous, popular* (!), *beautiful* or similar – can all be seen as folkloric facts. Without dwelling too much on the critical aspect, we ask: how many of these circumstances also accompany ethnographic facts? Which of them do not equally occur in many goods of the upper classes? It is clear that such a list of conditions cannot characterize the folkloric fact. Thus, we must take a closer look and perhaps begin by defining the

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[1]   For more on this matter, see *Epítome de culturología* by Dr. José Imbelloni (Buenos Aires, Anesi, 1936), which summarizes the modern European ethnological movement.

terms 'superior' and 'inferior', as such investigation largely encompasses sifting through what is important in the field of folklore.

1.2 Superior and inferior

These two concepts provide a long list of services that cater to different areas, particularly with regard to sociology, and are used to distinguish contrasting social groups. According to bibliographical tradition, I illustrate these purely in their scientific sense. The term 'superior' refers to the aristocratic social class and does not imply any form of admiration; the term 'inferior', when applied to the people, does not represent slander, but merely characterizes a distinct group. In order to identify both positions, it is easiest to use the spatial metaphors 'up' and 'down', or 'high' and 'low'. By the same token, the movement of things between them is termed 'ascent' and 'descent'. Sociologists, however, did not consider it more correct to refer to three existing social groups. When the term 'superior' is applied to enlightened social classes, 'inferior' remains to describe popular and ethnographic groups. Thus, it would be appropriate to allocate the 'middle' section to the popular, as we indeed have done on occasion, but insofar as it is convenient to respect the accepted nomenclature, the word 'primitive' should be added to the groups studied in ethnography. It is therefore important to clarify that the meanings of such terms, as applied in sociology, do not exactly correspond to their meanings in folklore.

Many people believe that, independent of an economic order, the determination of superiority and inferiority is subjective within a cultural order – that we seem to automatically consider everything that is ours to be superior. Yet, if we consider other, more interesting circumstances for fulfilling our object, I do not think that is the case. *Antiquity* is far more important to us than inferiority. Indeed, attributing antiquity to a current fact derives mainly from the impression of inferiority that the fact produces in an observer, though the attribution and inferiority itself are in fact created by very different criteria.

Higher groups are defined by the possession and usufruct of *modern* goods - above all, refined over time -, the consequences of the latest inventions, conceptions and orientations; access to a spiritual life rich in exigencies; the accumulation of material wealth and the greater numbers and effectiveness of their technical resources; all weighed up in relation to the patrimony of other groups that, because of opposing concepts, we label as 'inferior'.

In the 'superior' environment, among several unsurpassable antiques, there are a great number of goods that have really only recently been incorporated as such: some are unprecedented creations that fulfill new needs; others fulfill invariable needs, enhance older goods, or are the product of modern conceptions. Within the 'inferior' environment, numerous facts remain that, from a scholar's point of view, are approached in curious anticipation, confronted with exaggerated inferiority, thereby becoming a kind of eternal antiquity, by merely recognizing inferiority through comparison of the two. For every function that a fact fulfills in this bizarre environment, the observer has another, more effective fact in view. Regarding material goods there is generally no room for doubt, which can easily be

demonstrated by the comparisons, e.g. a wagon/truck, cabin/skyscraper, canoe/motorboat, signal-drum/telegraph, etc. In relation to spiritual goods, this operation is more complex. For now, even before considering any of the facts on their own, – deductions apart –, the most scrupulous scholar would not hesitate to claim a stake in the inferior term, as can be easily demonstrated in the pairing of a song/symphony, verse/poem, superstition/science, tradition/history, shamanism/medicine, etc. This implies that certain spiritual goods can almost safely be viewed as impressive, even if inferior. Yet this does not include all – it cannot suffice. At first glance, the observer's intuition will impart a *reciprocal adherence* to more or less contemporary old goods. The impossibility of harmonizing impromptu inventions into the same environment is not theoretical, but a practical impossibility, with such constancy that it pains the mere concrete cases that have proven otherwise. We would consider it unlikely for the inhabitant of a skyscraper to make a fire by rubbing wood; for an airplane passenger to use a bow and arrow; for a female driver and car owner to have stone mortars in her home or to believe her people were descendants of the totemic crocodile. Consequently, without lending it too much thought, the observer considers all spiritual goods that integrate a determined patrimony with, and among, material facts, objective and unequivocally inferior.

Other circumstances also justify this determination. The primitive curiosity of antiques, for example, resulted in the creation of a catalogue of the picturesque and, at most, meant that human interest in the passive knowledge of other ways of life could spread across the world. Among the very first scientific inquiries (1846) and initial attempts to bring order to folkloric methodology (1878), an evolutionary conception began to grow, where the thoughtless collection of antiques, still insensitive to early reflections of cultural evolutionism, took on a whole new meaning. Folkloric facts may be forerunners of the superior, in their respective function and form. Thus, current facts can directly originate from folkloric ones, due to their continuous development. A musical bow with a calabash resonator, encompasses all of the elements of a violin (we offer an ethnographic example for greater clarity). The pairing of a canoe/motorboat follows the exact same principle, whereas the 'motorboat' incorporates a juxtaposition of (adjacent) inventions. In such cases, a methodological criterion is used to determine when the juxtaposition is behind the adjacent elements, according to Perogrullo. Of course, many items from the superior classes do not 'descend' from those that possess the same function in the folkloric environment, as in the pairing tinder/match. No, other criteria are at play here.

So, we can already conceive how inferiority is determined, even if this, in itself, is not of great importance to us, other than in its relation to *antiquity*. If we encounter facts that do not appear to be inferior, even after analyzing them, we can realize that their antiquity stems directly from the fact that they have been excluded from the superior environment, which we shall examine in more detail later.

Inferior facts should long since have disappeared, but surprisingly, they have not: it is merely that they exist in a sort of paradoxical 'posthumous life' and can therefore be attributed as survived matter.

A la carrera de sus diez caballos
larga nube de polvo deja atrás:
a la carrera de sus diez caballos
como un heraldo del progreso va...[2]
LA GALERA. Segundo I. Villafañe (1896).

1.3 The survived

That which has survived, has only done so from the perspective of superior groups. If considered from the view of the popular environment, it is simply experience. Folklore does not exist for the people themselves.

'*The survived*' is a generous and invaluable term to use for our subject, a happy finding that is reflected in even the mere analysis of its contents. If superior groups call certain popular goods 'the survived', it is because they agree that these were once their own experiences or those of other superior groups.

If each fact fulfills a need that is neither modern nor occasional, it is clear that before the invention of the car, superior groups had to use a carriage, and before that a horse, similar to our peasants today. Yet this is generally spoken, as we do not imply that through evolution every element of the inferior caste creates the one that is replaced on a superior level.

It is important to understand that what has survived down to this day was once the experience of superior groups, which were then in their prime of modernity and effectivity - a heritage of the most educated people. Only fifty years ago, the now long-forgotten fast horse-drawn carriage crossed fields 'as a herald of progress'. Those who enjoyed the use of such inventions formed the superior core, while other groups - the possessors of older or fewer goods - formed the inferior environment.

Inferior strata are the former superior strata. Merely the appearance and presence of a superior stratum determines the inferiority of an opposing one. The former aristocracy once resembled the people of today: the king was illiterate, believed in witches, listened to fairy tales, ate with his hands, rode on horseback, and applauded songs similar to our present-day lullabies (that contain the highest expression of ancient verse). Thus, the Argentinian *arrorró* (a nursery rhyme) may indeed have been created by a balladeer king - and I can also see why.

Folklore[3] is the science of the survived. By regarding the survived, a scholar studies the past stages of the material and spiritual culture of man. Folklore – a body of facts – is a *defeated stratum,* i.e. a set of goods that belongs to several defeated classes. It is not the collective, traditional, regional, oral, transferrable or anonymous aspects of facts that determine their folkloric nature, but a circumstance or incidence of time that contributes towards a very valid fact: a specific situation or position of the fact in the general chronological scope of

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[2]   At the race of his ten horses/he leaves behind an endless cloud of dust/at the race of his ten horses/he goes as a herald of progress

[3]   The term 'folklore' is usually written with a capital letter, when referring to it as a science, and a small one, when referring to it as a set of facts studied by the science.

experience. An inferior and ancient fact is folkloric, certainly when it is eradicated from a superior social group and is directly replaced by a more recent – or for the same reason, a recently adopted one. It is indirectly eliminated when the need for validity vanishes and is mostly replaced by another fact (within an integrated patrimony, by a superior patrimony). Institutionalized, it becomes a non-existent fact in the realm of the upper classes.

Folkloric facts are eradicated from the superior plane – we will discuss these processes in more detail further on –, yet remain as the survived. Their eliminated condition encompasses inferiority as an attribute and within them, a temporary circumstance. The reason for this is that, in the dynamics of culture, elimination assumes their former validity, stability their dispersal, and permanence their expulsion, resulting from being surpassed; together, these encompass antiquity. The *eradicated* fact - the survived and thus folkloric fact -, becomes *ancient*. Ancient and current - both charged with meaning - relate to the past and are therefore able to nourish a historical science.

The incident of time is decisive to distinguish between folkloric fields in regard to the superior. Furthermore, in relation to its nature, the less rigorous notion of place deserves consideration in the second instance. Indeed, with cities being the seat of power and administrations, ecclesiastical authorities, the aristocracy and bourgeoisie, and intellectual classes, etc., as well as the creators, producers or adopters of the most modern facts, it is obvious that the most effective goods predominate in these environments. While most of these facts are valid, goods are more efficient and the only thing that lends them a superior consciousness and a status of their own. While the countryside – villages, hamlets or isolated areas – was the adopter and adapter of superior goods or the seat of transferred heritage, it becomes clear that *eradicated* goods - the survived - predominate in the countryside.

On the other hand, in relation to his own object of study, Spengler states that: *"All great cultures are urban cultures"* and continues: *"Universal history is the history of the urban man"*. Furthermore, he continues: *"The villager lacks history"*. At first glance, it would appear that the science of folklore might fill this gap, but that is not the case. As a part of the general history of culture, folklore is first and foremost a history of urban culture. Its traces can be seen in the countryside, or wherever they are, while the survived is its 'documentation'. In a cultural context, a villager lacks a specific unique history, because the history of peasants is a shadow and echo, a resonance and consequence of the urban force. However, as soon as the existence of cultural goods reaches the countryside, folklore incorporates an enormous, unknown, neglected and despised segment of humanity into history, which becomes a part of the nation, an extension of economic prosperity and, in times of hardship, a repository of valuable moral resources and even artistic form and style.

1.4 The popular and the folkloric

We all use the terms *folkloric* and *popular* as synonyms. Yet, if that which is replaced is merely folkloric and the ancient superior – suggestive and valuable

material for a historical science –, it becomes clear that the term *popular* is far more comprehensive. This is because *not everything that is popular is folkloric*. In a popular environment, it is possible to find facts with very diverse meanings. For the time being, we can state that everything popular is highlighted, framed and marked by major goods of the superior group, such as the legal system, religion, language, family structures, economic order, administrative system and so on, which has been imposed on the lower class by the upper.

The secretively mysterious is folkloric and thus the notoriously insignificant, the trivial, indifferent, secondary, complementary: *that which does not deserve a war*, such as for example, poetry or a carriage. This means that such goods can exist without engendering conflict among the cogs of the state organization that are led by the superior and, similar to magic, conceal impermissible concepts that endure the official censure of their act. *The great institutions of the superior can therefore also be popular without being folkloric*. The heritage of the people is a mixture of everything.

Marcel Mauss has made the celebrated and oft-repeated claim that "everything that is not official is popular". If he had stated that everything that is not official is folkloric, we could have assumed that the official is not excluded, due to it being official, but because it is active on a superior plane, i.e. as the popular does not deal with previous stages. So, as Mauss stated, it does not define the folkloric, not even in a negative sense, as *everything official is popular in the same way as the specifically folkloric* and available as a way of life. We can therefore confidently confirm that not all that is popular is folkloric.

There are also minor goods in the popular environment belonging equally to superior groups, i.e. common goods, such as certain styles or devices – scissors, hairclips and knives –, instruments, dances, etc. One can also find goods in the inferior environment that are appropriate to lower strata, yet have never been related to the superior groups (who study them) in terms of cultural dependence, like the *boleadoras* (bolas), poncho, etc., which are ethnographic. Consequently, among these facts we can find the truly folkloric ones, the survived goods that previously belonged to superior groups and subsist in the popular environment; and along with these survived goods, *neo-experiences*, the products of the mixture, evolution, involution and recreation of the inferior groups. The science of folklore considers *all* popular goods, but basically and essentially profits from the survived, as these speak to the folklorist from the past.

Fué ayer no más lo que hoy está marchito.
No importa que un caudal a otro suceda
Pues con el tiempo frente a lo infinito
Las aguas pasan, pero el río queda.[4]
Horacio Rega Molina

1.5 Dynamics of folklore

In the science of folklore, 'antiquity' implies old, though other co-existing ideas have made this one less effective. For folklorists, popular heritage was an eternal mass; it quietly resided in the hands of the people for many centuries. However, beginning with Thoms, every folklorist noticed that popular things were beginning to disappear. They all maintained the same idea for the large part of a century and in every case, the popular started to disappear. They all attributed this in their own time to an unusual destructive power, the like of which they had never known before. This meant that little or nothing would remain of the folkloric field, whereby that, of course, could not be possible.

In fact, the folkloric flow has been diminishing in all eras of history, both prior and following the birth of our science. Yet, as we still always have material to study it, it is important to understand that the popular environment – much like a swimming pool – gains on one side what it loses on the other. And so it is: the countryside - and main home of folkloric events - is continuously embracing new things that come from the city. Every element replaces another that previously satisfied the same need (if the need was not created by the element itself) and, in this way, at least regains what it has lost. However, if this declining trend continues to grow, as has happened in the past few decades, we are likely to witness an antiquity diminishing in ex-urban folklore, whilst the primitive is incorporated into the popular environment.

There is a moment where goods that have descended remain valid in the cities. We have already spoken about the types of common goods that are already popular, still urban and yet not already folkloric. When they are removed and eliminated from the city, they become survived goods, i.e. typical folkloric facts, insofar as they pass the given selection process. The folkloric continuously renews itself. Thus, when facts begin to disappear, leaving folklore in tow, "the waters pass, but the river remains".

It is important to shift away from the belief in a parallel progression between the 'popular' and 'cultured'. There is - and always has been - a close relationship between these two environments, whilst their relationship assumes a very untraditional general view of the origin of folkloric facts. We are already aware of the fact that among many other things, the survived exists in the popular environment, which was once fully in the hands of the superior classes, as there is an opposition between the aristocracy and people, patricians and plebeians, noblemen and bondsmen, etc. and from a different viewpoint, the city and the

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[4] Yesterday is no longer what has withered today / It does not matter if one flow succeeds another / For just as time comes before the infinite / The waters pass, but the river remains.

country. This existed a longer time ago, while a simple polarity of patrimony (one being more superior or prestigious than the other) is produced and determined by means of co-existence or bondage. The problem with generalizing this is that the nature of the environments, and their relationship to one another, were not always identical.

Facts become folkloric situations by way of two main processes: one is gained through current and direct observation and comprises the direct transfer of small urban goods to a rural environment - one of the great common institutions that occur within a peaceful, 'national' order. People expect innovations that they can imitate to come from the superior plane. Yet this trivial daily adoption, almost invigorating to young people and free of judgement, is then received by overwhelmed and melancholic elders. Superior and inferior both possess their own position and function: the ringing of cash registers increases with natural products and decreases with men's clothing. Meanwhile, goods descend, become anchored and obtain a folkloric status, simply by dint of being abandoned by the superior classes that once lent them the prestige and power to expand.

Through a series of tests that I received unexpectedly while researching the history of all dances, I personally and directly drew the conclusion that popular classes imitate superior classes. However, I was not the one to create this important idea; I merely verified and applied it intensively within the context of my specialization.

The processes of imitation are well known to the fields of psychology and sociology. With regard to the sociological facts, Mario Pagan already considered them as early as the late 18th century, as did Gioia, Jolly, Despine, Bagehot and others in the 19th. Prior to Gabriel Tarde, Walter Bagehot highlighted the importance of the tendency to imitate: "The truth is", he wrote, "that man's prophecy to imitate what lies before him is one of the strongest tendencies of his nature." But the most extreme, original and cultured systematization of imitation can be associated with Tarde. Having read his works a long time ago, I owe him a debt of thanks for having shown me this way. Subsequent sociologists limit the scope that Tarde attributed to imitation as a force able to explain social facts. Durkheim denies its supreme importance in the genesis of collective phenomena but does not reject it as the reason for its diffusion: "Without doubt," he says, "every social fact is imitated and, as we have just seen, incorporates a tendency to generalize. It does so because it is social, and in that way also obligatory."

It should be noted that we do not wish to outline the problems of the origin of institutions, nor even the problem of dance and music as an institution. It would suffice to recognize the vital and indisputable influence that imitation has had on sociology, again observed by us in the life of music and dance. We strive to maintain that every species is not born once in each place of the world, but instead coordinated in one place, and then spread by means of imitation: more precisely, by the people who imitate the aristocracy, as we soon shall see.

The most important characteristic of imitation is not its blind power, but the direction in which it manifests. Here, it is essential to acknowledge the simple fact of the phenomenon that the inferior imitates the superior.

Among the general process of imitation, Tarde partially recognizes a secondary law that can be of great interest to us: "The proletariat, as far as it depends upon it, will always be regarded as imitating its leaders, kings or lords - the nobility". Simmel confirms the same thought later: "The lower classes look up to and aspire to the upper". And to return to Tarde: recalling various historical stages, he explains that the superior "is imitated by the inferior, the aristocrats by the commoner, the nobleman by the peasant, the clergy by the layman and then the Parisian by the country dweller, the man of the cities by the villager, and so forth."

It is true that the distinguished French sociologist does not lose sight of the fact that imitation can also be exercised in the opposite manner, so that "the inferior is copied or tends to be copied by the superior". However, it is interesting that, while rejecting this second possibility, he simultaneously claims that "in sociology, the reflection of the examples from upper to lower is the only fact that need be considered", as it levels man.

Leveling is not a subject of this book. By confirming the one-way path of imitation, Simmel adds the concept of permanent inequality when he says that, as soon as the inferior appropriates a new fashion, "the selected circles abandon it and look for a new one to distinguish them from the turmoil." Although this is not the reason of the abandonment, it is important to see that superiority is never entirely reached by the inferior. Because of the constant renewal of the superior's goods, there is a difference of hierarchies in the cultural order.

Bueno recognizes both directions of imitation, but deduces from these that the lower-upper and upper-lower processes are carried out in the same way and to the same degree of intensity, implying that he had never really taken a good look at life.

Given these thoughts, I dare to confidently deny any role played by the social factor in the imitation of the inferior by the superior, at least not in my specialization: those who imitate the people in availing themselves of popular elements are always isolated individuals, individuals acting within the upper classes, whereas the act of imitation is collective and no longer performed by a general ablution in the popular fount. When an element is brought to the upper level from the lower by a single individual and the product emanated from this element is accepted by the initiating group, dispersion occurs from top to bottom again. Strikingly, Gabriel Tarde also analyzed this fact in a more general sense: "The invention," he writes, "may come from the lowest strata of people, but its diffusion requires a social peak of great rarefication". Let us add that the popular element is not exactly a new invention, not even in the broadest sense of Tarde. We should remember that it occurred in a rural environment, due to a previous decline, and will be able to illustrate the reduced proportions of the ascent, i.e. the imitation of the inferior by the superior.

In fact, there has always been a partial and occasional rise of popular elements to the domain of the superior classes, but it has been exalted in such a manner that some authors believed this to be an exception to the rule. Some years

ago, I dealt with this problem in the specific case of dance[5]. I endeavored to distinguish the traits of these two movements: the one of descent, general, multiple, imperative, irresistible and permanent; the other, that of ascent, particular, voluntary, deliberate and occasional. The inferior receives things from the superior as if they grew on trees. The superior consciously takes a drop from the inferior. This is an individual movement.

The general tendency to aspire to the popular - transitory in nature - is, however, collective. This tendency controls the high imitator agent and gains acceptance from a superior level. Yet, one should certainly not assume that the superior agent lives by looting the people, for: "The main role and distinction of nobility is a character of initiation or even more so, one of creativity" (Tarde). This suggests that what is established within an aristocratic environment, based on the pre-existing elements found within the same environment, is far more than what the agent loots from the people.

In brief, in cases where a superior group imitates an inferior one, it should be seen as an exception to the rule that confirms that a lower group imitates an upper one. Generally speaking, one can safely say that the folkloric goods of today are the same as those remaining from the educated classes of the past.

Here, the direct transfer of small urban goods to a rural environment is one of the processes that bring things closer to becoming a folkloric situation.

The other exceptional process, wider and more intense, begins with the emergence of a foreign, allogenic state, where in this war, the bearers of the process are on a battlefield far removed from the harmony occurring in the previous process. All of the defeated – superior and inferior – retreat to the background with their men. After pausing in the ethnographic situation and being more or less confused with the people it had previously ruled, the aristocracy of the past could easily remain in the folkloric situation, if the upper, more triumphant group imposed its great institutions. When the new conditions take effect, a miniature propagation process occurs. If the new and overpowered groups accept the replacement of their small goods, these are consequently dispersed among the victorious people. The soldiers or settlers of the urban upper groups carry these around with them as containers of the survived, yet will still turn a continent into a desert, simply by displacing their goods to the countryside and eliminating them from the city. Furthermore, if the overpowered keep possession of their small goods, an original folkloric group is formed independently, unlike the one produced by the propagation of the cities. This is also how the presence of hybrid folkloric heritages, accumulating goods from both sources, can be understood.

These are the two processes that determine the folkloric situation of goods. Reduced to their simplest form, one can recognize that there are elements in the folkloric realm, belonging to the triumphant and opportunistic (carpetbagging) superior, that co-exist alongside elements belonging to the natives and defeated superior. Both of the following elements are the survived: the survived goods

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[5]   *Ascenso y descenso de las danzas*, in the newspaper "La Prensa", Buenos Aires, June 26, 1938.

belonging to superior groups that separated from ours a long time ago and then escaped the ethnographic situation, and the survived goods of our immediate past.

If historians handled trivial cultural facts as they do their battles and princes, we would have repertoires of historic goods identifiable as those surviving in the popular environment. That, at least, is what happens to the few details documented by thorough authors.

Metaphysic poetry, a regal specialty towards 1500-1600, found relevance with the commoners of Spain one hundred years later and remains a treasure of Argentinian folklore up to this day. In 1772, Father Eximeno wrote that "among the common people of our nation, there is still admiration for poets from the times of Felipe IV" and as proof of their most subtle inventiveness, one nationally acclaimed quatrain describes a desperate person longing for death:

> Ven muerte tan escondida
> Que no te sienta venir,
> Porque el placer de morir
> No me vuelva a dar vida.[6]

This highly acclaimed verse was collected from modest rural singers in northeast Argentina by Juan Alfonso Carrizo and addresses its Hispanic ancestors.

Around 1800, a *tonadillero* (ditty singer) sang "Mariquita Muchacha" to the viceroy at the theater of Buenos Aires; the song is still played by peasant guitarists of folkloric dance today.

The same happens in regard to beliefs and superstitions. Those ideas that today almost exclusively folkloric, once belonged to some of the finest personalities of their time. In 1777, Father Feijóo, in his writing on sorcery, stated that a notable Benedictine "did not gain a reputation in magic from the common people, but from the most truly cultured men." Referring to the magical transformation of witches into cats, frogs, wolves, etc., he says that "more than a few cultured men feel the same way as the common people." It seems that the wise Pedro Crespeto, who was active in the second half of the 17th century, believed that the spirits of deceased family members could be bought in France and Italy. Magicians roamed the courts and belonged to the nobility of their clients. Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, an explorer and recorder of chronicles of the West Indies, as well as a learned gentleman, was accused of practicing astrology and imprisoned by the Inquisition of Lima. His crime was producing ink that could transform scorn into love in those that received a letter in it. By means of astrological arts, he forged rings reserved for noble courtiers, meant to promote success in battle and obtain the grace of princes and the favor of women.

In relation to medicine, the essence of ancient and scholarly therapy still exists in the countryside today. In prescribing salamander ashes as a cure for leprosy, Gelan, an illustrious Grecian, became one of our most prized healers.

This also occurred in other disciplines, but the identification of the ancient intellectual within current folklore is not always quick and easy. Things do not

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[6] Come, death so hidden / That I don't feel you coming, / And the pleasure of dying / Does not bring me back to life.

descend and endure without change. The folkloric environment modifies facts after it has absorbed them. On occasion, one must examine rural facts in great detail in order to recognize their older and more urbanized elements. To a lesser degree, the same occurs in smaller cities with things arriving from the big capital cities of the world; and, on a very small scale, in the simple transmission from one individual to another. Even without mixtures, there are enough ways of expressing the concealment of their transplanted forms.

Furthermore, if folkloric facts that have survived seem strange to us, that is because we do not know how they previously existed among the upper classes. In addition, the idea of a popular stratum being independent of the cultivated is so powerful that, even with the evidence of the dependence, writers were so bold as to be skeptical of the relationship. And when it was no longer possible to close their eyes to it, they preferred to explain the identity in the reverse order – i.e., as a rise from a lower to an upper class.

As a rule, urban researchers do not go to the countryside to study folkloric facts but choose what they think. When researchers or compilers began their studies of dances and social chants, for example, they would focus only on specifically chosen aspects (certain forms of dance and social chants). Even before beginning the task of compilation, they deduced that the problem related to folklore had already been solved.

It seems that the compiler adopted the idea of folklore being unknown in origin. The principle is not entirely bad, since the survivals are generally foreign to the citizen, but it indirectly implies abandoning the knowledge of its origin. Enthusiasts from the capital and those based in city centers were influenced by an urban way of thinking, and thus not in the least interested in anything in the countryside with a city flavor. A polka or mazurka, danced by rural couples in Argentina, said nothing to the amateur observer; a tango or foxtrot, performed at a peasant's party, outraged him. The observer concluded that, without a doubt, "the civilization advances" – and mourned the tragic loss of folklore.

Naturally, it is a way - like any other - of not seeing how the things that the people acquire and conserve reach them. While folklorists are lost in discussions on the remote origins of our popular Hispanic, Indian, African, ecclesiastical, or spontaneous songs and dances, they are directed towards the overwhelming reality of the capital city as a main source of nourishment for the people. Thus, the urban adventure of social goods continues in the rural environment.

The idea of the folkloric as being unknown in origin or nature, however, was more suitable for the identification of folkloric goods not originating from the present capital, but from ancient aboriginal or European cities of times past. A folklorist could rarely distinguish between goods coming from one source or any another, as both were equally unknown. To them, the attribution of origin was, based on assumptions that, moreover, were often preferably based on various mixtures and their worthily accredited acceptance. On-site invention found supporters; the influence of the geographical environment was welcomed. In this way, folkloric issues "acquired" numerous sources chosen by the reader.

1.6 Conditions of the processes

What I have illustrated in the above chapters may lead to an overgeneralization that lacks any true reflection of reality. Broadly speaking, all of the mentioned ideas should, by the same means, be considered with caution. For several years, I believed it was almost impossible to create a system of the dynamics of folklore. What applies to a particular regional county or district may not necessarily be true for other areas. What specifically applies to one group is hardly suitable for another. What can be applied to certain types of facts does not necessarily apply to others. What corresponds well to the recent past does not work when you apply it to long-gone eras. Conditions vary over time: urban industry replaces rural manufacture, writing limits the practice of oral transmission, and communication eliminates the isolation of groups. Processes are accelerated, and ethnography is folklorized. Everything is in motion and the rhythm of change is different for each day and age. The sleepy upper stratum enters periods of effervescence, exhilarating folkloric backwaters spring to life and thus centers of elevation transfer their leadership over to others. The tomb of Tutankhamen once adorned all the elegant women of the world; a decade later, its riches became the central attraction at many museums. The historical trends of folklore glide beneath aristocratic classes, between popular groups and over ethnographic ones. Done, it fell apart. Who apprehends its changing image?

We have polished the traditional concept of survival and cling to it as the only folkloric substance, as it seems to be the one constant in an unstable realm. We investigated the processes that lend the quality of survival to facts, i.e. folkloric events; now we must clear the surrounding area.

Not the whole of a superior group is removed at the same time. In the folkloric field, this synchronizes discrepancies. While all folklore was once superior, the overall sum is not necessarily the same as that of an ancient superior environment.

The folklore of a given countryside does not always come from the immediate upper urban nucleus. Goods that were superior in distant cities may survive in this region.

The folkloric field is not universal. Folklore is a European science founded on European facts; its doctrine is not exhaustive. Not all continents present an identical set of phenomena. America lacks almost all of the great, dedicated, deeply involved strata, which were precisely what inspired the science in Europe. Here, in other fields of science, we soon encounter cycles studied by ethnography. In Europe, folkloric strata can be found straightaway, whereas there is almost a complete lack of ethnographic cycles. Folklore would not have been conceived in America and ethnography would not have been born in Europe only on the basis of European facts.

In any case, one should remember that survivals indicate a greater or lesser degree of slowness in their decline and different capacities to endure according to the type, the function of the type and the potential of the rural group they settle into to rejuvenate.

A musical element, or even the entire folkloric songbook, might have belonged to the upper classes fifty, a hundred, five hundred or more years ago; a superstition, two, three hundred or more years ago; a dance, thirty, fifty, but not much more than a hundred years ago, etc. These approximate figures are created according to my experience of the American continent; they may be different somewhere else. In addition, their scope, i.e. the time that has passed since the folkloric strands of today belonged to the upper classes, should not be misunderstood. They could well have been in the domain of the superior for a certain number of years during their aristocratic period.

This is a severe blow to the production of the folkloric in the rural environment. Undoubtedly, a folklorist will discover things produced in the field recently: a song, a saying, a riddle, an axe, plow, or musical instrument: this is true, I have confirmed it. On the other hand, thousands of verses, riddles, or instruments descend from the cities, and people reproduce or adopt them without modification. That is also true, but what the people receive through a repertoire of particular facts is more than the facts alone. Built into the facts provided by the city are verse structures, theme cycles, rhythmic order; tones, rhythms, and harmonics of systems, styles, molds, notions, models, and the original ideas. In brief, they condition and guide simple folkloric recreation, in other words: I can write a sonnet, but I did not create sonnets. I can build a plow, but I did not invent it. I made these pots, but I was taught pottery. The city sends the *coplas* – intimate expressions – and with them, the *copla* as a type, a poetic genre and artistic order. In music that serves lyrical song and dance, for example, one encounters only a very few melodies that were orally transmitted for more than a century, but a very old tonal system that the people composed a song in yesterday is easily found. Survival, therefore, encompasses not only particular products, but their related systems, models, notions, etc. At a different stage, they were superior and dwelled in the realm of the popular, following a different kind of adventure after their elimination from the higher social classes.

1.7 Folklore and ethnology

The condition of elimination, suitable for the recognition of a folkloric fact dwelling between existing superior groups and their surrounding popular ones, does not suffice to differentiate it from ethnographic facts. All facts studied in ethnography are either eliminated, current, or survivors, at least at the moment they were observed. This excludes facts that were already included in documentation. In truth, there is essentially no difference between ethnography and folklore; there never has been. However, in the awareness of scholars and the practice of these disciplines, the subdivision of the common field of study is clear. It is very true that "barbarians have no folklore"; neither is there a folklore arising from contemporary princes. There is no doubt, with respect to the extreme cases. The frontiers of the superior have been satisfactorily outlined here through the polishing of the concept of 'survival'. The limitation of ethnography demands less formal attention, as the extensive exploitation of our previous discriminations can lead to a general solution.

The notion of survival does not assist us now, whereas a nuance of the same temporary accident could. This is because ethnography is also a historical science. In relation to the upper cycle, the folkloric concerns the immediate past and ethnography the distant past – a circumstance of time. These concepts are identified with those of the connected and unconnected past, genealogically seen, where both are related to the notions of near and far – a circumstance of place.

Through the enrichment and perfection of its heritage, a superior group rises in a specific area under advantageous conditions. When the superior group expands to new territories, it imposes itself on other fraternal superior groups, which are still at that founding stage of their ascendance in which the invading group previously found itself. Consequently, the extended superior group is indirectly related genetically to its victorious superiors – not to all, but those they are generally closest to. These defeated superior groups will contribute to the formation of the folkloric stratum. Other groups also continue to exist around the world that are not immediately related to the origins of the triumphant superior, yet do bear a connection to the distant past. These survive in remote territories and represent the ethnographic character of facts.

In many cases, this criterion may be insufficient; in addition, it takes a predictable assumption of conclusions into account: we would do better to postpone its use for when contrary evidence is presented. For now, there is another factor we should carefully consider.

We have already mentioned that folklore is framed and crossed by great goods of the superior (the legal regime, religion, economic orders, etc.), conditions in which the primitive cannot be found. Ethnographic groups have their own 'legal' regime, which includes their religion, economy, family structure, etc. The popular possesses a mixed heritage, semi-folkloric and semi-superior. Ethnographic heritage is completely independent. Small goods are folkloric, while small and great goods are ethnographic, in reciprocal adherence to the patrimonial compendium.

This may be the first time that this situation allows us to characterize ethnographic facts. At the same time, one must mention that folkloric facts are separate to ethnographic ones. In view of their condition of having been eliminated or having survived, they are distinguished from the superiors in the other extreme.

Thus, not everything found in the primitive field is ethnographic; a primitive environment can also accommodate folkloric and superior goods. Many of the explorers who had contact with native tribes, from Christopher Columbus to the author of these lines, gave glass beads in exchange for gold or songs.

Finally, though there may still be some borderline cases, we consider these three scientific fields delimited. Facts of the same nature in all three areas have complicated this characterization. The projections occurring in a historical sense that engender and vitalize the science of folklore and ethnography have led us to the revealed conclusion. On this general basis, each folkloric type may resort to a particular complementary criterion, perhaps conventional, for a more precise delineation of its boundaries.

1.8 Folklore and sociology

After seventy-five years of the scientific organization of folklore (1878), we should have been entitled to possess a strong characterization of its facts, with an accurate delimitation of the area and a clear vision of its purposes. However, for a period of three decades, a tendency was accentuated in France which, by means of a simple change of direction, reduced facts, expanded the field, and finally struck against the object itself that traditional folkloric thought has attributed to our discipline. That tendency considers folklore a part of sociology.

No science should consider its cycle of doctrinal or methodological acquisitions as final, but if it is a renunciation of the essential characters in which numerous intuitions were apprehensive about the very possibility of science, criticism must bring its demands to the limit. For the proposition of an essential change does not point to the diversion of a science, but to the confusion of one science with another.

Since its founding, folklore has belonged to the group of anthropological sciences, or sciences of man – together with archeology and ethnology – and its purpose is unmistakably historical. The inclusion of folklore into the great family of sciences dealing with the human past, particularly those that contribute to a general history of culture, is legitimate. The concept that encompasses folklore and its position in the general framework may have to be refined, but in no way can its well-defined initial direction – a condition of its very existence – be altered.

At the beginning of the century, however, some sociologists considered folklore to be unique, possessing the same characteristic of "a constant element in history" that interested sociology. After the first third of the century, the folklorists of Central Europe themselves insisted that folklore was a branch of sociology.

One of the most determined promoters of this new trend is undoubtedly Arnold Van Gennep. Many portions of his well-known Manual[7] take this conviction as given. Thus, "the essential issue in folklore, together with the other branches of sociology, is to determine a relationship between an individual and the masses as accurately as possible" (p.25). Equally, "folklore arrived to unite with what is called collective psychology" (p.28). "If folklore deals with ancient, historical or archaeological facts, it can never be supplementary" (p.27). "But what matters to folklore are the direct, living facts, i.e. sociological biology; the same as for ethnography" (ibid).

Saint Yves does not doubt that folklore is a part of sociology. In the Manual (posthumous), p. 45, he states that "folklore and ethnography, although clearly different, do not constitute one another, but different branches of sociology". He adds that the following point is out of the question and not new: "L'Année Sociologique, which nowadays encompasses thirteen large volumes, has offered an abundant bibliography of folklore since 1898 and is considered a part of sociology." He expresses surprise and scorns such predecessors who in the last moment pretend "to have founded a new school by repeatedly mentioning, in a dozen or more articles, that folklore must be sociological". For Saint Yves, it is an

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[7]   *Manuel de folklore français contemporain.*

old thing, yet another idea proves impossible: "I do not see how it is possible to study popular life […] without including sociology." Always in first place, the science of folklore "dreams", he writes, "of contributing a considerable, fundamentally important part of sociology." Saint Yves further outlines a scheme demonstrating the position of folklore among the anthropological sciences. Devoid of definitions, the author provides the following:

Anthropology
- Animal anthropology
- Cultural Anthropology
  - Psychology
  - Sociology
    - Ethnography
    - Folklore
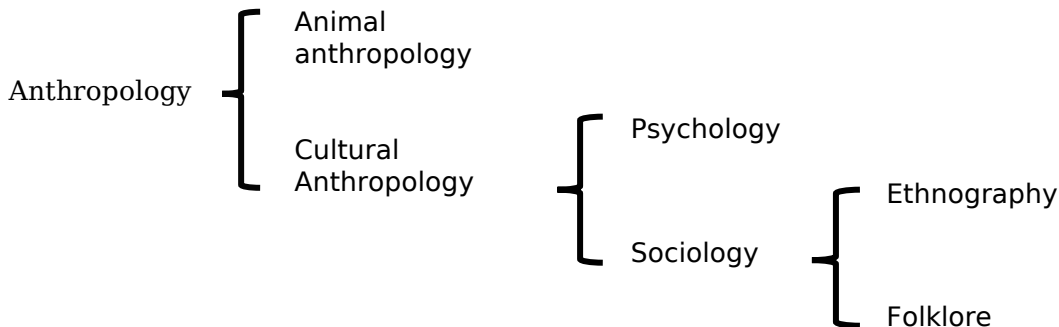
If the question does not create doubt in France, it is clear that in his lectures of the *École du Louvre*, André Varagnac restricts himself to the affirmation: "Le folclor est bien une branche de la sociologie descriptive" ("folklore is indeed a branch of descriptive sociology", p. 18) and not entitled to formulate laws, even if it could. The facts of folklore, he adds, "are collective, and this is what places our studies in the arena of the social sciences" (p. 28).

I have respectfully yielded the word to my honorable colleagues, without allowing myself the interruptions that my response demands after each affirmation. I have not transcribed everything they say on this subject, but nothing supplies what is missing: in no case do they go deeper; they simply consider it unnecessary. Their agreement that folklore is sociology need not even be expressed, unless it is as a plain statement. At most, they divert attention from certain words to ridicule the idea that folklore is history. "Little by little," says Van Gennep, "we begin to rid ourselves of the nineteenth-century disease that we could call the historical mania, where nothing current is valid unless it is related to the past" (p. 32). Or through this implausible statement by the same author: "Whoever wants to be interested in folklore must first abandon the historical attitude and adopt the attitude of zoologists and botanists" (p. 33).

Despite such exquisite statements, we will persist in the same spirit of 'historical mania' and shall not object to detail. For now, we will let the purpose of folklore be to determine "the relation of the individual and the masses", as Van Gennep hopes. Thus, we shall confine ourselves to exploring brief considerations of a general nature.

Sociology is born from a repertoire of facts that awakens the characteristic demand for explanation surrounding the studious. Few sciences have had so much difficulty in capturing the basic essence of their activity: the *quid proprium*, the

subtle friction and earthly interference and the capacity of rapid attraction that lent the discipline so many eminent intellectuals. Today it is a true science and no longer a branch of philosophy. The identification of its facts and its target are, apparently, in their final stage. At the very least, it has passed the period where everything was considered sociology and is closing the curtain on certain types of social phenomena as a nurturing of its original preoccupations.

Sociology observes reality and discovers individuals in a reciprocal relationship. This is what sociologists call *interaction*, the first object of the sociological approach. This interaction produces coincidences in human action, thought, and feeling; and as these organized and established coincidences are imposed on humans, they become institutions. Sociology studies the institutions, the processes that create them and the activities or collective behaviors that reinforce them. Another aspect of this is the driving idea behind such behaviors and, finally, the *collective consciousness* itself. I would just like to ask: should any of this be of concern to the science of folklore?

Sociologists admit that interaction receives its first stimulus from natural or deep-seated instincts, such as family, sex, friendship, preservation, power, imitation, submission, and so on (the lists vary in detail and size). Considering such manifestations by themselves, sociologists speak of certain forms of reciprocal action: cooperation, struggle, imitation, submission, etc. But is any of this an object of folklore?

Sociology, intent on understanding relationships, speaks of sociability by partial fusion and interdependence. Mass, community and communion would be degrees of fusion and interpenetration. Nothing psychic, as soon as it happens, is a matter of folklore.

The products of the relationship between people, as already mentioned, are institutions, whereby distinctions have been made between *organizations* and *institutions*: the latter would only include those sanctioned by the power of the state. "A group of thieves can be an organization, but not an institution" (Giddings). Whether or not the distinction is accurate, one can clearly see what sociologists intended. In general, habits, customs, beliefs, manners, trends, practices, etc., are all considered *institutions*. Institutions were once created by the individual and extended through imitation (G. Tarde). Once established and institutionalized, they acquired "a power of coercion by virtue of what it is imposed upon him (the individual)" (E. Durkheim). This does not imply an opposition within individual society, but rather, that one either understands creation and institutionalization to be two phases of the same process (R. A. Orgaz) or admits that individual and collective consciousness are linked through a 'reciprocity of perspectives' (T. Litt). "The collective consciousness dwells in all of us and we are all in the collective consciousness" (G. Gurvitch). Are these the issues of folklore? It is true that our science, among others, deals in the spiritual and material facts that address beliefs, customs, etc. – however not as products of the relationship between people, but as *particular forms* of a specific *strand* of culture, survivors, and in order to conceptualize the past, precisely because of the 'historical mania'.

For sociology, it is not enough to recognize, specify and describe social facts. It desires to explain them, seek their causes and find laws. Raul A. Orgaz

enumerates certain types of laws discovered by several sociologists: the inferior imitates the superior; in a crowd, thought is subtracted and emotion added; suicide varies inversely proportionate to the degree of integration of the group to which the suicide victim belongs; tradition is authoritarian and coercive in proportion to its antiquity; absent of interference, imitation grows in geometric progression; the volume of the total population tends to vary in direct proportion to overall wealth and inversely to an increase in standard of living. Are such laws, as the purpose of their activities, of concern to the science of folklore?

I do not pretend to explain sociology. The most modest manuals fill dozens of pages, whereas I merely wish to outline its facts, recall the nature of its problems and present some of its conclusions, for the sole purpose of showing folklorists that their own activities and objectives are not in any way related to those of a sociologist. A folklorist, I suppose, would have answered negatively to the question I repeatedly posed in the previous segments. Perhaps neither the folklorist nor we possess a clear notion of their science. However, faced with the problem of sociology, we must admit, with no more than our own experiences and reading at hand, that none of this has ever been important for the science of folklore.

We can also highlight the following: if cross-psychological action, its products and the laws it obeys are matters for folklore, where do we place our collections of sayings, superstitions, riddles or melodies? Together with our descriptions on manners or customs? Beside our museum of pots, tissues or instruments? What has Van Gennep achieved by collecting stories and legends from Savoy, besides wasting twenty years' work in the process? What has Saint Yves achieved through his detailed study of magical practice, folk medicine and peasant religion, but a waste of time and effort? In order to discover the law of supply and demand, it does not seem necessary to collect fables or *coplas*. In order to find out why the population volume varies, we do not have to write down ten versions of a single legend.

Even with some fruition in the liveliness of contrasts, this does not imply that both sciences do not have certain facts in common. Sociology has no spatial or temporal limitation; it pursues facts of interest in social reality whenever it finds them enticing. The environment of the modern superior groups is included, but it is not as strange as seeing folkloric and ethnological groups in its domains. As for linguistics, physical anthropology, psychology and musicology, it can even explore the historical past, as far as the indirect reconstruction of documents allows. Then it becomes evident that sociology claims the popular domain for its own. It is clear that the science of folklore can provide data for sociology, but in no way does this coincidence of facts mean that they possess identical purposes. Sociology cannot hide its psychological aspect. Folklore is impregnated with historical meaning. In observing its facts, a sociologist *may* behave as a folklorist or a folklorist as a sociologist. Many facts inhabited by the one field, however, are of little interest to the other, as the sociologist seeks the consequences of the relationship between people and a folklorist observes particular expressions of past cultural stages, including those occurring within institutions themselves.

Furthermore, sociological laws may be folkloric. This might point to a partial coincidence in their purposes, but that is not the case. The law of Tarde, "the

inferior imitates the superior", that I have adopted and introduced into the folkloric ideology, is used in a different way in our field. Through his law, Tarde attempted to explain the very origin of social facts; today, however, it is considered a 'law' of so-called *empirical uniformity*. For us it is also a familiar law of behavior, but while a sociologist recognizes a force in it that diffuses social facts, we see the main direction of this (inferior-superior) force as a type of arrow pointing us toward the original source of folkloric goods, i.e. the social groups in which the currently lacking survivals are previous experiences. For folklore, then, this would be a *law of provenance*. In the study of the dynamics of folkloric events, a folklorist *may* act as a sociologist, but only by each placing themselves in front of their particular concerns, like a botanist or a painter in front of a rosebush.

The claim that the initial course of folklore resulted from a 'historical mania' can be perfectly well explained as a type of unconscious self-accusation in someone who is himself suffering from a sociological mania. This is hardly surprising in the face of the astounding rise of sociology, and in the puissant shadow of Emilio Durkheim in France. A science, however, is not oriented around manias, it is motivated by certain needs for explanation. Early folklorists, like ethnologists, agreed upon highlighting the *antiquity* implicit in folkloric events. Fritz Graebner, one of the founders of modern ethnology and its first theorist, said: "Something came to my aid in the task of removing the problems: based on a similarity of materials and problems, the solid methodological relationship between ethnology and history, strictly speaking, allows our discipline to be considered objectively and formally, as a branch of historical science" (*Metodología etnológica*, p. 4). We also know that folklore and ethnology are sciences of the same nature, applied to different fields.

If folklore were to be diluted into sociology, to facilitate the study of "the relationship between an individual and the masses" (!), a new science should be created to deal with the *accidental time* characteristic of survivals.

1.9 Folklore and the people

The concept of the people is manifold. Ours, as much as any other, becomes apparent as soon as the study of any popular area is announced; it silently gains precedence and comes out in the form of an obstacle to the development of thought that constantly demands reference. Everyone knows the term *the people* and what it means, similar to how one knows what art is: "…something that everyone knows and understands", Croce describes. No one questions it – and within this safe environment is where an ancient slumber finds its comfort.

Nonetheless, the notion of *the people* is extremely vague and confusing. If one were to shed light on it, one would first have to remove its contents, examine its winding paths and expurgate its various meanings.

The explanations provided in the above chapters allow us to approach a complete concept of *the people* more easily, as we shall do from a folkloric point of view. Every field of science views and understands people from its own particular perspective, which is also what we must do here, regardless of whether our 'people' end up meaning something completely different. Up to that point, we will

have to manage with a borrowed and unspecified concept of *the people* borrowed from other fields.

In the scope of our subject matter, we have removed the concept of *the people* in terms of the total population of a country, as it is incorporated into political theory. Yet, however distilled this result may still be, it undeniably remains an inaccurate and confusing concept.

The theoretical division of society into different classes is mainly pursued for reasons of economy. For economists, *the people* may well be viewed as *the poor.* Yet, although this does not follow the true course of our subject matter, it is very possible for the dispossessed to form a part of the groups of interest to our study. If one adopts an urban mindset, *the people* could eventually be viewed as the uneducated part, where we are certainly capable of comprehending that the education of the people is generally different to other forms. Without us necessarily considering this distinction important, we understand that the education of *the people* is less complicated and artificial than any other. From an intellectual point of view, *the people* can be seen as being less instructed, which, while not exactly a deciding factor, many individuals with formal training could equally also be regarded as one of our folkloric people with respect to all aspects not related to formal education.

For those who apply an artistic criterion to the classification, *the people* will imply those who practice a less complicated art; but in our science *the people* tends to express itself by means of formulas that are more complex than those of the higher realm, for instance, as in some of the minor species of certain arts, such as the poetic and the melodic, etc. Using the secondary criterion of location, the people would live in the countryside; however, many subjects who are partially folkloric live in the cities, not due to a change of environment, but due to family tradition.

All of the above-mentioned criteria, which we may well disregard as insufficient, may on the whole describe a theoretical social network that comes closer to defining a 'folkloric people'. However, such an approximation is similar to two separate paths that, with different starting points and different goals, for strictly topographical reasons come close to one another for a certain part of their journey.

The perspective used to view folkloric phenomena is disrupted through the application of any traditional concept of the people. No criterion stemming from the field of economy, or from urban development, etc. is appropriate enough to be valid for the purposes of our research. If, as is my belief, folklore is a historical science, its sole purpose to compile a general history of culture, it would only be fair for it to require a specific criterion to fulfill the completion of its particular order of knowledge.

A cultural criterion appears to me the most appropriate as well as the most productive. We have already discovered that the survival of ancient matter is of great interest in the science of folklore, which no longer makes it hard for us to describe the people with whom our subject matter is concerned. In terms of folkloric science, *'the people' is a group of individuals who benefit from past things*

that have survived; the greater number of cultural elements that comprise their assets and have survived, the more interesting the people are to us.

There are no folkloric groups in which everything has survived; those who are made up of assets that have almost exclusively survived are ethnographic. Facts are not folkloric because of their ownership by the groups we call popular, rather, the people of interest to folklore can be defined through their possession of folkloric facts, i.e. survived matter. It is the possession of folkloric things that makes a group of individuals a people, not vice versa. Thus, the people, as regarded by folklore, are not necessarily poor, uneducated, simple peasants, etc., even if an individual in such circumstances might generally be expected to bear a great number of such survived elements. In folklore, the people are made up of individuals from all walks of life and social categories, including those with formal education and who live in urban areas, etc. This means that in order to be able to characterize its human groups, our subject matter must also incorporate ad hoc popular nuclei, merely based upon an individual's attachment to survived matter. Yet is this really necessary? Is this new idea of the people precise enough to partake in a doctrine and definition of the subject matter? No.

The science of folklore deals with things that have survived (among numerous other things) and reaches conclusions of interest by weighing these up in consideration and importance. It acknowledges layers of survived matter and grants them a specific place within a chronological framework, establishing a place of origin and migration by means of comparison. However, survived matter also implies the presence of a life-giver – the person who owns it. There is no survived matter without an individual. Folkloric facts are living facts; previous folkloric facts – historical folklore – were also once related to human beings. Thus, if one considers that people were present during such survival, what would the relevance of the people per se be, insofar as they were a group of physical individuals? We are not dealing with organic things here, but products that, even when considered independently from one another, imply the individuals who possess and give them life. Folklore is therefore a science of products.

The task of configuring a new notion of people specific to the science of folklore would not be justifiable if the subsequent step would force its abandonment. Thus, it should only be done as and when required by new realizations. However, no one should deem such abandonment as absolute: if a notion of the people always offers a background to folkloric thought, similar to how a backdrop offers one to a stage, it would be convenient for such a notion to be regarded as our own.

If folkloric people are ultimately part of a heritage for purposes of usufruct, it would be helpful to only keep such a part – the survived –, without paying attention to the physical people from whom we borrow them in order to integrate our repertoire of facts. Should another kind of secondary correlation require us to return to the individuals themselves and the rest of the facts they encompass, there would be plenty of time to do so further on.

It is highly possible for scholars to have previously resisted, in facing the goods whilst disregarding their owners. Rest assured, however, that we – as well as all readers, insofar as they are specialists of this or any other related field –

 have never studied anything other than facts and assets, certainly not the people themselves. This only requires each of us to acknowledge in theory what we have already put to practice.

1.10 Definitions of folklore

The names of scientific fields are largely also definitions themselves; the intention of precision, however, creates a certain amount of ambiguity that requires more explicit formulae to be incorporated – the definition per se –, which would require entire chapters to properly clarify the scope of its terms, the nature of the facts that form its subject matter, the extension of the field, and the purpose of its activities. Finally, in regard to the science under consideration, one would not only have to state *what it is*, but also *what it is not*.

Sciences study facts. The facts themselves, or the realm they belong to, are indicated in the name; in many cases, however, it is also important to add their sector.

The term folklore implies a definition that is deliberately conceived as such – a definition of facts, as well as that of science. No *specific* science encompasses the study of humanity in all his facets, or culture in all its sectors. The Anglo-Saxon term addresses two related issues: 1) facts that are of interest to this new science, and 2) the people to whom facts belong. The former deals with the etymology of the second half of the word, 'lore' ("those concerned with knowledge"), whereas the second addresses the first half of the word, 'folk' or 'the people'. The accuracy and scope of such terms is clearly outlined in other chapters.

The theory of folklore could not surpass these two issues. In order to clarify the first, lore – the facts of interest –, scholars have created lists, some enormous in size (including beliefs, costumes, music, proverbs, etc.). However, since nearly all groups of people share the same things, they have been forced to move on to list of characteristics (collective, anonymous, etc.) that proved equally large, in order to distinguish between the folkloric and facts of other areas. This proved senseless and the list of facts unnecessary, and proved all the more that anything could be of interest to folklore. To compose a list of characteristics makes as little sense; many facts of the higher classes and ethnographic groups are simultaneously also collective, anonymous, etc.

In order to clarify the second issue – the folk to whom the facts belong –, authors have come up with several formulae: to the masses,.. the lower classes,... primitive men,... uneducated men,... the anonymous and undifferentiated part of mankind,... the nations (!),... the less advanced classes of the community,... civilized and non-civilized people, savages,... groups of savages,... and in civilized countries, the rustic and more or less illiterate,... the *popolino*,... peasants and rural life, the part of them that remaining industrial and urban settings,... and finally also to popular culture. Such are the verbatim words used by scholars right from the start and to this very day, in chronological order and excluding those in the definitions that only exclaim, "to the people". Very few authors succumb to the temptation of providing reference to any specific class or group.

Indeed, this is a completely nonsensical undertaking. Folkloric and non-folkloric facts are the property of the people, the masses, etc., for the concept of people is simply too vague to support the ascription of a definition of facts to it, for reasons of possession or belonging. On the contrary, folkloric people are best defined through the possession of folkloric goods. Thus, the clarification of the second issue at hand has led us nowhere. I have barely come across any form of circumstance or condition in the practice of folklore that does not reflect itself in the superior environment, with no difference other than in degree or intensity. There are naïve labelers in the popular environment, the dawning of criticism, nascent feelings regarding artistic property and such, that are still considered. To add to this complacency, a dispossession among creators exists – i.e. through the recreation of others' melodies – that is also often very blatant. Whoever recalls what is known of the courtesan musical environment of the superior Middle Ages, cannot help but compare its analogy with this one, the current popular. It was the ancient, historical stage of the educated movement that flowed into our day and age; the popular is the very same surviving stage – the shadow of an extinct body.

'The facts of knowledge', i.e. those that we know of, encompass *all* facts, and *all* facts relate to *culture*, as in the case of folklore. It would appear that the original idea failed to include material objects (housing, dress, utensils, etc.); today, it is obvious that folklore cannot exclude these without compromising the integrity of its full scope.

All, for a start, implies that it would not be wise to neglect any form or kind of fact. Potentially, anything *could be* folkloric; no material or spiritual fact can be exempted from the possibility of its being a fact without further reason. This suggests that, in practice, many belonging "to the people" are not seated in a folkloric context. A kind of fact may thus, in effect, be regarded as folkloric to one group of people and not to another. In addition, most objects are comprised of a *sum of independent inventions*. In a piece of clothing, for example, the buttons could be imported articles, while the pigment of the fabric itself is very common to the nation. Guitars made in urban areas are usually tuned in a local manner. In general, it is not this or any other fact that is the true nature and condition of folklore, but more a universal situation.

Facts enter the scope of folklore when they still apply at the level immediately below, after being removed from higher ones; from when they begin to point to past cultural stages on the whole, or more specifically, to previous versions of the same cultural idea.

We clear the grounds for a definition (of folklore) by bringing order to the concept of *survived* elements and *people*. If we were to suggest that folklore is a science primarily concerned with matter that has survived, we would be denying higher classes access to its distinct social facts that are based on *experience*; there would thus be no point in designating them to popular groups, as survivals can only occasionally be found – where not institutionalized – within a higher realm. At this point, we should also clarify that we are not dealing with *distant* survived matter, far away in time and space, as portrayed by the object of ethnography: a science that deals with ancient matter that has survived. The term *immediate*, possessing a dual connotation with regard to time and space, is far more

explanatory. We use it in order to emphasize that folklore is concerned with survivals of proximity, such as minor cultural products found within the region of modern states and within the great institutions of higher groups. While we initially define ethnology as a science of distant survived matter, removed in time and space from higher centers, major and minor cultural products, coherently balanced within the unity of heritage, we might conclude that folklore is the science of immediately survived matter.

The science of folklore particularly strives to establish the progression of every cultural idea, i.e. invention; generally speaking, the succession of heritages, i.e. cultural stages, solely within its limited field, as a contribution to the general history of culture. It investigates the life (or life force) of the goods as a projection of the human spirit. A history of culture is therefore, ultimately, a history of the spirit.

Folklore recovers the 'people' – the protagonist and life-giver of culture –, as it attempts to establish the movement of the people themselves, through the comparison of analogous facts separated in space. In this way, close to its chronological purpose, it can generally only confirm or highlight realizations gained by the study of history, by means of its documents – and that only to a limited extent. It is less efficient than history, as the migration of folkloric facts does not usually coincide with the migration of different groups of people. The life of culture, and the march of humanity, are problems that cultural science in all its forms must focus on: no specific science in itself can, other than under very exceptional circumstances, monitor the makings and doings of those who have turned their back on political history.

1.11 Projections of folklore

Folklore gathers material to pursue the study of historical and cultural issues. However, the knowledge acquired thereby can also serve other purposes. I have mentioned all of the diverse activities that benefit from knowledge gained by folkloric facts' *extension*, *application*, or *projections* of folklore. Let us not confuse the science of folklore with its projections – the use of its materials for different purposes.

Folklore has a *political projection*, i.e. one that is of interest to the science or mechanics of governing.

There are certain groups that, amidst the great official institutions, dwell mostly in the country, within national borders, and are ruled by their own customs, beliefs, ideas, arts, tools, and equipment. Modern cities are unaware of the ways of thinking, feeling and acting by which they live. This implies that, within the nation, there are great majorities of populations to whom urban intellectuals and other city men are as alien to the scholars of the city as they would be to those from a distant country. One must therefore insist that an international sense of closeness and understanding increases with reciprocal knowledge – yet, would it not be far more important for a nation to know itself? We not only see this as important, but absolutely essential. Civil limitations only reach as far as the consciousness of unity; the coexistence of strangers in shared territory is unacceptable. Educating

the whole of a nation on its history equally unifies the conscience of a common past, yet, it must also be mandatory to strengthen this bond by bringing spirits closer together in their present reality. People living in the countryside always have their attention set on the way things are done and perceived in the city; they are aware of urban advancements and imitate them in any way they can. The city, on the other hand, overlooks the way peasants live. The activity that attempts to spread the knowledge of rural life to distant cities is one type of folkloric projection, a *political projection*. This does not imply the inhabitants of modern cities dancing the *Gato*, wearing a *chiripá* or singing *Vidalitas*; the citizens can wear, dance or sing whatever they like at their parties. It implies knowing, understanding, and feeling that the goods that belong to the rural population also belong to the country as a whole, as living reservoirs of a joint national past, a point of reference and guidance in an uncertain and drifting time.

Folklore also has an *ethical projection* that views morality from an interesting standpoint.

Cities high on the coast, facing the harbor and turning their backs to the mainland, are always attentive to innovations coming in from the great capital cities of the world; they indiscriminately adopt everything from outside, whether good or bad, whether or not it is better than their own products or convenient to local idiosyncrasies. Folklore is a stratum of ancient goods: some of which have justifiably been eliminated as inferior or less efficient, while some have survived that represent more elevated and healthier moral concepts. Not everything "*progressive progresses*". The activities that oppose such ancient reservations to expand on modern ideas, uses, and costumes that may be condemnable or inconvenient, effectively conform to the *ethical projection* of folklore.

Finally, we have an a*esthetic projection*, related to national art. Among the folkloric types, some belong to the realm of artistic creation (pottery, weaving, poetry, dance, music, etc.). Like seedlings, these can be subject to widespread development within an urban environment, if we can direct the attention of the most gifted artists to them. All regions have produced, and are still producing, brilliant minds. However, the glory of their given power lies in the work of an urban environment. It is in the artistic and intellectual circles of the cities, or in close relation to them, that provincial vocations develop. The action of spreading the knowledge of such a breed with artistic intent makes up the *aesthetic projection* of folklore [8]).

The aesthetic projection of folklore towards different forms of artistic and literary expression is one that has given birth to the most widespread confusions. In actuality, profiting from folkloric materials of intellectual creation is confused with the products of several previous artistic and literary trends and movements.

Everyone knows that Romanticism, the great European movement that moved the hearts of the people at the beginning of the last century, required

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[8]   We should not forget that these questions were extensively formulated by Dr. Ricardo Rojas in *La restauracion nacionalista*, enforced since 1909; and that later on, in *Eurindia*, he pursued his direction of thought in the doctrine of the arts and their various forms, including the artistic realizations of writers of prose and poetry and playwrights.

vulgar motives to be incorporated into its art and letters and acknowledged these treasures of unknown and forgotten beauty as optimal objects of inspiration. Thus, a segment of Romantic production embraces elements of a popular origin in order to develop them into new forms and styles. The activities of the Romantic movement, however, are in no way related to the science of folklore.

Somewhat later, also in the first half of the previous century, educated makers of art recreated the clothing of the popular suburban and rural classes, reproducing them in every form of literature and poetry, including drama, thus opening the doors to a movement called *costumbrismo*. This movement flourished in Argentina just as much as Romanticism. *Costumbrismo* also gained popular expressions and 'types', i.e. characters that represented particular ways of being. It produced an infinite number of creations from all areas of Buenos Aires: articles of clothing, portraits and poems on clothing; novels, comedies, notes on different types, landscapes, and even descriptions that were not intended for anything other than presenting them to the people.

Though not especially interesting in regard to the events of the people, but equally rich as a source of reference to the past, were the *tradicionista* movement – which was made up of narrators from different traditions and blossomed in the 19th century – and the *memorialista* movement, that reached the rural heart by recalling ancient personal experiences.

The 'nationalist' art movement emerged in Europe at the end of last century, following the Romantic movement, and was sensitive to later influences. Depending on the path taken, there is a musical form of nationalism, a nationalism of painting, sculpture, and architecture, choreography, literature, and poetry. The most important and fortunate was musical nationalism, which made use of or recreated popular themes to be absorbed into a greater or lesser form of the educated classes. Curiously, it invariably embraces the concept of folklore and, ever since then, scientific activity and the artistic movement have become completely interlinked. Oddly, the public came thus to believe that folklore encompassed popular music and dance, and that folkloric activity consisted of singing and dancing. Today, we easily recognize this as a poor representation.

On the other hand, there was always a spontaneous and realistic point of view that incorporated popular elements on paper or on the stage, with no intention beside the creation of beautiful scenery as a setting for a given subject; this brings much curiosity and desire for the beautiful, picturesque, wonderful, or exotic into the popular environment through the creation of a great many varied works. More seriously, it even used academic apparatus intended for scientific activities. None of this was proper folklore – neither in its characteristic spirit nor as an undertaking.

The science of folklore, founded in Europe around 1880, celebrated its first success in Argentina just after 1890, when, for the first time, scientists and archeologists generously contributed to museums. Everything that found its way to us before that year relating to, or incorporating, popular elements, can be regarded as romanticism, *costumbrismo*, nationalism, *tradicionismo*, *memorialismo*, travel literature, curiosity for the picturesque, an eagerness to create 'local color', etc. – but not folklore. The true folkloric movement weakened a

little later, and, half gone, maintains itself by means of several activities that take place and, without a clamoring public, profit from the things of the people. In its final lustrums, it has gathered the efforts of many students and recovered its primeval sense and purpose.

2. Folkloric music

Musical facts. – Music and its associations. – The musical complex. – Diversity in folkloric music. – Folklorization processes. – The influence of concert halls. – The creation of popularity.

If we steer away from viewing musical facts from a general perspective and focus on the specific ones at hand, we can continue along enlightened paths, without doing anything other than reproducing the discriminatory ideas we formed in the particular field of music when regarding it in conjuncture to the available folkloric groups specifically.

2.1 The musical facts

Admitting that Folklore is a historical science that deals with current facts speaking to us of the past, folkloric music - as part of the inferior heritage -can only refer to music that is ancient, but not yet extinct. Music that is strange to the superior environment – where the one who studies it, improves – currently prevails in the countryside or any part thereof and represents a more or less remote setting for music that has been *eliminated* and has *survived*. Alone these circumstances clearly distinguish it from all surrounding popular and superior music. Official music – patriotic, educational, ecclesiastical, martial and foreign – is the music of the superior and therefore also current and alive. It bears none of the weight of the past, nor is it of consequence to our science. Ancient facts, institutionalized in the bosom of higher groups, are themselves an object of history; no science dedicates itself to them fully.

The quality of the survived takes on a certain *character or condition of survival*. If some popular music is identical to the current music of the city, it has not as such survived, as it still prevails. No longer existing in the countryside in regard to elders or documents, it becomes part of *historical folklore*. There is a great deal of history in the study of folklore, to which I have paid particular attention in my book *Danzas y Canciones*. For the purposes of our science, historical folklore is as interesting as live folklore.

Thus, the quality of the survived *does not distinguish* between folkloric music and that of a primitive background, which is the object of ethnomusicography. All ethnographic music is eliminated and survived music. Other circumstances create a distinction.

Firstly, folkloric music is part of a mixed patrimonial ensemble; it lives among the great institutions of the superior (state and economic systems, religion, etc.) and, in certain cases, alternates with official music (patriotic, educational,

liturgical, etc.). Ethnographic music, on the other hand, is part of a complete heritage, free of the superior, but still in service to some of the major institutions of the primitive group itself.

What has been said suffices in order to avoid confusion. Nonetheless, we can add even more specific qualities to reaffirm the distinction. Folkloric music is a 'measured' form of music, that is, one belonging to a measurable cycle. It embraces the sensation of rhythmic beats and allows brief, typical *musical inspirations*, usually semi-moving, semi-still, to stride along with it. Such inspirations, like lines of poetry, are succeeded symmetrically in numbers of four or eight and form higher units known as periods. These units of two, three, and four integrate certain types of the so-called *small musical forms*. In this work, readers will find numerous examples of folkloric periods. Works that agree with our analytical system, by *phrases*, present a very characteristic graphic aspect. Small forms that are always linked to tonal systems of a speculative origin, and almost always in fundamental harmony, are forerunners of the great higher forms.

In contrast, 'unmeasured' music would therefore be ethnographic. One notices an obvious tendency towards regularity in it, as well as the repetition of short rhythmic or melodic schemes; however, such repetitions are hardly a pre-announcement of phrasing. The short patterns of the ethnographic ambience do not attempt to form conclusive regular periods; they are musical motifs strung together without counts, for an indeterminate amount of time, and never achieve the articulation of a 'piece'. Characteristic for ethnographic music is the absence of *small forms*, a lack of harmony and – not always – an emergent ordering of tone. One can often find truly measurable phrases in this music as well, though they do not serve the purpose of articulating periods. Folkloric music ranges between this music and the higher culture, representing the true *intermediary stage* of human music. The two volumes encompassing my work *Fraseología* are entirely devoted to these issues (see II, pp. 533 and ff.).

In such circumstances, and in view of these characteristics, time is implied as being accidental. Folkloric music is old and ethnographic music ancient, but it seems location is accidental. Folkloric music can usually only be encountered in areas somewhat close to and immersed in the influence of modern cities; ethnographic music mostly only survives in isolated areas, far from interurban roads: areas unimportant to the economy or politics of higher cultures.

Folkloric music, like all kinds of facts related to the lower classes, is indeed mainly found in the country but can sometimes also be found in the hands of individuals in higher cultures. The reader will of course want to know how it differs from that of the superior; this distinction touches upon the very heart of our thesis: folkloric music in the voice of the educated city man is not the social, institutionalized music of the upper class and thus appears to be out of place, albeit vital; the same music in the hands of the rural individual is the social, institutionalized music of the rural environment itself – the scholars' *collective* music. That cultured man is, in this regard, a folkloric subject. Let us add that if the pace of the descent is sufficiently swift, the music that came down to the countryside and became folkloric may yet be preserved in the memory of the cultured elders of the city.

Not all popular music is folkloric. Other music that varies in nature and purpose –indifferent, transitory, casual –, can be heard in the village environment, and as things come from the city, they spread across the country. Official music, such as anthems and patriotic marches, are popular without being folkloric; the repertoire taught to children in rural schools usually originates from the city and official church music sounds through the fields without affecting social circles. Military brass (*charangas*) and village bands blare shrill, insipid marches, while a few stray melodies from collections of foreign songs unexpectedly find their way into the repertoire of an insignificant singer. Traces of music belonging to remote ethnographic strata can also be found in the public domain; and at the fore, dominant and accepted, is the living music played for singing and dancing in city dance halls, whether in passing or taking hold – not yet folkloric, but urban. It is among all this music, that the true music of folklore lives out its ancient life.

In order to validate folkloric fact, the list of qualities or circumstances attributed to them by writers admits to acknowledging a rigorous transference to each particular type. The very idea of an *oral*, *anonymous*, *transferring* path, however, proves that this is not the case: it is quite clear that the list was only conceived by taking certain spiritual folkloric facts (literary, artistic, etc.) into consideration. However, the problem shows that, even when related to spiritual facts like music, the result proves inadequate or insufficient to fulfill the presumed characterization.

Nonetheless, it may be useful to consider each of the circumstances listed here. If "it is good to let a thousand flowers bloom", we should acknowledge the convenience of attributing them to each folkloric type: namely not only general traits, but new ones capable of enhancing their characterization. By means of testing, one can see if it were possible to successfully transfer those conditions that could not identify folkloric facts in general to specific musical types.

It seems difficult to find a form of music that is not *collective*; and if at some stage we were to encounter the occasional odd piece, we would have to consider that the *vestiges* might not be collective; and *vestiges* are more interesting the less they are shared. In addition, the *collective* requirement is also present in superior and ethnographic music, music that has just reached the village from the dance halls, as well as all forms of popular music.

Not all folkloric music is *anonymous*; in the country, one will certainly meet musicians who compose their own music. If 'anonymity', rather than referring to the work in particular, refers to a category of systems – for example, tonal, rhythmic, or harmonic –that marks the work, then all erudite creations of the upper classes, whether ethnographic or of dance halls, would also be anonymous. Nearly all non-folkloric music in the public view is also, in some way, anonymous. If one claims that a work is anonymous due to its modification through oral transmission, I conclude that the same phenomenon, to a varying degree, also occurs in ethnographic and dance-hall music. Our ignorance of a songwriter that inevitably becomes characteristic of the song is not as unheard of as it may appear. Lack of awareness, awe, or indeed any kind of impression can contribute to forming a definition driven by denial, although they would call out for exclusive referral to an order of deeds. This is not the case. The inconsistency of 'anonymity'

as a requirement for folklore can be more easily recognized through the consideration of choreographic species: other than in very rare cases, no one from any environment knows who the songwriter of the dances is – to say nothing of material species.

The quality of *the traditional* is almost never absent in folkloric music; it is also present in dancehall, popular non-folkloric and – above all – ethnographic music. *Traditional* is not always *oral*. Any type of writing can act as a conductor of transmission; oral communication can collaborate in the transmission of a written fact[9] within or away from a homely environment. Besides, a fact is valid whether it is written or not. On the whole, this certainly shatters the walls intended to separate the superior environment from the folkloric. In music, there is always room for the oral transmission of notation that, in its own right, implies imperfection. It is evident that folkloric circles do not use notation; they do, however, occasionally employ a *cipher*, a sort of writing system. The requirement of *the traditional* particularly fails when applied to techniques, uses, customs, etc., as nearly all in the higher environment remain traditional, as do those of the primitive.

The regional condition does not exclude neither the superior nor the ethnographic fact. Much less if these are essentially international. Furthermore, these two qualities are cabinet conclusions. The beginning folklorist would recognize the facts that he must study after having finished the studies.

The quality of *transferability*, i.e. that the fact could have served a different purpose in the past, applies to the axe-emblem of the primitive chief just as it applies to our parents' cane or masks at carnival. Thus, it is not exclusively folkloric in any way.

Finally, we can see that in both cases of the general as well as the particular types that we are dealing with, the adjectives of the above-mentioned list, applied independently or concurrently, cannot alone characterize the folkloric fact. It is therefore not necessary for us to insist that they refer solely to certain goods of the hereditary body.

A different, very important point is that the qualities of the *collective, traditional, anonymous,* etc., common to both the superior and primitive may well be useful to the folklorist until they have succeeded in localizing and recognizing the field of folklore, i.e. when they are no longer needed.

Folkloric music is ancient or near-ancient music – removed from our current superior groups or formerly superior in other, extinct higher groups that have survived and are current; and is mainly found in the country among the great institutions of the group that hold the management of the state in their hands.

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[9]   See my article "En torno a las tradiciones orales", in the newspaper *La Prensa*, B. A., June 13, 1937.

2.2 Music and its associations

We have already mentioned that we will study music and music alone; this limitation demands an explanation.

Music itself is already formed by a composition of elements, an association of systems – tonal, rhythmic, etc. – to which we will return to in the next chapter. However, in practice, a musical composition is generally always provided in close relation to a text, which basically implies poetry, the second composite with a different nature. In addition, both musical and poetic compositions tend to be represented parallel to dance, i.e. choreographic developments – a third composite, also of a different nature. The performance, where we generally listen to the music, is made up of composites, so that other elements that are not important at this point contribute towards the integration of the performance.

This association, reminiscent of the remote triad, has always been made with such persistence that it would seem rash to break it up. Language, by itself, lacks special words for each composite. With the word *dance,* you can imply a musical composition, whereas the same word could be applied to choreography. The label for each category is still more prodigal: *cueca*, for example, is a musical piece, choreographic sequence, and poetical composition. *Cueca* is, however, also the name given to a combination of two or three things.

I have experienced many misunderstandings over this deficiency. In this respect, the public, as well as experts, employ one word and three concepts: when one speaks of a *cueca* – continuing the example – one listener may associate it with music, another with dance, and a third with poetry, depending on the range of images one uses.

The form of a musical composition created for a dance, the stereotyped developments encompassed by its choreography, and the metric and strophic patterns of poetry that complement music are all different in nature. These three composites do not necessarily have anything in common other than the time frame by which they are constrained. They find interest from different states of emotion, are projected on different planes, and – at least in the case of music and dance – are aimed toward different senses. As general phenomena, they parade through the centuries with strict associations; however, the 'music' of a determined nature, a specific genre of developments, as well as a poetic form of a given language, united in the acknowledgment of the performance, are nothing more than partners without a contract, temporarily and accidentally brought together. It is necessary to recognize three currents in music, choreography and text, perhaps with a common origin, perhaps not – but which in any case have developed in a different time, independently of one another. Or that, having come to the same place at the same time, they find other composites in the new environment and accept, reject, or combine certain things, drop or superimpose something…a thousand different things.

Musical innovation does not have to coincide with choreographic innovation, or with a revolution in poetic form and style. A dance that adopts a different structure today may continue with yesterday's music and text; a musical concept that has been modified may well continue with the same poetry, in the service of

an unchanging choreography; dance and music can accommodate the text or style of another language. Different social groups will adopt the whole; different instruments will execute it; ornaments old or new will adorn its austere forms.

A rigidly descriptive work avoids complication when it focuses *everything* on a given moment; however, if we were to study association throughout times and fields, the use of a genealogical criterion prior to consideration would be of the utmost importance, and a wide safety net would be needed to assist our meditations and save us from error.

Scholars have contributed some of the most fatal errors to our subject matter in not considering the inconstancy of such associations. It is this very cause that has spawned numerous assertions, whether coincidental or contradictory. Consequently: the verses of one such dance are in the popular Spanish; thus, the music and choreography must be popular Spanish. The text is Indian; the music also. The choreography is Spanish; the music as well. Or, in noticing the general label of the category: the name is African; thus, the music and choreography must be as well…

Conversely, it would be a grave mistake to exaggerate the inconstancy of such associations, going to the extreme of depriving the investigation of a legitimate resource. Association is not eternal, but it does exist. I cannot extend myself further in such purely methodological detail; suffice it to say that the similarity between two facts, far removed in space, can be reinforced if other facts of the composite (name, function, etc.) are the same… It is not bad to reason, but it is bad to reason incorrectly.

Consequently, the association between music, poetry, and dance results in the convergence of autonomous currents; it is sometimes fleeting or temporary and sometimes very long. However, we wish to know the past trajectory of everything simultaneously present in the 'dance', i.e. performance. How can a single focus complete association if everything has its own history and lineage? *It is not possible to deal with music, choreography and text at the same time*, as any statement made that is accurate in the musical realm cannot accurately apply to the choreographic, etc. Consequently, each part requires an exclusive plan from the songwriter and, as we have understood the necessity, we shall *only* study *music* in this book, leaving the other forms for other treatises.

2.3 The musical composite

In the previous chapter, we stated that music alone, without text and choreography, is a composite of systems. This is important from several points of view.

In a melody, we have two orders of elements: the order of pitches, generally named the tonal, and the order of lengths – the rhythmical. In musical expression, the two are inseparable. Pitch without rhythm – like a scale – and rhythm without pitch – consisting of noises – is not real music: a melody is created through the coordination of both.

However strange it may appear, the system belonging to the tonal order and that of the rhythmic are so closely united in melodic expression that one can be abandoned to join another, if certain influences are successful in this regard.

Now, the melody, the synthesis of these two systems, can generally accept a third, the system of accompaniment. The melody, as a pure form of instrumental expression, can exist without accompaniment; however, it is very common, both in its lyrical function and when serving a dance, to be produced with an accompaniment. Given a certain time and place, the melody appears to be associated with several fixed resources of accompaniment. It is in our interest to keep in mind that the accompaniment is also detachable; meaning that it can be substituted for another if the circumstances require a change.

The accompanying melody is, in this way, a composition of systems that are temporarily associated with one another. It is true that these do not go about detaching themselves at every turn, but it is important to understand that each is independent and could have arrived of its own accord, in order to create the current composite, and that they could just as well be separated tomorrow. If our study is not purely descriptive –if we must consider this music in time – we must acknowledge these composites as not being fully fixed.

Writers have made many mistakes due to a lack of knowledge of this inconstancy. Some of them speak of an African influence over several Creole species – they have never provided actual evidence of this, but in perusing their works, one discovers that the African heritage is 'the rhythm' – a simple element of the musical complex. Their reasoning is the following: the rhythm is African; hence, everything else is African. Only because a certain popular scale coincides, for example, with one of the ecclesiastical sequences, does not necessarily prove the claim of popular music, and is therefore Gregorian; if the system of accompaniment is in any way similar to the Spanish manner, for example, we cannot claim without evidence that the melody is also Spanish. I mention arguments that are widespread across our subject matter, without stopping to consider that the main claims ("the rhythm is African", "the scale is ecclesiastical") are not supported by sufficient evidence.

In this book, I take particular interest in each of the elements that make up each composite, i.e. collection of songs; however, I cannot forget about the composite itself, which is the *music* – what we hear in the form of a synthesis creates our reality.

2.4 The diversity of folkloric music

We have seen that not all so-called 'popular music' is folkloric. Folkloric music is a part: the removed survivor; the one subsiding among the institutions of the superior.

Now, pure folkloric music is neither unique nor of identical character, where diverse currents and backwaters of old music survive in the folkloric environment. It is reassuring to know that we can cast aside the traditional idea of a homogenous mass.

We already know that there was and is extremely ancient 'indigenous music' on our continent – meaning to say, varied music that strives in vain to unify the label – but we will not concern ourselves with that. If we dedicate our exclusive attention to proper folkloric music, the analysis will show us the elements of those diverse currents and backwaters of which we have spoken. We will see how such strata coexist, how they superimpose themselves, how they interlace. We will also see a dilated layer of music that rises with, under and above the strata, firm in its independent senescence, as archaic aboriginal remnants come close to the folkloric state and new waves of music descend to the popular environment.

The very popular environment is deconstructed into sub-environments. There are several environments, like internal strands, more or less autonomous, isolated or influential, within the popular: sub-alternative movements, like that of the suburban *payadores* in Argentina; the brothels with synchronized light bulbs throughout the country, etc.

And beside the diversity of music and the variety of environments, there are diverse functional planes – distinct functions that avail themselves of certain music. For example, rituals, the military, work, the leisure of children and that of adults. It is uncommon for a certain type of music to serve two functions – for instance, lullabies that are also Christmas carols; it is common for a function to consume two or more types of music – as with adult leisure, which allows two generations or competing styles of music in the same place and at the same time.

Folkloric music is not folkloric because popular, rural, illiterate, practical, poor, etc. singers perform it, but due to its condition as surviving music. Not all popular singers, then, are folkloric singers. Folkloric singers are defined by the music they sing – not the music by the singer. It is not hard to find musicians that perform both folk and urban modern music; they have lived two stages in terrains accessible to the influence of cities. In those terrains, moreover, we find young singers who know only the urban repertoire, being their introducers and transmitters, and old and since 'retired' singers, who only know the music of long-ago times – by now folkloric, if not extinct. In secluded regions, where groups live who are relatively isolated from the modern influx, all singers, whether young or old, are folkloric musicians.

I do not see any reason, as far as popular music is concerned, that the town and the masses should be of primary consideration. Saying that *the people sing* is as inaccurate as concluding that the superior classes sing. In the educated environment, we first of all have a group of composers in each generation around whom the fate of music revolves; secondly, a group of interpreters, and thirdly the mass of listeners. As the first group is highly reduced, the series reproduces itself in the popular environment.

We, in the countryside, can never find *the people who sing*. Regardless of what we may initially have thought, experience soon taught us that we had to find the music in the musicians, for example in Paris or Berlin. In each population there are three, four, or six musicians; that generally includes performers and occasionally also a composer. One finds them by asking the neighbors. They are well-known. They perform at parties, festivities and hold serenades on their own and others' account. There are professionals –who demand no fee, nor anything

else –, and amateurs, of which some of the most difficult to find are the apprentices.

It is clear that any neighbor, more or less gifted, can carry a tune, as in Paris or Berlin, through personal fruition, but it is even more clear that these household singers are the scattered vestiges of those who, with more ability, responsibility, and experience, have been consecrated by the group to be their representative musicians. Again, as in our cities, but on a different scale.

Whoever persists in the idea that things in the popular medium are essentially different to those in educated centers will not be amenable to the outlook I present and the solutions I propose. The mutual ground is a grandfather, perhaps of unknown appearance, but of our own blood. A grandfather who moved into the countryside, and is still alive.

2.5 Folklorization processes

Over the course of time, folkloric music loses some elements and incorporates others; it is neither a permanent nor an unchangeable stratum of music. Folkloric music moves between the music of the superior, coming from the cities, and the ethnographic music that dwells in the substratum. Both this formerly superior and ethnographic music can achieve folkloric status and are, in fact, the very source of folkloric music.

We have discussed two processes. In the first, the previous owners of a territory were dominating and superior but were conquered by a mightier, towering invader, so that they handed their music over to the institutions of their oppressor. In the second, the music of dance halls descends and embeds itself in the countryside, to form part of the folklorization process. The first process occurred mainly in Europe; the second in the origin of almost every folkloric musical fact in America. We could confidently say that there is nothing in the American countryside that does not come from the city: in other words, from the superior to the inferior and, more previously, from European to American cities.

When dealing with music, there is not a lot to say about the first process. There is only one Argentinian book (songbook) of folkloric music, the *Tritónico*, in which I have found elements of an aboriginal background. Another, the Inca, is completely indigenous, but resides in only a small territory.

The second process, dealing with the city vs. the countryside, is of particular interest to us. However, there is a further point that we must mention before discussing that.

Not every genre of folkloric music, even in the scope of the same general process, moves at the same pace or along the same path; rather, their movement depends on the function the genre hopes to fulfill. Music ascribed to culture, and chants and songs for labor in and outside of the home, become an increasingly ancient romantic ideal: namely, that of immobility. Yet, they both represent a small part of folkloric music. On the other hand, the music that serving the lyrical and choreographic types of different communities is constantly readapted to the rhythm of the cities. This is the mainstream of the folkloric musical movement, and

nearly the only one that has received proper attention from scholars. I must briefly pause to explain.

Let us consider *all* music available in Western Europe and its areas of influence, including South America, and then bring cultivated ('scholarly') music into the equation: that of people who are, technically speaking, superior to the minorities and who must endure unpleasant aesthetic events in an unpopular environment. Let us remember, on the other hand, that music that is less complicated and based on smaller forms is also appropriate for everyone and common to many different kinds of songs and dance. And finally, let us consider the primitive music always present in areas of prevalent European culture, as represented in the following graphic presentation:

_____

HIGHER MUSIC

_____

DANCE-HALL MUSIC

_____

PRIMITIVE MUSIC

_____
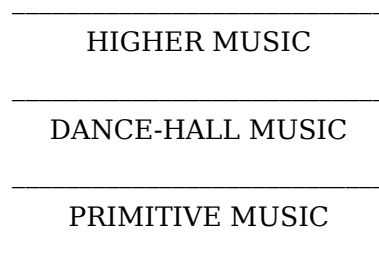
It is worth mentioning that folkloric music is not represented in our chart as an independent stratum. This is because I include the core of folkloric music within the greater 'universal' stream of dance-hall music. Although they do produce rather different effects, they are essentially exactly the same in terms of their genealogy. A lot of folkloric music is old and comes from city dance halls, though it has already been well-integrated in rural areas.

Although a reader may feel a certain resistance to the suggestion 'folkloric dance-hall music', they can rest assured that this is only a question of labels. We speak of 'dance-hall music' so as to focus the attention of readers to a familiar core they understand. However, the spatial limitation of a 'hall' or 'room' interferes with our attempt at clarification, and with the will of the reader to understand.

In terms of staging, an aristocratic ballroom is similar to that of a bourgeoise hall, a modest room, a suburban backyard, a ranch in the countryside, or the dance floors of the *ramadas*, the open areas under the stars. The same music serves the very same dances and songs, and transitions from one stage to another, over subtle stages and further toward death; as one and the same music for all places, but different times: *the folkloric music of today was, originally, the higher music of yesterday*; the music of the countryside was once the music of the cities. Yet it has not descended unscathed, since every social environment requires re-accommodation and transaction. An establishment in a folkloric area forces a process called *folklorization* on the incoming music. Music that arrives in its new dominion requires accommodation, which has nothing to do with climatic or physical conditions (of a mountain, rainforest, etc.), but with the music: i.e., the music that was not just any kind of music, but that fulfilled the same role in the

folkloric environment as the coming one. A good example is the dance forms that come down from the cities and clash with others in the country – not with lullabies, but ballroom dance forms with other ballroom dances, not with African or Indian ones.

One must understand that previously superior music rarely survives untouched in a folkloric environment. On the other hand, it is not always correct to state that the music of a specific rural group descended from the same city that currently influences it. Branching focal points are not permanent. Some music survives the decadence or decline of the city it originates from, even when it is replaced by another.

The clash between music *that is arriving* and *that has already passed* occurs between immediate generations of singers. The young people, open to any spirit of innovation, ridicule the purity of their heritage and damage traditional formulas to the objection of their elders. When these youngsters grow up, they see the music they 'adulterated' as youths as *pure*, and complain about the innovations introduced by their descendants. However, not all generations are equally dynamic. During times in which children are raised to highly respect the practices of their elders, a favorable situation is created where they contribute to preservation. Obviously, political, social, and economic events are closely aligned to the rhythm of such processes. The clear openness of the South American ports, for example – a result of the wars of independence – is a great fact that affected the life and customs of the new republics.

In the specific case of a scholar observing Argentinian facts, the acceptance of our findings is marked by obstacles resulting from certain historical forebears of our country. We mentioned that folkloric songs were once a part of the capital city; an academic can see that there are many rural types in Central and Western Argentina that have never been cultivated in Buenos Aires, which is also very true. However, one must realize that well into the 19th century, the cultural capital of central and western Argentina was not Buenos Aires, but Lima.

Genofolkloric processes (the genetic origin of folkloric processes), as well as the role that immigration and emigration played in South America, were caused by the constantly changing cultural capital cities, starting with Lima, the grand colonial capital, followed by Rio de Janeiro and, later, Santafé de Bogota (in the background, as it only influenced a smaller area), and finally the two republican centers of Santiago de Chile and Buenos Aires. These were followed by La Paz, Montevideo and Asunción del Paraguay. The Argentinian process can, above all, be explained through the decline of Lima and the corresponding rise of Buenos Aires to the forefront.

One must keep in mind that during the first years of the colonial era, our major cities were Lima, which merely encompassed the countryside and – to a lesser extent – Rio de Janeiro. It was an almost comic fear of urban crowds that demanded the city be set in the countryside... As of 1810, Buenos Aires strengthened its influence on the surrounding countryside and, to this day, still progresses by trying to gain territory under the influence of Lima. This disputed area now encompasses the entire eastern part of the Argentinian provinces and all of its capital cities. As a result, there are still some types of choreography in the

Western folkloric realm that were never performed in Buenos Aires, but only Lima and its outlying fortresses, Santiago de Chile and Mendoza, La Paz, Tucumán and Córdoba.

2.6 The influence of dance halls

After the arrival of Columbus, the American continent was faced with a series of great migrations. The same occurred everywhere, including Europe, but on a different scale. The people who arrived met with those already there; the goods of the residents were either retracted when their owners retreated or dispersed among those that the newcomers brought in.

In the musical realm, the problem of origins is *usually* an easy one to solve. Within the realm of popular music in the country, a part of folkloric music survives that is eliminated from the higher classes. The part that did not belong to the old native inhabitants is music that descended from the urban halls, where the newcomers settled. The *specific* origin of each folkloric musical element is a more delicate matter and sometimes even impossible to determine.

For us, the indigenous contribution is only really relevant to a limited number of areas; the European contribution has been the largest, and makes up the most part of our folkloric music. The difference in my conclusions and those of former scholars could not be greater. This is essential and related to qualities of comprehension and interpretation. There are some joint conclusions that are coincidental, as academics have proposed every possible hypothesis in order to achieve their object, by covering every possibility – every one, that is, except for the most important, which is to take the urban contribution into consideration.

Scholars ascribe their conclusions to spontaneous generation, race, the psychology of peasants, and the local topography, which I reject; they have attributed some intervention to Gregorian music, of which I am not aware, and to Afro-Americans; they recognized the indigenous influence on non-indigenous music but ignored the fact that only a minimal influence of true Indians has survived in our folkloric field; and finally, they agreed upon a large and prevailing sector of *Spanish popular music*.

It does not cease to amaze me how the concept of our musical Hispanicism could, for a whole century, have been accepted without question and affirmed without doubt. I myself adopted it just like everyone else before pursuing my course of studies, and even years later. Up to that point, I would never have thought that the overwhelming accord of several generations could have been established without facing the actual facts. There is a small European songbook in America, away from the dance halls, that is also folkloric in Spain, yet to which academics did not refer. They believed devoutly that our lyrical and choreographic songs stemmed from the popular Spanish ones – *popular*, in the restricted sense of regional or folkloric.

Such a statement cannot be founded on specific facts and simple inference of causes: if, during the first centuries, several tens of thousands of Spanish soldiers and colonizers – the people of the peninsula – came to America, it would only make

sense that they brought their music with them to cultivate in America and pass on to their descendants. This seems logical, yet it was not the case. Every regional group brought things with them, but nothing related to Spanish folklore took root in the new territories. If we recall our look into the urban streams mentioned earlier, the explanation is simple: European capital cities nourished American cities that, later on, nourished the countryside. The aristocratic ballrooms of the royal courts sent music, dances and fashion to the viceregal centers, where the Spanish inhabitants of American cities adopted them. The transfer is conducted across the channels of the superior, from hall to hall, not from one people to another. Tarde stated: "the peasant imitates the nobleman... the village man imitates the man of the cities"; similarly, Simmel said: "inferior classes look up to the superior and aspire to them". At first, the royal metropolitan courts passed on all those things that arose from the Hispanic environment; and later, once the Bourbons took over, they transferred the elements they received from the French.

This is the only explanation for why the people in Spanish America have barely anything in common with those of their motherland, the Iberian peninsula. One similarity is the language – but then again, only that of the Castilian courts, not regional dialects. The folklore of Iberia did not prosper in America. The lower classes of the conquest and colonization lost almost all of their small spiritual goods and renewed most of their belongings. The viceroy's court in America delivered new elements to still the appetites of the different American generations through minimal, but continuous, propagation.

Analogies or parallels between Ibero-American folkloric facts cannot be explained through a direct relocation from one people to another, but according to the same process of transference, from top to bottom, that simultaneously – and independent of one another – took place in Iberia and America. Let us make no mistake: many facts considered folkloric today belonged to the higher classes barely a century ago. Thus, the people of America do not reproduce the actions and feelings of the Iberian people, but above all those of the colonial aristocracy, just as they previously had those of the European courts. "Our cities were extraordinary European episodes of European culture", Ricardo Rojas states in *Eurindia*.

It seems incredible that so many thousands of Spanish colonizers, i.e. commoners, did not leave anything in America that one could deem Spanish folklore, but that is the case. I would like to offer concrete evidence of a great modern experience that makes the unbelievable apparent.

In 1850, Argentina had a population of less than one and a half million natives; between 1850 and 1900, almost two million foreigners entered. By the year 1900, we had around three million Argentinians; between 1900 and 1910, one million one hundred and twenty thousand foreigners entered, within a period of only ten years! Two thirds were Italian and Spanish peasants – truly folkloric subjects – and no one prevented them from bringing their own clothing, local dialects, songs, and dances.

We are not dealing with a couple of thousand colonizers among a nation of millions of Indians over the course of two centuries, but millions of foreigners settling among an equal number of natives in just a few years, whose right to sing

and dance as they pleased was also protected by law. Yet, if this was the case, where did they leave their music and native folkloric dances? For they are unknown in Argentina. If this appears mysterious, one must ask them in person. There are only around one million people in the federal capital, and over half of them are Spanish and Italian. Their songs and dances came with them and, having arrived in such huge numbers, they must have performed in their own households, but for some reason were not able to incorporate their songs and dances into mainstream society.

By the same means, something else occurred that I would also like to address. Towards the 1850s, two dances were established in Buenos Aires that Paris had borrowed from Bohemia and Poland: the polka and mazurka. These did not arrive with one million French or one million Bohemians or one million Poles; they came on their own. Fifty years later, as the Italian and Spanish folkloric dances died out with their bearers, the polka and mazurka were passed on to smaller cities, penetrated even to the last village; they are now Argentinian folkloric dances.

If a musical songbook is not accepted in Paris, it is useless for a million men to carry it with them. If Paris had granted it prestige, the action of a single man would suffice to ensure its deep-rootedness anywhere. Things are not passed from one group of people to another, but from hall to hall.

I have mentioned all of this several times in previous publications; it may be due to a lack of explanation that some readers have interpreted it to their own liking. Some time ago, I wrote that the English tabletop dance, sent to us by Paris via Madrid around 1730, gave rise to three rural dances similar in image and style. A local journalist expressed views confirming my own opinion. In the face of all skeptics, he recalled the many English sailors who had passed through Rio de la Plata between 1576 and 1600. The author believed this to be the time during which not only music and dance forms, but clothing too, were thrown overboard to wash up on nearby shores.

I must confess that musical facts are so sensitive and mobile by nature that they lack proper historical documentation, to such a degree that the evidence accumulated in this document may not even suffice to provide a skeptic with definitive proof for all cases. Nevertheless, when applied to forms of dance, this very concept highlights the correctness of our conclusions.

Being the least communicable, it is not only the ideas that we propose here that were born in the musical realm, but several others simultaneously, since music also follows the lineage of the systematics of human creativity. Music leads to peculiar behaviors arising in its detail. However, being only a modest part, tightly bound within the ensemble, it lives by the uncertainties of its ancestry, sharing the same general course of destiny.

2.7 Popular creation

Anyone who sees that we handle *elements, systems or songbooks* in an objective way, like the tossing of a dice, would tend to believe that music *passes through*

man, without taking the man into consideration. We have already mentioned that the ingenuity of artistic production conforms to particular norms and principles. In the same way, it appears that a musician is immersed in his given form of musical education, a world of shapes and conventions that constricts what he is attempting to produce, monitors what he does not express, regulates what he shares and thereby also conditions what he produces. If this is the case, *it is music that gives birth to the musician*. Yet, only by forgetting that the spirit of a man is an entity of its own can one exclude the possibility of the individual interfering in their own form of music.

If we were to oppose this, suggesting that music is a part of, and one and the same as, the spirit of a person himself, we might conclude that *it is the musician who creates the music,* which would imply the need to forget that the experience of different generations becomes more or less capitalized in individuals according to the forms and principles it acquires.

If, however, the immense pressure of a traditional system on an individual has been acknowledged, we would consequently also want to measure the influence of the individual on a system by lingering over the age-old problem of popular creation and, in any case, also desire to examine the mechanism producing modification or supplementation within a practical environment, even if the spirit of a person passively intervenes at the same time.

As a background and condition, the act of creation requires a certain amount of social autonomy, away from the group to which the creator belongs. It would be important for people of the lower classes not to be skeptical of the actions of their superiors, and for the spirits of the people not to be in an imitative frame of mind. Popular classes generally live under the aspiration, expectation, and imitation of things, under which circumstances a submissive spirit cannot be creative. The higher groups of the 'new' countries, on the other hand, live in imitation of the production of universal centers of prestige; our grand spiritual colonies thereby survive on the ashes of their colonial political regimes.

Turning to the social body, collective movements of rebellion go hand in hand with the mobilization of ingenuity. The simple renunciation of imitation, born from the depths of despair, can transform the most humble and defeated classes into creators.

All this means that the intervention of a spirit in a traditional current cannot be perceived as long as the group is able to cherish its social dependence; and the spirit – always potentially creative – can only be productive if it rejects the influence of those who were initially in charge of creating for others.

The lower rural classes of Argentina were not the creators of their own traditional music; they were also not as creative as they would have had to be in order to change what the upper classes of Argentina and America created in only a few months of their history. It is worth mentioning here that we are now speaking of the creation and production of something new, as can be understood in an environment of learned composition.

It is not the people who create things, although traditional music stems from and is transformed with the passing of time. One must thus inquire how it could

have occurred that the rural masses, more exactly their musicians, could achieve similar results to an educated composer – a true creator.

The modification of the surroundings may not even require the intention to modify them. The intervention of the spirit is enough to trigger modification, even where there is no desire to create. One must bear in mind, however, that *understanding is also modification*. No musical elements embed themselves in the spirit of one person in precisely the same way as they were expressed by another. The sole act of perception provokes the reception of the new by way of the pre-existing; both are moved by the reciprocal influence. The second point, *retaining is also modification*, refers to how nothing that remains in the spirit returns by the way it entered, or in the way it existed as spirit. Sharing, and even more so expression, are forms of modification. All of this occurs without the will of creation.

Apprehension, retaining, and sharing are all actions that bring about modification, albeit only minor modification, not enough to disturb the wider forms and norms we have discussed here: they are unable to alter notation, as *the writing of music is a writing of systems* – the only way to write music. From this point of view, minimal modifications are equivalent to conservation[10], which is not a paradox.

It has been stated that an interpreter is a creator, which, in a certain way, is also true. Interpretation, which includes the three acts discussed above, is the minimum requirement of creation. Within a scale of creation, an interpreter is at one end and a composer at the other. Interpretation and creation have led to the identical results in opposite frames of mind: an interpreter strives to be faithful to a composer; a composer strives to be unfaithful to the past. Both are creators and even come close to one another frequently: some interpreters are almost composers, and some composers are almost interpreters. Both are wrong: one for being faithful to the author and the other for being unfaithful to the past.

Variation and *re-creation*[11] are two factors that stand above *interpretation* (minimal involuntary modification) and below *creation* (maximum voluntary modification). Both processes give rise to modifications that do not change their traditional forms and norms. They are modifications that take place *in private*. All of this occurs with or without the will to create; it implies the intervention of spirit without alteration of the system.

When I address activity in private, I also imply the lesser creation of songs and dances that hew to traditional forms, expanding the repertoire without a need to alter the songbook. I have often found that in the countryside, among many people who simply repeat, this kind of creator corresponds precisely to one who produces waltzes or fox-trots in cultivated dance halls. The proportion in which they appear among their group of musicians is insignificant, but varies according to the groups. It would be convenient, however, to avoid any further misunderstandings. Famous composers who played fifty or more original *cuecas* were musicians from provincial dancehalls, who performed when the dances that are now folkloric were still part of the repertoire belonging to the cultivated

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10   Cf. *Fraseología*, pp. 483 and ff.
11   Cf. *Fraseología*, pp. 490 and ff.

classes. In this way, we do not deny the presence of current popular composers, although their scarcity is obvious; however, all of their work has left the fundamental lineages of the musical heritage in which they were raised unaffected, as far as it depends on the will of creation.

Such triggers of modification, even if irrelevant, may eventually produce some facts that do affect the system, with the continuous help of many individuals, but only as an exception. Only by focusing the whole mechanism in a single direction can we achieve new adaptations of the songbooks that form part of our heritage. But which force, which center of attraction determines such a collective orientation in a new direction? The arrival of another songbook, the presence of new elements that, just as the previous ones, descend to the realms of the people from the dance halls of the educated classes, or in general from the higher to the lower strata.

We have given a name to this new genre of modifying action: *hybridization*. "Ultimately, hybridization means re-creation; but in contrast to re-creation, which takes elements from its own originally created songbook, it encompasses elements from others that are different, but at the same time familiar[12]."

Thus, the intervention of the individual in the traditional stream results in alterations and modifications of the creation, even if the musician does not embrace the attitude of the creator. There is no pure creation in the domains of the popular classes. Songbooks mainly originate through re-creation and hybridization. As time passes and new generations arrive, the people produce in a similar manner as the spirit of a cultivated creator – a cultivated creator with powers of deceleration (*ralentisseur*).

That is why *songbooks*, defined as groups of organically consolidated elements, sometimes move or are derived slowly; and the more intensely their breeds are cultivated, the more helpless they are in their zones of amalgamation. This is because, for an individual to work on his songbook, it is essential that the spirit itself is renewed and rejuvenated.

3. Classification of music

Reality is complex by nature; the simple does not leave the ideal, does not reach the concrete. PROUDHON.

Towards a universal classification: criteria. – Three great stages; criterion selection; tonal order. – Songbooks; character; tonal, rhythmic and plurisonic systems; forms of sound modification. – The organics of songbooks; the remnants. – The types. – The first identification of our songbooks.

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[12] Cf. *Fraseología*, pp. 494 and ff.

Classifications neither deserve great praise, nor particular scorn. A classification may be either good or bad but generally it is a mere necessity. Critics cannot put a bad classifier behind bars. As a free man, his continued attack against an innocent lack of order could fill whole chapters in the history of every science.

In music, the human spirit has produced, without constriction or record, over the millennia. Embodying its creations and systematically organizing them is a progression that, by means of comprehension, advances us towards the knowledge of one of the most extraordinary realizations of humankind.

It is necessary to seriously consider the option of a universal classification of music. Lack of information on the chanting of primitive man significantly increases the difficulty in foreseeing the scope of such an immense undertaking; however, it may be wise to begin by clearing the field, even only if for the stimulation of our purpose.

3.1 Towards a universal classification: the criteria

Classification is pursued from viewpoints that are denoted by the term *criteria*. To this end, it would be essential to elevate the previous concordance of a superior and general principle, even above the election of such criteria: *the classification of music must be specifically musical*. This proclamation may appear unjustified. However, a retrospective scan shall demonstrate that traditional classifications have obeyed principles entirely foreign to music. The most diverse viewpoints are depicted in innumerable books, both antique and contemporary. Let us start off by summarizing them in brief:

a) *geopolitical criterion*: by country, province or territory,

b) *physical geographical criterion*: by characteristic region (mountains, plains, coasts, jungles, etc.),

c) *geo-linguistic criterion*: by idiomatic or dialect-related zone,

d) *racial criterion*: (1) "by the unavoidable division of racial origin (Latin, Slav, Asian, etc.)", as proposed by Felipe Pedrell (see Fetis, the source of this inspiring assignment),

e) *literary criterion*: by the meaning of literal content (love song, satirical song, historical song, etc.),

f) *hominal criterion*: by "the age of humanity to which songs usually refer" which was derived from a system of popular poetic form (lullaby, nursery rhyme, love song, etc.) developed by Francisco Rodríguez Marín,

g) *functional criterion*: by the object in question (lullaby, lyric, dance, occupation, creed, etc.),

h) *nominal criterion*: by the titles of certain songs or dances (*jotas*, *muiñeiras, zamacuecas* etc.); in certain songbooks, this may entail criteria related to form, as used in the subdivision of denominations.[13]

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[13] In his famous book *Cancionero* (1, p. 33), Felipe Pedrell quotes a manuscript presented to the jury of a contest devoted to classification systems, the author had based them "on

With regard to the ordering of materials in published collections, one can continuously see the amendment of several criteria at the same level – which is inaccurate –or at different levels, which may be required in systems of classification. I would like to add that the nature of the music presented in each case, through the diversity of its characteristics, has produced countless variations on the levels of classification. In general, we are correct in recognizing that, in many collections including music and literature, the authors were not concerned with the ordering of melodies; music appeared to them as nothing more than a complement of the text. In other cases, there is no obvious need for classification at all. At most, it appears that such authors preferred to incur a vague alteration of the movements (*andante*, *vivace*, etc.) of each song when presenting their materials.

It is now clear what such criteria wished to share with music. However, in defense of many collectors, it must be pointed out that they did not carry out the task of determining whether the songs could comprise an object other than to be sung or clapped to. They dedicated themselves to a kind of *musical nationalism* – an artistic movement – even if they believed they were dedicating themselves to folklore.

Above all, the past few decades have left us many examples of folkloric work in which the presentation of the material according to nation or genre does not include chapters related to classification according to tonal order, or even attempts to discriminate a rhythmic perspective.

The works of ethnomusicologists have been considerably more consistent than those of folklorists: some, like the German treatises, are monumental in their refinement, whereas others, like the American, are skillful in their analyses. Nonetheless, almost all of them are monographic works that study the materials of one or more neighboring tribes, in which careful 'internal' classification deems the general overview inappropriate.

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the harmonic elements of popular songs", "on rhythmic principles", and "on the nature and particular characteristics depicted in melody". As the reader can gather, this indeed directly concerned the criteria of music. However, Pedrell, being the judge, rejected the project due to the author's belief that melodies acquired from oral transmission lacked proper validity. "This is not acceptable," argued the Spanish musicologist, "as that would be the same as assuming…that each of us who have collected popular melodies are forgers or have at least enhanced all of them".

This does not mean that all collectors are forgers, but that they have all amended (the music) very often in order to improve it without realizing it themselves, as traditional systems of notation are insufficient to provide a proper graphic representation of a scientific register. Pedrell also chastises the author for directing his studies toward themes collected from ancient polyphonic compositions, as he believes these were transformed and amended to make up for punctuational precision… Pedrell is right, as – in addition to his previous statement – the themes were disfigured simply through the process of writing. With the use of theory, anyone who writes disfigures an original document again and again.

3.2 The three great stages

If a classification of music is to be established, it must be universal. In my book *Fraseología,* I attempt to distinguish between major planes, a task that, it seems to me, must be completed prior to the classification *per se*. The *criterion of form* and its projections support this approach, which is in fact comprised of composites encompassing the following formal order:

1. MODERN MEASURABLE STRATA
   (WITH NOTATION)
   GREAT FORMS – TONAL SYSTEMS
   Intensive composition and harmony
   H I S T O R Y
2. ANCIENT MEASURABLE STRATA
   (WITHOUT NOTATION)
   LESSER FORMS – TONAL SYSTEMS
   Emerging harmony
   F O L K L O R E
3. PRIMITIVE [NON-METRIC] STRATA
   (WITHOUT NOTATION)
   AMORPHOUS – OUTLINE OF TONAL SYSTEMS
   Percussion
   E T H N O G R A P H Y

As demonstrated, the first point of this division is concerned with the formal qualities of rhythmic order, as it is rhythm that is dealt with in this work. Nonetheless, the plan gives rise to the concept of three great stages, visible among any of the secondary orders, and – as vaguely as desired – even in the scientific disciplines that study them.

Two of the three orders, the tonal and the rhythmic, are notoriously universal. The third one also suggests that we propose an organization based on a superior order, which we could perhaps call 'accompaniment', or *plurisonic*, in order to be able to group all the genres using simultaneous sounds (including noises) together: melody accompanied by idiophones and membranophones; melody accompanied by aerophones and chordophones not used as melodic instruments; heterophony on a single theme (China, Japan, Sunda); polythematic heterophony (Araucanians); modern American consecutive fifths (Bolivia); cornamuse bourdon, *organum*, descant, fauxbourdon, counterpoint, harmony… Three universal orders united in the composite called music.

If we encompass the development of music from its first steps, we can note that these three orders were not subject to any conscious systematization of the people themselves until recently. There is a very long period of music without any truly tonal, rhythmic or accompanying systems. Even if this primitive stage might

seem unbelievable, it goes back to the very basis of the high cultures, nearing the protohistoric period; it may very possibly have reached the historical era – only the system of tonal orders appears to have arrived early. This all pertains to the field of ethnography. Following that, we have the golden age of true systematizations, where tonal, rhythmic and accompanying systems were coordinated. This relates to the field of folklore and is equally of interest to the modern history of music. Finally, we have the current stage, in which the enormous development of these modest systems has overtaken the very systems themselves.

Facing such an extensive panorama – unavoidably imprecise in the conciseness of the outline – we must check the tendency toward evolutionary thought, concentrating on the need of classification. Thus, we will look for the first criterion.

None of the three orders of the *musical* composite which have been surpassed in modern times obeys any one system *right from the start*. Considering these facts allows us to distinguish between three stages of the three previous groups. We could say:

1. Ex-Systems
2. Systems
3. Pre-systems

The three orders can be found in the three stages, but we lack the decision of which belongs in first place: the rhythmic order, which we have adopted in our treatise on rhythm and which is not desirable for general classification due to the insufficiency of specific varieties; the accompanying order, which must be rejected due to its heterogeneousness; or the tonal order: this appears to best fulfill our requirements, especially in its systematic stage, and is the one that potentially proves most interesting for this work. In fact, the tonal order entails an invariable repertoire of fixed intonating sounds, and it is well-known that the definition of repertoire and intonation is sometimes lacking. Nonetheless, this is the most regular order of the three and encompasses a broad scope. As for the systems themselves, besides being the simplest and most objective element of the musical composite from a formal viewpoint, they appear to have for millennia constituted the aim of an unconscious direction first, and only afterwards an *optima* conscious orientation. After placing the tonal systems as keystone in the center of the system, we can relate it to a preceding and succeeding group:

1. Post-tonal systems (modern)
2. Tonal systems
3. Pre-tonal 'systems' (primitive)

For now, neither the labels nor their precision is significant:[14] at this stage, we are dealing with the task of choosing a concept to place at the forefront.

In this book, facing the circumscribed ground that interests us, it is clear that we will dedicate most of our attention to the central group of *tonal systems,* which encompasses nearly all folkloric facts. In general, ethnography can claim the Inca sector as its own, but while the *situation* of these natives – once our neighbors – is resolved, we consider it necessary to incorporate them into our plan, as it would be important to illustrate their behavior in detail with regard to colloquial music. From a musicological point of view, this also belongs to the second group of strata.

Within this second group, subdivisions answer to the same criterion. In the impossibility of extending ourselves beyond such complicated trifles,[15] we will settle on focusing our attention on the following repertoire of systems appearing in the general framework, preceded by greater groups and followed by subdivisions:

1.   Post-tonal systems… (modern)
                                             1. Heptatonic
                                             2. Hexatonic
2.   Tonal systems…   Pentatonic
                                             1. Tetratonic
                                             2. Tritonic
3.   Pre-tonal 'systems'… (primitive)

But, as soon as we stop to consider, we can see that we are classifying tonal systems, rather than *music*. Tonal systems are not music: music is a composite of systems, of which a tonal system is only one. The intention was to order the music. So, at a timely point in the classification, a new criterion is introduced that allows us to accommodate all of these 'pieces', the loose and living units we have collected in the field, where the music reveals its nature.

First, we must scorn the particular details of each 'piece' and place them among the set of characteristics to which they belong. When we classify flutes, for instance, we do not consider their size or number of holes, but the general characteristics that define the unity of their family – the *flute family*. This also belongs to the superior group of wind instruments and that group to the even wider category of aerophones. Thus, in its plane, a song must immediately be considered a part of the superior set to which all songs demonstrating the same characteristics belong. What comprises these characteristics and their nature is something we will examine thoroughly.

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[14] In a vast book on the development of tonality, Joseph Yasser proposes the concepts of *sub-infra-diatonic, infra-diatonic, diatonic, and supra-diatonic.* (*A theory of evolving tonality*, New York, 1932).

[15] The group of tonal systems would be subdivided according to the principle of generation (consonance, distance etc.), then by the number of degrees and the interval relationship. At this point, the rhythmic order would be incorporated through indication of the types of phrase that constitute each 'type' of collective expression. The structures of the phrases are described in *Fraseología*. Lastly, according to breed, following the popular nomenclature.

3.3 Songbooks

After the collection and musicological analysis of a sufficient amount of material, it becomes clear that the musical heritage of the folklore of any nation is more or less extensive and anything other than homogeneous. It is integrated through different *songbooks* of various natures and characteristics that belong to certain regions, point to different chronological stages, and imply different points of origin. Randomly taken from historic or pre-historic marches, some of these songbooks today are separated from the rest, some in their initial stage of gaining contact with others, and some beneath others, in that some the songs they cover represent qualities such as purity or exclusivity and some, furthermore, are occasionally mixed together with those of neighboring territories or others co-existing in their own.

I have conceived a specifically music-oriented sorting criterion and put it into practice: it is based on the *songbooks* themselves as truly *characteristic superior units*, i.e. independent wholes, defined by their particular element associations.

Several authors have vaguely acknowledged the existence of certain *songbooks* merely by intuition; the differences between them were promptly attributed to several factors, such as spontaneous local inceptions, regional geographic influences, hidden racial or psychological preferences, implausible relocations, impossible combinations, etc. A precise delimitation of the scope of each *songbook*, the analysis of their particular forms, and the discovery of supplementary documentation, allow me to assert that songbooks are singular conglomerations of availabilities, whose presence in certain zones is the result of a permanent flow of human goods, in essence independent of all mitigating racial, psychological or geographic influences.

It may now seem that our sorting criterion is subjective and as such barely valid, but this is not the case. What we so ambiguously term *character* has a solid and objective foundation.

The inclination to compare is more or less natural. We do so almost all the time, even if we are not aware of it. Because of this spontaneous condition, any casual listener can notice that two given melodies, differing in detail, may have something in common that connects them. In an educated environment, it is common to analogously attribute an unknown work to a particular author, for instance, Mozart. In the folkloric world, it is easy to note that two different songs are, for example, Norwegian. The constituent melodies of any songbook are similar. Determining a similarity between them implies establishing a difference. Anyone who states that two songs are Norwegian has just separated them from many others that are not alike: two melodies from different songbooks are clearly *distinct*.

Now, if we were to ask the person handling the classification process why they grouped or separated two melodies, they would probably answer "simply because they have a similar (or different) character or style". There is no need to insist on such well-known things, but songbooks have a different character or style for a specific reason. Replying that two popular songbooks are different because they have a different character is similar to saying that "they are different just

because they are". That response does not provide an answer but rather deflects one, for we would immediately ask what the character of each songbook is.

Indeed, the impression of character emerges from the simultaneous perception of various elements that musicological analysis isolates and of which it provides evidence. The artistic aftermath of human inventiveness follows some rules that may appear more or less hidden; meaning that they answer to systems. In a humble popular song, two or more systems come together in order to produce the particular impression which makes them distinguishable to our perception. These *main* elements of characterization are the three systems that correspond to the three universal orders we previously referred to:

1. the tonal system,
2. the rhythmic system,
3. the accompanying system.

The tonal system is an old acquaintance of educated music theorists. A melody progresses along different sounds or degrees – five, six, seven – placed at different heights. The gathering and theoretical sorting of these degrees receives the name "scale". A songbook can make use of one or more scales and of different ways or *modes* within each scale. The ensemble of these series is its tonal system.

The tonal system of a folkloric songbook, when not equal to others, often ends up being the most important element of characterization. Melodies acquire a special *color* that is distinguishable to the inexperienced by mere hearing, even when they are not aware of why. However, popular songbooks of an identical tonal system often produce different impressions: the songbooks may not employ the system in its entirety, but may make use of only a part of its formulas or resources. In this way, by repeating particular formulas of pitch, various songbooks project a different *ambience*, even if they are based on the same system. All of this has considered that closely related songbooks may not show any difference in their tonal ambience, but that they can be distinguished and separated, nonetheless. Naturally, the tonal system is just one of the elements of characterization, so that other elements can be in charge of defining the character.

The second element is the rhythmic system. Academics have studied tonal systems for a long time. In contrast, rhythmic systems are still being ignored by traditional theory to this day. In my work *Fraseología*, for the first time, I have offered academics a complete study of the rhythmic systems from the measurable stage; in this book – and also for the first time – I offer a brief preview of their methodical application to popular songbooks.

The marching of sounds in time, the progression of the elementary groups called "feet", is bound by two primordial orders: the binary order and the ternary order. Songbooks using only one of the two acquire a character that distinguishes them from the others. However, though it is not rare, this limitation is also not particularly common. Many songbooks utilize both orders, as does our cultivated music. Nevertheless, even in this case, a rhythmic characterization can be achieved through the partial use of the resources. The frequent use of certain foot,

phrase, period, and composition formulas creates a *rhythmic ambience*; more: a 'formal' or conceptual ambience that contributes to the characterization of a songbook within the same overall system. These new studies of rhythm have an even greater potential to identify the forms of each genre (*cueca*, *Gato*, etc.), as we will discover in our coming *Panorama de las danzas populares argentinas.*

The third element of characterization belongs to the plurisonic order: harmonic systems, accompaniment systems, etc. Not all songbooks possess proper harmonic systems; some reduce the complementary elements of a melody to rhythmic formulas produced by 'percussion' instruments, as they are frequently called (membranophones and idiophones); this is not hard to find, especially in less evolved songbooks, vocal or instrumental expressions with no accompaniment at all. We include the (emerging) arrangement (polyphony) in this third group. Heterophony (the simultaneous progression of two or more independent melodies) does not occur in the folkloric environment.

The harmonic systems, when part of the composite, collaborate in the characterization of each songbook. They must not be fundamentally different from the European ones, for – as in the case of the above-mentioned systems – there is a special *harmonic ambience* due to the exclusive use of certain chord combinations in particular rhythmic formulas. We say the same thing when the accompaniment is based on 'percussion'; different formulas contribute to the characterization of the songbooks.

Furthermore, a songbook can illustrate the character of these three systems – rhythmic, tonal, accompanying – in an even clearer way, as well as according to the way (form) in which they are produced and thereby become sounds or *modifying sounds*. We have called these *ways of doing*. This is no longer anything substantial, and yet, their effect is so powerful as to occasionally act as the most decisive agent in the characterization of the songbooks, the finishing touches of their color.

The embellishments – appoggiaturas, mordents, turns, trills –, melisma, arpeggios, strums, portamentos, fermatas, falsettos: in effect, all modes and resources that adorn or season the *conceived potential form* at its moment of realization lend a special note to a songbook, considering that each songbook does not employ all these resources, but only some of them, not the same ones employed by others. There are also special ways of utilizing each resource.

These characterizing elements are specifically musical; still, there are others that are extra-musical and just as useful. I am referring to the *jaleo* (clapping), shouting, etc. that accentuates the character of the corresponding songbook. Finally, the special resonance or overtones of voices and instruments add their special note to the ensemble and contribute their part toward differentiation.

The *character*, then, is a result of the combination of a certain number of the above-mentioned elements; the study of them encompasses a large scope. The difference of systems and resources between one or another songbook are there for a reason. Two songbooks, one with a five-pitch tonal system and another with a seven-pitch tonal system, have surely been rolling along independent paths for centuries. Even if they are in the same territory, juxtaposed or superimposed, they

betray their distinct origin. Two different rhythmic systems speak with the same eloquence; two harmonic systems denote a less remote kinship and various ensembles of ways of doing, reinforcing, according to the case, the conclusions to which the main elements pointed.

3.4 The organics of songbooks

We can only speak of completely *pure* songbooks in a very relative sense. Generally, songbooks are actually born from ancient combinations and, at a certain point, cease assimilating new influences. There are, however, periods during which a number of rhythmic, tonal, harmonic and realizational characteristics come together and in a certain way settle down. A certain group of characteristics is favored by the public, and through intensive practice, consolidates vocal norms that emit a pleasing emotional frequency.

The consolidation of a songbook is the consequence of numerous limitations. Diverse elements always persist within reach of the soul: for example, elements A, B, and C in the rhythmic order. The social group will choose one of each order, despite being a genealogical hybrid. The consolidation process is at the same time a process of increased restrictions, since the aesthetic pleasure of repetition circumscribes more and more adopted resources or elements. The stronger the structure of a songbook, the narrower its system. I acknowledge that the *transient* character of songbooks is not helpful, should a classification criterion be founded on them; if considered properly, classification systems can act as an inventory of possibilities.

Strictly speaking, a songbook is the set of elements that are *organically consolidated* over a fairly long period of time and a fairly broad location. Its particular manifestations –the songs we collect – *must repeat* the characters we attribute to the superior unit.

In view of the amount of material to be observed, it would be unwise to elaborate a theory of songbook over coincidental details of two or three melodies. When we speak of a tonal system, it is assumed that dozens or even hundreds of songs respond to its ranges; when we establish a rhythmic system, a great number of melodies conform to its order; the same applies to a harmonic system or accompaniment resources. This is because the researcher does not invent the systems, the composites of the system, or the ways of doing, but rather discovers them, while still seeing the broader picture.

After distributing the main mass of songs, some may end up without a position; they are exceptional hybrids or products of a strange loan and must not be confused with *remnants*.

Once each songbook has been defined, and the melodies it comprises grouped under their label, some melodies (which might reveal original and distinct elements, perhaps intertwined into other, more familiar ones) may remain unclassified. If there is an insufficient quantity to determine the organic degree of a new songbook – not even the dozens and hundreds of which we mentioned earlier – it should not be ignored. They could be *remnants* – that is, the last

surviving elements of the most ancient songbooks. It is necessary to see at once if they are not cases of defective, arbitrary, individual intonation or occasional rhythmic formations. The coincidence of novelty in a few melodies is enough to eliminate this idea, especially if they come from places that are far away from one another. Since the possibilities of variation are infinite, coincidence in deviation would be very difficult. Moreover, it ought to be ascertained whether the new element – scale, rhythmic formula, etc. – is or has been found in other countries or continents, regardless of distance. The evidence that all things were once invented narrows the problem to determining the details of the transplant. The hypothesis of the transplant should always be favored over the idea of a second invention. Each of the musical systems that aimlessly wander the world was not reinvented in each place, but rather – let me insist – only invented once and in a single place; thus, its presence in other places is due to simple dissemination.

We will not penetrate into the assessment of each of the elements and resources with views to particular matters of intercontinental correlation here. Instead, in general terms, we intend to share the steps we have taken towards categorizing and defining each of the Argentinian songbooks, for purposes of classification.

So, here is our criterion for a thematic classification of folkloric or mensural music. The materials, therefore, will be grouped according to *songbook* – i.e. by *units of superior character*; this we will do in the present book.

3.5 The types

Now, within each ensemble or songbook, there can be several groups of compositions requiring a new classification. These compositions sometimes denote a preference for certain constellations or schemes *within the tonal system* that are unique to the songbook, but not supported by further evidence; however, within the conceptual (mainly *rhythmical*) order, they display an attachment to a certain number of *phrase, period,* and *composition formulas,* in such a way that several minor groups or *types* can be clearly noticed. These are the *small forms*; the ones that in Europe, for example, are called by different names, like Minuet, Gigue, Waltz, etc., and in Argentina, by names such as *Cueca*, *Vidala*, *Estilo*, etc.

Actually, we do not listen to tonal, rhythmic or harmonic systems, and not even to songbooks. We listen to 'pieces' of a somewhat defined type. These 'pieces' generally have certain forms that can be perceived by the people themselves, and that constitute the only practical manifestation of songbooks, as well as all music in general. We understand them by referring to the forms. In the upper environment we talk about sonatas, suites, rondos, capriccios, variations, etc., and the small pieces that subsist with their antique, dance hall labels. These shapes belong neither to the tonal dimension nor the harmonic, but to the conceptual dimension. They are units subscribing mainly to an order of time lapses. Music exists in them and they can survive the changes, can survive the evolution of tonal and harmonic orders.

On the other hand, the small or great forms, whether popular or educated, are relatively unstable. They possess one name and it is irrelevant. A *type* – that is,

the named thing – can include several forms and adopt music from different songbooks. A name usually refers to several different types, whereas a type can have several. With regards to forms, the upper, educated realm is in the same indecisive state and suffers from the same kind of ambiguity as the folkloric realm. The theory of musical notation stopped seeing the phraseological aspect of music clearly when it abandoned the medieval concept of the *foot* (which leads to visualizing the small, basic forms), only to replace it with the non-musical, metrical concept of a *time signature.* However, despite the indecision and its vagueness, the *type,* with its familiar name, finds its way into the classifications of the subdivisions used in the songbooks. It is a practical demand, because the music that we refer to – related to as a collective feeling and in its social function – is not a composite of elements, nor even the indivisible whole of the composite itself, but a perception of small units that, in the musician's mind, are linked to the name of the type: the music of a Cueca or of a Vidala, dance and songs. The people do not perform scales, ternary feet, or harmonic chords, but dances and chants. The analysis separating the composite into its elements is laboratory work, fundamental to the scientific investigations associated with any study of folklore.

Among the different possible means of communication between the author and reader, the names or types are the only direct reference to a known reality. For the rest, the criterion for types usually used by the public is a *criterion of form* and thereby limited to the rhythmical aspect, similar to the one adopted to define the composite of *songbooks*.

The sorting of the material in *songbooks* is followed by the subdivision of the songbooks into *types*, i.e. in small forms. Depending on the *role* they play in their social environment and a folkloric atmosphere, there are two main types of small forms: *songs* and *dances.* The forthcoming book mentioned above will address dance particularly, in relation to the origin of its name, its history, form, and text. This setting is limited to the presentation of folkloric songs, from the perspective of *songbooks* being superior units of character.

3.6 The first identification of our songbooks

Thus, while the types have an abundance of popular names, songbooks, which we are confronting for the first time here, lack a distinct label; it was due to our task of identifying them that the necessity to name them arose. For this reason, we have taken some of their musicological characteristics, a reference point to where we can find them, or their originating towns as a basis for their naming.

These names, which should be short, cannot embrace every single characteristic of the songbooks they refer to, and do not pretend to do so; they are not definitions by nature, but simply labels. We may have chosen a certain order, for example tonal, as we did with two of them, but there are several swift songbooks: the designation 'South American' alone, used for the two mentioned above, in order to distinguish them from the larger group in a general classification, would not have sufficed. We could have numbered them or identified them according to letter, but chose to incorporate one of their elements, conditions or something about their situation in their name, in order to make it easier for the

academic to link the label with its respective songbook. Without regarding this as ultimately complete, the following is a list of songbooks that may be found on Argentinian territory, as well as outside of it in some cases:

1. Tritonic
2. Pentatonic
3. WESTERN
   a. Colonial Tertiary
   b. Western Creole
4. Riojano
5. Platense
6. EASTERN
   a. Colonial Binary
   b. Eastern Creole
7. Ancient European

Those who have previously been concerned with our 'popular music' were probably aware of such a grouping of characteristics. Only the Inca songs of the pentatonic songbook have received any particular attention and been closely studied; our brief chapter, however, is the most complete work published on the nature and characteristics of this music to date. Some traits of the tritonic songbook also deserve a certain amount of consideration, although the songbook itself was not handled as an independent composite. All of the other Argentinian rural expressions deserve at least a partial observation within the heterogeneous group of so-called 'popular music'.

The attention of academics has mainly been directed towards the basic core we have called Western, but they failed to distinguish between its two greatest tendencies, or discover its scales,[16] rhythm, harmony, or compositional forms. This work is the first comprehensive presentation of each and every one of its characteristics. The great Eastern songbook was viewed neither as a uniform nor as an amplified American stratum; its types have hardly been included among those of our folkloric heritage. The pages of this study provide the first indication of my discovery of a Riojano songbook. The ancient European songbook, familiar to all, and the object of several volumes for schoolchildren, did not raise attention as a unity or receive the attributes of its historical significance. We have included our own observation of a series that coincides with those of certain *classical modes* and have identified the problem they pose. We are also responsible for the

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[16] The Colonial Tertiary scale was recognized by R. and M. d'Harcourt in Bolivian, Peruvian and Ecuadorian melodies. These authors believed they also recognized another minor in the same series which, in my opinion, does not exist; and they identify an origin and meaning in both that has been impossible for me to confirm. Beyond any objection, these remarkable researchers own the merit of the discovery.

presentation of all of these American songbooks, as well as the study of their relationships within a wider context.[17]

   We shall first say a few words on primitive songbooks and, further on, devote a chapter to each of the songbooks listed above. Some of the elements of Tritonic and all of the elements of Pentatonic are pre-Columbian. The colonial ones, which were established during the first centuries, have been current since the 1700s or earlier. The European music introduced later had an influence on the colonial. Thus, numerous pages are devoted to the characterization of the promotion of the European influence and, in a separate chapter, will deal with the products of such a blend. Finally, we will contribute as much as possible to the origins of each of the American songbooks. Actually, there is no rigorous distribution of topics within chapters: the whole book covers both this and other musicological issues.

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[17] I published a synthesis, which is barely understandable due to its excessive brevity, under the title "Panorama de la música popular Sudamericana", in the journal *La Prensa* (Buenos Aires, January 30th 1938).