

To the memory of Michael Marcuzzi (1966–2012)

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## Preface

This volume is the result of two projects that fortuitously came together. The first grew out of an initiative proposed by our late colleague Michael Marcuzzi at the meeting of the Latin American and Caribbean Special Interest Group of the Society for Ethnomusicology in 2006. Michael was a passionate advocate of the better dissemination of the work of music scholars based in Latin America and the Caribbean, and to this end he proposed and took on the job of setting up a website where English-language translation of key texts could be made available to individuals unfamiliar with this body of scholarship. A few years later, members of the board of the Society for Ethnomusicology began to entertain the possibility of devoting a series of publications to English-language translations of ethnomusicological scholarship, which led to a joining of efforts to have that first publication devoted to Latin American and Caribbean literature.

Assembling a collection like this involved making choices regarding the scope and depth of the literature selected. The main aim has been to select pieces that would speak to contemporary research issues and concerns within the region, rather than adopting a more historical or geographically based approach. There are multiple reasons for this choice, ranging from the pragmatic to the political. Most important early studies in the region exist in the form of monographs, extended essays, and multivolume reference works that cannot be appropriately abridged or excerpted. Many of these are certainly of interest to scholars already working in Latin America and the Caribbean. Yet, they do not necessarily make the best entry points for individuals working outside of the region and who are more likely to be interested in current research trends and approaches that may be pertinent beyond Latin American and Caribbean contexts.

Furthermore, much of that earlier work, while not available in English, has been consistently available to Anglo-American and European scholars, many of

18. Editors' note: *Lira popular* (lit. poetry of the people), is the Chilean term for what in other countries is known as Cordel literature. This is the term used to refer to numerous loose-leaf, mass-produced printed publications that circulated in Chile's main urban centers between the end of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century. Vernacular poets—mostly men of rural origin who had migrated to the city—used this medium to publish their verses, commenting on the affairs of the day by means of poetic forms and imagery associated with oral literature.

19. Magdalena Vicuña, "Violeta Parra: hermana mayor de los poetas populares," *Revista Musical Chilena* 12, no. 60 (1958), 71–77.

20. Last verse of "Gracias a la vida" (Thanks be to life), one of her last songs (1966).

21. I functionally use the concept of "vernacular world" as a generic reference to the "internal Other" or the so-called "peasantry" consisting of a numerous group of indigenous and mestizo people in the country.

22. Parra, *El libro mayor*, 46, 140. [Translator's note: La Carpa de la Reina was a large circus-like tent that Violeta Parra erected in 1965 within a public park in the municipality of La Reina. It was dedicated to performance and teaching of folkloric music, dance, and art. For more information, see Juan Pablo González et al., *Historia social de la música popular en Chile, 1950–1970* (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 2009), 235].

23. Nicanor Parra's expression in his poem "Defensa de Violeta Parra" (In defense of Violeta Parra), 1964: "Lo que tiene que hacer el auditor / es guardar un silencio religioso / porque tu canto sabe adónde va / perfectamente" (What the listener must do / is to keep a religious silence / because your song knows where it goes / perfectly).

24. Charles Keil, "People's Music Comparatively: Style and Stereotype, Class and Hegemony," in *Music Grooves*, Steven Feld and Charles Keil (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 197–217. Keil insists on the need for a more complex consideration of the historic processes of the style of "people's music" in the twentieth century, stating eight related hypotheses that suggest fruitful paths of analysis.

25. This denomination is what is presently used in Chile to define the borders of a vast and varied repertoire. Luis Advis et al., *Clásicos de la música popular chilena, 1960–1973. Raíz folclórica*, vol. 2 (Santiago de Chile: SCD–Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 1998).

26. This same procedure exists in "La carta" (see fig. 9.3), which has a cycle of 12 measures: 2+2+3+3+(2); and in "Y arriba quemando el sol" (see fig. 9.5), with a 16-measure cycle: 4+4+4+3+(1).

27. In an interview in the first edition of the magazine *Juventud* (Santiago, July 1977), 29, Los Huasos Quincheros, the representative group for this official Chileanness, summarized the origin, function, and meaning of this genre like this: "We play music from the Central Valley because that is where Chile was born. That is where its independence was forged, and that is where our ancestors nurtured patriotism. . . . We have succeeded in imposing a style, a form, and a spirit on the national folklore milieu. We also export our music to all the world, and, more importantly, we teach people to love what is Chilean and her traditional values. . . . We offer the tradition of a glorious past that should serve us now and in the future."

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## The Nuevo Cancionero Movement A Change of Paradigm in Argentine Folklore

CLAUDIO F. DÍAZ

Since the mid-twentieth century, a field of cultural production was gradually established in Argentina. It grew out of the more general evolution of the mass communications media and mass culture, and controversially came to be called folklore in the social imaginary. Quite a number of scholars have shown the difference between this type of musical expression, which pertains to mass culture, and authentically "folkloric" phenomena—no matter how they are defined. Despite these issues, the type of "folklore" connected to the recording industry and large Argentine festivals like Cosquín and Jesús María has continued to evolve, is still called "folklore," and is an important type of popular music in Argentina.

As I have mentioned elsewhere, I propose that Argentine folklore be studied as a specific field of cultural production—in other words, as a system of social relations having its own rules of production and canonization.<sup>1</sup> Because this field of discursive production is part of the cultural industry's overall production of popular music, its game rules are very different from those found in the sociocultural areas where the musical genres comprising the larger field of popular music originated. However, like all fields of discursive cultural production, folklore operates according to the principle of competition for legitimacy, which evolved according to specific rules and is based on specific ideals regarding canonization. These rules are not arbitrary; instead, they were gradually constructed in the course of the battles that impacted the field's formative process from the 1920s

A longer version of this work was originally published by Claudio F. Díaz as "El Nuevo Cancionero: un cambio de paradigma en el folklore argentino," in *Lugares del decir 2: competencia social y estrategias discursivas*, ed. Ricardo L. Costa and Danuta T. Mozejo (Rosario: Editorial Homo Sapiens, 2007), 203–47. Translated by Jane L. Florine with permission.

on. This is how the “classic” paradigm of production—as I call it—specific to the field of folklore was constructed.

By “paradigm,” I mean the set of assumptions, convictions, and agreements that was generally shared by the social agents who made up the field—not taking into account existing differences of opinion and fights for legitimacy. These shared beliefs were the ones that made it possible to clearly recognize which creations belonged to the field of folklore: in other words, to be able to say that these works were “folklore” as opposed to those that were not.

During the field of folklore’s process of development, the classic paradigm that was constructed came to be made up of a set of rules (thematic, compositional, performative, rhetorical, lexical, etc.) that determined the correct way of producing its musical works and therefore created criteria for inclusion and exclusion—the basis of the classic paradigm’s identity.<sup>2</sup> Thought of in this way, social agents internalized the paradigm. Not only that, the field itself made sure that it would be spread and passed down to future generations through a variety of means (from schools that taught folklore to didactic articles found in specialized magazines).

The classic paradigm of folklore had already been formed by the middle of the twentieth century. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, this field of production experienced a period of expansion and consolidation called the “folklore boom.” Then, around the mid-1960s, a number of musical phenomena appeared that brought tension to the field because their aesthetic and ideological approaches challenged key aspects of the dominant paradigm of production. This chapter analyzes some of the characteristics of these new aesthetic concepts and proposes an explanatory hypothesis about their appearance. Before addressing the main elements of these aesthetic concepts that arose in the mid-1960s, however, it is first necessary to provide precise details about the classic paradigm of folklore.

### “Tradition” in the Classic Paradigm

If anything characterized the dominant paradigm in folklore in the late 1950s, it was the central place of the concept of tradition. This concept, however, is a particularly ambiguous one that has multiple meanings. For many scholars, tradition—the continuation of the past into the present—is one of the basic components of “what is truly folk.”<sup>3</sup> As Gabriel Ábalos has shown, however, the term “tradition” is used in many ways that are often contradictory.<sup>4</sup> For the purposes of this chapter, however, instead of “tradition” being an essence or a visible continuity with the past, I take it to be more of a discursive construct whose function is to legitimate aesthetic, ethical, or ideological concepts that prevail in the present.<sup>5</sup>

It can therefore be said that the tradition discussed in folklore is a “selective tradition,” a conscious way of building a true connection with the past by means of a selection process that involves placing emphasis on certain things, omitting others, and silencing yet others. This selective tradition, which had become dominant in the field by the 1950s, was genealogically connected to cultural nationalism—and to what cultural nationalism would later be deemed to be—beginning in the Centennial Era and including the important contributions of Peronism.<sup>6</sup> As part of this selective tradition, a set of characteristics was established that would gradually become the norm for judging authenticity of folk songs. Without attempting to be exhaustive, I list some of these traits below.

A. The nationalization of genres: in a long and complex process, the various musical genres from different regions of Argentina came to be recognized and ontologically defined as distinct expressions of the same “national being.” Musics that were distinctly regional or local began to be known through ample discourse production that legitimated them in magazines, radio programs, and so on, with emphasis placed on a given genre’s place and region within the realm of “national folklore.” This particular phenomenon was observed in various ways. For example, specialized folklore programs on some radio stations began to devote nights or specific time slots to each province or region.

Accompanying the spread of these regional genres was a legitimating strategy that tried to show the authenticity of the different musical styles by saying that they were rooted in popular customs and ways of life from various parts of the nation.

In this nationalization process, Augusto Raúl Cortazar, Carlos Vega, and Félix Coluccio—along with other intellectuals who in one way or another were part of the field—played an important part.<sup>7</sup> These intellectuals, in fact, used the symbolic capital they had accumulated while doing research and participating in academic life to contribute their knowledge to specialized magazines and other publications, thereby sharing information about the history of the various musical genres they had studied as well as popular fiestas, traditional ceremonies, and customs from the corresponding regions.

A general result of this process was that musical genres that had developed independently, or had been unknown to each other because they were from different sociocultural areas, began to be seen as part of the same system and to be governed by the same rules. Processes of hybridization as well as the use of various kinds of music by performers who had initially specialized only in regional genres also began in this same fashion.

Along with the desire to disseminate knowledge about these genres, the use of a variety of musics and hybridization tended to legitimate these same types of music by showing that they were different ways of expressing the “same nation.”

This concept came to be a key part of the classic paradigm and its particular manner of creating tradition.

B. The nation portrayed in different regional musics was based on an origin myth.<sup>8</sup> According to this myth, there was a former way of life that had virtues and values that needed to be rescued and honored. This way of life that had existed before the advent of modernity led to an idealized view of rural life and at times to a negative vision of urban space. Located in the interior, that idealized rural world was a place where national essence was preserved. In addition, this place was inhabited by a prototypical persona who was also idealized: the countryman, the man from the provinces, the man from the interior, and—even more symbolically—the gaucho [cowboy].

Rural areas, the interior of the country, and the gaucho—along with his customs, dress, and musical instruments—were therefore expressions of the national soul and of authentic Argentine popular art. This idealized image became established as modernization, industrialization, and urbanization came into play and drastically transformed the Argentine social map. During the first part of the twentieth century, the rapid development of the forces of production involved massive internal migration, new forms of exploitation, and new social identities in addition to the waves of European immigration that had occurred since the end of the nineteenth century. In this particular social context, the insistence on connecting the values that defined nationality with a type of human being, an idealized past, and an idealized image of “the native land” or “the interior” became especially important, as well. Claudio Monti and Adrián Javier Weissberg have analyzed the process through which this idealized and positive image of the gaucho was constructed, as well as the values associated with him: honesty, generosity, valor, love of country (understood as fighting against foreign invaders or Indians), respect for family and religion, and so on.<sup>9</sup>

In the discipline of folklore, which developed as modernization and internal migration occurred, this led to a special rhetoric as well as one of the most recurrent special topics found in the classic paradigm: the *pago*,<sup>10</sup> an idealized place exuberantly conceived as retaining otherwise-lost values and nostalgically described from an urban, dysphoric perspective. In an extreme sense, this loss of values and virtues was a loss of identity, which could be recuperated only by singing. In addition to its aesthetic component, folkloric song therefore acquired an ethical and ideological facet linked not only to provincialism, but also to nationality—where song, the Argentine people, the *pago*, and nationality were united in tradition.

C. The song of the people, which expressed the nation authentically, used a particular language. This language addressed the various regional ways of life and included all types of provincial speech. In the same way that genres and

customs were valued as expressions of nationality, so were regional accents and different idiomatic expressions. These possible combinations, which were highly varied, became even more complex with the introduction of words taken from indigenous languages—which in some cases reflected different regional cultural layers and in others were a sign of bilingualism. It was therefore quite common to find Quechua expressions in the music of Santiago del Estero or Guaraní ones in the music of the Littoral region.<sup>11</sup> The language of folklore, however, was for the most part based on a literary model: gaucho literature that was reconverted, reinterpreted, and adapted to reflect regional ways of speaking. In this sense, Hernández's *Martín Fierro*, which was recovered by Lugones and positioned in the literary canon, was paradigmatic.<sup>12</sup> On one hand, it was a model that created narrative and ideological concepts, but on the other, it reinforced a type of language that eventually became established as “traditional.”

D. This concept, expressed through traditional language and focused on the *pago* and on the Argentine people, used landscapes, customs, popular fiestas, and ceremonies of each region as its subject matter. Dances and music, as well as food and dress, appeared repeatedly in the songs. In many of them, the notable precision with which customs were referred to and places were described made it clear that their purpose was didactic. This didacticism was also found in and stimulated by magazines and specialized publications, a type of teaching emphasis that well suited what was discussed earlier because spreading knowledge about local customs was part of the nationalization process. Listeners, after all, had to become familiar with objects, customs, and musics they did not know about—yet could possibly adopt—because they were all just different facets of the same nation expressed in folklore. Consequently, the language of folklore had to be taught.

E. Perhaps the most important characteristic of the “tradition” I analyze in this chapter was the special expressive strategy constructed in the songs. The language of folklore, the surrounding scenery, places, and customs, the idealized *pago* connected to the original values of the nation, and nationalized musical genres and song itself made up the symbolic space from which a *provinciano* [man from the interior]—in other words, a criollo or a gaucho—spoke. In this tradition, however, the interior provinces, their customs, and their musics were synonymous with the nation. When a man from the interior spoke through song, it was an Argentine who did so. More precisely put, the “I” from the provinces was part of a “we” that expressed authentic *argentinidad* [Argentine national sentiment] and its essence.

On the other hand, this expressive strategy was not purely discursive; instead, it was also subject to the compositional and performance rules of the different genres that were in themselves expressions of the nation's popular soul. Because

of this, the compositional styles, manner of arranging voices, selection of suitable musical instruments for each genre, typical traits of the accompaniment, and so forth, tended to become standardized. As part of this process, the influence of “pioneers,” “masters,” and “models” in the areas of composition, arranging, and/or performance corresponding to the different genres involved became stronger (Buenaventura Luna, Ernesto Montiel, Los Hermanos Ábalos, Atahualpa Yupanqui, and others). Respect for stylistic rules—that is, the “tradition” I analyze here—therefore became a sign of authenticity in folk song. Around the early 1960s, these criteria connected to authenticity had already become “naturalized”, so by then it was possible to talk about a completely established classic paradigm.

### Crisis of the Classic Paradigm

The establishment of the big folklore festivals (such as Cosquín, Jesús María, and Baradero) in the early 1960s showed that the field of production had become established and had developed in three ways. For one, measurable growth had occurred in both production and consumption. This phenomenon, known as the folklore boom, was evident in sales statistics, the interest shown in folklore by recording companies, the great number of folklore radio programs, the presence of canonic folklore artists on television, and the attention paid to folklore by the press. The mere fact that festivals were successful showed the existence of an audience interested in folklore. In addition, however, it reflected the interest of different market sectors, such as the recording industry, radio and television sponsors, and even the state, in establishing folklore as a field of cultural production. On the other hand, because the classic paradigm had become firmly rooted, criteria had been developed to judge the legitimacy of musical works and whether or not they belonged to the field. Among other things, this resulted in an abundance of new artists at the beginning of the decade [the 1960s] whose output fit within the dominant aesthetics. In addition, typical avenues—such as *Folklore* magazine, which first appeared in July 1961, and the many cultural associations, traditionalist centers, *peñas* [restaurants with live music], and radio and television programs that developed at the start of the 1950s—were created and established to promote and reproduce these rules.

However, a third element pertaining to the development of the field must be considered: the growth and establishment of what I have discussed above produced the conditions necessary for folklore to be thought of as a separate realm of cultural production within Argentina. During the entire time the field of folklore was developing, it was relatively homogeneous. Although the field’s greatest source of diversity was the regional origin of its various musical styles, this difference, as I have already pointed out, tended to be nullified through legitimating strategies

that nationalized these musics and made them part of the same selective tradition. In the 1960s, difference began to be introduced by another type of process, as well. For one, the compositions of musicians like Ariel Ramírez, Eduardo Falú, and Gustavo Leguizamón (to name just a few) expanded the dictates of the classic paradigm. Without challenging any of the classic paradigm’s fundamental beliefs, these individuals added “art” music elements to it, thereby creating a new type of folklore sound. Both their success and the positive response of critics created a context ripe for innovation and the search for new musical languages. In addition, the relative general success of folklore and its mass dissemination led many young musicians, some from other fields of production (e.g., choral music, music literature, and “young people’s” music), to develop an interest in folk music and to attempt to enter the field. As new arrivals, these musicians had to come up with ways to get their own aesthetic creations recognized. In some cases, they imitated successful models, thus following the rules of the reigning paradigm. In other cases, however, they developed differentiating strategies that provoked a crisis in the reigning norms of production—the classic paradigm—in more than just one way. To be more exact, this crisis had to do with the appearance of the *nuevo cancionero* [Argentine new song] movement, its followers, and the tensions it created in the field of folklore.

### A Folklore Manifesto

The first thing to point out about the appearance of the *nuevo cancionero* movement is how it was introduced to the public: by means of a “manifesto.” Signed by Tito Francia, Oscar Matus, Armando Tejada Gómez, and Mercedes Sosa, among others, the manifesto, which became known in 1963, marked the public appearance of these artists who wanted both a place in the field of folklore and a new identity.<sup>13</sup> This was neither a group of artists dedicated to regional musics nor a “company” like the one Ariel Ramírez had founded; instead, it was a “collective.” In other words, it was a purposeful banding together of artists who promoted an aesthetic, ethical, and political ideal that they shared and publically expressed as a united front, thus transcending their individual works.<sup>14</sup> Although it is true that all branches of modern art, especially the avant-garde, have typically published manifestos corresponding to schools or movements, speaking publically through this kind of discursive vehicle was a new approach for taking on a position in the field of folklore, which until this time did not have much internal differentiation. To be exact, what was radically new about this action was that manifestos generally showed a genealogy and presented a project. The *nuevo cancionero* movement’s genealogy and aim stirred up major areas of conflict without entirely severing ties with the classic paradigm of folklore. I address these facets of the movement below.

## GENEALOGY

As opposed to how tradition was understood in the classic paradigm, the *nuevo cancionero* movement emphasized renovation and what was new without rejecting these roots. For this reason, instead of showing its origin as a tradition connected to an idealized, premodern past that held foundational values, *nuevo cancionero* glorified as “textual fathers” [whose songwriting skills should be imitated] two people in the field who had great legitimacy: Buenaventura Luna and Atahualpa Yupanqui. Although the movement also recognized the work of other agents who had made valuable contributions by collecting and circulating vernacular songs, the manifesto clarified that merely compiling music led only to stagnation: “The obsession with [song collecting] degenerated into *postcard folklorism* that we are still suffering from today. For *men who had built the country and whose reality changed from day to day*, it was lifeless and had no meaning. Buenaventura Luna, as for song lyrics, and Atahualpa Yupanqui, as for both lyrics and music, began a *renewal movement* that expanded folklore’s content without eliminating its native roots” (original emphasis).<sup>15</sup>

According to the manifesto, in order to remain in this traditionalist and collecting stage, folklore had supposedly degenerated into folklorism. As the quotation above shows, the classic paradigm’s concept of tradition was presented somewhat dysphorically and as the opposite of what could be accomplished through renovation. Renovation was depicted as pitting the past and the present against each other, and the present was shown to be the result of man’s [mankind’s] transformations of reality instead of the degeneration and/or loss of original values. Far from being a fixed vision that bound values to the past and considered all types of transformation to be a threat, man was now presented as an active subject who constructed and modified reality. This change, which was positive, was to be carried out along with aesthetic renewal.

The present, therefore, was idealistically depicted as being a time of renovated native popular music in which the new generations were central figures. This type of representation was part of a discursive strategy that also targeted the meaning of the folklore boom and positioned the *nuevo cancionero* movement as a legitimate part of it: “There are people who tend to believe that this growth of interest in folklore is a passing fad. . . . We believe that this native popular music boom is not circumstantial but [instead] is an indication of a *heightening of awareness of the Argentine people*” (original emphasis).<sup>16</sup>

The “Argentine people,” then (per the manifesto), was the subject of a long search in which popular artists had participated and that had gone through ups and downs. One of the discoveries made during this collective artistic search was tango. The discovery of tango and its commercial success, however, had

supposedly paved the way for conflict because the interior and its music had been pushed aside and tango had been emptied of content by anti-subjects that fed dark interests.<sup>17</sup> True popular artists, then, faced two enemies: on one hand, an asphyxiating past (“tradition”) that did not acknowledge the transformations that man had produced as part of his reality, and on the other, marketeers who condemned music to a stereotype that fit their commercial interests (in other words, to traditionalist folklorism on one hand, and to the culture industry on the other).

In the context of this narrative, calling the folklore boom a “heightening of awareness” became meaningful. The transformation of reality, industrial growth, and internal migration led to the coming together of the interior and Buenos Aires and to a comeback of music from the interior. It was therefore stated in the manifesto that “the boom of folk music is a sign of the maturity that Argentines have reached in knowing the country as it is today,” and, metaphorically, that “the people of the interior have already founded Buenos Aires for the third time—this time from within.”<sup>18</sup>

This new founding of Buenos Aires was not just cultural in nature, but was part of a political change of historic proportions as well. That is to say that besides adopting an aesthetic position, which was clear throughout the entire manifesto, there was also another stream of discourse in the manifesto that took a political and ideological stance. This type of discourse was evident in the various elements of the narrative I reconstruct here: in the people’s fight with marketeers, the transformation of material conditions through human action, the heightening of awareness arising from these transformations, and popular art as being an expression of this heightened awareness. In other words, the members of the *nuevo cancionero* movement not only defined their identity in the collective as “popular artists” and inheritors of the “renovation” started by Luna and Yupanqui, but they also presented themselves as the recipients of a mission, a purpose that fit in perfectly with a global narrative: “May this heightening of awareness not be hidden from artists or the people.”<sup>19</sup> *Nuevo cancionero* therefore outlined a genealogy by which it constructed a stylistic place, legitimated itself, defined who its enemies were, and sketched out a collective project in which the aesthetic and the political were intertwined.

## THE PROJECT

The construction of a genealogy was a central aspect of the position presented in the manifesto of the *nuevo cancionero* movement, but that was not all. There was also a plan presented that sketched out the aesthetic and ideological principles on which the identifying “we” was constructed. In order to explain and analyze these concepts more deeply, however, I do not base my comments exclusively



on the manifesto; I also refer to the recordings produced at that time by some of the artists connected with the movement, songs found on these recordings, and specific paratext. In these works, the principles stated in the manifesto operated as discursive strategies but at the same time as a political platform, a means of self-legitimation, and a break with the classic paradigm. At the heart of these principles and strategies was the “tradition” versus “renovation” tension that appeared in the manifesto to define the *nuevo cancionero* movement.

Three principles were presented to help explain the mission of the *nuevo cancionero* movement. First of all, it had popular roots that were being reappraised because the identifying “we” was now constructed as part of a popular movement in which artists participated. Second, it was above all an artistic movement. Because of this, renovation, assimilation of “all modern forms of expression,” and artistic freedom were insisted upon, as opposed to being subject to the traditional rules on which classic paradigm identity was based.<sup>20</sup> Third, the manifesto proposed an identity-building process anchored not in an idealized past but in both the country’s present and the general populace instead. A number of strategies based on these three principles were evident in recordings. Without attempting to be exhaustive, I analyze some of these below.

A. In the classic paradigm, the representation of regional scenery and customs was tied to an idealized past that harbored key values. Song lyrics therefore mentioned traditions and constructed an identity. Amid this predominance of landscapes and customs, the *nuevo cancionero* movement reclaimed “man” and more specifically “modern man” as its central subject. Let us look at some examples.

In 1965, Oscar Matus independently published Mercedes Sosa’s first recording. Called *Canciones con fundamento* (Principled songs), it both adopted a strong position and launched the career of an artist who would be central to the movement. On the back of the album jacket, text written by Armado Tejada Gómez introduced the singer as a member of the *nuevo cancionero* movement and stated the following: “This work is not just a recording: it is a *testimonial*.” And later: “Her songs *document the interior of Argentina*. The land, but *with man being present there*. Man and his inner life. *Work, pain, persistent hope*, and the highly exuberant joy of being alive.” In this text, it was also stated that the recording disdained “simple depiction of social customs and traditions and *folkloric picturesqueness* [of the type] found on postcards” (emphasis added).<sup>21</sup> How then, was the mission set forth in the manifesto put into practice? For one, the selection of songs on the entire album was in itself a strategy that helped to construct a speaker identified with the movement. Of the twelve songs on the recording, six belonged to the Matus–Tejada Gómez songwriting duo, three to Ramón Ayala, and only three to composers not part of the *nuevo cancionero* movement (Los Hermanos Núñez, Ariel Ramírez, and Aníbal Sampayo). Yet besides the choice of songwriters and

composers, just looking at the names of the songs was enough to recognize the place given to “man” in them: “Zamba del riego” (Irrigation worker’s zamba, by Matus and Tejada Gómez), “El cachapecerero” (The ox cart driver, by Ramón Ayala),<sup>22</sup> “La de los humildes” (Poor people’s zamba, by Matus and Tejada Gómez), “El cosechero” (The harvester, by Ramón Ayala), “Los inundados” (The people who have experienced a flood, by Ariel Ramírez and G. Aizemberg), and “La zafretera” (The female sugar cane harvester, by Matus and Tejada Gómez), and so on. Let us look at some song fragments.

Se va tu caudal por el valle labrador	Your water flow passes through the hardworking/peasant valley
Y al amanecer sale a padecer La pena del surco ajeno	And at dawn comes out to endure The suffering of another’s irrigation ditch
Verano y rigor, va de sol a sol	Summer and harshness, from morning until night lasts
La sombra del vendimiador. “Zamba del riego”	The irrigation worker’s shadow.
Zambita para que canten Los humildes de mi <i>pago</i> Si hay que esperar la esperanza Más vale esperar cantando. “La de los humildes”	A little zamba so that The poor people of my <i>pago</i> can sing If it is necessary to hope/wait for hope It is best to wait for it by singing.
Rumbo a la cosecha cosechero yo seré Y entre copos blancos mi esperanza cantaré Con manos curtidas dejaré en el algodón Mi corazón. “El cosechero”	On the way to the harvest I will be a harvester And among white puffs I will sing of my hope With leatherlike hands I will leave in the cotton My heart.

The idea, in other words, was to show the reality of the Argentine interior. Amid the landscape, however, working people and the man of the interior’s duties appeared—a reality that corresponded not to an idealized past but to a real and troubled present instead.

Another interesting example is the second volume of *Folklore sin mirar atrás* (Folklore without looking back), by the Cuarteto Zupay (Zupay Quartet). This album was released under the Trova label in 1968. On the back cover, Miguel Smirnoff came up with a new category to describe this type of aesthetic concept:

"listening to the recordings made in the 1950s, and comparing them to recent ones by *avant-garde groups*, it is easy to see the difference produced by *evolution* that is as much internal as external" (emphasis added). The idea of an *avant-garde* music subject to transformative action was in itself a break with the classic paradigm. This transformative action amounted to a kind of "evolution" that recovered yet updated tradition in order to take modern man into account: "And if we sing songs about current reality, replacing the *rancho* [country home] and the *china* [wife] with a love song to our land, where does modern Argentine man come from? . . . That which is traditional does not suit a person who lives in Buenos Aires or Córdoba, has a car that theoretically speaking can go 240 kilometers per hour, . . . and who is up-to-date on books, theater, and films."<sup>23</sup> The choice of songs and songwriters was once again a key strategy in what was being asked in this question. This same approach to modern man was also reflected in the use of nontraditional genres like the ballad (e.g., "Balada para mi tierra" [Ballad for my land]), the addition of modern instruments, the [choice of] contemporary topics like the elderly being taken from their homes ("Por un viejo muerto" [For a dead old man]), and even in the title of the recording itself: *Folklore sin mirar atrás* (Folklore without looking back).

B. This was not just a matter of reflecting modern man and valuing the present. In the classic paradigm, social contradictions were erased so as to construct a national "we" anchored in a past considered to be a site filled with values. On the contrary, the *nuevo cancionero* movement wanted modern man to be shown in the context of exploitation, injustice, violence, and marginality. This view no longer involved an idealized image or the crystallization of certain canonic values (authenticity, generosity, loyalty, courage, love of country, etc.), but depicted man as suffering due to unjust social relations instead.

The connection of man to man, and of man to nature, changed radically in the *nuevo cancionero* movement. Although the landscape did not lose its magic, nature was now generally hostile, and man had to deal with it while he did difficult and dangerous jobs. Man now appeared in specific thematic roles connected to rural work and/or kinds of exploitation related to agricultural production. The *rancho* [family farm/home], the jungle, the rivers, and the deserts were no longer just part of the scenery; instead, they were now stages on which misery, marginality, and exploitation played out.

The idea, however, was not just to show the misery and exploitation of the man from the interior. Besides this, the goal was to express the awareness of being part of a popular movement that was linked to a destiny, which is why strong feelings connecting the work of the people with hope and struggle appeared in the songs.<sup>24</sup> No longer was there just a distancing from the past and a strong anchoring in the present, but there was also hope for a virtual narrative project

involving the entire collective and projecting it into the future. Song went hand in hand with this hope and to some degree generated it. This concept was crucial for *nuevo cancionero* songwriters because the themes used in songs, the specific social spaces where songs were sung, and the profession of being a singer were all part of a strategy to construct a place for popular art in the collective mission:

Como un canto de la tierra	Like a song from the land
Hay que cantar esta zamba	This zamba must be sung
Hermana de los humildes	Sister of the poor
Sembradora de esperanzas	Sower of hope
Alzada raíz de sangre	Root of blood raised up
Del fondo de la guitarra.	From the depths of my guitar.
"La de los humildes"	

This collective mission, this hopeful destiny that the manifesto talked about and that ran permanently through its songs, thus took the shape of rebel hope, or struggle. This facet of the fight against injustice was barely even suggested in the manifesto or in the first recordings made by *nuevo cancionero* artists, but it became more and more apparent as the 1960s went on. Popular struggles were depicted in songs along with a critical look at history, which led to—among other things—a rethinking of the role of the man from the interior (the gaucho, the rural worker) in the "popular" movement of which the *nuevo cancionero* was a part. In this context, the reframing of the Indian's role was especially interesting because it had been fairly ambiguous in the classic paradigm. Therefore, in "Zamba del riego," the lyrics were about a sleeping Huarpe [member of the indigenous group of the same name] waking up, in "Zamba del chaguanco" (Zamba of the Chaguanco Indian) about a Chaguanco Indian's misery, and in many other songs about his being a victim. Yet in "Canción para mi América" (Song for my America) by Daniel Viglietti, which was recorded by Mercedes Sosa on her album *Yo no canto por cantar* (I do not sing just for the sake of singing) in 1966, the Indian appeared in a new light because he was presented as a central figure in liberation battles.

Toward the end of the decade, this fight against injustice, including a call to action, became louder and louder in all of the artists connected with the *nuevo cancionero* movement. This was seen in album titles such as *Hasta la victoria* (Until victory, by Mercedes Sosa, 1972) and in songs recorded and sung as emblems of the movement: "Canción con todos" (Song with everyone, by César Isella), "Fuego de Animaná" (Animaná fire, by César Isella and Tejada Gómez), "Cuando tenga la tierra" (When I have the earth, by A. Petrocelli and D. Toro), "Plegaria de un labrador" (Prayer of a worker, by Víctor Jara), and so many others.<sup>25</sup>

C. The song titles just mentioned might make a person mistakenly think that the *nuevo cancionero* movement was concerned mainly with "mere content" or

was perhaps of “low quality” rather than being focused on aesthetics or form. One of the movement’s main principles, however, was to always be careful with the aesthetics and formal writing of its songs. Its political commitment and ideological position always went hand in hand with a demand for aesthetic rigor in which the artist’s identity was at play in the context of its popular mission. For this reason, there was both a strong emphasis on formal writing and criticism of *facilismo* [that which can be done very easily with little effort].

From another perspective, in tandem with its defense of aesthetic rigor, the movement also distanced itself from the formal simplicity and repetition (both poetic and musical) characteristic of the classic paradigm, and importantly, from the repetition of successful models backed by the recording industry that tried to take the utmost advantage of the boom era. It was therefore stated in the manifesto that the *nuevo cancionero* movement “will discard, reject, and publically denounce, after doing case-by-case analysis, any coarse or inferior work that given its commercial purpose might insult the intelligence or morals of our people.”<sup>26</sup>

Instead of *facilismo*, there was an intense search for musical and poetic quality in terms of seriousness, work, renovation, and experimentation. Not only the musicians’ choice of songs but also their musical work consisted for the most part of making arrangements and using novel harmonic concepts other than parallel thirds, which were so common in folklore. This new type of singing, in which two voices sometimes had different melodic lines, often sung in falsetto, was an easily identifiable style; it required open-mindedness from the public, however, because it was far—and sometimes very far—away from the typical harmonizations of the classic paradigm.

A good example of this trend was the Cuarteto Zupay, which used ideas from classical choral music [art music] in its arrangements, such as harmonizations in fifths or sixths or basso continuo—clear references to the Baroque period. In addition, however, it added new sounds performed on modern instruments such as electric guitar or drums. In this fashion, rigor, experimentation, work, and seriousness were part of a discursive strategy of differentiation and rupture with the classic paradigm, but they also served to legitimate the movement’s own artists who participated in its popular mission.

D. The “historical destiny” referred to in the manifesto of the *nuevo cancionero* movement regarding the popular movement that popular artists would be a part of was no longer presented as one taking place within the closed borders of the nation. As opposed to what was regional, yet always understood as being a particular expression of the nation, in the songs there was instead a thematic emphasis on recovering what was Latin American. This did not mean that there was ignorance about or rejection of regional elements. On the contrary, there was always importance given to expressing the whole country, with all its diverse

genres and musical styles. The recovery of regional diversity as expressed in the manifesto, however, went hand in hand with the rejection of all closed-minded regionalism.<sup>27</sup> In this sense, Latin America appeared to be both a cultural and political frame of reference—a real contradiction with the ontologization of the national from a more or less conservative perspective.

This facet of the project was reflected in several aspects of the artistic output of the time. On one hand, there was a similar strategy used in paratext, in which there was a constant insistence on American roots; regarding song, these roots were often specifically indigenous. Another facet of the project was seen in the topics addressed in the songs. Some of the more important ones had a collective perspective that transcended any type of nationalism, such as “Canción del derrumbe indio” (Song of the Indian collapse) by Figueredo Armain, “Canción para mi América” by Viglietti, “América” by R. Herrera, and “Canción con todos” by Isella, and so on. But this Latin American perspective was also evident in the constant incorporation of songwriters and composers from other Latin American countries—like Víctor Jara, Daniel Viglietti, or Violeta Parra—as well as popular rhythms and genres from different regions of Latin America into the movement. This produced a tendency to collaborate that over time began to give the movement an ever wider and more extensive nature. As Mercedes Sosa put it, “our movement that was born here [in Mendoza] afterward really caught on in Latin America. With ease we talked about Joan Baez and Bob Dylan because they drew from the most refined elements of jazz to the profoundness of U.S. folklore [folk music]. We operated the same way here. Ten years after the emergence of the *nuevo cancionero*, I ended up singing with Joan Baez and being friends with her.”<sup>28</sup>

E. All of these strategies made a contribution toward something that all of these works had in common: the construction of a speaker and listener connected to a new type of identity. There was no longer a “we” understood in terms of a “nation” expressed through different regional traditions, but more of a notion of both popular artists and the public as being critical, demanding, and subject to a heightening of awareness linked to a transcendent project instead. In other words, instead of the “we” having an ontological basis tied to an idealized past, the identity-shaping process had to do with an aesthetic and ideological goal understood in terms of freedom. As part of this goal, something that had not been relevant in folklore up until then became important according to the manifesto: the idea of youth having a generational identity, the insistence on the role of new generations, and the need to foster “formative dialogue with our youth.”<sup>29</sup> At this stage, young people were portrayed as having some special characteristics. On one hand, just as occurred then with other fields of popular music production (e.g., Argentine rock), this music began to be recorded and heard at recitals more often. As a result, it became viewed more and more as pure entertainment unrelated

to dance and as a vehicle for a message. On the other hand, youth was shown to have a major role as an agent of change, and especially of revolutionary change, even in music. Going a step further, drawing on Latin American topics and music from other countries was probably part of a strategy to connect Argentine youth to the political processes found on the rest of the continent. Lastly, new musical space was given to the new generations as a legitimizing strategy. In fact, what this music should appropriately be called within the realm of popular music began to be questioned; it was not called folklore very often. On the backs of album covers and in manifestos it was described as being the birth of something new, like post-folklore, that could be called *Música Popular Argentina* (Argentine Popular Music). This displacement could clearly be thought of in conjunction with other things found on quite a number of recordings made at the time: the addition of art music references, but also to what was modern; the abandonment of gaucho attire used by groups in the past and the use of urban, modern dress instead; the design of record jackets; and generally speaking, the process of identity construction that *nuevo cancionero* movement artists carried out.

### The Emergence of the *Nuevo Cancionero* Movement

The appearance of this movement, which had a new aesthetic and ideological plan for its works and doctrinal texts, produced great tension within the field of folklore: it unleashed a period of major discussion about what folklore was. The limits of folklore as defined in the classic paradigm were challenged, and controversy arose because the definition of what was and what was not folklore was at stake. I already briefly alluded to the social conditions that allowed this movement to appear in a field of production possessing such special traits. I now analyze in detail these social conditions.

According to the theoretical perspective I have adopted in this chapter, I must reiterate that I understand discursive production, in this case aesthetic, to be a social practice carried out by agents who are immersed in networks of specific relations. All discursive production can therefore be thought of as adopting a position, which is the end result of an agent's creation of options and strategies. These options and strategies can be explained and understood based on the agent's place (i.e., his or her competency) in these relational networks, which is determined by all of his or her abilities and trajectory.<sup>30</sup> Because of this, it was necessary for us to start by looking at the situation of artists who were part of this movement during the mid-1960s, as the field of folklore developed.

In order to be able to understand the circumstances that led to the appearance of the *nuevo cancionero* movement, however, it is necessary to have a wider perspective: it is important to analyze the field of folklore's place and its new aesthetic

trends in the context of socio-global processes, and especially in the context of some discursive tendencies that were experienced in Argentine society during the 1960s.

### EXPANSION OF THE FIELD

The so-called folklore boom that began toward the end of the 1950s was a phenomenon that came about due to the establishment and expansion of the field of production. This establishment of the field was at the same time the result of stabilization in a market that had become attractive to recording companies, radio, and television. It did not involve, however, merely quantitative growth. Even when nobody was thinking about inventing strategies to openly break with the past, and long before the manifesto of the *nuevo cancionero* movement appeared, some artists—not just the pioneers recognized by the movement—had already developed innovative creative works that had obtained both recognition and legitimacy in the field. Because these works were accepted and canonized, they produced an opening effect that made it possible to consider using some of the musical, poetic, and even ideological concepts that the *nuevo cancionero* movement would eventually make explicit.

As for folk song's poetic elements, a kind of renewal had already been occurring in northern Argentina, especially in Salta, dating at least as far back as a group called *La Carpa* (The tent). According to Alicia Poderti, these young intellectuals, poets, narrators, and essay writers, who in 1944 banded together to publish a "bimonthly bulletin" (also called *La Carpa*), were unique because "they did not idealize the past and perceived the present as being full of conflicts, like a fragmented and chaotic reality."<sup>31</sup> With this renovating and demystifying attitude toward the past, they assumed a political position of struggle and rejected both folklorism and regionalism.<sup>32</sup> Poet Manuel J. Castilla, among others, followed these basic principles, which were similar to many of the important *nuevo cancionero* ones. Eventually, Castilla would play a major role in the renovation of folklore lyrics. Castilla's modernizing work and introduction to writing song lyrics for popular music was not just an isolated case. Other people, such as Jaime Dávalos and Hamlet Lima Quintana, would also make contributions toward creating a new poetic language in folklore, one far removed from purely decorative folkloric, gaucho, and regionalist elements. This innovation had to do with the fact that these artists were intellectuals: a good part of their innovations consisted of introducing discursive strategies associated with "cultured" poetry in song lyrics after avant-garde artists had appeared. From there they gradually positioned themselves in the field with a specific identity that made them stand out. They were "poets"—not collectors or performers, who would likely have had other views.

The important developments, however, were that this new language was accepted, that famous artists in the field (Los Chalchaleros, Los Fronterizos, etc.) recorded these new songs, and that these works existed alongside more traditional ones written in the classic paradigm vein. For these reasons, it can be said that a change began to occur in the expressive conditions within the field, and that new discursive strategies and forms of expression therefore became possible. Because the potential of these new possibilities was so great, when the *nuevo cancionero* movement's manifesto set forth its aesthetic and ideological principles, some of these artists joined the movement.

Musically speaking, something similar happened. Starting in the 1940s, musicians like Eduardo Falú and Ariel Ramírez had already been renovating musical composition, performance, and arrangements. This musical renovation was also connected to the academic training these musicians had obtained; although they did not use a decidedly avant-garde approach, they added stylistic elements taken from art music. What interests me here is that possessing this specific cultural capital allowed these musicians to add sounds, arrangements, genres, and instrumentation that expanded the limits of the field. This expansion, which took place around the time the *nuevo cancionero* movement appeared, produced some works that were accepted in the field and unanimously praised because they were considered to have reached maturity and the height of folklore. This is what happened with the album *Coronación del folklore* (Coronation of folklore, 1963), on which Ariel Ramírez's orchestra, Eduardo Falú, and Los Fronterizos performed together; *Romance por la muerte de Juan Lavalle* (Romance for the death of Juan Lavalle, 1965) by Falú and Ernesto Sábato; and above all, *La Misa Criolla* (The creole mass, 1964) by Ariel Ramírez. In all of these works, there was a dual purpose. The goal was to preserve folk roots and use folk music from the different regions of Argentina but at the same time to elevate and dignify that music by adding elements taken from art music, such as choral and orchestral arrangements.

At the time that the *nuevo cancionero* manifesto was launched, these musicians who had tried to elevate folk music had not only reached a privileged position in the field already, but they had also expanded its limits to the point of making audible many of the innovations that artists of the movement would eventually bring to this field of production.

#### INTELLECTUALS AND POPULAR MUSIC: AN AVANT-GARDE FOLKLORE

According to Mercedes Sosa, she discovered a new world upon arriving in Mendoza in 1957 after having married Oscar Matus: "Soon I entered an unknown world: the world of writers, sculptors, painters, and intellectuals. I was dazzled by

many of the creative, educated, and good people I met."<sup>33</sup> Antonio Di Benedetto, Carlos Alonso, Antonio Salonia, Chilean Iverna Codina, musician Tito Francia, editor Gildo D'Accursio, and many others were part of this group of intellectuals that was forming in Mendoza. A key organizer among them was Armando Tejada Gómez, a close friend of Oscar Matus. This nucleus of intellectuals would eventually be important regarding the emergence of the *nuevo cancionero* movement and would signal a new kind of connection with folklore.

Up to this point, the intellectuals who had helped to construct the field of folklore had come from nativist and traditionalist backgrounds associated with the many types of nationalism extant at the time—especially its conservative wing. As a consequence, the scientific study of folklore, a phenomenon that had appeared at the beginning of the century and had then evolved as a result of modernization, had found in these same intellectuals—many of whom were associated with the state—substantial support that had allowed for the collection and classification of folk materials.<sup>34</sup> During the 1930s and 1940s, this had led to the publication of numerous regional anthologies and songbooks as well as works written by key authors such as Carlos Vega, Félix Coluccio, and Augusto Raúl Cortazar.

During this same period and well into the 1950s, *Nativa* magazine became a place of refuge for people who since the 1920s had been fairly marginal in an intellectual field increasingly dominated by the various types of modernization and the avant-garde. According to this traditionalist view, protecting and developing native art forms was a patriotic act. Many intellectuals and ideas at the center of the classic paradigm then appeared in *Folklore* magazine from its 1961 creation and onward, thus showing that the intellectual continuity of nativism and folklore was now an established field of production.

The nucleus of intellectuals that formed in Mendoza in the years immediately preceding the appearance of the *nuevo cancionero* movement belonged to a completely different tradition called social literature, which was associated with leftist political culture. Having taken shape in Peronist times, this trend had been revitalized with the triumph of the Cuban Revolution. Some of these writers and intellectuals were later persecuted by the 1976–83 military regime, and the group of intellectuals who founded the *nuevo cancionero* was part of this tradition. In this intellectual world, the founding members of the movement discussed at length not only cultural and aesthetic problems of the time (the new novel, the new film, avant-garde aesthetics, the new place of song in the world, the opposition of elite versus popular art, etc.), but also political matters that would brand that entire generation: the fall of Peronism, Arturo Frondizi's rise to power, and the birth on the continent of a New Left influenced by the Cuban Revolution.

All of these people were part of a small group of intellectuals and artists, and it was in this world where their ideas began taking shape about the new aesthetic and

political place that popular song should occupy. In addition, this was the network of specific relations in which their works in that realm began to be known. In this intellectual circle, circumstances were ripe for accepting the group's compositions performed by the voice of Mercedes Sosa. These same ideas and compositions were also accepted by other groups of intellectuals—such as ones in Montevideo, when Matus and Sosa set up household there in 1962. In Montevideo, they managed to gain radio exposure and the support of writers and artists like Carlos Núñez and Mario Benedetti. Matus and Sosa also got the backing of the Communist Party, which they joined shortly thereafter. By that time, Tejada Gómez and many other intellectuals had joined the Communist Party, as well.

The leftist culture of these intellectuals, especially their affiliation with the Communist Party, had great importance for the kind of connection with folklore that the *nuevo cancionero* movement proposed. In fact, as of 1946 folklore studies in the Soviet Union had taken a new path that could be summed up in the following two principles: (1) Folklore is an echo of the past but also expresses the present condition of the “popular” sectors. (2) Folklore has been and still is an arm of the proletariat in class struggles.<sup>35</sup> These concepts, which were associated with the basic ideas of the *nuevo cancionero* and clashed with the dominant “tradition” of the classic paradigm, were evident in all of the various offshoots of *nueva canción* [lit. new song, collective term for the folk-inspired protest music movements that emerged in multiple parts of Latin America] that appeared on the continent during those years and were supported by leftist intellectuals.

The acceptance of this aesthetic concept linked to popular song by circles of intellectuals explains why the *nuevo cancionero* movement was introduced by means of a manifesto. It also explains the avant-garde way used to present the movement's aesthetic and political principles. Considering how the people who would later found the movement started out, it is understandable why they decided to make a break with the classic paradigm: so as to eventually shed their marginal status in the field. They succeeded in introducing debate, pressuring artists into adopting a position, and, importantly, dividing the public along aesthetic and ideological criteria.

#### THE POLITICIZATION OF DISCOURSE

What I have written up to this point is insufficient to explain how the movement developed, its progressive legitimization in the field of folklore, the coming-aboard of many artists, or, most importantly, their blockbuster success and international influence. In order to give a proper explanation, it is necessary to link this issue to some aspects of the social process that developed in Argentina after the fall of Peronism. Although an exhaustive analysis of the matter is beyond the scope of this chapter, I briefly outline its main features.

A. On one hand, from the time that President Juan Perón was overthrown [1955], the various governments that followed him until the mid-1960s suffered from a great crisis of legitimacy. The banning of Peronism resulted in a number of attempts to fill this void, all of which failed. This internal situation along with the Cuban Revolution's success and influence made possible the birth of a New Left that would have major importance all over the continent. Given these circumstances and the remaining Latin American dictatorships, some union and student groups became radicalized especially after 1966, and the critical, sometimes revolutionary, discourse of the Left kept expanding near the end of the decade.<sup>36</sup>

B. Moreover, in various parts of the world, including Latin America, popular song began to be revalued and conceived of as a vehicle for social change. A phenomenon called *Nueva Canción* then developed in Chile, Uruguay, Brazil, Cuba, France, and other European countries. An important occurrence related to this process was how Bob Dylan and Joan Baez had first changed rock music, followed by the Beatles. Using song as a vehicle of change became associated with the emerging youth phenomenon as a social identity and as a means of transformation; it was precisely in this period that the seeds of the Argentine rock movement were sown. The idea of youth being transformative, both aesthetically and politically speaking, ran through the entire *nueva canción* phenomenon and was a key aspect of the *nuevo cancionero* movement.

These briefly outlined traits of the Argentine social process between the middle and the end of the 1960s are key in helping us to understand the role that artists who followed *nuevo cancionero* principles played in symbolic struggles—battles that became more aggressive beginning in the early 1970s until 1976. Taking these characteristics into consideration, it is also understandable why this movement was broken up [desarticulado] during the 1976–83 military dictatorship by means of persecution and exile.

#### Notes

1. Claudio Díaz, “Condiciones sociales y estrategias enunciativas en las canciones de Teresa Parodi,” in *Lugares del decir: competencia social y estrategias discursivas*, ed. Danuta Teresa Mozejo and Ricardo Lionel (Rosario: Homo Sapiens, 2002), 211–39.
2. Editors' note: To develop his notion of paradigm, the author draws on the works of Tomas Kuhn, *La estructura de las revoluciones científicas* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1971), and Marc Angenot, *Interdiscursividades: de hegemonías y disidencias* (Córdoba: Editorial Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 1998).
3. Liliana Clement, “Folklore: una disciplina científica. Algunos fundamentos epistemológicos,” *Revista de investigaciones folklóricas* 17 (2002), 47–54.
4. Gabriel Ábalos, “Para una ontología simbólica de las tradiciones,” paper presented at the Primer Congreso Universitario de Folklore (First University Conference on Folklore) (Córdoba, 2003).

5. Raymond Williams, *Marxismo y literatura* (Barcelona: Península, 1980; originally published in 1977, *Marxism and Literature*), 137.

6. Argentina's "centennial" took place in 1910, commemorating the founding of Argentina on May 25, 1810, during the May Revolution. At that time there was a lot of debate and reflection about the nation, and in that context the first texts having to do with "cultural nationalism" appeared, among them *El payador* (The gaucho minstrel) by Leopoldo Lugones; *La historia de la literatura argentina* (The history of Argentine literature) and *La restauración nacionalista* (The nationalist restoration) by Ricardo Rojas. These authors and books were influential in the formation of the classic paradigm of folklore.

7. Augusto Raúl Cortazar, who was a professor at the Universidad de Buenos Aires (University of Buenos Aires) and the Pontificia Universidad Católica Argentina (Pontifical Catholic University of Argentina), was one of the most important academic folklorists in Argentina. The Instituto Nacional de Musicología (National Musicology Institute) in Buenos Aires is named after Carlos Vega, one of the best-known and earliest ethnomusicologists in Argentina. Félix Coluccio was an Argentine researcher and prolific author of numerous books having to do with folklore. One of his best-known books was *Diccionario folklórico argentino* (1948, Dictionary of Argentine folklore).

8. The issue of "origin" is especially important in connection with "selective tradition." Michael Foucault, "Nietzsche, la genealogía, la historia," in *Microfísica del poder* (Madrid: Ediciones de La Piqueta, 1992 [1971]), drawing on Nietzsche's ideas, has shown the effects of power inherent in a proposed "origin." This is the total opposite of a theological view of history.

9. Claudio Monti and Adrián Weissberg, "Construcción de la imagen gauchesca: un enfoque cultural, escrito, filmado y encuestado," paper presented at the Primer Congreso Universitario de Folklore (Córdoba, 2003).

10. Translator's note: A *pago* is the place where a person is from, his or her home territory, and where he or she has (idealized) roots.

11. Although this is not the place to focus on it, the matter of indigenous roots in folklore is especially interesting since the greater part of the work of collectors and folklorists consisted of a policy of "rescuing" native culture. Not only that, this happened only twenty to thirty years after the nation had adopted a policy of exterminating indigenous peoples. For these reasons, the Indian's place in folklore has always been ambiguous. On one hand, there were a number of attempts to legitimate the Indian in the vein of Ricardo Rojas's *Eurindia* (1924). On the other hand, starting from the time that the gaucho was turned into a key symbol, the Indian continued to appear in many songs as an enemy or undervalued being. Generally speaking, the "rescuing" mentioned above was accompanied by idealization.

12. *Martín Fierro*, by Argentine author José Hernández, is an epic poem that Argentine national identity was based upon. The poem was originally published in two parts: *El gaucho Martín Fierro* (1872) and *La vuelta de Martín Fierro* (1879). In these two poems, Hernández sympathized with the plight of the gaucho, who was unjustly driven from his rural environment and forced to adapt to urban ways, which he did reluctantly. Hernández portrayed Martín Fierro as a *payador*: a gaucho musician who improvised and sang verses in song "duels" with other *payadores* accompanied by guitar.

13. Drafted by Armando Tejada Gómez, the manifesto (hereafter "Manifiesto 1963") was published on February 11, 1963, in *Los Andes* [The Andes, a newspaper from Mendoza]. The head of Arts and Entertainment at *Los Andes* was Antonio Di Benedetto. On that same day, the movement was also presented at an artistic event at the Salón del Círculo de Periodistas (Meeting of the Journalists' Circle). Besides the artists who signed the manifesto at that time, Víctor Heredia, Marian Fariás Gómez, Ramón Ayala, Los Trovadores, the Cuarteto Zupay, the Dúo Salteño, Horacio Guarany, Hamlet Lima Quintana, and others joined the movement later on.

14. Williams, *Marxismo y literatura*.

15. "Manifiesto del nuevo cancionero," Página Oficial: Armando Tejada Gómez, [www.tejadagomez.com.ar](http://www.tejadagomez.com.ar), accessed October 30, 2015.

16. Ibid.

17. This refers to the commodification and commercialization of tango.

18. "Manifiesto 1963."

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Armado Tejada Gómez, album text, *Mercedes Sosa: canciones con fundamento* (Buenos Aires: Producciones Matus, 1965).

22. In the jungle of Misiones Province, a *cachapecero* is a person who drives a *cachapé*, a cart pulled by oxen and used to drag trunks from sawmills and timberyards to the riverbank, where they are sent downstream on a raft—a practice still very common in the 1960s.

23. Miguel Smirnoff, album text, *Cuarteto Zupay: folklore sin mirar atrás*, vol. 2 (Buenos Aires: Trova, 1968).

24. "Manifiesto 1963."

25. It is interesting to see that "Plegaria a un labrador" by Víctor Jara was part of the *Nuevo Cancionero* repertory. This particular song was an anthem of Chilean *nueva canción* [a similar folk music-inspired protest music movement that emerged in Chile in the 1960s]. Jara, a leader and singer of this movement, was assassinated right after the 1973 Chilean military coup.

26. "Manifiesto 1963."

27. Ibid.

28. Quoted in Rodolfo Braceli, *Mercedes Sosa: La Negra* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 2003), 96.

29. "Manifiesto 1963."

30. For a more detailed analysis of the concept of "place," see the works of Ricardo Corta and Danuta Teresa Mozejko, "Producción discursiva: diversidad de sujetos," in *Lugares del decir: competencia social y estrategias discursivas*, ed. Danuta Teresa Mozejko and Ricardo Lionel (Rosario: Homo Sapiens, 2002), 9–42.

31. Alicia Poderti, *La narrativa del noroeste argentino* (Salta: Editorial Milor, 2000).

32. Ibid.

33. Mercedes Sosa quoted in Braceli, *Mercedes Sosa*, 93.

34. For a discussion regarding the development of the scientific study of folklore, see Ricardo Kaliman, "El 'provinciano cantor': definiciones del pueblo en las letras del folklore

argentino moderno," *Sociocriticism* 42, no. 1–2 (2002), 169–77; Carlos Vega, *La ciencia del folklore* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Nova, 1960).

35. Richard M. Dorson, "Teorías folklóricas actuales," in *Introducción al folklore*, ed. Robert Redfield, Guillermo E. Magrassi, and Manuel M. Rocca (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1991), 91–139.

36. María Matilde Ollier, *El fenómeno insurreccional y la cultura política, 1969–1973* (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1986).

## 11

## Timba, Rumba, and "Appropriation from the Inside"

IÑIGO SÁNCHEZ FUARROS

All of the sophisticated Blacks  
Have gotten together  
And we have decided  
To not play any more rumba.

—Free Hole Negro, "Superfinos negros,"  
from the album *Habana Blues B.S.O.*

The early 1990s were an especially precarious time for the Cuban people. Overnight, the country woke up to scarcity—empty shelves in stores and a population united by their confusion. It was the beginning of an uncertain epoch euphemistically christened the Special Period. The dissolution of the Soviet Union and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon)—the island's principal markets and providers—combined with Cuba's ineffective economic structure and the continuation of the U.S. embargo to create Cuba's greatest crisis of the twentieth century.

In terms of everyday life, the crisis involved a considerable reduction in the material prosperity and purchasing power of the Cuban people. In subjective terms, the repercussions were declared by a Cuban woman about the beginning of the Special Period: "There [was] nothing. Nothing. Do you understand?"<sup>1</sup> Power outages, drastic reductions in public transportation, food shortages, and runaway inflation pushed the public to its limits. Due to the gravity of the situation, the Cuban government was forced to undertake certain reforms in 1993. Generally

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