POPULAR TRADITION AND LITERATURE:

THE NARRATIVE OF ERACLIO ZEPEDA

*Norma Rosa García Mainen**

TRIBUTE

I hope that this conference and the research I conducted on the great Mexican writer Eraclio Zepeda serve as a homage of genuine respect and affection to him, the studious and disciplined thinker, the tireless traveler, the masterful recreator of Chiapanecan, Mexican, and Latin American realities. He is the creator of a new literary language that captures profound sensibility, giving voice to the popular classes with whom he identifies. Most importantly, this is a tribute to his tireless defense of peace and justice. A defense carried out not only with weapons in hand but also through the powerful tools of his spoken and written words.

INTRODUCTION

The text of this conference is organized as follows:

First, a brief theoretical framework comprised of excerpts from the works of popular culture writers. Among these writers are Adolfo Colombres, Amílcar Cabral, Rodolfo Stavenhagen, Mario Margulis, Mark Münzel, Eugenia Revueltas, Juan Manuel Marcos, and Emilio Fuego. Although they are not explicitly cited, it is important to mention others whose ideas and works inspired this study: Eduardo Galeano, Frantz Fanon, Paulo Freire, Ángel Rama, Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, and Leónel Durán.

The second part consists of an analysis of the tales *Benzulul* and *La Cañada del Principio*.

For the analysis of the tale ***De la Marimba al Sol*****,** I use as a reference an article published in ***Tradiciones de Guatemala No. 27***, whose presentation has served as the foundation for this conference.

- Text of the conference about the topic in the center of Folk studies, June 23, 1987

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CULTURE

Culture is a historical and social product that is, the result of an accumulative and selective process that unfolds over time. It is shaped by a specific society, not by an individual alone.

The fundamental characteristic of culture is its intimate connection, dependence, and reciprocity with economic realities, social environments, the level of productive forces, and the mode of production that the society has developed.

As the result of historical events, culture reflects at every moment the material and spiritual realities of society, of humanity, both as individuals and as social beings facing conflicts between nature and the imperatives of communal life. Thus, culture, as the creation of society, embodies the synthesis of balances and solutions generated by that society to resolve the conflicts defining each historical stage. It is a social reality independent of individual will, skin color, or physical traits.

Every social group has the capacity to develop culture. Every social class and human community can generate systems of response to their needs and to the socio-economic conditions in which they exist.

MASS CULTURE

In contemporary society, a particular sector controls the powerful means of production and dissemination of cultural products. Technology has placed at their disposal media with tremendous reach and effectiveness, such as television,

1. Stavenhagen, Rodolfo Et Al. **La Cultura Popular.** Ed. SEP. and Premia Editores, México 1983. Page 111.
2. Cabral, Amilcar, "*La Cultura Nacional y la Liberación*". ***Cultura y Resistencia Cultural. Hilda Varela Barraza. Ed. SEP*.,** Mexico, 1985. Pages 60-61.
3. Stavenhagen, (1983), pages 41-62.

radio, cinema, and education, able to occupy the most part of the communicational space, catch and persuade individuals and their families.

The mass media of communication spread habits, customs, merchandise and opinions, songs and identification models, cultural and ideological codes.

Mass culture implies a qualitative change in the way cultural products are created: "**THEY ARE NO LONGER PRODUCTS OF THE DIRECT INTERACTION OF HUMAN GROUPS.**"

One of its principal characteristics is its power of diffusion, which is fast and massive in contrast to the previous slow and generally limited forms of diffusion.

Culture products thus manufactured take the form of "merchandise" and participate in its characteristics; their use value consists mainly in their contribution to the production and reproduction of the system.

POPULAR CULTURE

In opposition to "culture" fabricated in those conditions, an instrument of domination and colonization, there is a different process of manufacturing culture, carried out by the subaltern classes based on their direct interaction and in response to their needs, which is called popular culture.

Popular culture, or culture of the subaltern classes, manufactured by themselves, lacks technical means. Their producers and consumers are the same individuals: CREATE AND PRACTICE THEIR CULTURE.

Culture is not to be sold but to be used. It responds to the needs of popular groups.

Adolfo highlights the fact that culture is an accurate reflection of social reality, including all of its inherent contradictions.

In Latin America, in addition of social classes and external cultural penetration, ethnic minorities are oppressed by the so-called national society. So that no theory of culture can start from generic concepts, undifferentiated, by appealing to a synthesis that has not yet been only partially achieved and which requires numerous clarifications.

If the roots of Latin America are diverse, (the indigenous civilizations

the peninsular conquerors, the contingents of black slaves, foreign immigrations) the term “mestizo continent” is justified because it responds to the characteristics of the people and cultures that populate it, and this is reflected in its literature.

The great Mexican writer Eraclio Zepeda whose stories will be analyzed below, recreate that complex culture reality in his extraordinary narrative.

ORAL TRADITION AND POPULAR TALE

Mark Münzel alludes to fundamental aspects of the Amerindian literature, which points to an oral tradition that is rarely written down. Only some American cultures (in the regions of Mexico, Guatemala, and Honduras) know writing in Pre-Columbian times, and perhaps the Incas. The exceptional cultures that writing, reserved this art for statistical and chronological computation rather than for the expression of ideas and interpretation of feelings. The dominant European civilization failed to confer on these cultures the graciousness that it brought. On the contrary, the few cultures that knew writing lost the habit of being written.

When the indigenous tried to write again, they made in graphics and foreign languages, that is, immersed in European culture and forgetting their own culture, with honorable exceptions.

The difference between written literature and oral literature is profound; it constitutes a whole style of cultural expression.

As an example of the phenomenon, Münzel refers to the German lieder and oral tales, now known only through their graphic reproduction. The tales of the Brothers Grimm are also already partly based on written documents interpreted orally by the storytellers. Today, these stories are part of written literature. As an example of what writing has meant culturally, the author points out: “Today we speak like a book.”

Although apparently the current media: radio, television, cinema, are returning to orality, this is not true because their orality is different; it is dictated by scripts, written or handwritten news. Books, as well as cinema, radio, and television, communicate with

4. *Münzel, Mark. “Literatura no escrita”. Suplemento Antropológico* (Vol. XVVIII, No.2, December 1983) pages 7 - 13. *Revista del Centro de Estudios Antropológicos.* Catholic university “*Nuestra señora de la Asunción*”. Paraguay.

anonymous persons, which is impossible in cultures of mere morality, whose reproduction is only feasible through transmitted memory.

In the oral culture, the poet does not sing for an anonymous public, not make poetry for an unknown reader, but for people who have in front of him and listening him.

Münzel points out that it is almost impossible for homo literis to understand indigenous orality, for which it is first necessary to understand the specifics of orality.

As an example of this, the author refers to the poetry of the Achés, a small tribe of Eastern Paraguay that today has barely a thousand members, whose poetry changes in each version that is made of it, according to the listeners. The oral culture of the Achés links the past (memory), always alive, with the oblivion that makes room for new creativity, establishing a precious balance between the preservation of tradition and creative freedom.

Münzel says that the transcription of Amerindian orature into written forms is a kind of burial, since these works will hardly find the linguistic balance, general sound and other artifices of oral poetry, but if its objectivity and correct denomination is clarified, it can better contribute to the understanding of the imaginary, expressive and mental world of the Indian.

Eugenia Revueltas, professor of the faculties of philosophy and letters of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM by its acronym in Spanish), she explain the popular tale pointed out that it has been, since first years of existence of human communities, the tool through which men have communicated their joys and fears, their relation with nature, their fear for the unknown and the complicated paths through which they have tried to establish contact with an underworld inhabited by strange beings and forces, with which relations of magnanimity or harm to man can be established. He alludes to the popular or folk tale as that in which the hero, almost always the weakest, fights against those who, in possession of power, try to annihilate him, expressing this in the triumph of good over evil, of the man of the people against the lords, the weak against the strong (all this is systematized in the work of Vladimir Propp: La morfología del cuento maravilloso).

In the case of México, the author cites, Mexican tales, which she calls mestizos, follow the patterns of the recorded Indo-European tale and

5. *REVUELTAS, EUGENIA "pesimismo y optimism en el cuento popular",* ***México indigena*****,** (No. 5 july-august 1985) pages 30-33.

analyzed by Propp, although with modifications in the variables resulting from the geographical and socio-cultural environment.

In Mexican storytelling material, we can distinguish between those belonging to the European tradition with the variants typical of the Mexican environment and those transmitted by oral tradition in the indigenous language and transcribed into Spanish, which are known as indigenous tales. In the mestizo tales, the constants of the "proppian" formalization are present, but in the indigenous tales, the functional structures undergo a series of changes that are of interest to scholars.

The most important change that can be observed is that which corresponds to the nuclei of MISTAKE OR BAD ACTION, MEDIATION AND INITIATION OF THE CONTRARY ACTION AND THOSE OF COMBAT-VICTORY that in the indigenous tales are fulfilled in an anomalous way, since generally the bad action or misdeed is not punished; the aggressor may or may not be punished, but the hero, who almost always plays the role of victim, is punished, elements with which would break the optimistic content of the tales of the Indo-European, African, and Australian folk tradition. It seems, then, that the experience of the world repeats a vital scheme in which exploitation, deceit, and cruelty are forms of daily experience that mark their imprint on the tale.

The author points out that in many of the stories with indigenous roots, man is a victim of nature, the gods or other men, while in the mestizo stories or those of the Mexican tradition, the constant theme is the drive to fight against adversity and triumph over it. Both forms, exhaustively studied, serve to rescue one of the richest parts of the Mexican cultural tradition.

ERACLIO ZEPEDA AND OLD STORYTELLERS

ON AN INTERVIEW THAT EMILIO FUEGO MADE TO ERACLIO ZEPEDA, THE EXTRAORDINARY MEXICAN WRITER EXPOSE MUCH OF THE ASPECTS OF HIS IDEAS.

As an introduction of the interview, Emilio Fuego gives some details about the life and work of the important writer originally from Chiapas, who organized and led, from 1972 to 1976, a theatrical movement in indigenous languages at the national level, integrating at that time theater groups in indigenous languages

6. *Zepeda, Eraclio. "LA HERENCIA DE LOS VIEJOS CUENTEROS*" Interview by Emilio Fuego. **México indígena.** (No. 5 july-august 1985) pages 34-38.

Tzotzil, Tojolabal, Chol, Maya, Mixtec, and Nahuatl, among others. He was also in charge of a project called "*Las repúblicas infantiles*," aimed at teaching children the fundamental principles of democracy, fraternity, and dignity. Emilio Fuego recalls how Eraclio Zepeda, during his time as an Anthropology student in Veracruz, became closely acquainted with the Huastec, Totonac, Popoloca, Popolica, and Mixe peoples. Much of that world that always surrounded him found its way first into a play he wrote at the age of 19, influenced by classical indigenous literature, and later, in the late 1950s, into “Benzulul”, a collection of short tales that unveils a disconcerting indigenous world.

The interview, conducted 25 years after Benzulul won the National Literature Prize, allows the author to reflect on his literary work and the presence of Mexico's Indigenous peoples in his daily life.

Zepeda explained that when writing “Benzulul”, he did not aim to create indigenist literature. His characters were Indigenous people because they were the ones who inhabited the world he lived in, a world he knew, loved, and sought to understand. For this reason, he always spoke of "us" rather than "them." The catastrophic situation of the Indigenous communities in Chiapas had no outlook beyond struggle, misfortune, and death. This is why death became the unifying theme of the stories in “Benzulul”. However, the panorama he recently encountered in the territory of “Benzulul” is very different, where the constant struggle of Indigenous peoples has paved the way for life and hope.

To the interviewer's important questions, Zepeda responded that his identification with Indigenous peoples is a personal experience. If Mexican literature does not currently consider Indigenous peoples a central theme, it is due to the background of the current generation of writers. There are no well-known Indigenous writers. The resurgence of Indigenous literature, rooted in oral tradition, is a phenomenon emerging in rural areas, created by Indigenous people, many of whom are well-educated and culturally knowledgeable. Within Indigenous communities, there is a clear idea: the future of Indigenous peoples will be shaped by themselves, as changes resulting from contact with other cultures will remain limited as long as agriculture and their connection to the land remain fundamental. There is also the possibility of collaboration between Indigenous storytellers and non-Indigenous writers, as well as the creation of quality translations of Indigenous languages. Zepeda specifically cited the exemplary work of anthropologist and linguist Carlo Antonio Castro in this regard. Zepeda also referred to his work defending the rights of Indigenous peoples and the influence this has had on his writing, where he incorporates the effectiveness and simplicity of the Indigenous storyteller.

Juan Manuel Marcos, (Paraguayan literary critic, with a Doctorate in philosophy from the University of Madrid and in Letters from the University of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), describes Eracio Zepeda as the best Mexican short story writer of the Postboom period. To support this assertion, he bases his opinion on the ten stories collected in the volume “Andando el tiempo”, published in Mexico by Martín Casillas Editores in 1982. With this work, Zepeda won the Xavier Villaurrutia Prize in 1982, and the edition sold out within a few months.

Among the ten stories in the previously mentioned volume, the following stand out: "*Benzulul*", which tells the story of a young orphan, chaste and timid, who believes that by adopting the name of a local cattle rustler, Encarnación Salvatierra, he will exchange his personality for the violent, womanizing, and arrogant nature of the outlaw. The elderly Nana Porfiria had assured Benzulul that "the chalel [guardian spirit] that protects you depends on your name." When Salvatierra learns of the impersonation, he tears out Benzulul's tongue. The drama lies in the atmosphere of time, simultaneously fast and still. "*Don Chico que vuela*" narrates the adventure of a peaceful citizen who spends six years practicing Swedish gymnastics and crafting wings from reed and straw mats, with the goal of launching himself to fly from the town's bell tower. However, when the moment arrives, he falls under the weight of the numerous requests—cheeses, sausages, sweets, liquors, and more—that people have asked him to deliver to heaven.

In “*palpitos del Coronel*”, a Chiapanecan colonel of the Revolution narrates his military exploits in the first person, and suddenly, in a moment of candor, he reflects, "...and I start to think what the hell am I doing here in this damn war...".

The final story, "De la marimba al son", reconstructs the historical process of Hispanic America through the history of the musical instrument. This tale is considered by Juan Manuel Marcos to be the best in the book and, from certain perspectives, the best Latin American tale ever written.

Juan Manuel Marcos refers to Juan Rulfo, José María Arguedas, and Roa Bastos as the major precursors of Eraclio Zepeda's work, also comparing him to Hemingway, Camus, Borges, Carpentier, García Márquez, Fuentes, Vargas Llosa, Ibargoyen, Giardinelli, Skármeta, and Luisa Valenzuela. He highlights, as a defining characteristic of the author and his work—something with which we are in full agreement—his veneration for the oral tales of his native region, his preference for the "truth told" over the superstition of "historical truth," his disdain for vain rhetorical artifice, his dedication as a storyteller for the masses, his generational concept of writing as a process and collective production, and his rigor in the anti-narcissistic humanity of

7 Marcos, Juan Manuel. “*EL ARTE COMPILATORIO DE ERACLIO ZEPEDA*”. **Plural** Segunda Epoca, Vol. XIII - II, (No. 146, Nov. 1983) pp. 38-41.

writer, his “sacred fury against the popes of culture,” and, finally, his aspiration for a literature “without hate,” because “the act of narrating is fundamentally an act of love.”

ANALYSIS OF “BENZULUL”

SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY

“Benzulul, a young orphan, chaste and timid, one day adopts the name of a local cattle rustler, Encarnación Salvatierra, with the absurd illusion of exchanging his own personality for the violent, womanizing, and arrogant nature of the outlaw. An elderly woman, Nana Porfiria, had assured him: “The chalel that protects you depends on your name.” When Salvatierra learns of the impersonation, he tears out Benzulul's tongue.”

The central theme is the discrimination faced by those whose names identify them as indigenous, a discrimination rooted in centuries of history and aimed at exploiting and attempting to extinguish a race and a culture. Let us examine the following examples of Benzulul's inner monologues:

"*La nana dice que uno es como los duraznos. Tenemos semilla en el centro. Es bueno cuidar la semilla. Por eso tenemos cotón y carne y hueso. Pa cuidar la semilla. "Pero lo más mejor pa cuidarla es el nombre", dice. Eso es lo más mejor. El nombre de juerza. Si tenés un nombre galán, galana es la semilla. Si tenés nombre cualquier cosa, tás fregado. Y eso es lo que más me amuela. Benzulul no sirve pa guardar semilla*". (page. 15, last paragraph.)

Referring to his father, José Rodríguez Chejel, who left long ago to work on a coffee plantation and never returned, Benzulul thinks:

"Si el tata hubiera tenido buen nombre, seguro que regresa. Pero ya dije: Benzulul, o Chejel no es garantía. Por allá se quedo con la semilla podrida. También ni nana Trinidad no tuvo buena defensa. Se murió de hambre cuando estuve preso... No tuvo nombre tampoco. Y cuando es así la semilla se seca. Algún día yo también voy a quedar con el centro hecho mierda.

Y desde siempre ha sido así. El que tiene buen nombre de ladino, nombre

8. Zepeda, Eraclio. **Benzulul.** Ed. SEP., Mexico 1984.

9. Marcos, Juan Manuel **Op. Cit.** pp. 38-40.

de razón, ese tá seguro. Ese hace lo que quiere y siempre tá content. Pero eso de llamarse Benzulul, o Tzoctzoc, o Chejel tá jodido.”

The complementary topics are:

1) The injustice of a society that produces a reversal of values: the real Encarnación Salvatierra, who does evil deeds and is respected, Martín Tzoctzoc, who never killed nor stole, and is hanged for witnessing the wickedness of Encarnación Salvatierra.

2) The superstition, as seen in the following dialogue between Benzulul and his nana Porfiria:

> “-También los muertos salen a buscar las hojas nana. Voz me los contaste.
>
> -Así es, pues. Buscan sus hojas, frescas y mojadas, pa envolver la semilla. Cuando falta el apelativo, se ponen las hojas. Así es.”

3) The magical thinking expressed by Nana Porphyria in the following dialogue:

> "-El nombre no sólo es el ruido. No sólo es un cuero de vaca que te escuende. El nombre es como un cofrecito. Guarda mucho. Tá lleno. Son espíritus que te cuidan. Da juerza. Dan Sangre. Según el nombre es el chulel que te cuida."

As explicit themes in some micro-sequences, and underlying throughout the story, are death, fear, injustice, and oppression. Of the 78 micro-sequences into which the story was divided for analysis, 30 mention death, and in all of them, death forms part of the atmosphere of the narrative, which is concentrated in the town of Tenejapa.

Throughout the story, several dialogues are interspersed:

1. Free indirect style expressed by an extradiegetic narrator:

> "El estar caminando era su vida. Juan Rodríguez Benzulul conocía de memoria todos estos rumbos. Veintidós años de marcar los pasos en esta vereda; dejar su seña en el polvo o en el lodo, según la época". (Pág. 13, Microsecuencia 2).

2. The following speech is delivered by the main character, Benzulul:

> “Cuando asomó el gobierno pa dar las tierras ya, cuanto hay, entendía

yo de veredas. Cuando en después, las volvieron a quitar, ya no había quien supuera más que yo.” (P. 13, Microsecuencia 3.)

3. Benzulul's inner monologues:

“En estos lome los hay de todo. Todo es testigo de algo. Desde que yo era de este tamaño, ya eran sabidos de ocurrencias estos lados.”(Microsecuencias 5, P.13.)

The previous speeches, referring to the natural characteristics of the place where the action occurs, achieve a “stereoscopic” illusion of it.

Each speech uses different language styles: formal, the free indirect speech of the extradiegetic narrator, and colloquial, sprinkled with idioms specific to the Chiapas region where Tenejapa is located. The central character, Benzulul, sometimes engages in dialogue with an extradiegetic narratee and other times monologues. The same colloquial language is used by the other characters in the story: Nana Porfiria, Encarnación Salvatierra, his brother Joaquín, and the bartender Chema.

In addition to the dialogues of the other characters in the tale, written in direct style, there is a collective character that expresses, through an anonymous voice, the thoughts and feelings of the people regarding the wicked Encarnación Salvatierra. After each of his arrogant displays, this voice whether from his brother Joaquín or the collective and anonymous voice embodying - the soul of the entire town- celebrates him with the following exclamations:

“Este Encarnación tan ocurrente.”

As a very important aspect, it should be noted that the racial and cultural prejudice centered on indigenous names in the story transcends life and extends to death. Even in death, the nameless -referring to those who, in life, lacked a name worthy of respect, a Ladino name, and thus lost their essence or identity as a people upon dying- must seek and wrap it in leaves collected on a moonlit night.

In this way, a social phenomenon—racial and cultural prejudice—rooted in ideas of death present in popular tradition, is used by the author to create a story that portrays the idiosyncrasy of an entire people.

The central character's false perception, based on superstition, is demonstrated in the final outcome, in which Benzulul, far from being fortunate in exchanging his indigenous name for a Ladino one, is punished with the amputation of his tongue.

Conclusion

A realistic tale. It alludes to the negative aspects of death and life present in popular tradition, which contribute to keeping a people submerged in exploitation, misery, and ignorance.

ANALYSIS OF "*LA CAÑADA DEL PRINCIPIO*"

SUMMARY OF THE TALE

A young man with no experience of war, Neófito Guerra, finds himself in the "Cañada del Principio" waiting to go into action for the first time, as part of a group rebelling against the Mexican federal army. There, he meets an old and experienced fighter, Don Augurio Paz, who advises him on how to act so he won't feel fear when the battle begins. When the battle starts, Neófito is terrified and tries to flee, but he is struck down by a bullet fired by the old man he had just met.

The central theme of this tale is cowardice, born from the fear of killing and being killed, directly related to two opposing views on life.

Neófito Guerra, who hates the federal soldiers for having killed his father, enlists with a rebel group in Tuxtla to avenge him. However, he refuses to kill, as can be seen in the following dialogue with the old man, Augurio Paz:

> "¿Sabe? la verdad es que sí tengo miedo.
>
> -te lo estoy diciendo. Pero calmate. Es cuestión de costumbre.
>
> -No. No es eso. Es que la cosa de matar a un hombre… (Microsecuencia 29, pp. 122 y 123.)

This fear of killing leads to the final outcome, when the young Neófito's scruples overcome him and he flees, leaving his rifle and cartridge belt behind.

The veteran Augurio Paz cannot bear what he considers Neófito's cowardice and shoots him in the back as he is fleeing.

10. **Op. Cit.** pp. 115-130.

As complementary themes, we have the hope for a better future and the certainty that peace can only be achieved through war, as expressed by Augurio Paz:

> "*-Nada chamaco, nada. ¿Por qué crees que andamos alzados? Creés que es por gusto que andamos correteando por la serranilla toreando los balazos? No chamaco, es porque queremos que haiga tranquilidá pa en después. Que haiga paz pa que cunda la alegría.....* (Microsecuencia 30, pages 122-123)

> "*¿Vas a pensar que si no fuera ansina, y porque tengo la seguridá que sólo a balazos podemos dejar algo pa los que van a nacer, pa que crezcan juertes y contentos, con cariño a la tierra y sin miedo a los caporales, sí no juera porque estoy en eso iba andar correteando federales? No chamaco; mejor me hubiera quedado muriendo de hambre, pero seguro, con la vieja y los hijos, allá en San Bartolomé de los Llanos."* (Microsecuencia 32, pp. 123-124)

As underlying themes throughout the story, and explicit in 26 of the 65 micro-sequences into which it was divided for analysis, fear and death emerge, for example:

> "*Neófito apuntó a uno de los oficiales; lo vio moverse en el centro de su muesca de puntería. Comprendío que la vida de aquel hombre estaba en sus manos; con sólo jalar el gatillo y todo se habría terminado para aquel oficial del gobierno. Veía todos sus ademanes. Lo fue siguiendo con el cañón por una larga parte del camino. Escogió la parte del cuerpo a la que dirigiría la bala. El plomo le romperá la mitad del pecho. De pronto, las manos volvieron a temblarle; ladeó la carabina. Cerró los ojos y el cuerpo le bailó con varias temblorinas."* (Microsecuencia 54, p. 128)

The speeches observed in this tale are as follows:

1. Free indirect style, using formal language, is expressed by a selective omniscient narrator who not only describes what is perceived but also delves into the mindset of some characters, for example:

   [Neófito] "*Pensó en su trabajo en Tuxtla. El pequeño taller de zapatería al que había ingresado como aprendiz. La tranquilidad del cuarto donde dormía se le vino a retacar en la cabeza y él la comparó a esta peña,... Volvió a palpar el recuerdo de la muerte de su padre, y un brillo le recrudeció el odio...*" (Microsecuencia 36, p. 124)

   "*El viejo Augurio se escupió las manos y se peinó el bigote. Estaba alegre. Le hubiera encantado pegar un grito para avisar que allí estaba*

él, Augurio Paz, para balacear a los federales."(Microsecuencia 40, p. 125)

2. Direct style, found in the dialogues between different characters, employs the popular language that characterizes them. For example, Neófito, referring to the federal soldiers they are waiting to ambush, says to Augurio:

"-¿Y si no caen en esta trampa, y nos corretean y nos hacen salir de pelada?

-Pos ni modo; ya pa la otra será. Nomás te cuidás la espalda y aluego te reunís pa rehacer las juerzas como dice el viejo Pineda." (Microsecuencia 33, p. 124)

When it comes to the characters, two positions can be identified: that of *Neófito* Guerra, who joins the armed struggle driven solely by his desire for revenge, but who is deeply afraid of killing and being killed; and that of Augurio Paz, who fights motivated by his ideals of eradicating evil and achieving peace for himself and his descendants. Notably, the names of both characters are deeply symbolic and perfectly represent their personalities, albeit with some contradictions:

Neófito Guerra, young and inexperienced, rejects the possibility of killing to achieve his goal of revenge, thereby rejecting the essence of his surname, *Guerra*.

In contrast to *Neófito*, *Augurio Paz* embraces war as the only viable means, consistent with his name, *Augurio*, since only through war can better times, times of peace, be foreseen, aligning with his surname.

Thus, when Neófito acts contrary to Augurio's ultimate goals, the latter decides to eliminate him, considering him an obstacle to their realization.

CONCLUSION

A realistic tale. Due to its content, deeply rooted in the current Latin American issues, it transcends the temporal scope in which it takes place. Death, present throughout the story's atmosphere, characterizes and unifies this narrative and serves as the central theme across all the stories in the volume Benzulul.

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Some reflections on the concept of popular music or popular musics in Latin America.

Ofelia Columba Déleon Meléndez

Referring extensively to popular music would require a more comprehensive, in-depth, and specialized article. The purpose of the following pages is to present essential aspects that contribute to a better understanding and, therefore, appreciation of the music of the popular classes.

It is essential to place popular music within a sociocultural context: it is part of popular culture. Similarly, just as we can speak of popular cultures, it is also possible to speak of popular musics.

Before delving into the subject of popular music and, specifically, that of Latin America, it is useful to define the term "music" in a general sense, for which numerous definitions exist. Manuel Valls Gorina conceives it as "*el sonido organizado, dotadode una carga significativa"* (Manuel Valls Gorina).

Another definition states: "*música es el arte de combiner los sonidos de modo que produzca recreo el escucharlos, conmoviendo la sensibilidad*" (Enciclopedia Universal Sopne, 1967.5863.)

Algunos autores prefieren hablar de "hecho musical", el cual se presenta como un acontecer físico, material, formado por ondas sonoras y vibraciones que se suceden. (José Peñín, 1975. 17.)

Currently, there is consensus that "musical events" exhibit differences according to the cultures in which they are produced. In this regard, John Blacking states that "*la música es una reflexión de realidades culturales*" (cited by Martha E. Davis, 1981, p. XVII). Similarly, ethnomusicologist Martha Davis points out that "*música es una reflexión de la realidad social*" (Martha Davis, Op. cit., p. vii).

María Teresa Linares states that "*todos los pueblos crean su música a partir de las formas concretas que alcanza la producción Sonora: lo sonoro dado por los distintos instrumentos o dado en los patrones que fija el canto*".

Adds that: "*la producción de lo sonoro constituye la material prima de la música*" (María Teresa Linares, 1980.73.)

According to the criteria accepted by the author of this article, in societies, particularly in Latin America, there are three types of music:

a) Academic, cultured, or classical music is the type taught in conservatories. It follows the patterns of Western civilization, and its composition requires adherence to specific rules.

The structure of this music consists of three formal elements:

- Rhythm: Defined as the succession of musical sounds, whether identical or different, and silences.

- Melody: Conceived as a sequence of sounds arranged and connected in a way that offers logical and musical meaning.

- Harmony: Teaches how to create and link chords. It can only be studied after understanding various elements such as scales, degrees, intervals, tonalities, and modalities. "Se dice que la armonía es la combinación de los sonidos afines y que resuenan simultáneamente." (Francisco M. Boburg Zetina, 1984, pp. 14-15.)

b) **Popular music**, which is created by the working or lower classes. Its composition is unrestricted. This category includes urban and rural popular music, as well as traditional popular music or musical folklore.

c) **Music for the people**, which is produced by the consumer society and disseminated through mass media such as radio, records, and television.

Alejo Carpentier notes that the hierarchy between classical or cultured music and popular music differs in Europe and Latin America. He explains that for early European classical composers, this hierarchy did not exist. These composers mastered all genres: they wrote liturgical or festive music for the church depending on the ceremony, madrigals, songs, and pastorals for the aristocracy, and tragic or comic operas as needed. They also composed dance music when requested.

They composed chaconnes, pavanes, sarabandes, minuets, and “moorish dances” (which in their time corresponded to today’s “pop music”.) Carpentier points out that composers did not consider themselves degraded if they wrote in a lighter style. He adds that the hierarchy began in Europe in the second half of the 19th century, with a preference for operettas and salon music. Wagner, for instance, identified a “difficult” music—advanced, revolutionary—and a “traditionalist” music that audiences embraced more readily because it was straightforward and easy to assimilate. However, composers of “difficult music” did not disdain those who created “easy music.”

Carpentier observes that the situation in Latin America was different. At that time, in the streets, one could hear tangos, rumbas, sones, bambucos, guarachas, boleros, and mariachis. Serious musicians from conservatories were hostile to these popular expressions, leading to a hierarchy of music that included:

a- Classical or art music

b- Semi-classical or semi-art music;

c- Popular music;

d- Vulgar music

e- Folk music

(Alejo Carpenties, 1980. 9-11)

The musicologist María Teresa Linares indicates that: “la materia prima musical hay que considerarla a partir de las expresiones estratificadas de la cultura, donde las formas de vida que se producen ubican, como ambientes sociales condicionantes, las manifestaciones concretas que adquiere la música. Frente a una música urbana culta, resultante del empleo de recursos decantados académicamente, producida para los sectores de la alta burguesía de las grandes ciudades, dueños de los medios de producción musical (y de los de difusión), queda la música producida para y por los distintos sectores de la clase dominada, cuyas formas de vida ubican una música que se estructura a partir de la materia prima que históricamente han producido las masas de la población” (María Teresa Linares. Op. Cit. p.75).

In previous articles, the classic classification used by ethnography is suggested for popular culture. Within this framework, music is placed in the realm of social culture, under the category called “social function of music,” which includes the following aspects:

Music with a social function;
related to the life cycle;
for work;
for leisure;
of a religious nature;
of protest;
of conformity.

Similarly, in this classification, popular music is placed within spiritual culture, as it considers:

- Urban popular music;

- The relationships between music and other elements:
  music and text, music and dance, music and drama;
  Music and symbolism, music and function, music and behavior, music and semiotics or semiology. (Isabel Aretz, 1975, pp. 263–282).

According to the established criteria, I will attempt to define what is understood by popular music. I consider it to be a set of musical phenomena produced within the popular classes, where it fulfills a social function. This music has emerged parallel to academic or classical music and, like other cultural phenomena, has been influenced by it and has also influenced it.

Manuel Valls Gorina believes that the notion of popular is an invention of Western culture. He considers that the concept of popular music can only exist in the minds of people belonging to cultures with an educated musical tradition, which allows them to oppose the “primary” and “rudimentary” manifestations typical of illiterate or poorly educated individuals to those that are the result of a careful and specialized mental elaboration that reflects on the purpose and meaning of each sound involved in the composition.

Valls Gorina highlights that the study of popular music emerged with Romanticism. He quotes Rosseau, who claimed that popular singing is a spontaneous creation of the pure and untainted soul of the people, who are the custodians of ethnic virtues maintained through tradition.

Finally, Valls points out that modern schools, whose main exponents are Brailoiu, Bartók, Gergely, and Davenson, tackled the difficulty of determining who constitutes the people: whether it is the rural and peasant population or the urban populace. He notes that what interested them was the social significance of their contributions. In this regard, he cites Davenson's words: “What matters is not what originated the popular song but what it has become

of it, He also mentions Béla Bartók, who considers that “variation is the key to the mystery of popular creation” (Manuel Valls Gorina, Op. Cit., pp. 135–136).

The scientific discipline that studies the “musical phenomenon” within various cultures is called ethnomusicology, which is a branch of cultural anthropology. María Esther Grebe Vicuña defines it as follows: “la variación es la clave del misterio de la creación popular” (María Esther Grebe Vicuña, 1983.3.)

Within popular music, special attention is given to folkloric or traditional popular music, characterized by being socialized -collective-, functional, anonymous, empirical, traditional, and regional (traits inherent to traditional popular culture). In Latin America, this music has developed through contributions from pre-Hispanic indigenous musical traditions, as well as African, Spanish and Portuguese influences. It differs fundamentally from other types of popular music due to its traditional and anonymous nature. Within the realm of traditional popular music, the concept of “folkloric projection” should be considered. This type of music, inspired by traditional forms, is adapted for urban sectors and other social strata (middle and upper classes). It utilizes modern technology, such as radio, television, and records, to reach broader audiences.

To determine the origins of popular music in Latin America, it is necessary to consult ethnomusicologists who have studied the topic, such as Carlos Vega, Isabel Aretz, George Foster, and Ariel Gravano. These scholars agree that this music emerged during the colonization period and was transmitted from urban elites to the popular classes. They explain the dynamic process of colonial music, describing how European court dances and songs, which were once folkloric in Spain, ascended to the court level (projection) but then returned to their origins by descending to the populace (popularization). This process transformed them back into folkloric dances. In other words, music originating from the people ascended to the elite classes but, upon arriving in Latin America, returned to its popular roots through folklorization. The scholars further argue that it was not popular music that arrived in America but cultivated (classical) music, which later became popularized. (Ariel Gravano, 1983).

As mentioned earlier, popular music encompasses various types. Independently of its classification as a genre, and although somewhat connected to traditional popular music, non-traditional popular music stands out. It serves the function of providing entertainment and leisure.

The ethnomusicologist Isabel Aretz defines the essential traits of non-traditional popular music as follows:

1. It has a known author;

2. Its musical forms are small;

3. It adheres to a rhythm;

4. A. The melody, in most cases, is independent.

She classifies it as:

A. Music developed or inspired by folklore;

B. Music of recent tradition, created by popular musicians, such as the waltz and tango;

C. Trendy music, characterized by its commercial nature.

Aretz considers that the process of creating popular music is described as follows:

1st. A well-known popular musician composes a melody, with or without accompanying lyrics. Generally, they perform it from memory, either sung with or without accompaniment, or on a harmonic instrument (e.g., bandoneón, piano, etc.).

2nd. A skilled musician transcribes it. Sometimes, they harmonize it when the composer only provides the melody. Occasionally, the composer is capable of writing it themselves.

3rd A performer and/or a popular ensemble plays and disseminates it. It is learned either by ear or from the transcription (solfa).

4th. An arranger orchestrates it, enriches its harmony, either preserving or modifying it.

5th. A performer and/or orchestra popularizes and records it.

6th. The musical creation enters the record market, generating royalties, which are collected by the composer, the arranger, the performers, and the publishing company. (Isabel Aretz, 1977, 23-26).

The same author divides non-traditional popular music into seven major groups:

1. Traditional in nature, which is not for profit and can be:

    1.1. Rooted in tradition;

    1.2. Popular in essence.

2. National and commercial in nature:

    2.1. Rooted in tradition;

    2.2. Trendy, popularized.

3. National refined in nature:

    3.1. Rooted in tradition;

    3.2. Technically refined;

    3.3. Well-arranged;

    3.4. With instrumentation.

4. Trendy and commercial: this has no connection to folklore.

5. Pseudo-folkloric: composed by "folklorists."

6. Inspired by national or foreign folklore (folkloric projection music), which develops freely.

7. Social in nature: such as protest songs.

Independently, but connected to the above, Aretz places popular music composed by academically trained musicians who work in this genre. (Isabel Aretz, 1977, Op. Cit., p. 27).

When studying the function of popular music, Aretz refers to two aspects in which the people participate:

1. As creators or composers of music:

    1.1. At a personal or family level: in this case, it serves as entertainment or fun.

    1.2. At a social level: it takes the form of serenades, songs, dances, etc.

    1.3. At a school level: in the form of songs, dances, performances.

    1.4. In the form of festivals.

2. As a music recipient, in this case, the people receive it:

2.1. Through media such as radio, television, jukeboxes, records, etc. The listener (the people) has the option to listen or not.

2.2. Musical environment: here, the listener has no choice.

2.3. Propaganda: this type of music is imposed on the people.

2.4. Through music festivals. (Isabel Aretz, 1977, Op. Cit., p. 40).

As established in the previous characterization, not all music labeled as popular has its roots in tradition or draws inspiration from it. This type of music is intended for the people, and if they accept it, it becomes popular and can eventually become folkloric if it follows the required process. Often, it does not originate from the people, but in most cases, they accept it and grant it the status of popularity.

Luis Felipe Ramón y Rivera, when discussing popular music with traditional roots, states that for it to have a local (national) or regional (Latin American) character, its creator(s) must be connected to their cultural environment. He argues that it is impossible to produce music with "local flavor" without knowing and identifying with the defining characteristics of their people. He adds that traditional-rooted popular music is the most recognized across the Americas and that it began in the 19th century, "under the auspices of a technical development: the ability to print sheet music" (Luis Felipe Ramón y Rivera, 1980 .146.)

The aforementioned Venezuelan ethnomusicologist states that with the emergence of popular music, songs and dances began circulating in elegant halls dedicated to artistic gatherings or recreational events like dances. He highlights, as a crucial factor in the production of this type of music, the inspiration drawn by composers who were in direct contact with their cultures. This gave rise to a variety of musical works reflecting the character and sentiment of Latin American communities, which, while similar, possess a distinct national identity that sets them apart, for example, *cuecas*, *marineras*, *pasillos*, waltzes, *sones*, and others.

Ramón y Rivera also discusses the current stage, in which popular artists are overwhelmed and influenced by foreign trends, resulting in the production of music disconnected from national traditions. In this stage, popular preferences also shift toward different directions.

Ramón y Rivera describes the most internationally recognized musical styles from Latin American countries, starting from the mid

19th century. Their dissemination was made possible through printed sheet music and records. These styles include:

Argentina-Uruguay: *Pericón*, *milonga*, *tango*, waltz;
Chile: *Cueca*, *tonada*;
Peru: *Marinera*, *huayno*, *pasacalle*, waltz;
Bolivia: *Cueca*, *huayno*, *pasacalle*;
Ecuador: *Sanjuanito*, *pasillo*;
Paraguay: *Polca*, *chamamé*, *chopí*;
Brazil: *Lundú*, *batuque*, *samba*, *modiña*;
Colombia: Waltz, *pasillo*, *bambuco*;
Venezuela: Waltz, *joropo*;
Panama: *Tamborito*;
Central America: Waltz, *pasillo*, *son*;
Mexico: *Corrido*, *huapango*, *son*;
Dominican Republic: *Merengue*;
Cuba: *Criolla*, *danza*, *danzón*, *guajira*, *guaracha*, *rumba*, *son*;
Puerto Rico: *Décima*, *plena*, *son*;
Other Antilles: *Calypso*.

The above indicates that each country contributes two or more musical styles, rooted in its folk, to the Latin American repertoire.

Finally, Ramón y Rivera notes that Latin American popular music adopts and develops European musical forms, occasionally blending them with local traits. Only a few styles, such as *huayno*, *carnaval*, and *Sanjuanito*, retain indigenous characteristics. He points out that the rest of the melodies and songs, despite having American names, are essentially copies of European models.

In the specific case of Guatemala, experts such as *Enrique Anleu Díaz*, *Jesús Castillo*, and *Ernesto Chinchilla Aguilar* affirm that "melodic fragments" of pre-Hispanic music endure within the traditional popular music of indigenous ethnic groups. Jesús Castillo believes this is particularly evident in pieces played on the *tzijolaj* (a flute made from reed cane, with a straight mouthpiece and three or four holes) and in the so-called “*aires rabinaleros”* (Jesús Castillo, 1924, pp. 91-95).

Ramón y Rivera further states that in Latin America, European-style popular music blends with other styles characterized by African rhythms, such as rumba in the north and samba in the south. He also highlights the popularity of the Argentine tango, which peaked in the 1920s. Despite the enduring presence of the waltz as a dance and the *corrido* as a song, he notes that in the early decades of the 20th century, binary rhythm dance music gained prominence.

This includes all the rhythms of African origin.

The cited researcher presents a list of musical pieces predominant in the first decade of the century, along with their respective time signatures:

In 3 x 4 time; waltz, *mazurka* (ranchera.)

In 2 x 4 and 6 x 8 time: *Contradanza*, *danza (habanera)*, polka, schottische.

Ramón y Rivera notes that starting from the first decade of the present century, the repertoire expands with new local pieces and others arriving from Europe and the United States. Their dissemination is significantly increased through records, particularly for dance music. He provides the following chart:

In 3 x 4 time: Watlz, *mazurka (ranchera), corridor*.

In 2 x 4 time: *Polka*, *rumba*, *merengue*, *samba*, *milonga*, *tango*, *pasodoble*, *foxtrot*.

(Luis Felipe Ramón y Rivera, 1980, Op. cit., pp. 146–149)

Manuel Valls Gorina, in his discussion of popular music, points out a type of music that does not originate from the people but is intended for them. Due to its acceptance among the working classes, it acquires a "popular" character, specifically referring to “urban popular songs.” He identifies two distinct types of these songs; the first type, which becomes popular due to its qualities and transcends borders. It is not tied to a specific urban nucleus, such as the songs of Bing Crosby and Frank Sinatra. For Latin America, I would add the songs of Hispanic singers like Julio Iglesias and Camilo Sesto.

The second type, consisting of songs that become popular and thrive in specific cities, to which they remain closely connected. From these cities, their popularity spreads to other cities and countries. Examples include the *tango*, *fado*, and schottische, whose popularity initially emerges in major cities like *Buenos Aires*, Lisbon, Madrid, and Paris. These songs become faithful representations of their city's popular spirit and, without losing their identity, transcend borders to gain international acclaim. (Manuel Valls Gorina, Op. cit., pp. 143–144)

In the particular case of Latin America, I believe that the second type of urban popular music also includes, alongside Argentine tango, Mexican songs (especially the ranchera), bambuco, and

The Colombian *cumbia* and Caribbean music (particularly Dominican and Cuban styles like *merengue*, *danzón*, and *rumba*) also fall into this category.

María Teresa Linares, when discussing urban popular music, notes that it is characterized by the cosmopolitan elements it incorporates, aligning it with current trends imposed by capitalist centers. She points out that, initially, urban music incorporated elements from Italian opera, romantic Italian songs, French romanza, and Spanish couplet. Later, it was influenced by movie soundtracks, records, the hit parade, and other mass media channels. Composers were compelled to select materials that allowed them to replicate the styles arriving from abroad while also simplifying elements from their own countries' musical traditions. As a result, music underwent a process of homogenization, losing distinct national features, as materials had to be quickly adapted and produced to meet commercial demand.

Linares also highlights a peculiar phenomenon from the 1950s: while European and North American artists were adopting Latin American rhythms to create innovative music, Latin American composers were influenced by superficial music arriving via records, which was marketed as "national music" and resembled what record companies were selling. She cites an example where Cuban composer Rafael Ortiz's rights to the conga "*Uno, dos, tres*" were ignored, while Xavier Cugat gained fame and fortune with an orchestral arrangement of the same conga under the title "One, Two, Three, Quick!" (María Teresa Linares, Op. cit., p. 83).

As mentioned earlier, the Latin American popular music that has achieved the widest dissemination both within the continent and internationally includes Argentine tango, Mexican songs (especially the *ranchera*), Colombian *bambuco* and *cumbia*, and Caribbean music Cuban and Dominican styles. However, despite Latin America's immense musical richness, not all its music is well known, even within the region itself. For instance, who knows that guarimba is a popular musical rhythm from Guatemala? This widespread lack of awareness of Latin America's contributions to popular music is primarily due to the absence of effective cultural policies.

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HANDICRAFTS AND DANCES APPLIED TO PRIMARY EDUCATION IN GUATEMALA CITY

Research and application report on popular culture in urban primary schools in Guatemala City.

*Carlos René García Escobar**

Part 1: DANCES

As a result of financial aid received from abroad, a few years ago a cultural, educational, and physical and mental health development program was established in one of the peripheral neighborhoods of the urban complex of Guatemala City. This neighborhood, *La Florida*, was formed 35 years ago and is the oldest in its municipal sector, making up the populous *Zona 19* of the capital city.

This program is part of what are commonly referred to as "NGOs" (Non-Governmental Organizations) dedicated to the comprehensive development of the Guatemalan people. Its name reflects its mission: “Society for the Youth of Tomorrow in Guatemala” (SOJUGMA by its acronym in Spanish), headquartered at 1a. Calle 7-33, Zona 19, in the aforementioned neighborhood.

As with any organizational structure, this program manages and oversees various subprograms to ensure the effective implementation of its activities, which, as mentioned, are aimed at the comprehensive development of our population.

One of these subprograms, established just three years ago, focuses on the educational development of underprivileged children living not only in the neighborhood *La Florida* but also in adjacent marginalized neighborhoods and communities. These children, according to prior surveys and research, have migrated with their parents from rural areas, specifically municipalities such as *Chuarrancho*, *San Raymundo*, and even from the department of *Chimaltenango*, including towns like *Patzún*. This migration was driven partly by

- The author assumes responsibility for the style of this work.

violence and the dire living conditions prevalent in those areas.

In alignment with the goals and objectives outlined by the Society for the Guatemalan youth of tomorrow (SOJUGMA by its acronym in Spanish) program, an educational institution was established to provide early childhood and urban primary education. Named the "*Centro Educativo Integral TIJOBAL*", it has been serving this child population and their families with educational and health services since May 1, 1985.

A core component of these services focuses on cultural development. Recognizing the urgent needs for physical and mental recovery in these children, every effort has been made to provide them with a healthy, recreational, and hygienic environment. This approach has prepared them to engage in cultural learning. As part of this initiative, Lic. Carlos R. García Escobar, a researcher at the Center for Folk Studies (CEFOL by its acronym in Spanish), applied his findings to help these children become effective custodians and transmitters of the popular cultural phenomena studied.

At the "*Centro Educativo Integral TIJOBAL*", under the direction of pedagogue Thelma Leticia Pérez Ambrosio, various projects are implemented by the teaching staff. These include the Family Project, the Health and Hygiene Project, the Workshops and Training Project, the Library Project, the Recreation Project, the Communication Project (Educational Bulletin and Internal Radio Broadcasting), and the Popular Culture Project.

The Popular Culture Project, led by Professor Ruth Salazar Henríquez de García, was tasked with organizing, coordinating, and implementing these cultural phenomena. The first cultural phenomenon to be addressed was the well-known "*Baile de Toritos"* (Dance of the Little Bulls), a dance previously researched by the author and documented in a comprehensive monograph published by CEFOL based on collective research.

PROCEDURE

Professor Salazar Henríquez began by selecting students who would focus on practicing the dance, as well as those with a natural inclination toward learning to play the marimba. Prior to this, the "*Centro Educativo Integral TIJOBAL*" had acquired a double marimba for its Music Education program, aiming to enable students to directly engage with

1. *Véase Historia, Etnografía y Apliaciones del Baile de Toritos. Fiestas y bailes de santo domingo Xenacoj, Sacatepéquez,* Guatemala. Bulletin of "*La Tradición Popular"* Nos. 44 - 45 of the Center of Folk Studies of the San Carlos University.

the national instrument, helping them identify with its music and learn how to play it.

After selecting students from the fifth and sixth grades of primary school, along with some from fourth and third grades, researcher García Escobar introduced himself to the students to get to know them and discuss some important elements to consider. Anthropologically speaking, there are many details about the traditional dance that they need to understand to avoid distorting and trivializing serious matters, such as the use of the costume and mask, learning the dance movements, and understanding the historical aspects of its origin and development over time.

Therefore, the students were instructed on the proper respect with which these elements should be treated, including the use of the costume and mask, the practice of dance movements, the music, and the responsibility of caring for all the dance-related tools and accessories (such as musical instruments like the *marimba* and *chinchines*, swords, scarves, and masks, among others).

Psychologically prepared and pedagogically instructed on historical aspects, the students were ready to practice the dance during rehearsals, which, as the informed reader might guess, was the activity they were eagerly awaiting.

Thus, rehearsals began using the diagrams published in the bulletin “La Tradición Popular del CEFOL” (issues 44–45), designed by the author for this purpose. By this point, the marimba players had already rehearsed the tune called “*La Recogida*”, which had been pre-recorded for this specific purpose. “*La Recogida*” is the second dance performed in the adult version of the dance, and its tune was the one the students learned to accompany the entire folkloric projection dance they prepared.

The author initially demonstrated the movements that the students needed to learn, which were organized as follows:

1. Dance of Transition: In the folkloric projection, this serves as the entry dance onto the stage, and in traditional practice, it accompanies processions and the movement from one location to another.

2. Dance of “*La Recogida.*”

3. Recitations or Dialogues

4. “*Danza de La corrida de toros.*”

5. Dance of *La Recogida* (Final).

6. Farewell Recitations or Dialogues.

7. Dance of Transition: To exit the stage.

Music: The tune *La Recogida*.

Duration: Approximately forty minutes.

Two rehearsals were conducted, during which the children successfully mastered the steps and movements of the dance. The only remaining challenge was practicing with the costume and mask, as this is more difficult and requires additional practice. Nevertheless, they managed to perform efficiently.

ABOUT THE COSTUMES

The mentioned bulletin suggests forms and methods for making the costumes for the "*Baile de Toritos"* for educational purposes in schools. However, given the author's knowledge of the country's *morerías* (traditional costume workshops) and his friendship with *morero* (costume maker) Don Simeón Alcor of Sumpango, Sacatepéquez, members of the teaching and administrative staff of the "*Centro Educativo Integral TIJOBAL"*, along with the author, decided to visit him to negotiate the purchase of either pre-made or new costumes.

The bargaining over the costumes lasted the entire morning. The condition of the costumes was assessed, and efforts were made to select smaller ones to better fit the children. New costumes were required for the butler, *caporal*, and *negros*. Additionally, a new costume for the monkey was created. By the end of the morning, the morero and the buyers reached an agreement to complete the purchase for 1,200 quetzales, which included both costumes and masks. The costumes included:

Two Napoleonic hats
Four tricorn hats
Two Moorish caps
Eight wigs
Four military jackets
Six breastplates
Two red pants and two black pants
Six baggy pants
Four cowboy capes and two bull capes
Ten masks: two for *patrones*, two for *caporales negros*, four for cowboys, and two for bulls

(The mico costume was made by the subproject of the Sewing and Dressmaking workshops at the institution).

These preparations -organization, rehearsals, costume purchase, and providing information to the children- were carried out during the months of June, July, and August in anticipation of their first performance at the II Festival of Guatemalan Popular Traditions, organized by SOJUGMA on September 10 and 11, 1986, with the technical assistance of the Center for Folklore Studies.

From the Sixth grade of primary school:
In the dance:

Luis Alfonso Hernández	Butler
José Alejandro Marroquín Ramírez	*Caporal*
Ervin Leonardo Godoy Quintana	First *negro*
Edwin Estuardo Dávila	Principal
Danilo Estuardo Palencia Estrada	First bull

In the *marimba*:

Sergio Giovanny Rodríguez

From the Fifth grade of primary school:
In the dance:

César Chamalé Martinez	Cowboy

In the *marimba*:

Marlon Esteban López
Bayron Miguel García Morales
Alejandro Orozco

From Fourth grade of primary school:
In the dance:

Jorge Valdemar López Mérida	Cowboy
Walter Alfredo Mazariegos	Second *negro*

From Third grade of primary school:

Juan Carlos Poroj Palencia	Monkey
Juan José Orozco Colindres	second bull
Mardoqueo Xajap Gómez	Cowboy

From Second grade of primary school:

Answer Idy Hernández López	Cowboy

Public Narrator:

Milton Castellanos

In total: 17 students

PART TWO: THE ARTS AND POPULAR HANDICRAFTS

The "*Centro Educativo Integral TIJOBAL*", aware of the need to make changes to the current curriculum since it does not align with the reality faced by underprivileged Guatemalan children, has introduced additional programs coordinated by Pedagogy Specialist Licda. Thelma L. Pérez Ambrosio. These programs include Health, Parents, Sewing and Dressmaking, Communication, Recreation, and the Library, each led by a teacher from the institution. Another of these programs is titled Traditional Popular Culture, which supports various subjects and involves not only students but also parents and community members in its educational activities. One of the most significant events of this program was the First Exhibition and Sale of Popular Arts and Handicrafts from La Florida neighborhood and neighboring communities.

Students from the sixth grade of primary school participated in this activity with the support of their guiding teacher and the full teaching and administrative staff of the institution, under the guidance of Lic. Carlos René García Escobar, a researcher at the Center for Folklore Studies at the University of San Carlos of Guatemala.

The activity began on February 2, 1987, with a theoretical course on Popular Handicrafts that lasted one month and was taught to all sixth-grade students. This was followed by a visit to the local market in the neighborhood to identify popular handicrafts. Subsequently, the students conducted investigations to determine who the artisans in the neighborhood were. It is worth noting that La Florida neighborhood, located in Zone 19 on the western side of Guatemala City, is predominantly inhabited by rural migrants. It serves as a gathering place for people from various regions of the country. Within many of these homes, there are handicrafts in danger of extinction, as these rural inhabitants, upon migrating to the city, often abandon their artisanal practices in favor of other means of livelihood. This situation was confirmed through data collected by the students during their research. Their findings revealed the surprising fact that a large majority of residents were artisans who had transitioned from their traditional crafts to other activities.

To identify the popular artisans, the following

approach was taken: Each of the children interviewed at least five of their neighbors, filling out surveys prepared in previous classes to investigate what handicrafts they practiced. Subsequently, the teacher and her students visited the homes of the artisans, who showed interest in participating in the proposed Exhibition-Sale. They were provided with detailed information and motivation to secure their enthusiastic participation, as many initially doubted that their involvement would be free or that the full profits from the sales would go directly into their hands.

Sixteen artisans agreed to participate in various areas: weaving, wood carving, ceramics, tinwork, candy making, toy making, and music (fabrication of musical instruments). This happened in March. The artisans began preparing their crafts for this first exhibition, despite facing some challenges, primarily financial ones, while receiving periodic visits from the teacher and her students.

Next, the organization of the exhibition setup began. Extensive promotion was carried out. Flyers were created and distributed throughout the neighborhood by the students, who also placed posters in the most visible and frequented areas, such as shops, colleges, and schools. Invitations were sent to many individuals knowledgeable about and interested in promoting our popular handicrafts.

Committees were formed within the teaching staff of the "*Centro Educativo Integral TIJOBAL*", such as those for reception, accounting, ornamental setup, coordination, technical sound setup, technical arrangement of artisanal products, publicity, public relations, etc., all under the general coordination of the teacher in charge of the Traditional Popular Culture program, Professor Ruth Salazar de García.

Two days before the opening of the Exhibition-Sale, the artisans brought their products to the "*Centro Educativo Integral TIJOBAL*", where they were received by the assigned committee. Receipts were issued to the artisans, and records were kept for each batch of products received. The day before the inauguration, the exhibition was set up with the help of all sixth-grade primary school students, the teaching staff, and members of the Society for Guatemalan Youth of Tomorrow (SOJUGMA), under the advisory supervision of Lic. García Escobar.

The exhibition was inaugurated on June 5, 1987. Present at the event were the exhibiting artisans, prominent figures from governmental and non-governmental institutions, representatives from the University of San Carlos, students and teachers from schools, colleges, and institutes, students from the National School of Fine Arts, and members of the Center for Folklore Studies, and after the inauguration and presentation, the sale

of artisanal products began, followed by a light refreshment offered to the attendees.

The exhibition lasted for one week. Most of the products were sold, and at the closing event, the sixth-grade primary students had the pleasure of presenting participation diplomas to the artisans they had identified through their research. Immediately afterward, the proceeds from the sale of the handicrafts were handed over to the artisans, with receipts exchanged and records documented. Unsold items were collected by the artisans in the days that followed.

ACHIEVEMENTS

- Perhaps the most significant achievement was that this activity was carried out by sixth-grade primary students, aged 12 to 15, who initiated themselves in social research and implemented their findings. This was accomplished with the support of the teaching and administrative staff of the "*Centro Educativo Integral TIJOBAL*", as well as the guidance of their teacher, Prof. Ruth Salazar, who is also in charge of the supplementary program for the traditional popular culture curriculum.

- The discovery of popular artisans in La Florida neighborhood.

- Assisting popular artisans in selling their products, thereby fostering the promotion of these handicrafts.

- The personal satisfaction of the students in seeing a project they researched come to fruition.

LIST OF PARTICIPATING ARTISANS AND HANDICRAFTS

Music

Products: Vihuelas, guitars, guitarrones, violins, mandolins.

Artisan: Víctor Yash, 3a. Calle final, Manzana 15, Lote 2, Col. La Brigada. Originally from Colomba, Costa Cuca.

Toys

Products: Whistles, pinwheels, grasshoppers (chapulines).

Artisan: Reyes Gómez, 2a. Ave. 2-42, Col. La Brigada. Originally from Guatemala City.

Products: Whistles (pitos), grasshoppers (chapulines), pinwheels (reguiletes), small figurines (chavos).

Artisan: Octaviana Subuyuj and José Luis González, Colonia La Brigada. Originally from San Pedro Sacatepéquez.

Sitoplastia (Sweets)

Products: Sweet treats made from chilacayote, tamarind, and figs (higo).

Artisan: Matilde Murga, 10a. Av. 5-53, Zona 19, Colonia La Florida. Originally from Guatemala City.

Wood Carving

Products: Traditional wooden plates and quetzal figurines.

Artisan: Carlos Caal R., 7a. Ave. 6-80, Zona 19, La Florida. Originally from Guatemala City.

Products: Plates, decorative frames, and wooden quetzal figurines.

Artisan: Ricardo Gonzales, 8a. Ave. 6-27, Zona 19, Colonia La Florida. Originally from Guatemala City.

Metalwork (Hojalatería)

Products: Buckets, watering cans, and tubs (baños).

Artisan: Julián Cajac, 12a. Ave. 0-48, Zona 19, Colonia La Florida. Originally from Huehuetenango.

Ceramics

Products: Roosters, doves, braziers (braseros), angels, hens, jewelry boxes, elephants, candelabras, decorated plates, frogs, and traditional flower vases.

Artisan: María Dolores Pirir, Calzada San Juan 7-03, Zona 7, Colonia La Brigada. Originally from San Juan Sacatepéquez, Guatemala.

Textiles

Products: Napkins (servilletas), traditional blouses (güipiles), sashes (fajas), tablecloths, bags (morrales), dresses, embroidered sashes, embroidered blouses, traditional skirts (cortes típicos), curtains, and small shoes (zapatitos).

Artisan: Genoveva Chitay. 8a. Av. 6-24, Zona 19, La Florida. Originally from San Pedro Sacatepéquez, Guatemala.

Eustaquia Mejía. 31a. Av. "D" 14-75, Zona 7, Col. San Martín. Originally from San Martín Jilotepeque, Chimaltenango.

Florencia López v. de Yus. 31a. Av. "D" 14-55, Zona 7, Col. San Martín. Originally from San Martín Jilolotepeque, Chimaltenango.

María Elena Cumes. Chipea Village, Patzún, Chimaltenango.

Fermina Tuyi Hernández. San Martín Jilotepeque, Chimaltenango.

Belizandro Cifuentes. 1a. Calle, Aldea Lo de Fuentes, Mixco. Originally from San Pedro Sacatepéquez, Guatemala.

Justa Chot. 3a. Av. 5-7 Col. Montserrat II. Originally from the municipality of Chuarrancho, Guatemala.

Santiago Santos. 7a. Av. 6-30, La Florida. Originally from Huehuetenango.

Blanca Margarita Guevara. 13 Av. 4-59, Zona 19, La Florida. Originally from Santa María Ixguatán, Santa Rosa.

Painting

The event also featured the special collaboration of artist Mario Rolando Castellanos from the Escuela Nacional de Artes Plásticas. He presented a personal exhibition of oil paintings with themes inspired by traditional Guatemalan crafts.

Acknowledgments

To conclude, the author wishes to express his heartfelt gratitude to the "*Centro Educativo Integral TIJOBAL*", educator Thelma Leticia Pérez Ambrosio, for her insightful understanding and unwavering support at all times for the project, enthusiastically carried out at this educational institution, to seriously promote Guatemalan popular culture. Special thanks are also extended to the guiding teacher of this sub-program, Ruth Salazar Henríquez de García, who has been educating primary-level students in the research and practical application of popular traditions such as the Danza de Toritos, Popular Arts and Crafts, and, as the final activity undertaken

In practice, *el Baile de Gigantes*, which were commissioned in Sumpango, Sacatepéquez, and to the rhythm of the marimba, children dance enthusiastically.

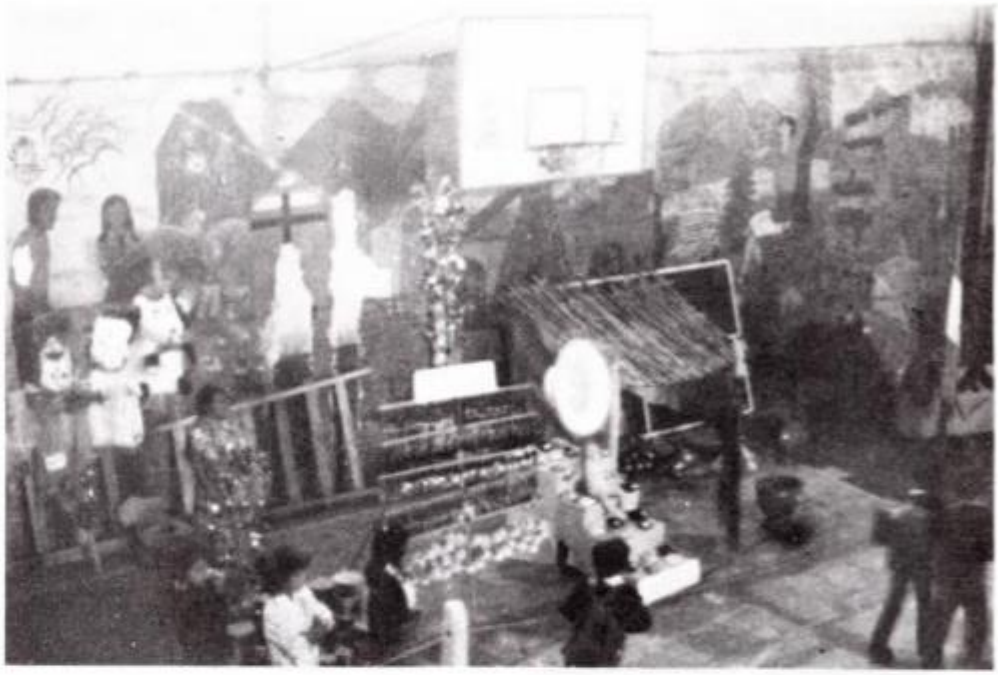
It should be noted that folkloric projections of the quality succinctly described in this report had never been done before. As a result, *la Danza de Toritos* has often been requested by educational and governmental institutions to perform in their venues. One such instance of particular significance took place on February 22, 1988, at the National Institute of Anthropology and History of Guatemala (IDAEH by its acronym in Spanish), earning praise from the national press.

Lastly, the author expresses his sincere gratitude to the authorities of the institution for which he works, the Center for Folklore Studies, in the field of popular dance culture: Licentiates Celso Lara Figueroa and Ofelia Columba Déleon Meléndez, the current director, for their unwavering support of his research and for granting him the necessary time to apply it to education, as described herein, and in compliance with the dissemination and outreach objectives of the Center as outlined in its regulations. Gratitude is also extended to his colleagues who, in one way or another, collaborated on the project: anthropologists Alfonso Arrivillaga and Jorge Estuardo Molina Loza.

2. See *Prensa Libre* of March 5, 1988, (p. 21.)

A butler and a “torito” enact the bullfight in the dance, in front of the SOJUGMA facilities on June 5, 1987, for the inauguration of the Exhibition-Sale of Popular Arts and Crafts of La Florida neighborhood. Photograph by Fernando Rodriguez - IDAEH.

Popular artisans gathered as the guiding teacher, Ruth Salazar Henriquez, greets and introduces them to the attending public during the inauguration of the First Exhibition-Sale of Popular Arts and Crafts of La Florida neighborhood and neighboring communities. Photograph by Fernando Rodriguez - IDAEH.



Aspects of the Exhibition-Sale. Photograph by Fernando Rodriguez - IDAEH.

NOTES ON DRUM MUSIC AMONG THE GARIFUNA OF GUATEMALA

Alfonso Arrivillaga Cortés*

1. INTRODUCTION

The primary objective of this work is to highlight the most prominent features of drum music among the Garifuna. As we briefly outline in the development of this article, the musical universe of the Garifuna is far more complex than what is presented here. Therefore, we consider this to be a preliminary approach to addressing the issue. It is important to clarify that the bulk of this work is part of a project that the ethnomusicologist Antonio Cosenza and the author have been working on for some time, which we will present in due course. Thus, this should be seen as an initial approach to the study of Garifuna music, a subject so overlooked in our academic circles. In the not-too-distant future, we aim to present it in a clearer and more detailed manner.

2. BRIEF HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

To speak of the Garifuna ethnic group in Guatemala is to refer to a distinct group, separate from the historical and cultural realities of other ethnic groups inhabiting the country. As a result of a rather unique history, they appear on the Guatemalan population landscape at the end of the 18th century, originating from the Lesser Antilles.

In Guatemala, there is what is referred to as the colonial Black population. As its name suggests, this population dates back to the 16th century (even Hernán Cortés brought Black settlers during his passage through these lands). These settlers established themselves in what are now *Petapa*, *Amatitlán*, *Palín*, and surrounding areas, merging with Mestizo and Indigenous cultures in such a way that they have become an integral part (both biologically and culturally) of our identity.

***** The style and writing of this article are the sole responsibility of the author.

1. Christopher Lutz, in his "*Historia Socio-Demográfica del Reino de Guatemala",* provides tables indicating the origins and other characteristics of Black slaves brought to the New World. Beyond statistical data, Severo Martínez Peláez, in his book "*La Patria del Criollo",* dedicates a chapter discussing this colonial Black population and its fusion within colonial society. However, perhaps the most important work on this type of settlement offering the clearest explanation,

The bibliographic references for this work will appear in the second part, to be published in "***Tradiciones de Guatemala***" No. 30, 1988.

The history of the Garifuna is different. Scholars refer to the emergence of the Black-Caribbean ethnic group in the Lesser Antilles (Saint Vincent, Grenada), where these islands already inhabited by Caribs and Arawaks, were later populated by African Black slaves. These slaves arrived on the islands as a result of shipwrecks of slave-trading vessels and as runaway maroons fleeing from European-controlled neighboring islands. It is from this encounter and the initially hostile coexistence, followed by alliances between Africans and Amerindians against their common enemy, the white man, that the Black Caribs (whom we refer to as Garifuna, the term they use to identify themselves) were born.

Thus, we find ourselves facing a group with clear African ancestry that, through adoption, recreation, and syncretism, incorporates into its history a series of Amerindian elements. Among these, their language, "Garifuna," stands out as having a clear Arawak linguistic structure. Other examples include the cultivation of cassava and the production of cassava bread (cazabe), which are elements of Caribbean-Arawak cuisine, along with many other Amerindian aspects that clearly demonstrate the magnitude of new phenomena incorporated into the creation of this new ethnic group. At the same time, countless African elements are preserved, which, although historically transformed, contribute features brought from their continent of origin that characterize the group. Ancestor worship is one of the best examples of this. This type of cultural symbiosis emerged among many African groups in the Americas, and the Garifuna are excellent evidence of this process.

In recent years, several studies have enriched our understanding of the history, culture, socio-economic situation, and other aspects of the Garifuna. Similarly, some doubts about their origins have been clarified, but research is still in its early stages.

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is **El negro en Guatemala durante la época colonial** by Ofelia Calderón Diemcke de González (*Ed. Pineda Ibarra, Guatemala, 1973*) which best explains and illustrates this topic. This type of settlement has not been thoroughly studied. As we gain a better understanding of the history of this group and the acts of marronage that took place within it, we can better assess its contributions to the formation of our current culture.

2. The history of this group is far more complex than what is outlined here, and in recent years, additional aspects of their stay on that island and the deportation they suffered at the hands of the British have been clarified. To better understand certain cultural processes that occurred later, it is necessary to note that they maintained contact with the English and French throughout their historical trajectory. Although these interactions were often hostile, it was during this time that many

3. TERRITORIAL LOCATION

Currently, the Garifuna inhabit a significant portion of the Central American Caribbean coast. Settled initially in the Bay Islands of Honduras (the original landing site upon their arrival in this region), they expanded along the continental coastline, reaching as far as Dangriga in Belize. There is also a small Garifuna population in Laguna de Perlas, Orinoco, on the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua. Due to substantial migration by the Garifuna to the United States, we can now note the establishment of Garifuna communities in New York and Los Angeles.

In Guatemala, there are two towns with a significant Garifuna population (unfortunately, census data does not accurately reflect this group's population density). These towns are Livingston and Puerto Barrios, both in the department of Izabal, the latter being its capital. Despite this, they are not isolated from the realities of neighboring countries, as they maintain familial, economic, cultural, and other ties that make it difficult to draw clear political boundaries between the various nation-states within the ethnic space of this group.

4. RELEVANT SOCIO-CULTURAL ELEMENTS OF THE GARIFUNA

Due to space limitations and the focus of this research, we will not provide an exhaustive report of the entire corpus that could be referred to as Garifuna ethnography. It should be clarified that

Elements from those who sought to dominate them. To better understand these historical-cultural processes, see: Azzo Ghidinelli, "*La familia entre los caribes-negros, ladinos y kekchíes de Livingston*," "***Guatemala Indígena",*** Vol. XI, No. 3-4 (1976); Nancie Solien de González, "***La estructura del grupo familiar entre los caribes negros"*** (Guatemala: Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, 1979); and Ruy Galvão de Andrade Coelho, "**Los negros caribes de Honduras**" (Tegucigalpa: Editorial Guaymuras, 1981). There are many other works, but we cite the most notable ones.

3. See also: Solien de González, Nancie, "Black Carib Adaptation to a Latin Urban Milieu," paper presented at the VII Congress of Anthropology and Ethnological Sciences, August 1964. Subsequently, the author has prepared other reports, though we do not have their bibliographic details at hand. On our part, we maintain close contact with emigrants and collaborate mutually in the activities they undertake. Notably, the emergence of the Garifuna organization in Guatemala, "Yurumein", has played a significant role in benefiting the Garifuna community. (Currently, we are preparing a report on this organization, which will soon be published.)

4. At present, I am working to further clarify this type of formulation and to develop a methodological proposal to address the issue more effectively. (See "***Identidad Cultural y Movilización Social en el Caribe Guatemalteco***", Alfonso Arrivillaga, Central American University Superior Council CSUCA (by its acronym in Spanish,) San José, Costa Rica, 1988.)

the scope of this topic is far broader than what is presented here; this is merely a brief outline of the most prominent elements of the current socio-cultural reality of this group. As established in the brief historical framework, the Garifuna are an ethnic group of African origin that, as a result of their stay in the Lesser Antilles, succeeded in blending Arawak Amerindian elements into their cultural identity.

Considering the socio-cultural reality of the rest of the Central American coastal region and the Caribbean islands, we can say that the Garifuna share several common elements that enable them to identify more closely and immediately with the rest of the Caribbean than with their own country. However, this does not mean they lack a sense of national self-awareness, which is always evident among the Garifuna of Guatemala.

Like the rest of the Central American Garifuna communities, they are usually located along river "*crique*" or on coastal points that jut out in various parts of the coastline, such as *La Ceiba, Trujillo, Puerto Barrios, Livingston, Barranco, Punta Gorda, and Dangriga*.

Their way of life has been characterized by a variety of activities, including smuggling, serving as soldiers defending state interests along the Atlantic coast, cutting wood, working for banana companies, and providing cheap and essential labor for building docks and railroads. These and many other aspects underscore the unique realities of different Afro-American groups.

However, there are two vital and traditionally significant activities among the Garifuna that, although rapidly deteriorating, continue to define their identity:

Fishing: This is an activity developed and practiced by the Garifuna, who possess extensive knowledge (navigation, fishing techniques, food preparation, etc.) that fosters a close relationship between the people and the sea. Moreover, it is through this activity that many of the beliefs that

5. Contact: Castro, Nils. "Tareas de la Cultura Nacional" en ***La Semana de Bellas Artes***, México 7/27/79, p.8.

6. Cf. Sandra Drummond Lewis. ***Análisis Histórico Urbano de Lívingston y la Propuesta para la Valorización del "Viejo Puerto."*** Tesis of graduation, faculty of architect. Rafael Landívar University. November 1987.

7. Op. Cit. Nancie Solien González, 1979.

shape their worldview emerge.

Agriculture: Like fishing, the Garifuna have engaged in farming and working the land since ancient times, deriving much of the resources necessary for their subsistence from it. Today, agrarian festivals, such as the celebration of San Isidro Labrador, hold great significance for the Garifuna.

As mentioned earlier, recurrent migration is one of the most dynamic phenomena among the Garifuna. This has led many of them to work in the United States. As a result, remittances and dollars sent back to Livingston and Puerto Barrios play a highly significant role in the economic planning of the families settled there.

There is a clear division of roles by gender in many activities, and upon closer observation, it is evident that women take on a substantial share of these responsibilities. Women are actively involved in decision-making, determining residence locations, and raising children, among other areas. This highlights the prominent roles women play, reflecting aspects reminiscent of Arawak culture.

Their material, social, and magical-religious culture is incredibly rich, but here we will focus specifically on what revolves around music. Referring to Garifuna music is no easy task, as it encompasses an entire musical universe that spans birth, reproduction, and death. It can be said that most significant events among the Garifuna involve music and dance. Quince Duncan, in reference to the Black population of Limón, Costa Rica, once described it as a "La cultura del Ritmo," an observation that is equally fitting for the Garifuna.

Locating Garifuna music throughout their territory is comparable to describing a linguistic mosaic. A diverse array of songs,

8. **Op. Cit.** Azzo Ghidinelli, 1976.

9. Arrivillaga Cortés, Alfonso. Etnografía de la fiesta de San Isidro Labrador en Lívingston, Izabal, Guatemala. "***La Tradición Popular*"**, No. 54, Center of Folk Studies**,** USAC, 1985.

10. Nancie Solien de González, RethinKing the consanguineal Household and Matrifocality. Reprinted from **ETHNOLOGY**, Vol. XXIII No. 1, January 1984.

11. Cf. Arrivillaga Cortés, Alfonso, "Lanichugu Garinagu", Catálogo **XX AÑOS CEFOL**, **USAC**, Guatemala, 1987.

drum rhythms, and choreographic steps maintain a unified expression, yet small regional variations emerge that give each area its distinctive character. Similarly, certain rhythms remain fresher in the collective memory of one region while fading into obscurity in others. Ultimately, however, when it comes to music, the Garifuna-inhabited coastline is unified. Musical currents cross national borders, adapt to the preferences of listeners, influence other musicians, and are appropriated or reimagined.

5. GARIFUNA MUSIC

As we have pointed out, the universe of musical expressions among the Garifuna is quite complex. For this reason, to achieve specific results, we will focus our attention on the rhythms played on the Garaón drum, Sonaja, Sisira, and vocal performances. But first, let us briefly define this musical universe.

5.1 MUSIC AND GAMES FOR CHILDREN

A variety of games (hand games, imitation games, and circle games) are accompanied by songs and sometimes rhythmic motifs, aimed at recreation and occasionally practiced by Garifuna children. These are performed in their native language, which helps strengthen their knowledge of it while also fostering their physical and intellectual abilities. The games are typically played outdoors and have a strong sense of community. Similarly, when climbing trees to gather fruits, children often sing to make the task more enjoyable. Most of these songs tend to be responsorial.

It is worth noting that during other musical and dance manifestations, children are present as active observers.

Brought by their parents to witness these events, they gradually learn these expressions through observation and imitation. This allows them to fully participate in and identify with their culture. It is therefore not unusual to see a child dancing during a festival or even playing an instrument. I vividly recall observing many times during the "*Pororó*" festivities (on December 12), where infants were carried among the crowd to the rhythm of the music. Some children were held in their parents' arms, while others were perched astride their shoulders. During this festivity, as in others, the locals dress as indigenous people, which is why the dance is also known as the "*Baile de Indios*".

12. Cf. Arrivillaga Cortés, Alfonso. Primera Muestra Retrospectiva Documental de las Fiestas Tradicionales Garifuna. Catalog. CENTER OF FOLK STUDIES USAC, HERMANDAD DE SAN ISIDRO, Livingston, Izabal, 1984.

5.2 CHILDREN'S MUSICAL GROUPS

In an effort to imitate the adult musical bands, young children have formed their own musical groups. These groups use improvised instruments such as drums made from cans (milk cans and others), "*chinchines* (*sisiras*)", turtle shells, claves, and bucket drums. Additionally, they craft guitars and basses from wood and strings, which, although they produce limited sound, are amplified with vocalization and accompanied by a lead singer and chorus. These groups are an excellent gauge of the children's musical abilities. The bands perform rhythms and songs primarily based on the "*punta*" rhythm, incorporating melodies from Caribbean styles such as calypso.

5.3 MUSICAL EXPRESSIONS AMONG ADULTS

5.3.1 GARIFUNA RELIGIOUS SONGS

Among traditional roots, ritual songs from "*Chugú*" stand out as distinctly religious. These songs are performed by a line of women, known as Gayusa, who hold hands and move them up and down in unison while chanting spiritual chants. These are known as ABIMAJAÑI.

5.3.2 CHRISTIAN-INSPIRED RELIGIOUS SONGS

Another significant expression during Garifuna Mass festivities includes religious songs in the Garifuna language, accompanied by rhythms inspired by the region.

This results in many people having good religious instruction, often singing with a religious air. These are the ones who have introduced similar songs into brotherhoods and clubs.

13. In recent years, Combo Watusi has contributed to the rise of this expression, attracting many tourists to listen to them in "*Livingston, Izabal.*" For their part, "*Combo Los Hijos del Pueblo"* have been touring Guatemala City for a long time, thus contributing to consolidating the image of a Caribbean culture within the country. Additionally, some competitions promoting this type of expression have been developed in Livingston and Puerto Barrios. The study of this expression can provide much insight into the dynamics of appropriation and recreation among the "*Garifuna"*.

14. Op. cit. 1985. Arrivillaga Cortés, Alfonso. Cf. related to some Garifuna socio-religious organizations. Since the majority of the Garifuna formally practice Catholicism, there are other manifestations with a profound

5.3.3 WORK SONGS

This type of musical expression is varied and occurs on different occasions. Of particular interest is the Abinajani, which means the collective construction of a house. This practice has clear Arawak influence and involves a group of people working together to build a house. In this activity, besides food and drink, there is music and singing, and everyone works on the construction to the rhythm of the music.

5.3.4 PROCESSIONAL BANDS

These bands are responsible for the musical performances during Holy Week processions or other civic events. They are composed of trumpets, trombones, clarinets, saxophones, bass drums, snare drums, and cymbals. During Holy Week, they perform funeral or religious marches similar to those played in other parts of the country. With a similar origin but culturally reimagined, there is also a band that accompanies the procession of San Isidro Labrador (among other events), one of the most venerated saints in the region. Using a similar instrumental composition to the traditional band (although sometimes incorporating a "*Garaón*" and some "*Sísiras*"), they perform not only traditional marches but also other lively marches and melodies in Garifuna, as they do on this day or for the Day of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

According to some informants, in the past, when it was the port of Livingston, there was a local civic band. This band performed music for civic and religious festivities at the Kiosk,

religious content, popular in nature, and inspired by formal Catholicism. For further information, see: Davis, Martha E. "***La Otra Ciencia: El Vudú Dominicano como religión y medicina Populares.***" pp. 60, *Editorial Universitaria de la Universidad de Santo Domingo*. República Dominicana. 1987.

15. This type of musical expression appears during Holy Week in most parts of the country. In Livingston, bands are often formed by Garifuna musicians skilled in wind instruments and are typically reinforced by retired military musicians. These musicians travel across much of the country, seeking opportunities to practice their craft. A deeper study that could shed more light on this expression has yet to be conducted. The performances observed during this period, many of them anonymous and traditional, are common throughout the rest of the country.

16. José Sáenz Poggio, in his "***Historia de la música Guatemalteca de la conquista hasta la monarquía***", highlights the emergence and strong proliferation of such ensembles, so their existence in what was once the most important port of the Guatemalan Caribbean comes as no surprise. See also Introducción "***a la Historia de los Instrumentos de la Tradición Popular***" by Alfonso Arrivillaga Cortés, in "***La Tradición Popular***" No. 36, CEFOL, 1982.

Located in the park in front of the dock and customs office, these musical sessions allowed the town to hear the musical styles of the time (Fox Trot, Blues, Rag time, etc.). Unfortunately, support for this activity has disappeared, and with it, the encouragement of this formative cultural practice.

Bands undoubtedly played an important role in the development of music in various parts of the country. Livingston had a theater and small artistic seasons where the band must have played a significant role, a phenomenon that was mirrored in other parts of the country. Additionally, they likely played a key part in ballroom music, performing for quadrille dances, "Squar Dance," or "*Seti*," as it is called in Garifuna a tradition now only a memory. It is highly probable that the marimba, which was already popular in the region (as documented), emerged to replace this musical phenomenon and remains influential to this day.

5.3.5 THE COMBOS

Among the Garifuna, there is another type of musical ensemble known as a "*combo*". It typically consists of a Garaón, a snare drum, bass drum, cymbals, turtle shells as percussion, "*chinchines (sísira)*", claves, and a conch-shell trumpet or any other wind instrument of industrial manufacture, if available. They also incorporate any instrument at hand capable of producing sound. In the past, we observed how they included a metal marimba, using it as a percussive (rather than melodic) element within the ensemble. These groups are usually made up of young people from the same neighborhood who have formed an association. They tend to have a strong musical sense and are well-received by the community. These "*combos*" appear during festive occasions and domestic events. They perform traditional rhythms such as "*punta*" and "*parranda*," as well as others adapted from the media, like Calypso.

There are other combos with more sophisticated instrumentation that could be classified as electronic or modern ensembles. These often perform rhythms reimagined from traditional metrics, with song lyrics in Garifuna reflecting elements of everyday life. Additionally, they are clear spokespeople for the music popularized by mass media, which we will address briefly later.

17. This instrument has been used in Mesoamerica since pre-Hispanic times and has been adopted by the Garifuna up to the present day. In some parts of the Caribbean, it is customary to accompany the playing of drums with trumpets, which may be made of bamboo, as in the Haitian tradition, or other materials.

5.3.6 SONGS ACCOMPANIED BY GUITAR AND PERCUSSION

There are other songs that are often accompanied by a guitar (in the case of Livingston, the banjo has been played) and light percussion: "*claves"*, a scraper, a tapped bottle, or another improvised instrument. These songs are truly rich in their choral composition, with a strong calypso rhythm influence. They are typically performed during festive occasions (birthdays, celebrations) at private homes by a group of friends who gather, or in the street, or at a bar. They may also occasionally be performed at a novena's end, if it was to the deceased's liking.

5.3.7 CASUAL MUSICAL EXPRESSIONS

As we have mentioned, Garifuna activities are deeply infused with musical expressions. It is worth noting that agricultural tasks or other fieldwork are often accompanied by music.

Another instance we could call a casual musical expression is the performance of the violineta. This instrument is typically played at night during a walk or on a street corner of the community for a group of friends. It is performed with remarkable skill, showcasing an admirable mastery. Its execution clearly reflects a blues influence, delivering melodies full of virtuosity.

5.3.8 OTHER MUSICAL EXPRESSIONS

5.3.8.1 FOLKLORIC PERFORMANCE GROUPS

Throughout the Central American Caribbean coast, the Garifuna have folkloric expression groups, regardless of the national state to which

18. These expressions have a clear Jamaican influence, likely solidified through Jamaican migrations to this country during the past century. Even the introduction of the guitar may have been part of this dynamic. In Puerto Limón, Costa Rica, we have observed quite similar expressions, accompanied by a string instrument known as the yunquelele.

19. The use of the term "Folkloric Projection" is not very clear in this context, and even folklorists have not reached a consensus on a single common term. Raúl Cortázar identifies five elements to define folkloric projection. 1) It is not performed spontaneously by the community. 2) It results from thematic teaching. 3) Such dances lack a functional expression for those who appreciate them. 4) The manifestations were not received as an anonymous legacy from their ancestors, all these characteristics contribute to what is considered folkloric projection. Taken from "***Diccionario de la Teoría Folklórica.***"

they belong. In Honduras, examples include the Garifuna Ballet of Crisanto Meléndez, the Superación Guadalupe Colón group, Belize Warigabaga, and Roy Cayetano's group, -among others- In Guatemala, there are groups such as "*Danza y Expresión del Caribe*", "*Grupo Despertar Garifuna Sánchez Díaz*", "*Grupo Ubafu Garifuna*", and the youth group of Rudy Ramírez and Germán Blanco.

As we can see, the Garifuna of Guatemala are not detached from these dynamics. In recent years, the formation of several folkloric projection groups has increased, contributing to the awareness of traditional values. This has also helped reshape the distorted image of the Garifuna often portrayed by the media. These groups, made up of both youth and adults, represent more than just music and dance they are expressions of collective memory, dramatic capabilities, and other cultural elements. They showcase traditional music and songs to both their own community and outsiders, including current manifestations, those falling into disuse, and even events that now exist only in memory. As a way to

Paulo de Carvalho-Neto. Editorial Universitaria. Guatemala, 1977. p. 169. This concept obviously refers to someone who rescues a traditional element from an external perspective, someone outside the expression who attempts to preserve it. In this case, however, the concept is much deeper, reflecting a clear ethnic awareness. It manifests in the desire to understand one's own culture, recover what has been forgotten, and share it both within the group and with those around them. These actions carry a strong sense of self-management, and the paths the Garifuna culture will take in the future heavily depend on these manifestations.

20. In Honduras, Crisanto Meléndez and his Garifuna Folkloric Ballet have been the most widely recognized expressions of Garifuna dance and music in the country. They have undertaken several international tours in recent years. Crisanto Meléndez has conducted numerous studies, and some of his presentations have reached us, likely contributing to the consolidation of the Garifuna culture in the near future. The *Superación Guadalupe Colón* group, directed by Rafael Murillo, is currently performing a drama-dance called "*LOUBAVAGU"*, which has achieved significant success both nationally and internationally. The group's projection is supported by extensive research.

21. In Dangriga, Belize, Phillis Cayetano and Jerris Valentine founded the group WARIGABAGA (Butterfly) around 1966. Their primary focus is also the preservation and study of Garifuna music and dance. The group has performed nationally and internationally. Roy Cayetano has also dedicated himself to this mission, achieving notable results in the field of traditional Garifuna culture.

22. The Garifuna communities of Livingston and Puerto Barrios have also embraced this type of expression, achieving considerable success. See Identidad Cultural y Movilización social en el Caribe Guatemalteco by Arrivillaga C., CSUCA, 1988.

propose their cultural revitalization, to recover their own culture.

5.3.8.2 POPULAR AND MASS MUSICAL EXPRESSIONS

THE MUSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The music a community listens to will largely determine the music it produces. In this sense, the musical universe that reaches the Garifuna plays a significant role in shaping the musical expressions they recreate. Caribbean music, in particular, has had a strong influence on the Garifuna area. This includes genres like *merengue*, calypso, soca, and, notably, reggae. Radio broadcasting is perhaps the primary tool for effectively spreading these external elements. Because the most accessible media in this region are those from the non-continental Caribbean, these influences are more pronounced in the islands and along the continental coastline.

Additionally, due to the recurring migration phenomenon previously mentioned, the Garifuna have relatively easy access to the latest musical trends from Northern countries and the rest of the Caribbean. In Livingston, for example, some merchants organize video screenings to showcase major reggae concerts and highlights of "black music" from the United States and the Caribbean.

ELECTRONIC BANDS

This type of band has been forming since the early stages of rock and has evolved into its current form. Their musical expressions include not only rock but also calypso, soca, merengue, and more. These bands typically feature an electric guitar, an electric bass, an electric piano, drums, congas, and amplified vocals. If wind instruments (such as trumpets, trombones, or saxophones) are included, they are usually amplified as well.

The repertoire performed by these groups is quite diverse. However, certain pieces stand out for their recreated traditional rhythms, where the lyrics also exhibit a clear Garifuna influence. Rhythms such as the

23. Such is the case of the game-song known as "El Canto de la Piedra" (The Song of the Stone), a manifestation that has been preserved by various folkloric projection groups. Similarly, efforts have been made within the community to prevent the loss of the Mai Pol (Maypole), a unique dance presentation that had fallen into significant disuse. Thanks to the efforts of the Despertar Garifuna group led by Sánchez Díaz, this dance has been safeguarded from extinction in recent years.

"*Punta rock*" and similar styles require further study. These types of expressions could be categorized as popular projections; however, they often perform contemporary pieces (in calypso, *merengue*, soca, etc.) promoted by the media, placing them within the realm of mass cultural dissemination.

Finally, we must highlight the performance and widespread acceptance of reggae music. While its characteristics might categorize it as part of mass media music, it deserves separate consideration. This is because reggae, closely linked to the Rasta movement, has gained significant popularity among Afro-American groups and in other parts of the world -including Africa itself- taking a very different trajectory from the fleeting life typical of mass media musical expressions. Over the years of fieldwork in the Atlantic region, I have witnessed many musical trends emerge and fade as quickly as changes in the weather. The lifespan of these trends is relatively short compared to the traditional expressions discussed earlier.

In Guatemala City, Garifuna electronic musical bands have emerged. The first to appear was “*Los Amigos del Batachá*”, followed by others such as (Black Power), which remains very popular today.

DRUMBEATS, RATTLES, AND SONGS

This expression is considered the most traditional among the Garifuna. It involves a unique combination of instruments: the "*Garaón Primera*" (First Drum) and the "*Garaón Segunda*" (Second Drum), the latter often represented by two or three drums within the ensemble.

24. These types of expressions are quite popular among the youth. Punta Rock is a prime example of the fusion between the rhythmic elements of traditional culture and the sonic expressions of mass culture. Similarly, other rhythms have emerged, though they have not lasted long. These bands, from Belize, Honduras, and Guatemala, often visit towns in other nations during their traditional festivities. Their songs, performed in Garifuna, emphasize pride in their culture, local toponyms, and significant events, many of which carry a strong political message. A more detailed study of these expressions is still needed.

25. The Rastafari movement originated in the early 1930s in Jamaica and persists today throughout the Caribbean. It carries a profound sense of liberation for the Black race, inspired by the ideas of Marcus Garvey. Reggae music remains one of its most powerful tools for dissemination, thriving both within and beyond traditional media platforms.

They are accompanied by a pair of rattles or maracas called "Sisira," which, along with the drums, form the instrumental component. The drum rhythms are paired with singing, structured around a lead vocalist and a chorus that repeats the refrain. The interplay between the soloist and the chorus is fundamental, and the resulting sound is truly remarkable. Additionally, the performance involves gestures and miming that reflect the song's lyrics to some extent, adding a dramatic element. Most of the audience actively participates, singing along with the chorus, laughing, and commenting on the unfolding events. Lead singers are typically individuals with a notable background in singing traditions. During the performance, they may be interrupted by another singer who suggests a new melody to perform.

The melodies and metric structures of these sonic expressions are imbued with a strong African influence, which is prominently evident. It is around these rhythms that the oral tradition has remained most vibrant, giving rise to truly significant cultural dynamics. In contrast, mass musical trends introduced via the Caribbean have generally been short-lived fads. The rhythms preserved in collective memory and still performed today, some more prominently than others, include *Punta*, *Yankunu*, *Jungujugu*, *Chymba*, *Sambay*, and *Parranda*. These will be our focus going forward.

MUSIC SCHOOL

To speak of musical talent among the Garifuna is to address a commonality. Indeed, most possess rhythmic abilities that they develop, especially during childhood. From games to productive activities, there is an inherent motor development closely tied to rhythm. However, while most can play a drum, not everyone is considered skilled enough for playing drums during festivities and rituals. In addition, both the

26. Indeed, I have observed the *Sisira* player from one of the bands in Puerto Barrios, who skillfully plays two maracas in each hand. One pair is lighter than the other. On several occasions, this ensemble incorporates the sound of a conch shell trumpet, though this aspect will not be addressed at this time.

27. In an upcoming edition of ***Revista Tradiciones de Guatemala***, we will present a chapter dedicated to analyzing this musical phenomenon, offering more insights to better understand it.

28. In contrast, musical trends introduced through the media have proven to be short-lived. However, those that are reinterpretations of traditional Caribbean rhythms have found greater acceptance.

drum and the Sisira are typically played only by men, within the previously mentioned contexts. Most of the time -though there are exceptions- professional knowledge of musical performance is passed down through familial relationships. It is not uncommon to find fathers and sons, uncles and nephews, or cousins and siblings playing these instruments together.

Musicians usually begin their training with the ***Sisira*****,** where they develop rhythmic skills. They then move on to playing the ***segunda*** drum, which provides the foundational rhythms. If they show exceptional talent over time, they may progress to playing the *Garaón primera,* but only the most skilled can take on this role.

The understanding of rhythms begins at an early age, with example and imitation serving as the most effective methods. Children are stimulated through auditory exposure, and consistent practice is essential to internalize the rhythms they hear. They most remain receptive to criticism to improve their skills.

Regarding singing, the vocal development of the performer is crucial. Participation in musical events is recommended to build the necessary abilities. Clarity and precision in the performer's voice are highly valued, determining whether they are invited to sing as a soloist. Rather than being explicitly requested, there is a general consensus to hear them perform. Their repertoire and quality are also considered, and many singers are often songwriters as well.

Interpretation Techniques

The set we are now referring to is typically performed in two ways:

In motion: This occurs when the music is required to accompany movement from one place to another, as in the case of a procession. For this purpose, the drums have a strap that is placed around the performer's neck, allowing them to play the instrument positioned at chest level. This method applies to the primera and segunda drums. As for the Sísira, there is no issue since its performer is usually standing, making movement less of a challenge.

Stationary: This occurs during events such as a ***cabo de novena***, a ***Chugú***, a festivity, or any other fixed location. In these cases, the performers' positions varies

29. Although this ensemble is typically performed by men, this does not exclude the possibility of a woman playing them. I mean that if she knows how to play, she can do so, although, obviously, not in any festive or ceremonial context.

from that of the movement. The drummers usually sit on benches or improvised chairs, which are typically low in height. They secure the drums between their feet so that only part of the bottom of the drum rests on the ground, ensuring that it does not completely cover the drum's opening. To one side, the Sísira player stands, as they are usually in a standing position.

When it comes to an exceptional musician usually the one playing the ***primera*** drum they sometimes sit on their drum, -still held between their feet-, placing it almost horizontally. While playing, they move forward with the drum. This is not done all the time but is reserved for moments when the performance and the dance are filled with great enthusiasm.

DRUM BEATS

This instrument is characterized by different strokes and playing techniques. These methods are well-known among drummers, with the following standing out:

"La Mita": A stroke in the center of the drumhead.

"Laru": A stroke on the edge of the drumhead.

"Batapu Llabaru": A muted stroke. The sound is created by striking with one hand and damping with the other.

"Biama Mita": Two consecutive strokes in the center.

"Biama Laru": Two consecutive strokes on the edge.

"Borudita Gune": Accelerating the drum. Tremolo effect.

Each drummer masters these techniques, but each also adds a highly personal touch to their playing.

THE INSTRUMENTS

Undoubtedly, the instrument that draws the most attention in this ensemble is the *Garaón* drum. Due to its unique acoustic and timbral qualities, it stands out from other drums crafted in different parts of the continent, and therefore

30. In my observations of drum performances, I have noticed that some drummers, after playing for an extended period, begin to exhibit constant movements of the head and shoulders. This is partly due to their playing technique but also suggests that they may be entering a trance-like state. Additionally, when performing a tremolo or certain rolls, an expansion of the body is required, whereas for common strokes, the body posture reflects a more relaxed state. This further demonstrates that physical condition and bodily attitudes play a significant role in achieving the optimal sound of the drums.

requires special attention. Let's describe it shortly.

The dimensions of these drums vary as they depend on the proportions of the tree trunks. The *segunda drum* is usually larger than the *primera*, producing a deeper tone than the primera. Currently, the proportions and shapes of these drums have changed for other purposes, but that will not be addressed here.

The drum is made from Palo San Juan “Guragua” or mahogany “Goubana” wood. It consists of a hollowed-out log, forming a cylinder with one opening larger than the other, reflecting the natural shape of the trunk. The larger opening is covered with a deer hide membrane “Luraguzanm.” This membrane is secured using two vine hoops: one holds the hide, while the other compresses it tightly with cords emanating from it. The tensioning process is particularly intriguing. A braided cord (sometimes made of nylon) extends from the second hoop to a series of holes around the drum body, creating multiple tension points. These are braided together using pins to ensure the membrane is tightly stretched (see photograph).

Both the leather and the wood are specially treated to ensure durability and optimal sound quality. Some drums are equipped with a *forlonera*, which consists of thick guitar strings or fishing line placed across the drumhead. This addition produces a rattling effect when the drum is played. The sound strength of this instrument is remarkable and can be heard from far away. I will never forget how the sound of the drums played in *Queweche* would reach the house of La Loma.

The “*Sísira*” is a rattle made from a dried and hollowed-out gourd or calabash. Seeds, known as Wuewuen, are placed inside, and the two openings made in the gourd are sealed, thanks to a

31. Due to its acoustic and timbral characteristics, this drum represents a variety not previously described on the continent. As we noted earlier, the next article on Garifuna music in this magazine will provide further details about this instrument.

32. See the upcoming ***Tradiciones de Guatemala***.

33. There is a considerable distance between where the drums are played (*Queweche*) and where I hear them (*La Loma* neighborhood, at the highest point of the town). In this location, the sounds are carried by the wind, leading me to believe that they can be heard even farther than this distance.

34. The proportions of this instrument are significantly larger than the *chinchines* made in other parts of the country. An informant mentioned that up to three ounces of the aforementioned seeds are required to make the *Sísira*.

wooden handle that runs through it and leaves its largest part exposed outside. The size of the gourds is remarkably large, giving them considerable weight. The gourds are not painted or treated with any material to avoid any loss of sound quality. I have had the opportunity to observe some great performers of this instrument, which is said to "speak" when played skillfully. Some performers even play a pair of *Sísiras*, one in each hand, typically with one being lighter and producing a softer sound than the other.

TUNING

When not in use, the drums must remain with their drumheads untensioned. Before playing, the cords are tightened using the pins until the cord system is securely fastened. Additionally, two wooden sticks are used to strike the hoops that hold the drumhead in place, ensuring a firm tension. It is customary to aim for a harmonic relationship between the primera and segunda drums.

As for the Sísira, it has a standard sound that cannot be adjusted. Its sound quality is highly valued, ensuring it is not overpowered by the other instruments.

THE CONTRACT

Except in the case of a family celebration or a relationship based on kinship or strong personal bonds, drummers do not perform for free. Otherwise, playing music is considered a paid activity, and indeed, it is treated as such. Therefore, musicians are expected to fully meet the requirements of their engagement. Payments vary and are not the same for a patron saint festival, a *Chugu*, or a “*cabo de novena*.” Because there is often a formal agreement or contract, musicians usually strive to be skilled performers, which helps mitigate the issue of competition. While good musicians generally charge for their performances, there are occasions when they play for fun or to please someone.

THE PERFORMER

As previously mentioned, becoming a skilled drummer or a well-known singer requires a great deal of effort, and not everyone can take on this role. However, these individuals must combine their musical practice with other activities to make a living, as music alone does not provide sufficient income. Many performers are fishermen or farmers. Others may work in construction or engage in business activities. Not all performers are also instrument makers. Older drummers often master both the construction and playing of their instruments, but this is less common among younger players. Additionally, it is rare for one to exclusively dedicate themselves to

owning their instrument, as it typically belongs to a brotherhood, club, or an individual who holds it as part of a tradition. Although most Garifuna people have developed musical skills, only a select few are chosen to be drummers. These drummers must always be ready to collaborate when needed.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MUSICIAN AND THE DANCER

Just as there is communication among the musicians in an ensemble, there is also a connection between the musicians and the dancers. The dancer almost always performs for the drums, engaging in a dialogue with them through their steps and specific drum rolls.

We will see in the descriptions of the dances how this relationship unfolds.

THE SONG LYRICS

This topic truly warrants a full article and requires deeper investigation. Let us make some initial observations. There is a substantial *corpus* of songs passed down from earlier times, often used in *Chugú* rituals. Similarly, the songs of *Yankunú* have been preserved in memory and are still performed today. The same can be said for *Punta*, although in this case, new songs frequently emerge within the context, composed by contemporary singer-songwriters. As a result, many songs transform over time, and their lyrics evolve.

The content of these songs often carries an erotic nature, while others provide moral lessons, teachings, and serve as effective social regulators. They also reflect the environment and surroundings, speaking about their culture and the space they inhabit.

Repertoires vary, and the songs used for Punta are not the same as those for *Yankunú*, or for a ritual *Chugú* versus a processional *Chugú*.

35. Roy Cayetano published a work on Garifuna songs in Bolisean Studies, though we do not have the reference.

36. On different occasions, I have had the opportunity to listen to songs about Livingston, sung to me by Garifuna people from Belize and Honduras when they learned of my connection to Livingston. In truth, they referred to *LABUGA*, the name the Garifuna use for this place. Similarly, I have often heard songs in Livingston mentioning their brothers in Honduras.

RHYTHMS AND DANCES

LA PUNTA

This is the most well-known rhythm and dance of the Garifuna people. It can be performed recreationally at a party or within the context of the Feast *of San Isidro Labrador*, as well as during "*cabos de novena*." For this reason, this expression is associated with fertility, linking it to good harvests and procreation. Its character is joyful and invites dancing. It is said (though this is not entirely reliable) that the name "Punta" derives from the movements of the dance, where the dancer does not lift their feet off the ground. Instead, they move through hip motion and the tips of their toes. This dance is also referred to as "*culeado*." During festivities, it is typically danced by women, although men occasionally participate. Usually, only one person dances at a time, though sometimes more than one may join in.

The dance generally takes place within an open circle, where the drummers are part of the formation. People spontaneously step forward to dance, often running away quickly after performing a mimicry in their movements outside the circle of observation. Adults, youth, and children typically remain around, singing, dancing, and laughing. La Punta is the most popular expression of traditional drum rhythms and possibly the most metrically incorporated form into contemporary expressions.

Observing La Punta, one could affirm that, in many aspects, it is an African dance, as its musical and choreographic elements carry a profound African influence.

JUNGUJUGU OF CHUGÚ / "Junguledu"

This is the most sacred and ancestral rhythm of the Garifuna people. It is used in the rituals of *Chugú* and *Dugú*. These are religious ceremonies performed by the Garifuna, with the primary purpose of ancestral worship. In these rituals, music plays a central role, often facilitating the dancer's entry into a trance. The lyrics are deeply intertwined with the ritual itself.

37. Sexual Expressions of Fertility Regarding women, it is important to highlight their significant role in shaping Caribbean culture. For further reference, see Davis, Martha. Op. cit., pp. 291.

38. This type of expression has parallels in other parts of the continent: Voodoo in Haiti, *Santería* in Cuba, *Candomblé*, and *Xangô* in Brazil, all evidence of a shared ancestral origin for these manifestations: Africa.

The drums always play the same rhythm, without major rolls; rather, there are accents. This rhythm resembles the heartbeat of a "*Linduni*" drum. Usually, a group of women dance, although men can also participate, to the beat of the rhythm. The dancers serve as mediums for the desired contact with the ancestors. When one of them becomes possessed, the rolls of the lead drum intensify. The rest of the dancers continue dancing with movements that suggest they are also in a state of possession.

These musical and dance expressions are quite sacred and only manifest in the context of these rituals.

JUNGUJUGU OF PARTY

Rather than being festive, it is processional, used in celebratory contexts. The character of this form is much more serious than *Punta* but does not reach the full solemnity displayed in the Jungujugu of Chugú. This expression appears in the context of certain processions, with notable practice during the Feast of *San Isidro Labrador*. It is during this festivity that the "*Yurumein*" takes place, and this musical form appears. In form, it can be performed in motion (while accompanying the procession) or at a specific location.

There is a musical form that catches our attention before continuing with the review of others, which I refer to as "*la combinación*." As its name suggests, it features a combination of two rhythms. This expression begins with *Jungujugu* and transitions to *Punta*. It is, therefore, a combination of both rhythms. This form frequently occurs around the performances held during a festivity, as seen in the Feast of *San Isidro Labrador*. On this occasion, we will not examine this form in detail.

YANKUNU

It seems that this term is derived from the words *John-Canos* (*Juan Canoa*). We have found references indicating that some of the carnival troupes in *Limón*, Costa Rica, present a troupe with this name. Similar reports have been noted regarding the dance expressions of *Nassau*, a small island in the Lesser Antilles. Thus, we do not doubt that this expression is known with different manifestations throughout the Caribbean region.

In Garifuna, the dance is known as "*Wanaragua*," although in other areas (Honduras), it is sometimes called "*Enmascarao*." This dance is warrior-like, performed exclusively by men, although on informal occasions, a woman may dance it.

We do not know with certainty its origin and meaning, as there are various versions said to exist about this expression. The most widespread one is as follows.

It is said that during the settlement of Saint Vincent, Garifuna women were constantly harassed and subjected to abuse by white men. These reports greatly angered the male population, who decided to seek revenge. The men took on the roles of the women when it was assumed they were elsewhere on the island searching for food. The men dressed as women and covered their faces with a type of mask. They danced a performance that demonstrated great agility of the lower limbs, mixed with erotic movements. The skill in executing these expressions is such that the speed and force of the dance moves can seriously injure a spectator. It was through these dances that the Garifuna freed themselves from their enemy, the white man.

As mentioned, this dance is exclusively for men, and usually, certain dancers stand out in its performance. A special costume is used to perform it, which is not the case with other dances. This costume consists of a skirt and blouse worn by the dancer. The skirt is cut into strips. Additionally, they must wear white stockings and gloves. The shoes are usually sneakers. The costume is notable for the use of a mask representing a white man and a headpiece often adorned with feathers.

If there is communication between the other dance expressions and the musicians, in this dance, it reaches its highest expression. During its performance, the drummer is always attentive to the dancer's steps, creating an entire dialogue between the dancer's movements and the drumbeats. The *Sísira* mentioned earlier does not appear in this performance. Instead, the dancer has columns of small shells tied around their knees in rows. This instrument, known as "*ILLACU*," produces sound through the collision of the shells when the dancer moves their feet. The execution of this dance is truly masterful, and the dancers' skills are remarkable to witness. *Wanaragua* primarily takes place on December 25, January 1, and January 6.

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39. In Brazil, there are other warrior-like dances, such as Capoeira, another parallel manifestation of a dance genre in another part of the continent.

40. A detailed study of the *Yankunú* dance is still needed. It is highly likely that this manifestation includes a series of Amerindian, Caribbean, and other elements that must be studied further.

PARRANDA

It is also known, though not very frequently, as *Sarabanda*. As its name suggests, it is for dancing, celebrating, and partying. It usually takes place while moving from one street to another. These expressions appear during the *Pororó* or *Baile de Indios* festivities (December 12, the day of the Virgin of Guadalupe) and involve both women and men. Young people and children also participate, although the latter often join separately because the activity can be somewhat rough and may injure them. It is likely one of the most festive traditional Garifuna rhythms.

CHUMBA AND SAMBAY

We are still unclear about the differences between these two expressions. Choreographically, this distinction is somewhat clearer, but not entirely. *Chumba* implicitly reflects much of everyday life. It is common to observe the performance of erotic movements by the dancer, free from malice and more as part of its dance expression, with an emphasis on movements of the lower limbs. It is said that, at times, movements resembling those of the disabled are performed.

The rhythms of these two styles are quite similar, differing mainly in their accents. This manifestation occurs around moments of recreation and entertainment, where everyone often participates willingly, although in the end it is women who predominate

There is a third rhythm, worthy of our attention, for which we have little information: *Gunyei*, said to be performed by a man and a woman who fall in love. The popularity of these last three rhythms is not on par with the previous ones, nor do they have specific celebration dates. However, this does not diminish their importance; the media have been responsible for their relative obscurity, which makes them particularly deserving of attention.

With this, we have briefly described the rhythms and dances, making it clear that their expressions are much more complex and require further study. Let us now turn to the phenomenon of music.

ON THE MUSIC (NOTES)

The phenomenological analysis of the rhythms we have been developing is

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41. These two dances require further research to clarify their origins and characteristics.

a vital part for the understanding of the expressions we now refer to. Due to how lengthy this would be, we will limit ourselves to making a few notes about its music and referring to some musical examples.

The second Garaón serves as the driving force of each rhythm due to its rhythmic consistency. We could say that it functions as a heart that beats intensely, forming a rhythmic base or structure. Often, the performances begin at the performer's discretion, thus providing an introduction that allows the lead singer or other musicians to prepare to start the activity. This initial performance is usually known as the "call."

The first *Garaón*, on the other hand, suggests various rhythmic phrases, among which periods are structured. These are divided into sections with a more free and improvisational character and others that always return to serve as a refrain, which can also be called the Base Rhythm. In the freer sections, drummers generally have the opportunity to demonstrate their virtuosity on the instrument.

Singing is also an extremely important element within this manifestation. It is usually performed in a circular form or in a continuous *dacapo*. The structure of the singing suggests the imitation of sequences and variations of phrases, characteristics that facilitate and motivate participation in this activity.

The singing is practiced in unison. Simultaneous intervals occur only if a singer cannot find the appropriate *ambitus* for their voice, though this phenomenon happens rarely. Glissandos in the melodies are another characteristic, used to execute intervals of up to a fourth. The irregularities that sometimes manifest in the singing (tone height) should not be considered poor intonation but rather another characteristic of this music.

MUSICAL EXAMPLES:

All transcriptions are by ethnomusicologist Antonio Cosenza and belong to a larger work to be published in the next issue of the magazine.

The symbols used in the transcription are:

A tone that is difficult to hear or sung at a different pitch simultaneously by two musicians (singers).

42. In the next ***Tradiciones de Guatemala***, there will be a dedicated work on this subject, as previously announced.

A quarter tone higher than normal.

A quarter tone lower than normal.

A slightly higher tone.

A slightly lower tone.

A tone that is difficult to hear. In percussion.

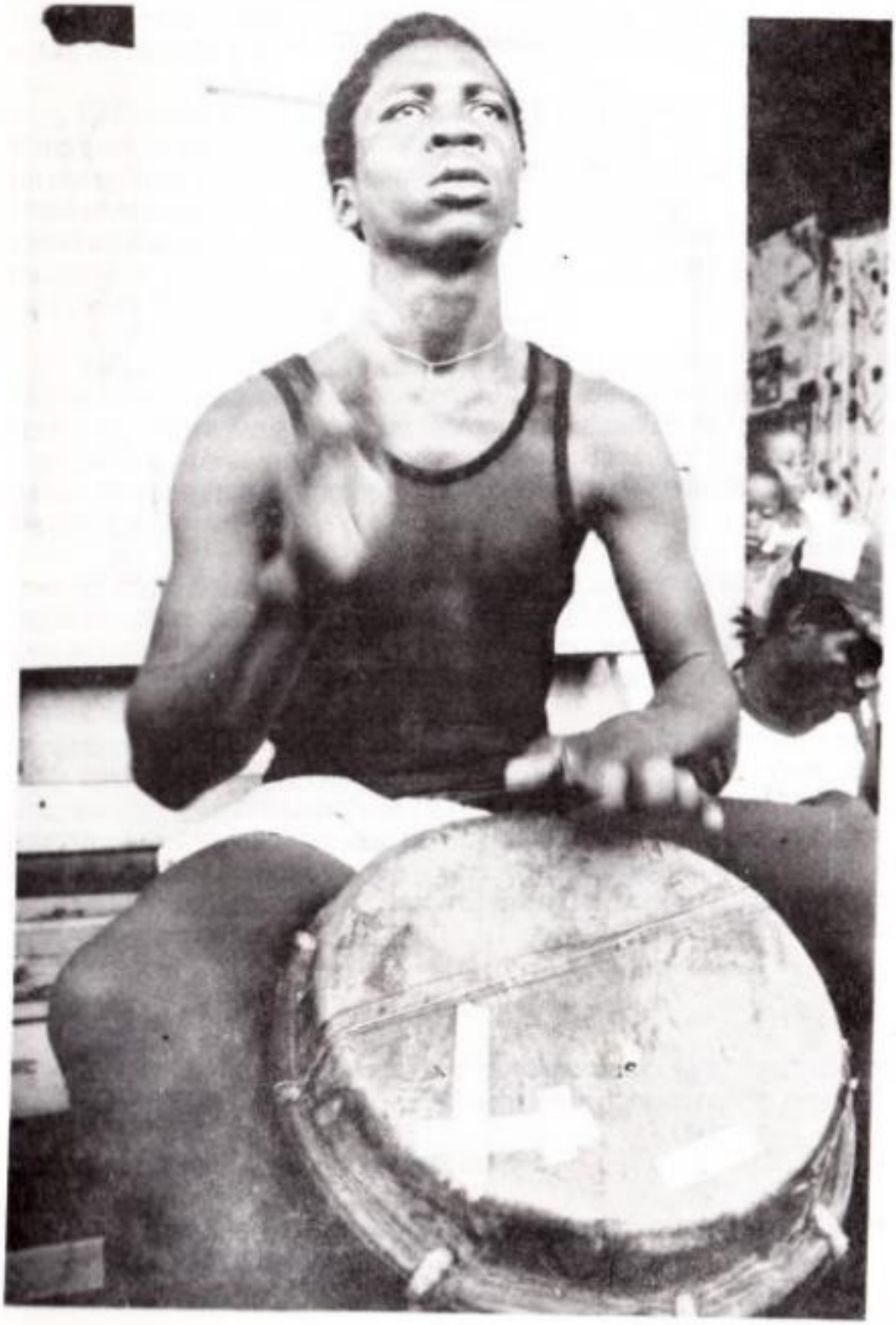
S = Soloist

C = Choir

G1 = First Garaón

G2 = Second Garaón

Ch = *Sísira*



Marta Ellen Davis

THE OTHER SCIENCE: DOMINICAN VOODOO AS RELIGION AND MEDICINE

Published by the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo.
Vol. DLXXVI University Publishing House. UASD
Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic
1987
341 pp.
Photographs and illustrations.

Anthropologist Martha Ellen Davis presents in this instance a profound study of Dominican Voodoo as an expression of popular religiosity. She bases her work on extensive ethnographic documentation, the result of several years of research conducted in the Dominican Republic, as well as in Puerto Rico and Brazil.

Dr. Davis is a renowned and distinguished researcher in the fields of anthropology and ethnomusicology, with several books and numerous articles on various topics within these disciplines. Her meticulous and excellent research work has earned her several prestigious awards:

She earned her B.A. in Anthropology from the University of California (1968) with Magna cum laude distinction.

Her Master's and Doctoral studies (1971 and 1976) were completed at the University of Chicago, Illinois. Her Master's thesis on the *Fiesta de la Cruz* in San Juan, Puerto Rico, won the first *Charles Seeger Prize from the Society for Ethnomusicology* (1970).

Her doctoral dissertation, "*Estudio sobre las cofradías afrodominicanas,*" received the Chicago Folklore Prize from the University of Chicago in 1976.

The book reviewed here was awarded the National Essay Prize "*Pedro Henríquez Ureña*" (1984-1985).

These accolades ensure the quality of Dr. Davis's work as well as her academic excellence.

In the preface of the book now under review, the author refers to the objectives of the work: "*ampliar la perspectiva y documentación del Vudú dominicano para contribuir al conocimiento del tema*" (p. 21). She also points out in this section that the work was based on field research in approximately 30 Dominican communities. Dr. Davis indicates that she used the participatory method for this research because "contribuye a una comprensión intuitiva sumamente valiosa para la interpretación acertada de los datos recopilados a través de la observación" (p. 25). She notes that field research constitutes only one-tenth of a researcher's work. Writing the notes, processing, classifying, and analyzing audiovisual materials requires many hours of dedication.

The book is divided into eight chapters:

The first addresses Voodoo and the national and international issues.

The second is titled "¿Vudú dominicano?";

The third, "El Vudú como religiosidad popular: cosmología";

The fourth, "El Vudú como religiosidad: contextos";

The fifth, "El vudú como medicina popular";

The sixth, "El servidor";

The seventh,"El culto"

The eighth contains the conclusions.

All chapters include numerous photographs and illustrations at the end.

There are many important aspects to highlight from Dr. Davis's excellent work, but this review will only reference what is considered fundamental and broadly applicable to the traditional popular culture of Latin America.

The author emphasizes the scant attention Dominican philologists, historians, writers, and folklorists have given to African influences in Dominican culture. She states that this is not unusual among the Creole intellectuals of Latin America, where vehemence and exaggeration regarding their Hispanic identity often result from "complejo de inferioridad por no ser tan hispánicos como los españoles." (p. 31). She notes that in the same vei

in Mexico, Central America, the Andean region, and the Amazon, indigenous ethnicities and cultures are unwelcome. Similarly, in the Caribbean, the circum-Caribbean, and the so-called "Afro-American" regions, ethnicities and cultures of Black African origin.

Dr. Davis refers to the interest shown in recent years by intellectuals and members of the working classes in "*conocer y apreciar las bases de la identidad nacional*" (p. 42). She believes that a "*verdadera comprensión de la identidad nacional parte del conocimiento de la historia y la cultura nacionales; y la cultura se conoce a través de la etnografía -la descripción detallada de las costumbres. La etnografía es necesaria para poder delinear la idiosincracia de la cultura nacional, que es la base de la identidad nacional*" (p. 43).

She mentions that no in-depth ethnographic studies have been conducted in the Dominican Republic, attributing this to the inability of foreign researchers and the lack of resources available to local researchers. However, she primarily attributes it to the fact that social scientists suffer from prejudices and complexes rooted in their own cultures. She believes that there is a tendency to judge the indigenous cultures of the Americas through an ethnocentric lens. She aptly cites the anthropological principle that "*no hay ninguna cultura que sea ni superior ni inferior a otra -sólo diferente*" (p. 45). The author points out that the ethnocentric approach is clearly detrimental to conducting objective studies of cultures. In her words, "*un antropólogo debe primero examinarse a sí mismo en cuanto a sus preconceptos inconcientes que lo hacen juzgar las culturas antes de estudiarlas y peor, juzgar algunas culturas según criterios de otras*" (p. 46).

When referring to the Dominican Republic, Davis notes that the country is "developing," which implies that its people "*ha desechado por complete sus costumbres tradicionales en favor de la nueva identidad plástica del ente moderno…*" (p. 47). She points out that there remains "*la esperanza de poderse plantar entre dos mundos y examinarlos el uno y el otro y llegar a conclusio- nes. Y actuar sobre esas conclusiones. ¿No sería posible transformar las injusticias heredadas de los conquistadores mercenarios, y a la vez conservar el amor y bondad que ha perdurado a nivel popular, a pesar de las injusticias sufridas?*" (p. 47).

In making specific references to Voodoo, Dr. Davis conceives it as part of the Dominican popular religious system. She defines it as a religion because "*es un medio de interpretar el universo y sobre todo de adaptarse a él, a través de un conglomerado de ideas y hábitos o normas de comportamiento vinculados íntegramente a creencias en poderes y entidades determinadas, no explicables en términos naturales y convencionales*" (p. 57).

The author differentiates Dominican Voodoo from Haitian Vodoun and that of other countries, noting that it is more “simplificado y ecléctico y está más dedicado a las buenas obras de curación y asesoramiento...” (p. 66)

She mentions other activities and organizations that constitute Dominican popular religiosity: the *cofradía afrodominicana*; the *velación* (*noche de vela, vela, velorio de santo o fiesta de Santo de promesa*); another type of brotherhood associated with pilgrimage routes and centers in the East; *los cultos mesiánicos y de curación* and *los ritos de la muerte*, she highlights the *cofradía afrodominicana* as a parallel cult to Voodoo and delves deeper into the brotherhood.

In the reviewed work, a chapter is dedicated to Voodoo as popular medicine. In this regard, the author states that “Vudú no es solo un culto religioso”, She believes it could be better defined as “un culto médico que recurre a fuentes materiales y espirituales para lograr la salud del pueblo”

Dr. Davis points out that “*en la sociedad moderna dominicana la medicina popular está inextricablemente relacionada con la religión popular, demuestra un valor singular para circunstancias y problemas fuera del alcance y conocimiento de la medicina formal”. Indica que "para tales casos se recurre a la religión y medicina populares: 'la otra ciencia*” (p. 225).

When Dr. Davis refers to the *servidor del misterio* (servant of the mystery) or medium, she describes the type of person the “mysteries” choose to be their servants: highly intelligent individuals, “natural leaders and advisors; marginalized people, including peasants and the poor, women, homosexuals, and schizophrenics.”

The penultimate chapter describes the Voodoo cult in all its details: temple, altar, symbols, objects; social and economic organization; activities, festivals, calendar, ceremonies, and more.

Dr. Davis concludes her work with the following words: “*Nuestro esfuerzo por recopilar, analizar y difundir un aspecto fundamental de la cultura dominicana, pretende enriquecer el conocimiento de la cultura nacional. Y como dijimos en la introducción, el conocimiento de la cultura en todos sus detalles es la base del orgullo nacional, 'la otra ciencia', acervo de sabiduría filosófica y conocimientos médicos, es digna de mayor orgullo*” (p. 430).

To conclude, the person who prepared this review wishes to express personal gratitude to Dr. Martha Ellen Davis for allowing them to discover this magnificent book, which highlights one of the most significant aspects

of the richness of traditional popular culture. Likewise, they recommend anthropologists and cultural experts to read this work and reflect on its content.

O. C. D. M.