

ABSTRACT

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TOWARD AN UNDERSTANDING OF VOCALITY
AND THE PERFORMANCE OF IDENTITIES
IN THE *CANT VALENCIÀ D'ESTIL*

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The *cant valencià* or *cant valencià d'estil* of Valencia is one of the four main living monodic expressive song traditions of Spain. Comprised of non-metric *cant d'estil* and metric *albaes* songs mostly used in street serenades, it features a distinctive vocality characterized by a highly-projected, clear, inflected, and flexible voice as well as two melodic styles, of which the more ornamented *cant requintat* developed at the turn of the twentieth century.

I take a historical, theoretical, and ethnographic approach to this Valencian vocal genre and explore the ways in which vocality can help us to understand it better. After examining the origins of the *cant valencià* and the antiquarian, journalistic, folkloristic, and (ethno)musicological approaches to it, I probe the notion of vocality

in a transdisciplinary way: drawing on ethnomusicological theory, anthropology, folklore, semiotics, and other disciplines I show its significance for the development of a musical anthropology of the voice productively based on the ethnographic exploration of the iconicity of style and of two sets of central vocal issues: on the one hand, identity, gender, authority, and sonic histories and geographies; on the other, acoustemology, interpellation, and transcendence.

Vocality not only expands usefully the scope of vocal or singing style by encompassing larger bodily-dependent traits of the human voice as central or salient means of aesthetic and ethical production of meanings, but also acknowledges its pre-eminent position in the hierarchy of musical values, since the material/textural qualities of (vocal) sounds iconically shape our first sonorous perceptions and identifications and are thus paramount for communication.

I make a first approach to vocality and the performance of collective identities in the *cant valencià* by showing that its modern stylistic development is linked to two diachronic frameworks: the moments of modern radical situational change in Europe and the construction of Spanish national identity. I also explore how issues of interpellation and transcendence bear on the formation of personal identities of the *cantadors d'estil*, the specialized *cant valencià* singers. I show that an emically-informed, etic approach to vocality can afford an understanding of how people can create their own history and affirm their own collective or personal identities in response to larger social processes.

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By

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Preface

“For the cultural critic must attempt to fully realize, and take responsibility for, the unspoken, unrepresented pasts that haunt our historical present.”

(Homi Bhabha 1994, 12)

“From the grossest of noises to the most delicate of singing, the voice always means something, always refers beyond itself and creates a huge range of associations: cultural, musical, emotive, physiological, or drawn from everyday life.”

(Luciano Berio 1985, 94)

My effort to understand and realize the unspoken, unrepresented past of the *cant valencià* tradition began about twenty years ago in Valencia, Spain, and developed concurrently with my striving to comprehend what ethnomusicology is and what its methodologies are. Happily, my pursuits led me in 1997 to outline and publish the first historical and conceptual synthesis of this monodic expressive song tradition (Pitarch Alfonso 1997a, b) and to undertake formal studies in ethnomusicology at graduate level with Professor Ramón Pelinski (Emeritus, University of Montreal, Canada). For the first time in Spain, he was offering, at the University of Valencia, a Graduate Diploma of Professional Specialization in Ethnomusicology, which to my great advantage I attended for its three years, along with students from all over the country.

Why was I so attracted by the *cant valencià* and its vocal renditions? My previous background in philology, in linguistics, and particularly in Italian language teaching had offered me an opportunity to come into contact with Italian

ethnomusicology and also to discover a certain book at the private library of my good friend and accomplished pianist Piero Marconi, Professor at the Conservatory of Music of Fermo, Italy. It was this book, Corrado Bologna's *Flatus vocis: Metafisica e antropologia della voce* (1992), that made me realize where my fascination with the *cant valencià* came from: I was moved, just as Bologna was, by the “materiality” or phonic style of the human voice, which can immediately evoke an existential or cultural style. It was this “materiality” which Paul Zumthor, in his preface to Bologna's book, had termed *vocality*.

I could only delve further into understanding the workings of vocality, the existentially and culturally-conditioned “materiality” or bodily dimensions of the voice through my doctoral studies in ethnomusicology at the University of Maryland, College Park, particularly during my preparation for the comprehensive examinations—my first concentration being on “Vocality and anthropology of the voice in the Mediterranean area” (Pitarch Alfonso 2005a)—and during my theoretical and ethnographical research for writing this dissertation (2007-2008).

At the University of Maryland, between 2002 and 2006, I had the opportunity to work with Professor Carolina Robertson, who both inspired me and supported my theoretical research in different ways. I must acknowledge that she was my first dissertation supervisor until her retirement in the Spring term of 2006. I am indebted to her not only for all this, but also for having introduced me to Professor Elizabeth Tolbert (Department of Musicology, Peabody Conservatory of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore), whose research on vocality was so useful to me during my

theoretical research on this notion. I am extremely grateful to Professor Tolbert for having agreed to serve on my dissertation committee and for her constant availability.

In addition, I must thank Professor Robert Provine for having agreed to become my new official dissertation supervisor in 2006, even though it was Professor Ramón Pelinski who generously and voluntarily took on the actual responsibilities of this role, being the one who in fact stimulated my research. I am deeply indebted to him for hours of conversation which challenged me to bring my ideas to fruition and for having read through my chapters providing overall commentaries which helped me make significant improvements. Likewise, I must thank Professor William Stuart (Department of Anthropology at the College of Social and Behavioral Sciences, University of Maryland, College Park) for all his support, availability, and interest in my research over time, since I first had the opportunity to study “Current Developments in Anthropology” with him in 2003. Last but not least, I must thank Professor J. Lawrence Witzleben (Chair of the Musicology and Ethnomusicology Division, School of Music, University of Maryland, College Park, since 2007), for having agreed to serve on my dissertation committee and for having provided useful and stimulating commentaries which helped me improve the coherence this text.

Since my research to a considerable extent has been of a historical and theoretical nature and draws on both American and European scholarship, many descriptive and theoretical texts quoted at length or in short passages are originally in one of several languages. All of the Valencian, Spanish, French, or Italian citations in this dissertation are given in my own English translations, unless otherwise specified in footnotes.

Finally, an observation on cited materials from Spanish published sources. Both Spain and the U.S. are contracting parties of the *Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works* and of the *World Intellectual Property Organization Copyright Treaty*, which establishes that the “Contracting Parties may, in their national legislation, provide for limitations of or exceptions to the rights granted to authors of literary and artistic works under this Treaty in certain special cases that do not conflict with a normal exploitation of the work and do not unreasonably harm the legitimate interests of the author.” Thus, several illustrations from Spanish published works included as figures in this dissertation are used here in compliance with the Spanish Law 23/2006, of July 7, by which the adapted text of the Law of Intellectual Property approved by Royal Legislative Decree 1/1996, of April 12, is amended. Its Article 32 “Quotes and Reviews” establishes that “[i]t is lawful to include in one’s own work fragments of others, whether of written, sonorous, or audiovisual nature, as well as to include isolated works of artistic, photographic, figurative, or similar character, provided that such works have already been disseminated and that they are included as a quotation, or for analysis, comment, or critical assessment. Such use may only be made for teaching or research purposes, to the extent justified by the purpose of the inclusion and indicating the source and the author’s name of the work used.”

Dedication

To Ramón

for opening the doors of ethnomusicology to me and much more

To my parents and sister

“How easy it is to become learned, how difficult it is to become human.”

*Nur Ali Elahi (1895-1974), Kurd Iranian mystic and master of the Ahl-e Haqq Sufi order,
outstanding tanbur player.*

Acknowledgments

It would be difficult to acknowledge all those who have helped me in the last twenty years since I first began studying the *cant valencià d'estil* tradition. Nevertheless, I would like to express my sincere appreciation and thanks to those singers, relatives of deceased singers, musicians, and friends with whom I had a chance to converse or who I interviewed, and who generously shared experiences and insights or provided materials over the years. In the long run, my intensive fieldwork research in Valencia during 2007-2008 and this dissertation itself would have not been possible without all their support. Their great generosity has afforded me the possibility of reconstructing the history of the tradition and of gaining insight into its anthropological and aesthetic values.

Special thanks to Manuel Marzal Álvaro, son of the great singer *el Xiquet de Mislata* and faithful friend, for opening his family archive and giving me unconditional access to his father's writings on the *cant valencià*, as well as for his constant support up to the present. Without his help, I would have not been able either to start my Ph.D. at the University of Maryland, or finally to carry out my field research in Valencia. Also my deep gratitude to Victòria Sousa Genovés, *Victorieta*, *cantadora d'estil* of fine talent, head of the fifth historically-known artistic generation of *cant valencià* singers, and friend, for her unconditional support and availability over many years.

I must acknowledge the financial assistance of the *Museu Valencià d'Etnologia* (“Valencian Museum of Ethnology”), which between April 2007 and July 2008 made possible the audiovisual recording of more than forty hours of street performances, as well as of five videotaped interviews of *Victorieta*. In particular, I must thank the museum’s former director Joan Gregori for his open and unconditional support to my recording project and research, and to the museum’s former research supervisor, and current director since 2009, Joan Seguí, for his understanding and orientations, which were instrumental in the completion of my project during the time I worked there. It must be acknowledged here that the *Museu Valencià d'Etnologia* is the first Valencian public cultural institution to have devoted economic and logistic resources for studying ethnographically the most emblematic Valencian song tradition.

It gives me special pleasure to express my gratitude to the Association for Cultural Equity, New York, for having granted me permission to use Alan Lomax’s writings on *cant valencià* from his field recording trip to Valencia in 1952 and from his subsequent BBC radio lectures on Spanish folk music. Special thanks go to Judith Cohen both for having mediated in obtaining this permission and for having provided me excerpts from her own electronic transcriptions of those materials.

Finally, and most especially, I would like to thank both my family and my American “family,” friends who have been for me so much more than good friends. My warmest filial gratitude goes to my parents, Baldomero and Concha, who assisted me in particularly difficult moments, with their generosity making it possible for my research and writing to continue. Likewise, I warmly thank my sister, Maria, who over the past eight years helped me many times with all kinds of tasks, logistic

support, and more, facilitating my research so much. My appreciation and thanks go to Ralph Bauer (Professor at the Department of English, University of Maryland, College Park), an outstanding friend to whom I'm indebted in many ways. His great generosity and his constant help since 2003 when we met were instrumental in the completion of my doctoral preliminary examinations in the Spring term of 2005, during which I laid the theoretical basis for the present research. Likewise, the fine hospitality of him and her wife Grace played such an important role in helping me complete my dissertation draft. Last but not least, my special gratitude goes to my enlightened *koto* master and friend Kyoko Okamoto, *Okamoto-sensei* (founder of the Washington Toho Koto Society in 1971 and lecturer at the University of Maryland, College Park since 1973), as well as to her husband Paul. All their heartfelt support over the years since we first met in 2003 is an outstanding expression of the very best values of the ancient Japanese *ie*. For this, and for much more than I am able to say with words:

ありがとうございました (*arigatō gozaimashita*).

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Introduction

A Valencian *Cantà*: Listening to the Voice

It is August in a village in *l'Horta de València* district, or in a village in *la Plana de Castelló* or *la Ribera del Xúquer*, or any other Valencian district where the *cant valencià d'estil* is still traditionally sung. This is the season of the festivals honoring patron saints, when the intense Mediterranean summertime heat diminishes at night and people come out to celebrate. On the streets, a *cantà* (“serenade”) starts at the church door (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1

Valencian *cantà* (street serenade) in Carpesa, a village near Valencia, on August 27, 2007.

From Carles Pitarch's fieldwork research, photo by Juan Pablo Monteagudo

It is 12:00 a.m., and four *cantadors d'estil* (“singers of style”) stand up in front of the entrance ready to perform. Behind them, forming one side of a semicircle, are

the stringed-instruments: two guitars, and between them a *guitarró* (a small, five-stringed guitar), also ready to accompany them. On the other side of the semicircle, stand the winds (trumpet, clarinet, and trombone), which will play the instrumental preludes to the songs of the *cant d'estil* ("song of style") about to be performed. A couple of witty *versadors* (verse improvisers) accompany the singers: they are in charge of extemporizing on the spur of the moment, and whispering into the singers' ears, the hundreds of stanzas that these will dedicate to the patron saints, to the religious and civil authorities, to the *clavaris*, *majorals* or *festers* who have been in charge of organizing the festival throughout the whole year and hired them, to the festival organizers' loved ones, and if it is the case, to all those who contribute to the festival paying for a song. People crowd around the group of singers, *versadors*, and musicians, remaining silent for the music to begin.

Before the festival started in the village, there were a lot of rumors going around about the singers hired this year. Everyone has great expectations, but there are also cautious opinions as to how well they will be performing, and as to whether the *cantà* will be worthwhile to listening to. The *clavaris* wanted to make a good impression on the villagers, who relied on them to hold a pleasant festival and who contributed to it all the year round. That is why the *clavaris* hired the best singers, *versadors*, and musicians, hoping to offer a delightful night to the people and to the *aficionats* ("aficionados") of the *cant valencià*.

The Valencian *cantà*, in fact, attracts people and *aficionats* willing to listen to the *cantadors d'estil*, to those highly-projected, clear, and melismatic voices which bring to life fluid, inflected undulations of sound and epitomize, in witty or flattering lines

of verse, so much variety: shared religious devotions; some idiosyncrasies of the people addressed in the song, captured so masterfully by the *versadors*; the loves and wants of the young expressed with delicacy and passion (or perhaps bluntly, for revenge); the critiques sparkling with interest in the local events of the past year; and last but not least, in special moments, the heartfelt memory of those who passed away: people who made a difference contributing to the local festivals for years, deceased *cantadors d'estil* who remain in the ears and hearts of many *aficionats* to the *cant valencià*, or just deceased people, whose relatives, if present, will likely burst into tears at hearing the song dedicated to them.

All this, and surely much more which cannot be expressed in words, is traditionally fulfilled by the stylized voices which, with their attractive “materiality” and their exact ornamentations, braid the disparate strands of social life and call attention to the epochal events or boundary moments of our lives, illuminating the metacommunicative, multidimensional nature of the words which they bring to life. By way of experience, human beings learnt hundreds of generations ago that words, as dynamic boundaries, matter much more if they are emphasized by the singing voice. So did the Valencian people. Some words can be safely proffered only through song; some feelings can only be conveyed through the resounding voice.

The retinue of singers, *versadors*, and musicians starts the first song honoring the patron saint (Fig. 2), then moves from the door of the village church to the parish priest's home in order to compliment him, and then reaches to the town hall in order to pay their regards to the mayor. In past times, whenever the youths decided to serenade on the streets on their own, it was almost mandatory to ask the mayor for

permission. Now, to stop by the town hall and sing to him or her may be just deference toward the main local authority or a must if the City Council pays for the *cantà*. The mayor is eager anyway to listen to some flattering songs, despite the fact that he or she may get some witty criticism for fun.

L' u i dos

The musical score is written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. It consists of two main parts: Winds and Voice. The Winds part begins with a melodic line that includes first and second endings. The Voice part follows, with lyrics in Catalan. The lyrics are: "Hui que - da - rà res - sal - tat, hui que - da - rà res - sal - tat que a - ci es - ta - va l' or en pe - ça i tots junts i ar - re - ple - gats hui li can - tem a Car - pe - sa hui li can - tem a Car - pe - sa i al Cris - to de la Pie - tat." The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and first/second endings.

Fig. 2

Version of *l' u i dos*, or *la valenciana*, or *la de l'horta*,
the most commonly used *cant d'estil* song.

Transcription by Carles Pitarch

The whole way, accompanied by a multitude of villagers and *aficionats*, the retinue moves along, following a pre-established itinerary from household to household, where the *clavaris*, and perhaps other song addressees, will get their own songs. While the retinue is on the move, the *tabalet* (folk snare drum) and *dolçaina* (folk shawm) are paramount. They have been silent, waiting close by the rest of musicians for their time to play. With their vivid rhythms and rolls and their happy, piercing tunes, they enliven the route between the various stops. Also, and most important, when required, they intervene by playing the prelude or accompaniment to the *albaes* (“dawn songs”), the other type of Valencian songs performed along with the *cant d’estil* in these cheerful but heartfelt musical occasions that the traditional *cantaes* are.

Stopping at the respective illuminated doors where the homeowners are waiting expectantly, the group performs whenever required by the *llister* (the person who brings the list of the song addressees to be complimented). It is also the *llister* who warns the *versador* in advance, telling him everything he needs to know about the song addressee who is “to be sung to.” In this way, the improvised lyrics will become a dedicated stanza. One brilliant *versador* told me that the stanza must be like a tailored suit, otherwise it will not fit the occasion and will not make any sense. As soon the stanza starts being tailored, which is usually on the spot, the prelude announces the imminence of the voice braiding its sonorous threads. The soaring, free vocal line of the *cant d’estil* flies high again, and comes down in a sustained and ornamented flow of a clear, slightly nasal voice, dropping its contents or discontents, phrase by phrase, creating short intervals of silence during which the relentless, measured strumming of the accompanying stringed instruments does not cease. They

play the *cant d'estil* the whole time that the song lasts. Yet during the gaps following each *terç* (“musical phrase”) of a *cançó* (“song”) the singer takes a breath and the *versador* prompts him or her with the appropriate line of the sung stanza.

Time and again, a new stop is made in the previously established route through the village streets. Comments, voices, steps, and the *tabalet* and *dolçaina* once again spread a rush of refreshing optimism with their notes and rolls, leaving a far-flung sonorous trail in the night. The villagers and aficionados follow up as long as they want or are able. After a long day of celebrations, some get tired sooner. However, many people remain eager to listen to a new vocal rendition when the singers are doing a good job. The *terços* or musical phrases rise and fall one more time in thoroughly performed *requints* (melismatic motifs) and sustain their intensity all the way to the end as the singer shows off vocal skill and resistance, leaving an unmistakable sonorous aftertaste in the audience.

Once the song is over, there are outbursts of delight, or laughter, or surprise. Applause may break out. Often, one can distinguish expressions of approval during the last notes of the song, a common cry being “*Ai, valent!*” (“Oh brave!”). Everyone present participates by savoring the moment, the vocal rendition, the intentionality of the sung stanza. A buzz of excitement and shared feelings comes out. They are ready for more. If that is the case, all those present allow themselves to be treated to liquors, soft drinks, and pastries, with whatever the grateful *clavari* or song addressee feels is appropriate. Eating and chatting breaks are also an integral and restoring part of the *cantà*, which lasts for hours.

The serenade continues through the streets, stop after stop, always with new songs to address, with lively *dolçaina* tunes to uplift those who follow, up to the moment that everybody entitled to it has been paid due homage with songs, or has had his or her own share of cheerful criticism. One more year, the ritual itinerary has been carried out. It is an annually-changing but unmistakable pathway of stunning voices and sounds that is brought to life anew from generations past, in order to revive the affects and passions that shape local life, in order to make, if appropriate, whatever reproaches the community may have, taking advantage of the shared, sung space to which everybody opens up. The intangible, but nonetheless vibrant, earnest presence of these Valencian songs resonates in the hearts of the listeners, and drenches their senses, bringing to renovation the most relevant experiences of their personal and collective lives in a blow of emotions.

The *Cant Valencià*, Basic Facts and Dissertation Overview

What the *cant valencià d'estil* is about transcends the way it has been described over the past one hundred and fifty years with more or less appropriateness from etic standpoints. To offer an overall perspective of this tradition, in this section, I present some basic facts about it organized by content. I build on historical sources, on ethnographic interviews (conversations and personal memoirs), on participation in performances, on live observation, and on comparison with other Spanish monodic expressive song traditions. At the same time, I offer an overview of the different chapters of this dissertation, in which many of these insights and significant theoretical issues are addressed.

The name, significance, and origins

Cant valencià (“Valencian song”) or *cant del valencià* (“Song of the Valencian people”) are the traditional terms with which it has been known to its native performers for at least five generations. However, a common inconsistency among certain journalists and (ethno)musicologists (see Chapter 3, section 3.2., and Chapter 5, subsections 5.2.2. through 5.2.5.) is to assume that *cant d’estil* (the traditional label for the largest part of the repertory) applies to the whole. The general term can be easily understood by just taking into account that the *cant valencià* is historically the most significant and developed song tradition of Valencia, that is, the Valencian song par excellence. In the early 1990s, the singers that maintain this repertory coined the term *cant valencià d’estil* (“Valencian song of style”) to refer to it, analytically including both the traditional adjective *valencià* and the traditional specification *d’estil* which applies to the largest part of the repertory, the so-called *cant d’estil*.¹ In this new analytical expression, *d’estil* properly emphasizes the particular ethic and aesthetic values which inform the rendition of the whole repertory.

The *cant valencià* developed consistently throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in parallel with and between the most famous Spanish monodic expressive song traditions, the Aragonese *jota parada* or *de estilo* and the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco* (see Chapter 1), becoming particularly salient in the collective imagination of Valencia and of Spain over a period in which the creation of nation-states reshaped the lives and identities of many Europeans,

¹ In 1992 the *cantadors d’estil* created a non-profit association under the name of *Associació Cultural de Cant Valencià d’Estil* (“Cultural Association for Valencian Song of Style”) (see Chapter 3, subsection 3.3.2.).

favoring certain collective imaginations and socio-political, cultural, and linguistic hegemonies, while subsuming other cultures, languages, and identities into them.

This central practice of Valencian traditional musical life became one of the most well-known monodic expressive song traditions in Spain during the first third of the twentieth century (see Chapter 1, section 1.5., and Chapter 7, section 7.4.). As an emblem of Valencian collective identity, it had a significant projection through so-called regional song and dance spectacles, as well as through 78 r.p.m. recordings: this is the only Valencian song tradition present in commercial recordings from 1905, when the first Zonophone shellac discs of traditional or popular musics were released in Spain (Hita Maldonado 2002, 43), including those of *cant valencià*, through the late 1950s, when the new singles and LPs appeared on the world market.

In the long run, the *cant valencià d'estil* did not end on the side of a hegemonic national culture, like what happened with the Andalusian *cante flamenco*, or also with the Aragonese *jota parada* or *de estilo* up to the 1970s. In Chapter 1, I reconstruct the significant history behind these hegemonies, since it is relevant to understanding the general socio-political, cultural, and musical frameworks in which the *cant valencià d'estil* had to develop in the late modern era, keeping its original specificity.

Its old roots, in fact, hark back to the intermingling at the beginning of the early modern period (sixteenth century) of Muslim and Christian cultures in the middle lands of eastern Spain around the Mediterranean shores where Valencia is situated. In Chapter 2, I give a brief account of Valencian history and elucidate where the *cant valencià d'estil* comes from, with a focus on its specialized singers, its repertory, and

its telling musical features, which will help in understanding its vocality. This elucidation shows that the *cant valencià* is based on a centuries-old practice combining rural and urban traditions at the boundary between the city and the countryside, between northern and southern Spain.

The territorial extent

Traditionally, the *cant valencià d'estil* has been a means of social communication and artistic expression of great significance in most parts of Valencia. Within a primarily agricultural society up to the mid-twentieth century, it has been, on the one hand, (1) the song par excellence of peasants, not only in the famous and idealized *horta* or fertile lowlands historically extending from north to south along the Mediterranean coast, but also in the adjacent mountainous territories and river valleys; on the other hand, it has also been (2) the song of artisan and low-class people in the main Valencian cities and numerous smaller localities, used from the southernmost villages of the historical district of *el Maestrat*, to the north, through the southern districts of *el Camp d'Alacant* and *el Camp d'Elx* (Fig. 3).

Altogether, it has been present in an area far more extensive than Valencian nineteenth and twentieth-century musical and dance folklorists were able to recognize, impressionistically maintaining that the *cant valencià* was only characteristic to *l'Horta de València* district around the capital city (see the light-blue line in Fig. 3) and to its neighboring districts. Abundant ethnographic evidence contradicts such limited view. I discuss this issue in Chapter 5, subsection 5.2.1., point (3)).

christening parties, marriages, and other; (4) in private and public festive dancing during social reunions and holidays; and (5) in open-air, peasant works in the fields (such as plowing or threshing) well into the second third of the twentieth century, in this case as monophonic expression. In Chapter 3, I offer the first available short descriptions of *cantaes* or *rondes dels fadrins*, and in Chapter 4, I offer the descriptions of *cantaes* and dances made by different dance and musical folklorists, while also discussing what they have said or assumed about these musical occasions.

Since the early nineteenth century, the *cant valencià* has also been widely practiced in the so-called *cantaes de quintos* (“conscripts’ serenades”), organized by village youths leaving for the military service (see Chapter 4, subsections 4.1.2., point (2), and 4.2.1.). In many places these *cantaes* took over and secularized the youth-to-adulthood rituals of passage which in earlier centuries had been mostly channeled through religious confraternities.

Last but not least, during the Spanish Bourbon Restoration (1874-1931) and the Second Republic (1931-1939), the *cant valencià* was presented in folk song and dance shows, through which it reached considerable national and some international presence, mostly up to 1939 (see Chapter 1, section 1.5. and Chapter 7, section 7.4.). In fact, it became a distinctive vocal emblem of contemporary Valencian collective identity, conceived of as idealistically rural by the Valencian rich agricultural and commercial bourgeoisie during the period of Valencia’s history called the *Renaixença* (“Renaissance”), drawing on traditional elements of Valencian culture (see Chapter 2, subsection 2.1.4.).

The repertory and its accompaniment

Of the two very different and contrasting parts that constitute the *cant valencià* repertory, the first and largest one, as already mentioned above, is what is called *cant d'estil*, also known as *cant a l'aire* (“open-air song”), *cant llaurador* (“farmers’ song”), *cant de l’horta* (“song of the fertile lowlands”), or simply *cançons* (“songs”) or *valencianes* (“Valencian [songs]”). It comprises a set of non-metric, half-syllabic, half-melismatic vocal forms of rural origin (*l’u i dos, l’u i dotze, l’u, l’onze, el dotze i u* or *la riberenca, l’alacantina*, and others), which are sung with metric, ternary accompaniment in triads by guitars and *guitarró*, endlessly contrasting with the free, modal vocal lines. In Chapter 4, subsections 4.2.1. and 4.2.2., I present and discuss the first accounts by Valencian folklorists of such musical forms and of their instrumental accompaniment. In Chapter 5, subsection 5.2.2., I summarize the thorough musical analysis of them carried out by a Valencian musicologist.

Since the mid-nineteenth century, the traditional preludes to these songs began to be played, especially in the most famous *cantaes* and in festive and staged dances, by brass and woodwind instruments typical of the hundreds of Valencian community bands created in cities and villages during the nineteenth century. Many Valencian young peasants and artisans learnt to play those classical instruments and applied them to the *cant d'estil*. This contemporary, and today dominant, instrumental preference prevailed at the expense of traditional and now mostly abandoned melodic stringed instruments such as *bandurries* (“bandurrias”), which are still in use today in convivial occasions, *octavilles* (melodic, twelve-stringed small guitars), *citres* (long-

necked, nine-stringed lutes), and *senteris* (“psalteries”), all of which were in common use up until the early twentieth century.

The second and less extensive part of the *cant valencià* repertory are the *albaes*, songs of urban origin which receive their name after the musical occasion of serenading all the night long until dawn. They consist of a metric vocal line, with compound meter (see Chapter 5, subsection 5.2.2., point (6)), performed nowadays with increasing elasticity, accompanied by the *tabalet* and the *dolçaina* or *xaramita*, that is to say, the most emblematic Valencian instruments. In part because of this, the *albaes* became an icon of Valencian regional identity during the *Renaixença*, and are cited in the Valencian anthem, which was composed in 1909 by the poet Maximilià Thous Orts (1875-1947) and the composer José Serrano Simeón (1873-1941), emphasizing the highly projected nature of the *cant valencià* voice:

A beloved voice can be heard,
with powerful and vibrant resound:
the notes of our dawn song
sing the glories of the Region.²

The *albaes* appear in three interrelated regional varieties or melodic models geographically distributed. The most common one is performed by two alternating singers, one starting and the other finishing the stanza, and it is present from *la Plana de Castelló* through *l’Horta de Gandia* districts. The other two southern varieties, found respectively in *l’Horta de Xàtiva*, *la Costera de Ranes*, and *la Marina* districts, on the one hand, and in *el Camp d’Alacant* district on the other hand, are usually sung by only one person.

² Sona la veu amada / i en potentíssim vibrant ressó, / notes de nostra albada / canten les glòries de la Regió.

The specialized singers

The so-called *cantadors d'estil* are (and have traditionally been) the specialized interpreters of the *cant valencià*. These are singers “by trade” in the strict sense of the term, hired in exchange for certain compensation by young men in love, by *quintos*, *majorals*, *clavaris*, or *festers*, or by whomever has something to celebrate, in order to sing in village, town, neighborhood, or rural district *cantaes*. While up to the mid-nineteenth century these singers were hired in exchange for meals or gifts in kind, for at least five generations (since the last third of the nineteenth century) they have been hired for a suitable amount of money agreed upon with the organizers of the *cantà*.

According to testimonies of the nineteenth century, at that time there was a clear awareness that this vocal art had been passed down from generation to generation, harking back several centuries, something that ethnographic and historical evidence corroborates, as I examine in Chapter 2, section 2.2. However, only five artistic generations of great, specialized or semiprofessional *cantadors d'estil* are known to us by specific names and characters, as far as oral memory reaches back: 1) the generation of *Maravilla* and *Carabina* (ca. 1870-1920); 2) the generation of *Evaristo* and *el Muquero* (ca. 1900-1950); 3) the generation of *el Xiquet de Bétera* and *la Blanqueta* (ca. 1920-1970); 4) the generation of *el Xiquet de Mislata* and *Conxeta la del Mercat* (ca. 1940-1990); and 5) the generation of *el Xiquet del Carme* and *Victorieta* (1960-2010). I was only able to systematize this knowledge after two years of field research in the 1990s (see Chapter 5, subsection 5.2.1.).³

³ *El Xiquet de Mislata* gathered biographical information about the singers of four generations up to his own (see Marzal Barberà 2009).

The lyrics and the *versadors*

Depending on the place and the occasion, the lyrics of the *cant valencià* are generally extemporized in stanzas of four or five *paraules* (“lines of verse”). They are basically of four types according to the themes addressed: 1) *dedicated*, exalting the patron saints celebrated in the festivals, the civil and religious authorities, the personalities of a locale, the organizers of the festival, women of any age in the town, or people who contribute to the celebrations paying for the songs; 2) *critical*, airing in a cathartic way the idiosyncrasies and personal and social shortcomings, or critically commenting on the most significant events of the year for the local community; 3) *descriptive*, portraying the place, the moment, the situation; or finally, 4) *commemorative*, celebrating Valencian identity and local identities, or remembering deceased family members and personalities.⁴

The *versadors*, whether they are singers who also improvise stanzas or mere verse extemporizers, play a fundamental role in the creation of the lyrics with which they prompt the singers. Until the first third of the twentieth century the *cantadors d'estil* deemed not it acceptable for somebody else to improvise the stanzas for them, but the development and consolidation of the *cant requintat*, which requires greater effort of concentration on the vocality of the song, gave rise to the spreading of independent *versadors* specialized in extemporizing the hundreds of songs that may be dedicated during a *cantà*. I discuss this development in Chapter 5, subsection 5.2.4., point (6).

⁴ The most significant collection of published *cant valencià* lyrics can be found in Marzal Barberà (2009, 259-306): over four hundred stanzas improvised over the years and written down by *el Xiquet de Mislata* (1918-1993), outstanding *versador*.

The study of the *cant valencià*

Unlike with the *jota parada* or *de estilo* and the *cante flamenco*, scholarly research into the *cant valencià d'estil* was only undertaken very recently, at the beginning of the last decade of the twentieth century. In Chapters 3, 4, and 5, I survey the different approaches to the *cant valencià* since the mid-nineteenth century through the present. I either cite full passages when they are short, occasional descriptions made by historians, journalists, or folklorists, or I make critical summaries when they consist of papers, liner notes, dictionary entries, monographs, monograph sections, or other similar writings addressing the *cant valencià* in a more detailed focus.

The studies of the *cant valencià* produced in the 1990s, and more recently others by several ethnomusicologists, as I discuss in Chapter 5, have actually laid the basis for “thicker” descriptive and analytic approaches to its understanding, but sometimes have also introduced impressionistic ideas stemming from lack of opportunities for intensive fieldwork research in Valencia. Many of these works, nevertheless, draw attention to the evidence that vocality is paramount in the *cant valencià*.

Vocality and the *estil* (“style”)

With aesthetic principles and *ethos* clearly contrasting with those of the other most salient monodic expressive song traditions of Spain, the *estil* or singing style of the *cant valencià* is mainly characterized by a highly projected voice, by vocal clarity and clarity of diction geared toward the intelligible delivery of the message, by inflected and flexible vocal lines, by microvariation in the different *terços* or musical

phrases, and by an unequivocal balance not only in its fluent, melismatic ornamentations, but also in the bodily attitudes and overall performance. Its elegance is apparent: a renowned European ethnomusicologist described it as “undoubtedly a great art” (see Chapter 5, subsection 5.2.3.).

In Chapter 6, I examine the notion of vocality with its ethnographic implications, theoretically and at length. Vocality not only expands advantageously the scope of vocal or singing style by encompassing larger bodily-dependent traits of the human voice as central or salient means of aesthetic and ethical production of meanings, but also acknowledges its pre-eminent position in the hierarchy of musical values, vis-à-vis the fact that the material/textural qualities of (vocal) sounds iconically shape our first sonorous perceptions and identifications, and are thus paramount for communication. Singing style, which coalesces with this notion, has deep socio-cultural and existential implications which contribute to its iconicity with particular collective identities and relationships: it is relevant to understand the *cant valencià*.

Performance of identities

The *cant valencià* is linked to historical Valencian identity as I discuss in Chapter 2, subsection 2.1.5. and has been the vehicle for the existential expression of its specialized singers. In Chapter 7, I approach the study of the performance of identities in the *cant valencià d'estil* from the standpoint of vocality, in order to show that how people sing in a particular tradition is not a trivial matter, but rather depends on embodied practices and attitudes which encapsulate and iconically display the cultural and existential values of

that tradition, or in other words, that vocal style has a cultural and existential ground (section 7.2).

In this connection, I address vocality and the iconic performance of collective identities in the *cant valencià* within two diachronic frameworks, the moments of radical situational change in Europe since the eighteenth century (section 7.3.) and the modern construction of the Spanish nation-state and Spanish national identity. I analyze how the *cant valencià* participated in this process, embodying such national identity along with the other three main expressive song traditions in the country during the first decades of the twentieth century (section 7.4.). I show that stylistic development in the *cant valencià* is linked to these larger social and historic-political frameworks.

Finally, I explore issues of interpellation and transcendence (section 7.5.), showing how they are implied in the formation of personal identities of the *cantadors d'estil*, the specialized *cant valencià* singers, and discuss how some of these singers see the outcome of my historical, theoretical, and ethnographic approach to their vocal tradition as well as what issues they deem worth of study (section 7.6.).

In sections 7.3., 7.4., and 7.5., I show that an emically-informed, etic approach to vocality can offer an understanding of how the people create their own history and affirm their own collective or personal identities in response to larger social processes and cultural traditions.

Chapter 1: Spanish Monodic Expressive Song Traditions and the Liminal Dynamic of Collective Identity Formation

In Chapter 1, I examine how singing styles or types of vocalicity such as the Andalusian *cante flamenco* and the Aragonese *jota parada* or *de estilo* rose over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries from the margins or boundaries of society to the forefront of hegemonic Spanish culture, depending on historical cultural formations, and on configurations of power between center and peripheries, so as to articulate a national identity. These singing styles became significant structures of plausibility for contemporary Spanishness and thus elements of contrast with the *cant valencià*, which developed in close contact or competence with them.

In section 1.1., I present the main monodic expressive song traditions of Spain: the *tonada* of Asturias or *asturianada*, the Aragonese *jota parada* or *de estilo*, the *cant valencià* or *cant valencià d'estil*, and the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco*, showing their original territorial extents and briefly characterizing their social backgrounds. In sections 1.2., 1.3., and 1.4., I address the origins and development of the metonymic misrepresentation of Spain through Andalusian song-dance traditions and the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco*, as well as through the Aragonese *jota parada* or *de estilo*, owing to their reterritorialization as icons of Spanish national identity from the early nineteenth century. Finally, in section 1.5., I address the position of the *cant valencià* in this socio-historical framework.

1.1. The “Demon” of Andalusia Looming over Spain: Metonymic Misrepresentation and Living Monodic Expressive Song Traditions

James Fernandez introduced one of his articles on Asturias, his fieldwork area in northern Spain, with a story about a peasant who couldn't get rid of a mischievous goblin or demon even after having moved to a new home. The American anthropologist sought to call his readers' attention to an unavoidable presence that sooner or later confronts anyone who focuses on Spanish expressive cultures:¹

[O]ne demon I can't escape as a Hispanist [—he observed—] is the demon of Andalusia ... a place in Spain of such a powerful and compelling character that it is hard to convince those foreign to the cultural complexity of Iberia that this part of Spain and its characteristics are not the whole of Spain. ... When the European and American public think of Spain it is usually Andalusia that is on their minds. (Fernandez 1988, 22)

Reflecting on this fact, he perceptively observed that

[t]he “demon” of Andalusia, as I call it, is not only the demon of metonymic misrepresentation but it is also the demon that jumps out of the tension between the north as a place and the south as a place. The north-south dialectic ... is not simply an Iberian dialectic or a European dialectic but it is virtually a world wide dynamic of ethnocentric identity formation with a comparable set of contrasting stereotypic values attached to the two poles and with some tendency toward reversal of these two values in the southern hemisphere (Fernandez 1988, 23).²

As a matter of fact, if one sets out to explore an expressive song tradition of Iberia, such as the *cant valencià d'estil* (the subject of my present research), sooner rather later one will come across the fidgety demon in its most apparent vocal form:

¹ *Expressive culture* is originally a folklorists' term: “pertains to the enactment or display of symbolic cultural materials with the implicit expectation that other individuals will be directly affected by such presentations” (Beeman 1982, 1). Expressive culture shifts analysis to a more active register by paying compelling attention to questions of what is being expressed, by whom, and for what reason, inescapably invoking context and process. It is worth reminding here what folklorists have considered as the main analytic notions or concepts involved in the study of *expressive culture* (Feintuch 2003): group, art, text, genre, performance, context, tradition, identity. I address in this dissertation, from the standpoint of vocality, issues of identity and performance, which are also contemporarily relevant interests of ethnomusicological research.

² Fernandez defines metonymic misrepresentation as a trope by which “one place, which is simply a part of a much larger place—whether a province, a region, or a nation—comes to stand for a whole place, its particular problems coming to be perceived as the problems of the whole place” (Fernandez 1986, 22)

the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco*. This is doubtless the only Spanish expressive song tradition present in the minds of those foreign to the cultural complexity of Iberia, but there is cause for concern when even specialized scholars authoring articles in *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* (2000) succumb hopelessly to the Andalusian “demon” in the chapter devoted to Spain (Miles and Chuse 2000): there is no treatment or explicit mention of the *cant valencià d’estil*, or for that matter, of the most significant monodic expressive song traditions of the Spanish peoples other than *cante flamenco*. This neglect is pervasive throughout the history of scholarly syntheses about Spanish traditional music and song (see, on this issue, Pitarch Alfonso 1997a; and 1998a, 208).

This oversight notwithstanding, the Andalusian-Gypsy *flamenco* song conveys just a particular kind of Spanish identity, certainly neither exclusive nor shared by all Spaniards. There exist four main, living monodic expressive song traditions characteristic of contemporary Spain, each with diverse ethos, particular aesthetic values, and specific socio-cultural backgrounds, which expose different sensitivities and existential and cultural realities. Significantly enough, all of them are originally territorialized in geographical and political peripheries of the Spanish nation-state, iconically enveloping with their living breaths the intricate historical workings of Spanish contemporary life and history (see Fig. 4); also significantly, all of them were consistently staged in the main cities of the country while Spanish national mass culture was developing in the late nineteenth century and up to the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) as icons of a complex unity (see Chapter 7, section 7.4.):



Fig. 4

The four main living monodic expressive song traditions of Spain and their original geographical settings.

Map by Carles Pitarch

(1) first of all, to the north-west, we find the *asturianada*, sung in Asturias as well as in its neighboring areas of Asturian cultural descent or influence, such as western Cantabria, north-western Castile-Leon, and eastern Galicia, with epicenters in Oviedo and Gijón;

(2) second, to the north-east, the *jota parada* or *de estilo*, sung in Aragon, but also (with significant stylistic peculiarities) in its neighboring territories of Navarre and La Rioja along the Ebro valley, as well as in neighboring areas of Catalonia and northern Valencia, with epicenters in Saragossa and Pamplona;

(3) third, to the east, the *cant valencià d'estil*, sung in most parts of Valencia, including the main irrigation areas of the Millars, Palància, Túria, Xúquer, Serpis, Montnegre, and Vinalopó valleys and fertile lowlands over the Mediterranean coastal line, with its epicenter in the city of Valencia; and

(4) last but of course not least, to the south, the *cante flamenco* itself, originally from the lower Andalusia and on the whole located between the Guadalquivir and the Genil/Darro valleys, with epicenters in Seville and Granada (Torres Cortés 2002), but diverging at the turn of the twentieth century to the rest of the Andalusian lands and their neighboring territories of southern Extremadura and southern Murcia, as well as to big cities such as Madrid, Barcelona and others.³

Musically born and constituted between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries as expressions of differently marginalized rural or suburban peoples, these mostly territorialized, monodic expressive song traditions are “in accord with the personalism and celebrity orientation of modern western Europe,” as Fernandez (1986, 125) perceptively observed in his study about the *asturianada*. These vocal traditions originally conveyed the social, existential, and ethnic identities of their respective folk: (1) the humble *caserus* (“farmers”), *pastores* (“shepherds”), and *carreterus* (“carters”) of the Asturian high mountains and valleys;⁴ (2) the *labradores* (“farmers”) and *pastores* (“shepherds”) in the Ebro valley and its surrounding mountain ranges, often looked upon and branded as *baturros* (“Aragonese rustic”) by

³ The Andalusian-Gypsy *flamenco* forms are metrically compound forms in the plains of the Guadalquivir and western Andalusia, and ternary ad libitum forms with marked lyric expression in the mountainous ranges of eastern Andalusia (Torres Cortés 2002) and Murcia. The latter share structural characteristics with several *cant d'estil* songs of the Spanish southern *fandango* form.

⁴ See González Cobas (1975, 66) and Roces Arbolea (2006, 25-32).

urban dwellers; (3) the Valencian humble *llauradors* (“farmers”) and low urban classes of *botiguers* (“shop keepers”) and *artesans* (“artisans”) in the fertile lowlands of the eastern Iberian Peninsula; or finally, (4) the Gypsy sedentary *herrerros* (“blacksmiths”), *esquiladores* (“sheep shearers”), and *gañanes* (“poor rustic laborers”) of lower Andalusia.⁵

However, all these four main vocal traditions only acquired their modern forms starting in the eighteenth century (see Chapter 7, subsection 7.3.1.), and only got shaped the way we know them today, achieving particular degrees of urban or national projection, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, within the socio-political context of the creation of the Spanish modern nation-state and its troubled national identity, which has been the continual object of political and cultural contestation.⁶

⁵ Some authors (for instance Gamboa 2005) hold that the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante* is a nineteenth-century phenomenon, however this is only true in part: different musical forms of this song tradition can be traced back to the Islamic past of Spain (Lefranc 2000). The sixteenth century, a moment of inflection in which the Spanish medieval folk lyrics forms were abandoned and those current in modern Spanish folk songs took their shape (Frenk Alatorre 1978), and also a moment in which the Moorish influence was fully present, can be posited as the originating period of the *cant valencià* (see Chapter 2, specially subsection 2.3.1.). The Aragonese *jota parada* is musically the most recent among the living Spanish monodic expressive song traditions: its musical form does not hark back beyond the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, and in its nineteenth-century configuration and renaming as *jota de estilo* there is seemingly an influence exerted by a Valencian singer called Vicent Soler, who established himself in Saragossa in 1858 (Galán Bergua 1966, 127). The *jota* sung in convivial occasions or in serenades has been traditionally widespread in southern and eastern Catalonia, as well as in northern Valencia and beyond. Since the eighteenth century a specific Valencian *jota* is documented (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.)

Analogous monodic expressive song traditions in which vocality predominates and in which a variety of melodic models constitute a repertory, like for instance the *alalá* from Galicia—which nowadays has almost completely declined (see Groba 1999; González Mariño 2005)—or the *tonada montañesa* from Cantabria, both are highly localized and did not achieve similar developments and national presence in mass spectacles as those of the main song traditions considered here.

On the other hand, other living monodic song traditions are strictly and fundamentally centered on the word, with a partial linkage to *cant valencià d'estil* in the aspect of verse improvisation but not foregrounding vocality. Instances of these other monodic traditions are the Basque *bertsolaritza* (“verse improvisation”) (Aulestia 1995; Katz 2005), as well as other peripheral, improvisatory sung-poetry genres like the *trovo* from the Alpujarra range between Granada and Almeria in south-eastern Andalusia (Criado 1996; del Campo Tejedor 2006). The latter expanded itself to Cartagena and Murcia with Andalusian miners’ migrations in the early and mid-nineteenth century (Roca 2002; García Gómez 2004). Also, the *verdiales* from Malaga (Berlanga Fernández 2000) or the *fiesta de poetas* from the Subbética district in central Andalusia (Rodríguez Gómez and Berlanga Fernández 1998) belong to the same genre mainly centered on the word.

⁶ The idea of Spain as a nation and its cultural identity has been and is still problematic. The Valencian historian and leading specialist in Spanish modern history Ricardo García Cárcel (*Las Provincias* [Valencia], 22 January

This process favored in particular the reterritorialization and nationalization of the Aragonese *jota* and the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco*. Paraphrasing Regula Qureshi (2000, 811), I would say that the embodied, multisensory memories of the *cante flamenco* and the Aragonese *jota*, were widely circulated and framed in nineteenth and twentieth-century aesthetic and ethnic discourses, which became tools of control disseminated by the dominant Spanish classes. In turn, these discourses became a doorway to a sentimental education for outsiders leading to the experiential circle of those embodiments, a dual process toward establishing a dominant but intertextual, intersubjective musicality which has been a hallmark of Spanish bourgeois cultural cosmopolitanism.

As a matter of fact, incorporation and expansion are part of the process by which local, subaltern, or subcultural musical practices become co-opted and discursively redefined within the parameters of a dominant musical narrative which turns them into national icons. Yet, in the case of the *cante flamenco* and the Aragonese *jota*, what kind of particular historical and socio-political background allowed for the kind of metonymic misrepresentation or co-optation which Fernandez (1988, 22-3) and Qureshi (2000, 811) problematize? I examine this in sections 1.2. and 1.3.

2007) emphasized that in the seventeenth century the Spanish peoples were as divided as they are today. The centralist political moves of the Spanish eighteenth and nineteenth-century absolutist monarchy (1713-1833) were unable to erase the country's sheer diversity. In fact, after having toured Spain in the 1840s, the well-known British traveler Richard Ford (1855) observed that, on the available maps, Spain appeared as an allegedly compact kingdom, but it actually consisted of different and diverse territories which in the past had been independent kingdoms themselves and still kept their original geographic and social differences, despite their political dependence on the same central power. This actually created constant debates during the liberal construction of the contemporary Spanish nation-state (1833-1931). Yet the construction of Spanish national identity was effective through the processes of region-building and banal nationalism as the Valencian historians Ferran Archilés and Manuel Martí (Archilés 2004; 2007; Archilés and Martí 2002; 2004; 2005) have shown (see Chapter 7, section 7.4.). On the contested issue of Spanish national identity for the Bourbon Restoration period (1874-1931) see Boyd (1995); for current debates, see above all Delgado (2003), who reviews the most salient literature, and also Bernecker and Brinkmann (2004), who look into the most recent political debates generated at the turn of the twenty-first century.

1. 2. The Musical Presence of Andalusia in Spanish Life: The Metonymic Construction of Spanish Identity through Song-Dances at Home and Abroad

The dominant presence of Andalusia in the popular life of the Spanish peninsular territories can be traced back to the late sixteenth century. Within the Spanish empire created during the previous decades with its political center in Castile, Seville was the administrative center of transatlantic affairs and doorway to America, where many poor people headed in search for a better life. Seville thus became the epicenter of popular and lowbrow culture, including such typical elements as fashionable dances, bullies, picaresque life, Andalusian Gypsies' expressive culture, and so forth.⁷

In this way, for instance, one of the most popular song-dances practiced in Spain between the seventeenth and early twentieth centuries, the famous *seguidillas*, seemingly originated in Seville around 1590, as mentioned by the leading specialist on Spanish medieval and Renaissance traditional song poetry Margit Frenk Alatorre (1978, 253). Moreover, Spanish classical literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (the most famous authors of which were of southern origin, starting with Cervantes himself) gave a particular image of Spain based on everyday life in the southern territories, above all Andalusia (Caro Baroja 1988, 37).

After the Spanish War of Succession (1701-1713), with the establishment of the French Bourbon dynasty and the subsequent absolutist reforms of both spectacles and public life during the Enlightenment, the import of Italian opera and the Italian

⁷ Gypsies had entered Spain from Europe in the first half of the fifteenth century. Thus they are first documented in the kingdoms and territories of the Crown of Aragon—Alagón (Aragon) 1425; Barcelona (Catalonia) 1435; Castelló de la Plana (Valencia) 1460 (see Castro 2001, 171), and right after this, they reached northern Andalusia—Jaén 1462, Andújar 1470—and further, its southern lands. For a synthesis of Spanish Gypsies' history see Charnon-Deutsch (2004).

musical style to the royal court and the main opera halls of the country established a marked contrast with traditional song-dance expressions. Southern song-dances came to be seen as stereotypically Spanish and became the basis of the short musical-theatrical genre called *tonadilla escénica*, mostly based on *seguidillas*, but also on other burgeoning southern dances such as the *bolero* (a late eighteenth-century derivation from the *seguidillas*) and the southern *fandango*. The latter two became widely known internationally through theatrical and operatic representations in the last third of the eighteenth century.⁸

During this period, the overwhelming success in European opera of the southern Spanish myths of *Figaro* and *Don Juan*, whose plots take place in Seville, was only comparable to the great appeal of the myth of *Carmen* later in the nineteenth century.⁹ All of these representations, which included southern popular song-dances evoking the atmosphere of Spanish life, offered an Andalusian (first sensual, then exotic) image of Spain, constructed as the European Other.

⁸ The most widely practiced variety of the *seguidillas* during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was the so-called *seguidillas manchegas*, in reference to la Mancha, the south-eastern region of Castile bordering with Andalusia, Murcia, and Valencia. Two kinds of *seguidillas manchegas* exist according to their rhythmic pattern: *torrás* and *corridas*. From the *seguidillas corridas* were derived the slower *seguidillas boleras* or *bolero* toward 1780. A historical overview of the bolero form from its beginnings in late eighteenth century can be found in Suárez-Pajares (1992 and 1993). The most comprehensive analyses of the *tonadilla escénica* are Subirá (1928) and Lolo et alii (2003).

The southern *fandango*, staged in central European theaters, was cited by Emmanuel Kant as typical expression of Spanish national life in his *Anthropology* (Kant 2006 [1798]), a publication of his university lectures, given beginning in 1768, which dealt with the nature of that emerging discipline. See also Woitas (1992) and above all Etzion (1992) for the European international projection and re-signification of this southern Spanish song-dance from lasciviousness to exoticism along the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As matter of fact, the Spanish southern *fandango* of improvised and voluptuous movements—radical hip shaking, impulsive steps, bodily undulations, and dispersed spatial distribution—contrasted significantly with the formal categories of French courtly dance, which geometrized the space and the body with well-defined spatial movements and body motion under the principles of complete twist, verticality, and fixed, moderate movements of the limbs (Menéndez Torrellas 2000). This contrast attracted thus very much the attention of European travelers in Spain.

⁹ See Vega Cernuda's (1999) cogent analysis of the image of Spain in non-Spanish elite European music, and also Parakilas's (1998) on the birth of Spanish music.

During most of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Spain had been outside the European elites' tourist routes, remaining a *terra incognita* marked by its obvious difference in relation to the rest of Europe, highlighted by the Black Legend against the Spanish empire. By way of contrast, at the beginning of the 1800s, international romanticism turned this Spanish difference into a positive asset (Calvo Serraller 1981), and the romantics' preference understandably then turned to the most different Spanish territory, Andalusia, where sensuousness, unpredictability, and an outstanding Muslim architectural legacy were most attractive to their exoticist interest and their orientalist passion (see Rodríguez Martínez 2000). Exactly similar to the Orient, Andalusia was explicitly figured in the trope of orientalism, constructed as an idea with "a history, a tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for [Spain and for] the West" (Said 1979, 5). It was seen, in fact, as "a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories, landscapes and remarkable experiences" (Said 1979, 1), what de Certeau described as the "eroticism of the origin" (1980: 42).

Interconnected cultural movements, including the Romanticism widely adhered to by foreign travelers, the *costumbrismo* subsequently cultivated by Spanish writers, and most significantly the *andalucismo* or "(aesthetic) andalusianism" much in vogue among the Spanish elites, converged in the exaltation of Andalusian-Gypsy and southern plebeian life as the authentic Spanish one.¹⁰ Altogether, these cultural movements had an important bearing on the national image of Spain disseminated by

¹⁰ *Costumbrismo* was the literary description or artistic representation of popular customs and manners, reflecting them without analyzing nor interpreting their consequences; a description, almost pictorial, of the most external of the daily life.

literature and the arts during the nineteenth century. Most importantly, andalusianism became a widespread elite's *imaginaire symbolique* when the political rise of the bourgeoisie over the ancient, aristocratic regime came to fruition in the contemporary Spanish liberal nation-state in the 1830s.

Attempts at analyzing aesthetic andalusianism carried out in the late twentieth century by anthropologists (Caro Baroja 1988), philologists (Romero Ferrer 1996), and musicologists (Alonso 1999) alike, pointedly remarked that, in the trail of romanticism and *costumbrismo*, andalusianism peaked as a literary, musical, and pictorial genre between 1830 and 1860—roughly speaking during the reign of Elizabeth II (1833-1868). This consolidation of andalusianism became also highly apparent in the Spanish elite's predilection for popular song-dances from Andalusia.

Although Andalusian-Gypsy expressive song-dances, or “Andalusian airs” as they were called at that time, had been staged since the first decades of the nineteenth century in the most important theaters of southern Andalusia (Gamboa 2005, 456 and 500), they also started being presented from the 1830s and 1840s in the theaters of the rest of Spain as spectacles embodying fashionable life as well as that sensuous and exotic difference so attractive to foreigners. Song-dances in general offered between dramatic representations were an essential element in nineteenth-century theatrical performances (see Izquierdo Izquierdo 1985). Thus, a glance into the stage of the Elizabethan period (1833-1868) clearly shows us the extent to which extent andalusianism had achieved a prominent place in elite, fashionable settings by the mid-nineteenth century, permeating the Spanish contemporary ruling class' mindset and the Spanish imagination they controlled. I give here a cogent example of this fact

by considering the song-dances offered between dramatic representations, or between their different parts, in the main theater of Valencia, the *Teatro Principal*, from 1839 to 1863. They reveal a general pattern similarly found over most of Spain.

Among the national song-dances staged at the *Teatro Principal* in Valencia between 1839 and 1863, we can find on a number of different occasions the most common southern ones, such as [*seguidillas*] *manchegas* (39 times), [*seguidillas*] *boleras* or *bolero* (194 t.), and *fandango* (13 t.). All of these were widely practiced by Valencian peasants and urban inhabitants in different social settings. But tellingly enough, along with the above mentioned ones, a flood of Andalusian-Gypsy song-dances was also regularly staged: unspecified “Andalusian songs” (8 times), *cachucha* [of Cadiz] (4 t.), *caña* (1 t.), *granadina* (3 t.), *jaleo* of Cadiz, Jerez, and other places (112 t.), *malagueña* (58 t.), *olé* (40 t.), *panaderos* [of Cadiz] (11 t.), *polo* (16 t.), *rondeña* (22 t.), *seguidillas gitanas* (5 t.), *saetas carceleras* (3 t.), [*seguidillas*] *caleseras* (4 t.), [*seguidillas*] *corraleras* of Triana (the famous Gypsy neighborhood of Seville) (11 t.), *seguidillas mollares* or *sevillanas* (35 t.), *seguidillas serranas* (2 t.), *serení* (3 t.), *soleá* of Granada [and Cadiz] (3 t.), *vito* of Seville (23 t.), Gypsy *zambra* [of Granada] (5 t.), *zapateado* of Cadiz (53 t.), and last but not least, other Gypsy-related short pieces (44 t.).¹¹

In all, 413 stagings of Andalusian-Gypsy song-dances took place in the span of a quarter of a century, a pattern which confirms the starring ascendancy of Seville, Cadiz, Granada, and Malaga in elite-oriented spectacles, against only 35 Valencian

¹¹ For a description of these Andalusian-Gypsy song-dances see Mas y Prat (1882) and above all Navarro García (2002).

song-dance theatrical performances staged over the same period, and including: *alicantina* (2 times), *jota valenciana* (18 t.), and unspecified “Valencian dances” (15 t.), as well as several Valencian short theatrical pieces.¹²

If we take into account that the bulk of Spanish *bailes* (“dances”) that were neither specifically national nor belonged to particular genres which were staged in Valencia during the same period amounts to more than 700 performances, it is clear that about fifty percent of the Spanish song-dances presented in the main theater of Valencia during that time frame were of Andalusian-Gypsy origin. This statistic underscores the considerable presence reached by andalusianism among the Valencian elite and urban middle class and is an index of a general trend also found among the local bourgeoisies of many other Spanish cities.

It must be mentioned, moreover, that general Spanish southern song-dances such as the *bolero* or the *fandango* spread across the main theaters of France, the rest of Europe, and South America thanks to the so-called *Escuela Bolera* or “Bolero School,” which was based above all in Seville (Salas 1992). Andalusian-Gypsy dances spread along with it: more concretely, *flamenco* song and dance already under this label achieved wide international projection from the last third of the nineteenth century, and during the twentieth century they spread further across the theaters of

¹² For all of these data, see the *Carteles teatrales valencianos del siglo XIX* database at <http://parnaseo.uv.es/Carteles.htm>. Izquierdo Izquierdo (1985) is useful for additional information on other Spanish and European dances performed on the Valencian stage over the 1800-1850 span. The *alicantina* (Spanish) or *alacantina* (Valencian) is one of the nineteenth-century, most popular melodic models of the *cant valencià d'estil*, which, if not anymore in use today, is still preserved by some singers. The so-called *jota valenciana* or Valencian *jota* is a local variety of the homonymous Spanish song-genre, the most famous version of which is the Aragonese *jota* (see Manzano 1995, and Chapter 4, section 4.3.). Sometimes, twentieth-century folklorists improperly called *jota valenciana* one of the melodic models of the *cant valencià d'estil*, which, in clear contrast to such a folkloristic misnomer, is traditionally known as *la valenciana*, *la de l'horta*, or *l'u i dos* (see Chapter 4, and especially section 4.3.).

North America, Japan, and elsewhere.¹³ In the long run, stereotypical perceptions of Spanish identity became heavily conditioned by andalusianism, with its tightly-entrenched Gypsy elements.

1.3. The Aragonese *Jota*, the First Vocal Icon of Spanish Contemporary National Identity

Along with the Andalusian metonymic misrepresentation of Spain through song and dance, so widespread during the Elizabethan period, we find Aragon as Andalusia's counterpart. The Aragonese *jota*, which became one of the most popular Spanish expressive song genres over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, had acquired wide celebrity from the first siege of Saragossa, at the beginning of the French invasion of Spain in 1808, which triggered the Spanish War of Independence (1808-1814). For several months, the Aragonese fiercely resisted the attack by the Napoleonic army on their capital city and were able to beat back the invaders, both by fighting restlessly and, as oral accounts go, by singing the *jota* in traditional *rondallas* (that is, "street serenades"). This monodic but also group song was used as a patriotic hymn to encourage the resisters against the Napoleonic forces (Galán Bergua 1960, 38-44; 1966, 124-7). The Spanish literary folklorist Gabriel M. Vergara Martín (1909-1910, 97) remarked that the people of Saragossa, during the French siege, extemporized *jotas* both to delay hunger and to attack (vocally) their enemies.

¹³ For the international projection of *cante flamenco* in the U.S. see Susana Asensio Llamas (2004; 2005).

During this fierce patriotic resistance, more than 40,000 people died. Destruction, starvation, and epidemics reduced the city's population from 55,000 to 12,000. This impressive fact explains the fact that the temporary Spanish Government (or *Suprema Junta Central Gubernativa del Reino*), established by the Spanish elites to manage the national crisis, issued a decree on March 12, 1809, right after the city's military success against the French, convening a literary contest in three modalities (eloquence, poetry, and drama) in praise of the heroic deeds of the resisters (Salas Yus 2007, 24-5 and *passim*).¹⁴ Despite the fact that the capital of Aragon was finally sized by the French in a second siege later that year, the Aragonese *jota* acquired for the time being an aura of bravery and patriotic spirit which has helped it remain a stereotypical emblem of Spanish national character, regularly praised by official, patriotic discourses that proclaim its virility and quintessential Spanishness.

In this connection, during the same twenty-five-year span roughly corresponding to the Elizabethan period (1833-1868), in which romanticism and *costumbrismo* prevailed, the song-dance of the Aragonese *jota* was staged 119 times in Valencia, specifically between 1839 and 1866, and different musical pieces titled *La Rondalla del Sitio de Zaragoza en 1808* ("The Serenade of the Siege of Saragossa in 1808"), in which the *jota* was a central element, were performed some 30 times between 1849 and 1866.¹⁵ Against these almost 150 performances of the Aragonese emblematic

¹⁴ Curiously, most of the participants in that contest were from the southern and eastern Spanish territories: Andalusia, Murcia, and Valencia. At least seven Valencian authors participated in it, from different cities or localities: Vinaròs, Caudiel, Valencia, Ontinyent, Alacant, and Santa Pola.

¹⁵ These pieces were created by composers such as Cristóbal Oudrid (1825-1877), Carlos Atané, Luis Keller and others. "El Sitio de Zaragoza" by Cristóbal Oudrid is still widely performed nowadays by Spanish *rondallas* (plucked stringed instrument ensembles) and military bands. It was subtitled by the author "Fantasia sobre temas militares" ("Fantasy on Military Motifs"), and includes, along with interspersed Spanish military bugle tunes and

song-dance, the Valencian *jota*, which is already documented in 1772 as being sung as far away as in Cadiz (Álvarez Caballero 1988, 8), was offered only 24 times to the delight of the Valencian elite and middle-class theatrical audiences.¹⁶

Thus, the Valencian elite, like other Spanish nineteenth-century elites, attached to the Aragonese *jota* particular values which have endured to our time. The international projection of the Aragonese *jota* ran in parallel to that of the Andalusian-Gypsy song-dances later called *flamenco*. Between 1827 and 1888 we find this Aragonese and Spanish national emblem showcased in the main theaters of different South American countries such as Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Peru, and Mexico (Galán Bergua 1960, 44-6; 1966, 378-85). However, let us pay attention to a telling detail: even though the Aragonese *jota* had become widespread and officially celebrated in Spain and its old colonies, in 1886 in Lima, Peru, it was announced as the “*Baile andaluz de la jota aragonesa*” (that is, the “Andalusian dance of the Aragonese *jota*”), a contradiction in terms pointing to the fact that the “demon” of Andalusia had become more powerful than ever by the late nineteenth century, affecting even the well-known, patriotic, and widespread Aragonese *jota*.

cannon shots, the prelude and song of an Aragonese *jota*, ending with a final military march. All of these elements intended to evoke, like in a kind of elementary symphonic poem, the atmosphere of the 1808 Saragossan siege.

¹⁶ For all these data, again, see the *Carteles teatrales valencianos del siglo XIX* database at <http://parnaseo.uv.es/Carteles.htm>, and also, for the whole 1800-1850 period, Izquierdo Izquierdo (1985).

1.4. The Vocal Poles of the North-South Dialectic in the Construction of Modern Spanish Identity: The *Cante Flamenco* and the Aragonese *Jota* as Structures of Plausibility of the Nation-State

As we have already seen, the modern, predominantly Andalusian image of Spain constructed through expressive songs and dances, as well as its Aragonese counterpart, found an exceptional window in literary and theatrical song-dance representations favored by elite aesthetic movements responding to the historical, social, and political events of the nineteenth century. These two expressive song traditions came to the forefront of cultural life in relation to the formation and development of the modern Spanish nation-state as expressions of particular national values.

As professor of constitutional law José Acosta Sánchez (1985, 159) emphasized, strictly speaking the Spanish nation-state did not come into actual existence until the fall of the Bourbon absolutist monarchy, on the occasion of the French Napoleonic invasion of Spain. This critical event gave rise to the War of Independence (1808-1814), when for the first time the Spanish peoples at large were involved in a war conflict against a common, foreign threat. It was precisely at that moment that the Aragonese *jota* became a vocal emblem of the emergent Spanish contemporary nation-state, and for that matter an embodied, iconic element of its identity. Soon after, romanticism, *costumbrismo*, and above all the blooming andalusianism, all of them aesthetic movements whose followers were interested in southern popular life, paved the way for the ascent and co-optation by the Spanish elites, first of the Andalusian airs and later, more specifically, of the *cante flamenco*, as national icons. This happened despite the latter's controversial acceptance on the part of the

intellectuals, most of whom were highly disturbed by its lowbrow entanglements and viewed it with disdain (see below this section).

In sum, both expressive song traditions got shaped in their most salient, contemporary forms and values during the nineteenth-century construction of the Spanish liberal nation-state by the bourgeois leading elites, in a process which continued up to the first third of the twentieth century and beyond. However, in turn, they both helped to significantly shape the Spanish nation-state by becoming embodied instances of its most appreciated and desired values. If we take up the north-south dialectic emphasized by Fernandez (1988, 23), it appears that by the mid-nineteenth century both the Aragonese *jota* and the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco* had become icons of the contrasting poles of Spanish northern and southern social, cultural, and existential life, leading to the political configuration of a modern Spanish identity.

Considered from a vocal point of view, they embodied respectively, on the one hand, the ethos of the brave Aragonese and other northern peoples, and on the other hand, the ethos of the relaxed Andalusian and other peoples of the contiguous southern territories. Plain, mainly syllabic, consistently metric, and always tonal vocal lines of even and intense emission, with limited end-of-phrase, triplet ornaments, and with occasional fermatas in the Aragonese *jota* tradition have conveyed up till our time the expression of *rasmia* (“drive, resoluteness”), bravery, and control, embodying the patriotic, affirmative, and austere values typical of the north.¹⁷ In

¹⁷ *Rasmia* is the Aragonese term used by the *cantadores de jota* (“*jota* singers”) themselves to refer to the most appreciated quality of the *jota* singing style. According to anthropologist Josefina Roma (1995), who analyzed the

contrast, largely inflected and mostly non-metric or demetrified, mostly modal, vocal lines of fragmented, outbursting emission in the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco* traditionally indulging in the expression of pain, suffering, and deep love passions, embodied both for Spanish and foreign elites the charming sensuousness, voluptuousness, and relaxed morals traditionally attributed since the sixteenth century to the Andalusian people (Caro Baroja 1988, 252) and to the Gypsies in particular.

These two peripheral vocal expressions widely present on the Spanish nineteenth and twentieth-century stage as well as in other urban fashionable settings and in nationalistic and exoticist art-music compositions representing Spain, thus embodied certain sonorous and corporeal images of the country which ended up becoming a hallmark of Spanishness.¹⁸ Other expressive song traditions with lesser or no national projection up to the turn of the twentieth century, but also present in the dynamic life of a culturally and linguistically very diverse country, remained in a secondary position. This is the case of the *cant valencià d'estil* and the *asturianada*.

The Aragonese *jota* and the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco*, as embodied instances of Spanishness, became structures of plausibility for the construction of the Spanish nation-state during the nineteenth century. Berger and Luckmann (1966, 142) term structures of plausibility groups of practices or forms, institutional or other, required so that a collectivity continues to exist really for the individuals who are members of it, who shape it, and who reproduce it. These practices and forms provide

construction of the Aragonese *jota* as a national emblem, the emblematic character and contents explicitly attributed to the *jota* by elite writers encompasses nobility, frankness, rudeness, absence of mawkishness, obstinacy or stubbornness, and even violence warranted or excused as inherent in courage.

¹⁸ For an inventory of compositions on the Aragonese *jota* by European composers see González Valle (1988).

them with an objective and subjective reality, context for interpersonal exchanges favoring continuing socialization in order to maintain an identity.

These structures arise from specific existential experiences and power formations. The Aragonese *jota* and the Andalusian-Gypsy *flamenco* were favored and co-opted in Spain by the ruling elite right at the time when the ancient regime was superseded and the bourgeois liberal nation-state consolidated itself during the reign of Elizabeth II (1833-1868). As embodied structures of plausibility they became highly apparent in national life both on stage and in the arts. They were reinforced further in this role during the so-called Revolutionary Period (1868-1874) of the Spanish First Republic, and most noticeably during the Bourbon Restoration (1874-1931), when a national mass culture started being created. In fact, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, on the occasion of international political and cultural events, the Aragonese *jota* and the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco* came fully to the forefront of Spanish life as reterritorialized national icons.

In fact, the Aragonese *jota* was promoted in Saragossa, from 1886 onwards, with the creation of official contests of *rondallas* (*jota* instrumental ensembles), and then of *jota parada* or *de estilo* singing. Moreover, civic events in which it was showcased either in Saragossa or in Madrid, lyrics or tune collections, and historical publications, contributed further to its urban and national projection. Above all the Aragonese *jota* was celebrated and vindicated again as patriotic hymn when the Spanish colonial empire collapsed owing to the loss of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines (1898) in the war against the U.S.

It was precisely in that critical period that many Spanish intellectuals, the so-called *Generación del 98*, adopted a pessimistic attitude about the nation-state's troubled times and turned to the austerity and heroic bravery of Castile, Aragon, and the other northern Spanish territories, where many of them came from, in order to find in such idealized settings their ethic and aesthetic values, far away from what philosopher Ortega y Gasset termed "quincalla meridional" ("southern trifle") in particular reference to the *flamenco* song and to the so-called *flamenquismo* or lowbrow version of andalusianism (Arrebola 2007).

It is not a coincidence that Santiago Lapuente (1855-1933), one of the main Aragonese *jota* masters of that time, was the first to sing in order to encourage the Spaniards in that moment of imperial and national spiritual crisis which was the Spanish colonial disaster of 1898 (Lapuente [1914]). In this political context which brought about an outburst of Spanish nationalism that attempted to redefine the internationally damaged image of Spanish national identity (Archilés 2007, 130), the centennial of the Siege of Saragossa was celebrated in 1908 by the Aragonese elite, while the *Levantamiento* ("Uprising") of May 2, 1808 against the French army in Madrid was also celebrated by the Andalusian ruling class (Pitarch Alfonso 2010) (see Chapter 7, section 7.4.). These events offered new possibilities for further promotion of the Aragonese *jota* as endowed with national values and as an icon of Spanishness which broadcasted endurance against the foreign attacks which had provoked the loss of the last American and Asian colonies.

On the other hand, the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco*, which had been spreading beginning in the early 1850s to Madrid, Barcelona, Bilbao, Valencia, La

Coruña, and other important Spanish cities (Gamboa 2005, 503-8; Arrebola 2007), was staged not only in theaters, but also in the so-called *café cantantes* (“cabarets”). As a noticeable element of *flamenquismo* (the lowbrow popular urban life in cities and barracks, consisting of Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco* and dance in their most boisterous and colorful, external form, and of bullfighting, bullying, and bohemia), this monodic expressive song had acquired a dubious reputation and was considered by many intellectuals to be an adulterated andalusianism and a decadent expression of Spanishness. In this respect, between 1885 and 1920, a polemic around narrow Spanish patriotism broke out among intellectuals, journalists, and politicians, carried on mostly in newspapers (Álvarez Molina 2007).

Despite all this fuss, during the last three decades of the nineteenth century, the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco* did not cease being presented in Madrid as Spanish national folklore to visiting foreigners on occasion of international conferences and engineering projects (Gamboa 2005). Roughly at the same time that the polemic began in the mid-1880s, the *cante flamenco* started being studied by Andalusian intellectuals and folklorists such as Antonio Machado y Álvarez (1846-1893), the first one with a scholarly interest in collecting *flamenco* lyrics and historical data on *cantaos* (Pineda Novo 1991). In 1922 composer Manuel de Falla (1876-1946) and poet Federico García Lorca (1898-1936) openly demanded the reappraisal of Andalusian-Gypsy *cante* in its *jondo* (“deep”) form through the celebration of the first official contest of *cante jondo* in their native Granada (Molina Fajardo 1990). In a lecture at the *Centro Artístico*, García Lorca was explicit about how *cante flamenco* or *jondo* was considered by many at that time:

You all have heard about the *cante jondo*, and surely, you have a more or less exact idea about it...; but it is almost sure that to all those of you not initiated in its historical and artistic transcendence, the *tablado* [i.e., the small stage] in the café, the tavern, the *juerga* [“flamenco private party”], the ridiculous *jipío* [“whining”], all that which is typically Spanish in sum!, evoke in you immoral things, and it is necessary, for Andalusia, for our thousand-year-old spirit, and for our most particular heart, to prevent this from happening.¹⁹ (cited in Molina Fajardo 1990, 178)

A second contest followed in Seville in 1925 (Ortiz Nuevo 2000). Also, the phonograph industry burgeoning in Spain by the 1920s made the Andalusian-Gypsy *flamenco* as well as the Aragonese *jota* even more prominent. Up to the 1950s, thousands of 78 r.p.m. discs were released into the Spanish and international markets, addressed to the, by then, wide internal and emigrant international audiences of these national vocal expressions. During the Bourbon Restoration (1874-1931) and the Spanish Second Republic (1931-1939), both monodic expressive song traditions enjoyed a special and prominent national life. The process of reterritorialization from their peripheral areas of origin to the centers of political and economic power, effected from the early nineteenth century, was consummated thanks to the movies and other forms of entertainment.

During Franco’s authoritarian regime (1939-1977), with the advent of new media such as radio and television, with the massive affluence of international tourists in search of sun and stereotypical forms of Spanish entertainment along the Mediterranean coast, and with the process of retrieval launched by the *cantaor* Antonio Mairena and different intellectuals, the *cante flamenco* both experienced a revival, becoming the most conspicuous metonymic expression of Spain, and “was

¹⁹ Todos habéis oído hablar del *cante jondo* y, seguramente, tenéis una idea más o menos exacta de él...; pero es casi seguro que a todos los no iniciados en su transcendencia histórica y artística, os evoca cosas inmorales, la taberna, la juerga, el tablado del café, el ridículo jipío, ¡la españolada en suma!, y hay que evitar por Andalucía, por nuestro espíritu milenario y por nuestro particularísimo corazón, que esto suceda.

clearly the victim of Franco's long and focused campaign to adapt it as national trope in constructing a homogenous and specifically Spanish national popular culture" (Biddle and Knights 2007, 12). In addition, the Aragonese *jota* followed a similar process of co-optation by the dictatorial regime. In fact, as stereotypical and consolidated structures of plausibility iconically embodying Spanish national identity, these monodic expressive song traditions were useful for the construction of a unitary and polarized image of Spain during Franco's rule.

The phenomenon of metonymic misrepresentation seems to have reached by that point its climactic looming over the Spanish nation-state; this, despite the efforts made from the early 1940s by the authoritarian regime itself to present, both on national and international stages, folk songs and dances of different Spanish territories by means of the institutionally-controlled dance troupes of the *Sección Femenina* ("Feminine Division"), part of the regime's official union *Falange Española* ("Spanish Phalanx") (see Fernández Suárez 1992; Lizarazu de Mesa 1996; and Casero García 1999, 2001).

Strategies of essentialism based on iconicity (Herzfeld (2005 [1997], 26-33 and 93-110) are present throughout the described process. In Chapter 6, subsection 6.1.2., I discuss the theoretical aspect of these strategies of essentialism and in Chapter 7, section 7.4., I analyze how they were used during the first third of the twentieth century by the Spanish urban elites presenting the four main monodic expressive song traditions as regional musics of the nation-state. In the following section of the present chapter, I briefly anticipate how the *cant valencià* participated in strategies of essentialism and how it related to the vocal poles of Spanish national identity.

1.5. Center-Periphery Relations, Collective Identities, and the *Cant Valencià d'Estil*

Monodic expressive song traditions like the *cant valencià d'estil* or the *asturianada*, strongly linked to rural and outlying urban settings, also achieved particular degrees of contemporary urban projection in their respective territorial areas, as well as even further, though to a lesser extent and in more restricted contexts. Timidly supported in their own geographical centers as of the 1890s, these other vocal traditions of economically very dynamic peripheries, where agriculture and industry had flourished from the late eighteenth century, became for the local elites and middle classes expressions of specific, subordinated regional identities reinforcing the articulation of the modern Spanish state (see Pitarch Alfonso 2010).

Specifically, in Valencia, beginning in 1891, the *cant valencià d'estil* was regularly staged once a year during the *Fira de Juliol* ("July Fair"), a bourgeois festival created in 1870 to foster urban economic life through forms of entertainment and cultural activities during the summer time. In this warm season, most elite families and the urban middle class used to flee the city in search for fresher air at the seaside or in their countryside villas and townhouses around the capital. The July Fair sought to keep the city alive by engaging them and attracting the rural masses to the event. The staging of *cant valencià* songs and dances was an immediate success, which lasted for more than eighty years well into the 1970s. In the four decades following the first public presentation of songs and dances in 1891, other Spanish monodic expressive song traditions were also staged in Valencia. Bruno García Albarracín (see Chapter 3, subsection 3.2.3.) wrote in 1917:

From the year 1891, the celebration of *Traditional Dances* has not been absent in the programs of the [July] Fair. It is, as the *Musical Contest* [of Valencian community bands], the spiritual expression of the land. In the following years ... not only was the Valencian accent vibrating with its songs of gallantry [but also those of] Galicia, Andalusia, Castile, with the golden clasp of the *jota* of Aragon were brought into harmonic coexistence. Valencia, noble and poetical, united to other regions! She was always loyal! ... [T]he popular concert of the *cante jondo* along with the spiritual Asturian *muñeiro* [sic, i.e., *tonada*] can be heard today; [and] the democratic *cant valencià* along with the brave accent of the Aragonese *jota*. It is the spiritual union of the regions dignified in an official celebration.²⁰ (García Albarracín 1917)

The *cant valencià* in and of itself could not be presented as a Spanish national icon and therefore, after its initial presentation alone, it was staged in Valencia along with the other most important monodic expressive song traditions of the nation-state representing “the spiritual union of the regions.” Moreover, from the mid 1910s through the mid 1930s, the *cant valencià d’estil*, along with the Asturian *tonada* or *asturianada*, the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco*, and the Aragonese *jota parada* or *de estilo*, like in Valencia, was showcased to massive audiences around Spain in a song and dance spectacle so-called *Fiesta de las Regiones* (see Chapter 7, section 7.4. and Pitarch Alfonso 2010) organized and presented by the Aragonese *jota* singer and spectacle manager of Saragossa Miguel Asso Vitallé (1886-1936). Through these spectacles, the *cant valencià* achieved prominence all over the country. The Valencian song and dance troupes hired the best *cantadors d’estil* of that period and their success was obvious (Pitarch Alfonso 2010). Also contributing to this prominence from 1905 on was the 78 r.p.m. recording industry, and later, as of the 1920s, the regular radio broadcasts of regional musics in all the main Spanish cities which had local radio stations.

²⁰ Desde el año 1891, que no ha faltado en los programas de Feria el festejo de los *Bailes Populares*. Es, como el *Certamen Musical*, la expresión espiritual de la tierra. En años sucesivos ... vibraba el acento valenciano con sus sonos de gallardía; hermanó a Galicia, Andalucía, Castilla, con el broche de oro de la jota de Aragón. ¡Valencia, noble y poética, unióse a las demás regiones! ¡Fué siempre leal! ... se oye hoy el popular concierto del *cante jondo* con el espiritual *muñeiro* [sic, i.e., *tonada*] asturiano; el democrático canto valenciano, con el valiente acento de la jota aragonesa. Es el lazo espiritual de las regiones dignificadas en oficial festejo.

Vocally expressing the peripheral relationship of Valencia with the nation-state, several Valencian dance troupes based in the city of Valencia, moreover, offered regional song-dance spectacles in many Valencian cities and towns during local festivals, mostly with the participation of *cant valencià d'estil* singers which sang Aragonese *jota* and *cante flamenco* as well. Since the early twentieth century, both Valencian *cantadors d'estil* and Asturian singers found themselves in a state of affairs in which opportunities for wide success could only be found by additionally practicing the two national monodic expressive song traditions metonymically considered as expressions of Spanish national identity.

From the 1890s the Valencian elites had regularly staged the Aragonese *jota* along with the *cant valencià* during the July Fair in order to showcase their Spanishness and, although García Albarracín (1917) cites the *cante jondo* as already being presented in the 1910s, the *cante flamenco* is cited on the newspapers in 1928 as being staged for the first time, sung on occasion by one of the most renowned *cantadors d'estil*, *el Xiquet de Pedralba* (1889-1940). This Valencian singer, and others become professional in the 1910s such as *el Ceguet de Marjalenes* (1888-1940), performed *cant valencià*, Aragonese *jota de estilo*, and *cante flamenco* in order to survive as artists, while also recording 78 r.p.m. commercial discs of all these three genres.

The relationship of the *cant valencià d'estil* to the other two monodic expressive song traditions become emblems of Spanishness during the process of construction of the Spanish nation-state shows that the dialectic tension between north and south emphasized by Fernandez—iconically embodied in the Aragonese *jota* and in the

Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco*—can also be regarded as the tension between center and peripheries or between peripheries-as-centers and peripheries-as-peripheries. If the Aragonese *jota* stands for the north and its stereotypical values, and the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante* stands for the south and its emblematic ethos, the *cant valencià d'estil* of Valencia iconically embodies geographical, ethical, and aesthetic positions situated in between and in interrelation with them. The *cant valencià d'estil* is ontologically and aesthetically situated between the existential and social experiences of singing in northern and southern Spain, as will be analyzed in Chapter 7, section 7.2. and subsection 7.3.2. Focusing on it invites reflection on boundaries as they relate to the articulation and expression of identities through vocality.

I have addressed in this chapter the larger modern socio-political and historical musical framework in which the *cant valencià* found particular conditionings and opportunities for its contemporary development. In addressing its study within such a wider context, the others, and the boundaries that both separate the *cant valencià* from and link it to them, are recognized as the necessary contrasting counterparts in any formation, articulation, or definition of identities.

Yet the *cant valencià* is not only at the boundary between northern and southern Spain, and between the monodic expressive song traditions of the Aragonese *jota* and the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco*, but it was also born, as we will see in the next chapter, at the permeable boundaries between Muslim and Christian cultures, and at those likewise in constant transition between the city and the countryside.

Chapter 2: The *Cant Valencià d'Estil* in Diachronic Perspective: Historical Boundaries and Musical Clues about Its Origins

An examination of the historical development of the *cant valencià d'estil* tradition can provide some clues to understand the origin of its characteristic vocality, which is linked to the nature of its repertory and to the occasions when it was performed. With that aim in mind, in this chapter I present and discuss the available historical evidence about this singing tradition and about the origins of its repertory, constituted at the boundaries between ethnic cultures and between environmental subcultures of the past. I first trace the most prominent lines of Valencian history as a framing device, and then I diachronically situate the phenomenon of the *cantadors d'estil*, as well as their traditional repertory and its most salient constitutive features.

In section 2.1., I outline the history of Valencia: (1) from the Muslim to the Christian medieval world, with its hegemony under the Crowns of Aragon and Spain from the fourteenth through the sixteenth century, up to the *Morisco* expulsion (1609) and its powerful social consequences; (2) from the loss of Valencian historical laws and political autonomy (1707) through the social and agricultural recovery at the end of the eighteenth century, and the economic boom and cultural-literary *Renaixença* during the last third of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries; finally, (3) from that period up to the present day's political autonomy within the Spanish nation-state. This synthetic examination will allow for some concluding reflections on

Valencian historical identity and how it is linked to the *cant valencià* tradition. This historical identity cannot be reduced to other identities, despite what was posited, with regrettable consequences, by some Valencian intellectuals of the second half of the twentieth century.

In section 2.2., I first give an account of the *cantadors d'estil* phenomenon, gathering and discussing the different traces in time and space which tell us about their historical prominence in the context of Valencian traditional music; then, I probe the historical depth of the *cant valencià* tradition, paying attention to various musical and other related clues, as well as to the available historical and ethnographic sources in relation to the two main and contrasting parts of its repertory: the non-metric *cant d'estil* and the metric *albaes* songs. From this examination, it will become clear not only that the vocality of the *cant valencià* is mainly linked to Mediterranean open-air peasant work songs, but also that this is a boundary tradition that harks back to the Valencian Muslim and Christian past, and that this tradition emerged from a long-standing relationship between the city and the countryside.

2.1. Snapshots of Valencian Socio-Political and Economic History: From the Periphery to the Center and Back

Valencia, situated on the Mediterranean shores of the Iberian Peninsula, is one of the most dynamic territories of the contemporary Spanish nation-state. From a peripheral territory of the Caliphate of Cordoba, it became after the Christian conquest of the thirteenth century a leading power in the western Mediterranean

during the late Middle Ages and early modern era, the economic center of the Crowns of Aragon and Spain. Then, it declined for almost two centuries, becoming a periphery first of the Spanish empire, and later of the Spanish nation-state, despite the fact that between the late eighteenth century and the mid-twentieth century its agricultural resources sustained the governments of Spain. What particular history led to its current peripheral position, and in what sense Valencian society may can be characterized as a kind of crossroads and “even a crucible for all the contradictions of contemporary Spain” (Saz Campos 1998, 6)?

2.1.1. From the Muslim to the Christian Medieval world

In the Middle Ages, Valencia’s fertile coastal lands were developed by irrigation under Muslim rule for four centuries (709-1238) and were conquered in the early thirteenth century (1229-1245) by King James I for the Christian Crown of Aragon, which functioned as a kind of commonwealth unified by the person of the king, in which each territory preserved its personality and laws. In the context of internal fights between the Aragonese monarchy and the Aragonese and Catalan nobilities striving for control over the newly-acquired territories, these lands sized from the Muslims were established as an independent kingdom according to the will of the king. A charter or constitution inspired by ancient Roman law called the *Furs* allowed for royal control and bourgeois opportunities in the Valencian cities as a bulwark against the extensive privileges of the aristocracy in Aragon and Catalonia.

This legal system and the borderline position of Valencia on the frontier with the Spanish Muslim world were instrumental in the new kingdom's spectacular economic and social growth (Reglà 1992, 42). Christian immigrants—above all from Catalonia, Aragon, and Occitania—populated the city of Valencia and all of the other main Valencian cities. Bourgeois merchants from all over the western Mediterranean headed to the new Christian colony. In fact, the Kingdom of Valencia became a kind of colonial society with a large Muslim rural population in the rural zones and with Christians in the major urban areas representing the ruling and middle classes.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the capital city of Valencia became a kind of Hanseatic city with strong merchant activity, a dense manufacturing network, a fertile agricultural hinterland (Reglà 1992, 42), and privileged control over the country's resources in order to sustain what by the standards of fifteenth-century Europe was a huge population of 75,000 inhabitants—compare London (80,000), Rome (45,000), Paris (90,000), and Barcelona (40,000).

2.1.2. From the hegemony under the Crowns of Aragon and Spain up to the *Morisco* expulsion

Between the foundation of the Crown of Aragon in 1137 via the dynastic union of Aragon and Catalonia and the mid-fourteenth century, Barcelona had been the hegemonic city (Reglà 1992, 43). However, Barcelona's falling into economic and demographic decline during the late Middle Ages, owing to the bubonic plague, social unrest, and later civil war in Catalonia (1462-1472), favored the transference of

that hegemony to Valencia (Reglà 1992, 43). When the Aragonese dynasty died out (1410), the Valencia's support was decisive in granting the Crown of Aragon to the Castilian dynasty of the Trastámara (1412-1516). Also, the city expanded its political influence over the Mediterranean to conquer Naples (1442) and southern Italy under the rule of Alfons V (1416-1458), whereby strong economic, social, and artistic relations were established with the central and southern lands of the Italian Peninsula. Two Valencian Popes from Xàtiva, then the second most important city of the Kingdom of Valencia, ruled the Roman Catholic Church: Calixtus III (between 1455 and 1458) and his nephew Alexander VI (between 1492 and 1503).

From the dynastic marriage of the Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella (1469), which united the Crowns of Aragon and Castile into the Crown of Spain, up to the *Germanies* or Revolt of the Brotherhoods (1520-1522), which was a crisis with origins in the social and religious tensions between the city and the countryside, and between Christians and Muslims, Valencia became the financial capital of the Spanish monarchy (Reglà 1992, 51). As a matter of fact, in 1492 it was a wealthy Valencian Jew, Lluís de Santàngel, well-placed in the Catholic Monarchs' court, who sponsored Christopher Columbus's voyage that resulted in the discovery and colonization of the New World (see [Ardit] 1992).

Trying to go beyond the Occitan troubadour literary tradition fostered by the kings of Aragon, a Golden Age of Valencian bourgeois literature in verse and prose flourished in the burgeoning city of Valencia (1380-1500), at that time the economic capital of the western Mediterranean. Prominent figures such as the poet Ausiàs March (1397-1459), the novelist Joanot Martorell (1413-1468), the satirical poet

Jaume Roig (ca. 1415-1478), the religious prose-writer Sor Isabel de Villena (1430-1490), or the poet and prose-writer Joan Roïç de Corella (1435-1497), among the most important ones, wrote in the Valencian language, giving birth to the first great period of literary creativity in romance languages of the Iberian Peninsula.¹ Printing developed considerably in the city, resulting in the first literary book printed in the Iberian Peninsula: *Obres e trobes en lahors de la Verge Maria* (1474).

The religious Corpus Christi festival fostered by the Catholic Church from the mid-fourteenth century on and soon spread all over Christian Europe, became the main annual festival of the powerful medieval and early modern city of Valencia for several centuries. Theatrical, paratheatrical, and choreic didactic entertainments characteristic to this religious celebration were developed and exported to other Spanish cities between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries (Pitarch 1999). The Valencian peasants who danced the Valencian versions of European stick or morris dances become very popular in this festival were also hired for Corpus Christi processional retinues all over Spain. Their presence became so widespread that the Andalusian sixteenth-century humanist Rodrigo Caro (1573-1647) used them as contemporary examples to illustrate what ancient Roman and Greek warrior dances

¹ The Catalan and Occitan dialects brought to Valencia by the Christian conquerors in the thirteenth century combined here to become the language of the new kingdom, first referred to in official and literary documents as *romanç* (“Romance [language]”), and then, from the beginning of the city of Valencia’s hegemony in the second half of the fourteenth century as *llengua valenciana* (“Valencian language”), which is the southernmost distinctive variety of the Occitan-Romance linguistic diasystem, to which the Catalan and Occitan varieties belong (Alibert 1935-1937; Bec 1973; Sumien 2006). During the Middle Ages, between the eighth and thirteenth centuries, there was no clear distinction or separation between Occitan and Catalan. The modern separation between them is largely of a political rather than linguistic nature, as there exists mutual comprehensibility among the speakers of the dialects or languages of the entire Occitan-Romance diasystem. See Rafanell (2006) for an account of the early twentieth-century political strategies of the Catalan nationalists to establish their language as separate from the Occitan language.

might have looked like. This popular Valencian choreic influence has endured in Castile, Navarre, and Catalonia to the present.

Valencia's hegemonic position in Spain lasted into the early sixteenth century, when the Habsburg dynasty (1516-1700) succeeded that of the Trastámara and emperor Charles I's alliance with the Republic of Genoa, which had traditionally been a commercial rival of the Crown of Aragon, now favored that city's rise to hegemony. Genoese bankers, merchants, and artisans with strong interests in Castile and above all in southern Andalusia (especially Seville, Cadiz, and other cities which controlled commerce with the New World) became essential to the expansion of the Spanish empire (Jillgarth 2000, 16).²

Replacing Valencia, Seville became at that time "the Wall Street of Spanish financial life" (Reglà 1992, 146). The colonization of the newly-discovered continent had the effect not only of displacing the political and economic axis from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, but also, ironically, of resulting in Valencia's and all of the territories of the Crown of Aragon being banned (until the late eighteenth century) from trading with the New World, thus contributing to a progressive decline and peripheralization with regard to Castile. One of the symptoms of decline in Valencia from the Renaissance period onwards was the literary eclipse of Valencian literature and the rise of Castilian as the language of the Valencian court, language which was also increasingly diffused through print (Casey 1999, 110). "Between 1580 and 1620

² One of the foremost Spanish poets of the period, Francisco Quevedo (1580-1645), wrote in critical allusion to the immense profits that the Genoese drew from Spain, draining its colonial resources: "*el dinero nace en las Indias honrado y yace en Génova enterrado*" ("money is born honestly in the Indies and ends up buried in Genoa") (Reglà 1992, 56).

Valencia became the setting for some of the finest Castilian-language poetry and plays, written and read by an elite which was in harmony with courtly ideas of order and hierarchy” (Casey 1999, 113).

At the beginning of the seventeenth century (1609-1612), the deportation for religious reasons of the large majority of Valencian *Moriscos*—that is, the Muslims converted to Christianity by force via the royal decree (1502) of the Catholic Monarchs, but secretly practicing their old faith—contributed enormously to the process of economic and social decline in Valencia. With the massive and well-orchestrated *Morisco* expulsion, mainly to North Africa and the Ottoman Empire, one third of the Kingdom of Valencia’s population was lost (130,000 out of 400,000 inhabitants), a fact that would have dramatic, economic, and social consequences over the next one hundred and fifty years. As a matter of fact, because of this demographic and economic “catastrophe” (Reglà 1992, 51), while the rest of Europe underwent a period of rural growth and development during the seventeenth century, Valencia experienced a marked rural decline (Reglà 1992, 47).³

Many among the Valencian nobles, the ruling class who exploited the *Morisco* populations for agricultural labor in their own lands, migrated to Madrid. “The old feudal nobility had very often migrated by 1700—indeed by 1622, to judge by a

³ All of the Valencian *Moriscos* disembarked in Oran, Algeria, and established themselves in different places in northern Africa. Many of these families passed through Tlemcen and entered through Bizerte what today is northern Tunisia, establishing themselves there and in nearby locations such as Ghar el Mehl, in Tunis, as well as other places such as Testour and Zaghouan, where their surviving relatives still carry Valencian family names: Balansyan (i.e. Valencian); Zbiss (i.e., Llopis) a typical Valencian surname still common today; Chatiba (i.e. *Xàtiva*, the second most important city of the old Kingdom of Valencia and the place with the greatest urban *Morisco* concentration between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries; Lacanti (i.e. *alacantí* [“of Alacant”], today the second most important Valencian city (see Montesinos 2009).

complaint of the city of Valencia—to the court” (Casey 1999, 114-5). But these absentee landowners attracted new peasants, mostly from the Kingdom of Valencia itself (about 94% of the new settlers came from there), relocating them to populate and work the lands that the Valencian *Moriscos* had been forced to abandon. This slow process, which lasted approximately from 1609 to 1640 and did not produce visible signs of steady recovery until the end of the century, was implemented through the issuing of local charts in which the aristocratic landowners often abused the new peasants’ rights in clear opposition to traditional Valencian laws. In 1693, this resulted in civil unrest and the so-called *Segona Germania*, a countryside revolt of discontent that occurred in many southern districts of the Kingdom of Valencia (Reglà 1992, 52).

The seventeenth century was marked in Spain by the central European wars and against the revolts of both Catalonia and Portugal (1640-1668), the latter then becoming independent from the Spanish kings, who had been its rulers since 1580. During the two decades of Catalonia’s frustrated rebellion against the Crown of Spain (1640-1659), Valencia became the main Mediterranean port of the Spanish monarchy (Reglà 1992, 46). But with the ensuing peace, Barcelona resumed its leading position. By that point, Valencia had already achieved the status of a peripheral society during the epoch of the modern Spanish-Castilian monarchy’s progressive consolidation, which considerably expanded its policing presence in the Crown of Aragon territories over the course of the seventeenth century (Casey 1999, 111).

2.1.3. The loss of Valencian historical laws and of its political autonomy

The decline of Valencia, and of the whole Crown of Aragon, into a political periphery of the Spanish monarchy was significantly aggravated with the enshrinement of the French Bourbon dynasty after the so-called War of Spanish Succession (1700-1714) which broke out when the last Habsburg monarch of Spain Charles II (1665-1700) died without successors. Great Britain's and France's intervention as foreign powers was instrumental in deciding the outcome in this transcendental civil conflict, in which Charles III Archduke of Austria, and Phillip of Bourbon, who would become Phillip V of Spain, contended for the Spanish throne. The Valencian pro-Habsburg *Maulet* party fought in favor of Archduke Charles III, against the so-called *Botifler* party which fought in favor of the Bourbon contender.

The victory of Phillip V (I of Valencia) in the Battle of Almansa (1707), a town near Albacete in la Mancha region, southwest of Valencia, brought about royal absolutism and Castilian centralism in revenge for the generalized support given to the Habsburg dynasty by the Crown of Aragon territories: their public laws, the *Furs*, and their political institutions, globally and in each of its kingdoms and territories, were suppressed and the Castilian ones imposed. The official languages other than Spanish used in these territories were banned from the public sphere and heavily repressed by the new absolutist monarch. The Valencian language, flourishing in the fifteenth-century Golden Age of Valencian literature, remained mostly a spoken means of communication banned from educational and administrative institutions. A Valencian proverb, passed on to the present, says: *Quan el mal ve d'Almansa, a tots alcança* ("When evil comes from Almansa, it reaches everybody").

During the Bourbons' rule (1707-1808), social reforms as well as ethnic control of minorities were imposed in all of the Spanish territories by the monarchs, aristocrats, and prelates who adhered to the Enlightenment movement. The symbols of old Valencian pride and power, such as the governmental *Generalitat* Palace, were closed and dismantled in symbolic violence, and the annual, boisterous celebration with firecrackers (*piuletes* and *tronadors*) commemorating James I's conquest of the capital city from the Moors on October 9, 1238 was prohibited.⁴ Yet, if this was the period of strongest Castilian domination and Valencian political decay, the situation would show signs of change half a century later.

2.1.4. From the social and agricultural recovery, through the economic boom and cultural-literary *Renaixença*, up to the present political autonomy.

The beginning of a sustained and spectacular demographic recovery in Valencia did not happen until the mid-eighteenth century. Under favorable economic conditions, the development of agriculture and industry (mainly silk and hemp, but also commerce with France and the Mediterranean) gave the Kingdom of Valencia a demographic boom and dynamic thrust, resulting by the 1760s in the establishment of an agricultural bourgeoisie who introduced the cultivation of oranges and largely expanded wine and liquor productions, all of which were progressively consolidated over the nineteenth century.

⁴ Resisting these early eighteenth-century centralist, repressive measures, Valencia's pastry cooks and bakers, mocking the original firecrackers, symbolically created marzipan *piuletes* and *tronadors* to be eaten along with the traditional marzipan fruits, wrapped in headscarfs, which unmarried men presented to their girlfriends and married men to their wives on October 9 each year, commemorating the fruits that the Moors took with them when they left the city under the terms of a pact.

During the Spanish War of Independence (1808-1814) against the French imperial invasion, the stability of the Spanish government of Joseph Bonaparte (1808-1813), appointed king of Spain by his brother Napoleon, depended on Valencian agricultural resources (Reglà 1992, 184). This greatly benefited the Valencian bourgeoisie. Some decades later when the Liberal State (1833-1874) took hold, the *Desamortización* or disentailment, that is, the expropriation and privatization of monastic properties, including many uncultivated landed estates, carried out from 1835 to 1837 by the Minister of the Treasury Juan Álvarez Mendizábal (1790-1853), put in the hands of such bourgeoisie many new lands to exploit, favoring the creation of an even stronger Valencian agricultural and financial elite.

In response to the many upheavals of Spanish nineteenth-century political history, including three civil wars (1833-1840, 1846-1849, 1872-1876), one revolutionary period (1868-1874), and the proclamation of the ephemeral First Republic (1873-1874), the Valencian conservative agricultural and financial bourgeoisie favored the Bourbon Restoration (1874-1931) through the *Pronunciamiento de Sagunto*.⁵ The new stable political phase saw the commercial boom of Valencian wine after French vineyards were ruined by phylloxera in the 1860s, and above all the boom of Valencian oranges, exported to Europe and America (300,000 tons in 1899). The Valencian conservative agricultural and financial bourgeoisie, tightly entwined with the centralist governments of Madrid,

⁵ The *Pronunciamiento de Sagunto* was the successful military uprising and proclamation of Alfonso XII as the new King of Spain, orchestrated and carried out by the Valencian conservatives in the city of Sagunto, eighteen miles north of Valencia. This ancient city, which resisted against the Romans in antiquity, was made a patriotic symbol by nineteenth-century Spanish nationalist historiography, hence its symbolic significance for the *Pronunciamiento*.

supported the Restoration political system in exchange for a system encouraging free trade and exportation, pitting them against Catalonia's textile bourgeoisie, Asturias' coal-mining companies, and Castile's wheat producers, all of whom were unable to compete in the international market and so demanded protectionist measures for their industries and productions.

Valencia had experienced a slow but profound transformation of her social structures before the nineteenth century and had had a liberal-bourgeois revolution which was one of the most radical, in both social and political terms, experienced within Spain. The radical and profound nature of such change in Valencia has to be understood alongside the conservative moderation of its new liberal ruling classes, the extraordinary strength of its democratic radicalism and, in a few areas, the existence of Carlism.⁶ The importance of the role played by Valencia in the revolutionary period known as the "Sexenio revolucionario" (1868-1874) is equally striking. ...

[During the revolutionary period t]he Valencian bourgeoisie did not fade away but instead consolidated its power and developed in an entirely reasonable manner. Although some industries, such as silk, faced a crisis in [the] mid[-nineteenth] century, others took up the challenge. It goes without saying that the splendour of Valencian agriculture was not simply the result of the exuberant generosity of Nature. It owed, in fact, much to the social transformations which accompanied the Liberal Revolution and much also to the strategies of the new bourgeoisie, which, both in the short and long term, turned out to be eminently sound. Rather than being a factor that contributed to industrial backwardness, the spectacular development of Valencian agriculture helped to boost industrial growth both in already developed areas like Alcoi and in others that were emerging in the southern part of the province of Alicante. By 1900, Valencia was at the forefront of Spanish agriculture but was also one of the most industrialized areas of Spain (after Catalonia and the Basque Country). (Saz Campos 1998, 3-4)

This was a period of economic wealth for the Valencian agricultural and commercial elite. The first romanticism of the liberal imprint that predominated during the second third of the nineteenth century was now co-opted by this conservative ruling class to produce the cultural and literary *Renaixença* of Valencian language and literature. This period saw the construction of both a romantic, non-problematic image of the Valencian past and a stereotypical image of the present as one of rural wealth and harmony between the productive classes and the elite, using

⁶ *Carlism* was the traditionalist and legitimist Catholic political movement seeking the establishment on the Spanish throne of a separate line descended from Charles V (1788-1855) of the Bourbon family, the cause of the three nineteenth-century Spanish civil wars.

different traditional cultural elements (Archilés and Martí 2001), among them the *cant valencià*.

This idyllic rural image, which has to a great extent endured to the present day in the collective imagination, was constructed precisely at a time of city/countryside conflict and rural unrest (Burguera 2007) in which many Valencian *llauradors* (“farmers”) experienced economic and existential troubles and firmly protested, giving birth to the conflict that some historians have called the *Qüestió de l’Horta* (1878-1882) (see León Roca 1978, 79-86; Cucó 1985, 82-5). The farmers refused to pay the urban landowners what had become excessive land-leasing fees during a time of particularly difficult conditions for the countryside workers.

A portrait of that late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Valencian society (see Sebastià Domingo 2000) can be found in the so-called Valencian novels by the Valencian naturalist writer Vicente Blasco Ibañez (1867-1928), “the most universally renowned Spanish author of the twentieth century” (Bleiberg, Ihrle, and Pérez 1993, I, 217).⁷ However, the urban working class to which he initially belonged, and which politically supported him, received only literary attention in his journalism (Reig 2000, 276). Blasco Ibañez was a republican journalist and politician deeply involved in the issues of his day, who attracted masses to his progressive

⁷ The most celebrated and valued novels by Blasco Ibañez, who wrote in Spanish, are *La barraca* (1898), Eng. trans. *The Cabin* (1917), which describes the struggles for survival of farmers in the fertile lowlands around Valencia, and *Cañas y barro* (1902), Eng. trans. *Reeds and Mud* (1928), a study of passions among fishermen of the *Albufera*, the lagoon next to Valencia. Of the other three ones, *Arroz y tartana* (1894), Eng. trans. *The Three Roses* (1932), is a social, economic, and moral study of Valencian bourgeois life in the city; *Flor de Mayo* (1895), Eng. trans. *The Mayflower* (1921), addresses the misery and difficult existence of fishermen on the Valencian coast; and *Entre Naranjos* (1900), Eng. trans. *The Torrent* (1921), portrays the rural and cosmopolitan life full of passions and materialist sensuality of the Valencian agricultural bourgeoisie (See Bleiberg, Ihrle, and Pérez 1993, I, 217-8; and also Peyrègne and Villapadierna 1988). Blasco Ibañez’s novels *Sangre y arena* (1908), Eng. trans. *The Blood in the Arena* (1918), and *Los cuatro jinetes del apocalipsis* (1916), Eng. trans. *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (1911), were made into movies in Hollywood and became his most famous works in America.

cause and ended his life in exile when the monarchic cause won in Spain.⁸

Additionally, his fellow friend the renowned Valencian realist-impressionist painter Joaquín Sorolla y Bastida (1863-1923) conveyed to a great extent the soul of that vigorous society. The “painter of sunlight,” Sorolla became the internationally-acknowledged head of the modern Spanish school of painting, and he was commissioned by the Hispanic Society of America to do a series of great canvases portraying regional, traditional Spanish life and customs.

Both Blasco Ibáñez and Sorolla represent the vitalism and luminosity, open to the masses and to international markets, of the contemporary Mediterranean peripheries of Spain in contrast to the ideological and aesthetic fixation with death, austerity and obscurity which characterized their contemporary Castilian and northern intellectuals, writers, and artists known as *Generación del 98*: Ramón del Valle-Inclán, Miguel de Unamuno, and different various others (Tomás 2000). With a marked pessimism clearly demonstrated after the colonial disaster of 1898 during the war against the U.S. which resulted in the loss of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines by the Spanish Crown, these Castilian and northern intellectuals established the canonic view of Spain adhered to later by the intellectuals of Franco’s authoritarian regime, who were actually those who coined the term *Generación del 98* to refer to them (Tomás 2000).

⁸ Voluntarily exiled in France in 1914, Blasco Ibáñez returned to Valencia only in 1921 on the occasion of an homage organized by the city council to honor him for his literary achievements. He took this occasion to propose the creation of an ethnographic museum which would have shown the peasant life described in his Valencian novels. However, this idea would not be implemented until ten years later, when the Second Spanish Republic was established, in 1931 (Thous Orts 1932).

The centralized political life of Spain and its system of institutionalized shifts of liberals and conservatives during the Bourbon Restoration (1874-1931) was first broken by Blasco Ibáñez. From 1898, he continually won the elections in Valencia as a member of the Spanish Republican Party, and later he himself founded (1908) the *Partido de Unión Republicana Autonomista* (P.U.R.A.). This party—republican, populist, anticlerical, and autonomist—with its absolute majority in the local government of the city of Valencia, shaped Valencian political life over that period with the support of middle and lower-class businessmen and workers. Blasco Ibáñez thus established a Valencianist municipalism opposed both to the Spanish centralist politics controlled by the dynastic parties, and to the Valencian conservative regionalism which had co-opted the *Renaixença* movement (Reig Armero 2008, 362).

An *Exposición Regional* (“Regional Exhibition”) of agricultural and industrial resources and technologies in 1909, supported both by the agricultural and commercial bourgeoisie and by the P.U.R.A., represented the first manifest and successful awareness of contemporary Valencia as the capital of a thriving historic territory, the economic thrust of which had reached in some respects a similar height to that of the medieval one (Boira Mahiques 2006). The event, in fact, was repeated the following year (1910) in Valencia as Spanish *Exposición Nacional* (“National Exhibition”), with the attendance of the monarch.

It was in the context of the centralist Spanish nation-state of the Bourbon Restoration (1874-1931) and the Second Republic (1931-1939), within the economic and cultural thrust of the *Renaixença*, that the *cant valencià*, hallmark of humble farmers and low-class urban shopkeepers and artisans, achieved its greatest bourgeois

elite projection. This was also the case of the other conspicuous monodic expressive song traditions of differently marginalized peoples in the peripheral territories of mainland Spain (see Chapter 1, sections 1.3. and 1.4.), which with the aid of cultural and/or political movements, and to different extents, became the protagonists of Spanish popular social life as expressions of specific contemporary territorial identities.

The proclamation of the Second Republic (1931-1939) and the subsequent military rebellion by general Franco (1936) initiated the internationally-known Spanish Civil War and caused the Spanish republican government to relocate from Madrid to Valencia (1936-1939). In those hard times, the Spanish Republic was mainly supported by Valencian agrarian exports.

During the Second Republic, the scale of social conflict in Valencia was remarkable with a significant anarchist presence, and the radicalization of the Socialist Party was quite striking in many *comarcas* (districts) within the region. When the anarcho-syndicalist *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* split into anarchists and syndicalists, there emerged the so-called *Sindicatos de Oposición*. Although they originated in Catalonia, they were to find their greatest strength and vitality in Valencia. During the Civil War, Valencian society underwent the great convulsions and contradictions that accompanied the social revolution and the collectivization process. The violence experienced in the Republican zone was as intense as in other areas. Once the war was over, the *Agrupación Guerrillera de Levante* was to become the best organized, most solid and active element of the anti-Franco guerrilla struggle. (Saz Campos 1998, 6)

As a result, once general Franco established his long-lasting dictatorial regime (1939-1977), Valencian people were strongly repressed both because of the support they provided to the Spanish Republic, which had had its last stronghold in Valencia, and because of the active anti-Francoist guerrillas. Many among the most important *cantadors d'estil* suffered heavy consequences, with a long-lasting impact on the *cant valencià* tradition up to the present (see Chapter 3, subsection 3.2.5.).

[D]uring the long night of Francoism ... [Valencia] lost strength, and its influence within the political life of Spain was reduced. This decline of Valencia continued during the transition and into the democratic period [1975 onwards]. The reasons for this are immensely complex and await exploration by historians from standpoints other than those of traditional clichés and stereotypes. It goes without saying that one reason was the terrible, continuous and systematic repression of republican and working-class [individuals of] Valencia after defeat in 1939. Certainly, another was the region's identity problems and ... intense internal conflicts ... provoked from the 1960s onwards. Nevertheless, viewed from outside the region, from a non-Valencian standpoint, these identity problems highlight yet again the extent to which Valencian society may be characterized as a kind of crossroads, or even as a crucible for all the contradictions of contemporary Spain. In the Spain of regional autonomies, and of great national and nationalist debates, ... [Valencia] stands at the point where regionalism and nationalism, both Valencian and Spanish, meet and intertwine in an immensely complex relationship. (Saz Campos 1998, 6)

2.1.5. Valencian historical identity and the *cant valencià d'estil*

As a matter of fact, the identity conflicts from the 1960s onwards were fostered by young intellectuals of urban origin and background, followers of the Valencian literary critic and essayist Joan Fuster i Ortells (1922-1992). His ideas, born in the context of anti-Francoist fighting and democratic leftist claims (Archilés 2002), gave rise to a dogmatic strand of thought so-called *fusterianism*, which is still influential today. This current pleads for a Catalan national identity of the Valencian people based on linguistic claims, instead of the traditional Spanish one that the Valencians had always embraced since the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Spain articulated itself as a modern nation-state on the basis of *castilianism* and the privileging of the Castilian language—already imposed in the eighteenth-century by the absolutist Bourbon kings.

Fuster, comparing the Valencian lack of political autonomy in Valencia with the emergence of Catalan nationalism in Barcelona, particularly after the colonial losses

of 1898, viewed the fact that the Valencian bourgeoisie had not developed a similar nationalistic movement as an anomaly, and he sought to explain such purported anomaly, by what he claimed to be the backwardness of this agrarian bourgeoisie and by their abandonment of the Valencian language, maintained instead by the lower classes. Fuster romantically essentializing from self-interest, characterized the use of Valencia's own language as a hallmark of Valencians' purported Catalan identity forged in the thirteenth century with the Christian conquest and allegedly continued, unchanged, up to the present (Archilés 2002).

These ideas largely rejected and unpopular among the lower classes, but backed by certain Valencian intellectuals with influence in universities and scholarly institutions, have given rise over the past half a century to a flood of historiographic revisions of the Valencian past, often posited from a nationalist pan-catalanist standpoint or *fusterianism*. Yet, these revisions recur in assumptions and pose historical identity problems which have proven to be not only collectively detrimental for the development of contemporary Valencian life, but also factitious and inconsistent from the standpoint of current well-grounded scholarship on identity and nationalism developed according to international standards by younger Valencian historians at the beginning of the twenty-first century (see Archilés and Martí 2004; Burguera 2007; Baydal Sala 2008). As the Irish historian James G. Casey, a renowned expert in early modern Valencian history, put it: “the Valencian experience reminds us that language and history are not necessarily unifying forces, and that

national self-awareness requires to be built on firmer social and political foundations” (Casey 1999, 118).⁹

As a matter of fact, many factors contributed to the creation of a distinctive Valencian identity over time: (1) political independence between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, thanks to the historical laws of the Kingdom, “the famous *Furs*, one of the great intellectual monuments of the thirteenth century, since they reflect the renaissance of classical knowledge and Roman law which characterized that period” in Europe (Casey 1995, 197); (2) a well-defined, almost unchanged territory since 1305, with only two Castilian enclaves added after the Spanish provincial division of 1833: Requena and Novelda; (3) a clear Valencian patriotism during the early modern period in opposition to the Habsburg monarchs’ absolutist pretensions over Valencia’s liberties and privileges (Casey 1995); (4) later, a similarly evident patriotism opposing the Bourbons’ absolutist pretensions during the War of Spanish Succession (1700-1714) and during the other major Spanish conflicts of the modern era, such as the economic crisis of the late eighteenth century and the liberal constitution of Spain (1808-1813) (Baydal 2008); (5) the creation of the Valencian *Renaixença*, the cultural and literary movement of the late nineteenth century (Archilés and Martí 2001; 2004); (6) the strong adherence to, and creativity in, traditional festivals (Costa 2002), which has remained constant throughout the

⁹ In this respect, see Archilés’s (2002, 71) observation: “the nature of the identity which was configured in the thirteenth century with the creation of the Kingdom of Valencia corresponded to the political criteria of a feudal monarchy and in addition to a territory conceived of in terms of colonial operation. Although the language was a remarkable marker of identity (also when it started being called *Valencian language*) [in the fourteenth century], this [Valencian] identity was above all a juridic-political matter, based on belonging to the Kingdom’s territory.” (*la naturalesa de la identitat que es va configurar al segle XIII amb la creació del Regne de València responia als criteris polítics d’una monarquia feudal i encara a un territori concebut en termes d’una operació colonial. Tot i que la llengua era una marcadore d’identitat remarcable (també quan va començar a ser denominada llengua valenciana), aquesta identitat era sobretot un assumpte de naturalesa jurídicopolítica, basat en la pertinença territorial al Regne.*)

centuries since the late Middle Ages, influencing the rest of Spain in hegemonic periods; and so on, up to the development of the present political autonomy within the Spanish nation-state.

These all are aspects which point to a historically dynamic sense of Valencian identity, not erased despite nineteenth and twentieth-century attitudes such as castilianism, aesthetic andalusianism, provincialism, and pan-catalanism, adopted by different Valencian intellectuals or members of the elite out of particular economic or political interests over the last two centuries.

The maintenance of the *cant valencià d'estil* tradition is linked to this historical sense of Valencian identity, proclaimed by great singers like *el Xiquet de Mislata* (see Marzal Barberà 2009) and by today's best *cantadors d'estil*. At the same time, the lack of genuine interest toward this outstanding song tradition on the part of the Valencian elite or of certain Valencian intellectuals can be traced to the above-mentioned attitudes. In certain moments of the early twentieth century some have overtly demanded, both in public events and public discourses, the reappraisal of such Spanish genres as the Aragonese *jota parada* or *de estilo* and the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco*, but never of the *cant valencià d'estil* at the same level.

In fact, as early as 1901, the City of Valencia organized a well-advertised and much-celebrated *Fiesta de la Jota* during the July Fair of that year as the press reported, having famous Aragonese *jota* singers and dancers come from Aragon; also in the July Fair every year from the 1920 through the 1930s and beyond, the City spent as much for an Aragonese singer and a couple of Aragonese *jota* dancers as it

paid for an entire troupe of Valencian *cantadors d'estil*, musicians, and dancers (City of Valencia Historical Archives, *Feria de Julio*, 1924 and ff.). In 1932, the Valencian journalist Fernando Lluch published a lecture previously aired on *Unión Radio Valencia* under the title *Reivindicación del cante jondo* (“Vindication of the *Cante Jondo*”) (1932), while no similar vindication in so widely-circulated public discourses can be found in favor of the *cant valencià*.

This outline of Valencian history was intended as a means of framing the *cant valencià* and its specialized singers in their wider historical and social context. Next I probe the scarce but telling extant historical data on this tradition, as well as the musical and other related clues that indicate its genesis at Muslim/Christian and rural/urban crossroads in the early modern period.

2.2. The *Cantadors d'Estil* Phenomenon: Traces in Time and Space

In the initial paragraphs of this section, I summarize insights gained over the years during the exploration of *cant valencià* from historical and ethnographic standpoints. In subsections 2.2.1., 2.2.2., and 2.2.3., I provide and discuss the available historical data and musical clues that support these insights and constitute evidence that this expressive song tradition is rooted in medieval practices, but can be consistently dated back to Valencia's early modern past and musical culture.

The *cant valencià*, as a modern form of embodied expressivity, emerged, in fact, between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries mainly as token of the identity of the largest Valencian social strand, the *llauradors* or rural population of farmers and

peasants living in most of the irrigated areas of the Kingdom of Valencia and their surrounding, immediate mountainous areas. One of the most influential Spanish geographers of the first half of the twentieth century, Juan Dantín Cereceda (1922), situated the main concentration of historically irrigated lands of the Spanish nation-state in eastern Spain: above all in the Valencian river valleys along the Mediterranean coastline, but also in the Ebro valley, where the Aragonese *jota* developed, and in some fluvial areas of Murcia and Granada (see Fig. 5).

A productive territory thoroughly cultivated by means of extensive irrigation through capillary channels since the Muslim period, and greatly developed since the late eighteenth century, Valencia has had a marked character of agricultural wealth which overrode the image of the interior, poorer mountainous parts of the Kingdom in the construction of a collective imagination during the *Renaixença*.

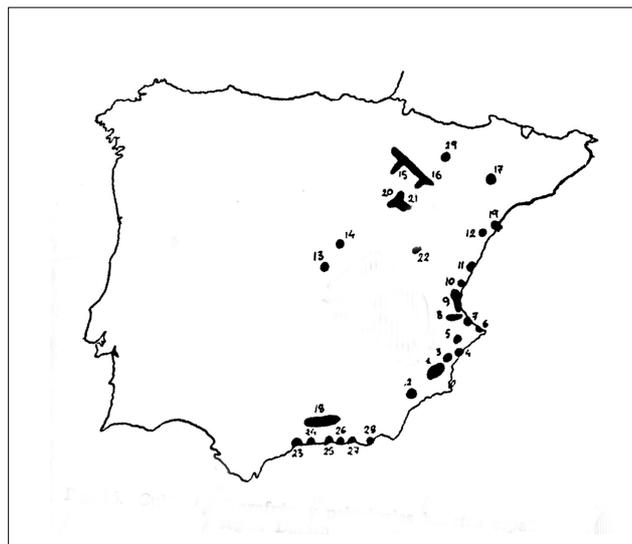


Fig. 5

Main historically-irrigated areas of Spain, according to geographer Juan Dantín Cereceda (1922)

Wherever a river permitted, both on the coastal fertile lowlands and the interior riversides, agriculture was imposed in an ever-expanding process up to the last third of the twentieth century, when industry and tourism took the economic precedence. In contrast to Andalusia, Valencia has historically had many small peasant landowners, despite the fact that a population of families working urban-owned lands and poor laborers existed as well. In any event, working these irrigated lands, *l'horta*, was nowhere near as idyllic as the conservative bourgeoisie of the *Renaixença* selfishly promulgated in the poetry and literature of that period. The owner of an old mill in the fertile lowlands of Alboraiá, just north of the city of Valencia, told me in a conversation (2006): “The *horta* is very nice to see, but also very bitter for those who work it.”

The once-gorgeous, garden-like agricultural landscapes all around the city of Valencia, which have been overwhelmed to a great extent by urban development from the 1960s through the 1990s, was emphasized since the nineteenth century either in peasant songs, in travelers’ descriptions, or in the bourgeois, geographical, economic, historical, and tourist accounts of Valencia. However, the world-famous Valencian naturalist writer Vicente Blasco Ibáñez (1864-1928), also one of the main political personalities of his time as we saw in subsection 2.1.4., emphasized in his world-famous Valencian novels the dramatic living conditions of the Valencian peasants exploited by the urban elite. These strained relationships were no novelty, as they harked back to the Middle Ages, and gave birth in particular moments, from the fourteenth century onwards, to dramatic conflicts between peasants and urban feudal

or bourgeois landowners (see Cerdà, Chust Calero, Narbona Vizcaíno, and Ribes Iborra 1988, *passim*).

If the *cant valencià* emerged mainly as expression of the peasant people living in these rich agricultural lands which supplied the capital and the main Valencian cities with most of the necessary food provisions, this song tradition historically was also a matter of urban shopkeepers and artisans of modest social means in the main cities, from Castelló de la Plana in the north, to Alacant in the south, as well as in smaller Valencian towns and villages.

As we know it over the last one hundred and fifty years, this monodic expressive song tradition has been maintained by specialized singers of rural or humble, urban origin, who were requested or hired to sing in village, neighbourhood, or street festivals during the *cantaes*, as well as other convivial and public celebrations. Because the elite began paying attention to this expressive song tradition only in the late nineteenth century as a consequence of a regionalist impulse which formed part of the process of consolidating the contemporary Spanish nation-state and Valencian bourgeois affirmation during the *Renaixença*, the most renowned *cant valencià* singers are known to us only from that period on. Since 1891, in fact, they were staged in the July Fair of Valencia, and also at the beginning of the twentieth century some of them became famous all over Spain through the recording industry and the public spectacles that showcased traditional Valencian songs and dances along with those of other Spanish territories, presenting them as the embodiments of regional identities. See in this respect Chapter 1, subsection 1.5., and further Chapter 7, subsection 7.4. on their nationalistic use through iconic strategies of essentialism.

These Valencian specialized singers were on certain occasions mentioned, photographed or granted special attention in newspapers or magazines as of the early twentieth century (see Chapter 3, subsection 3.2.1.2.), but overall to an extent that is far from being comparable to that with which the Andalusian *cantaors flamencos* and the Aragonese *cantadores de jota* were hailed in the media and in specific monographs, when intellectuals from those Spanish territories began fostering their respective monodic expressive song traditions in the 1880s (see Chapter 1, section 1.4.). If this is the case, what is the earliest available literary-historical evidence about the *cantadors d'estil* and how old is their repertory? These questions are explored in the following subsections.

2.2.1. The historical depth of the *cant valencià d'estil* tradition

The first explicit mention of the *cantadors d'estil* is rather late compared to their unquestionably older presence in Valencian festivals and other private musical occasions. As far as I am aware, they are first mentioned by this name in 1873 when the first-known Valencian folk-song collection was compiled in order to display the resulting musical manuscript at the Universal Exhibition of Vienna (see Ximénez 1873; Teixero 1873; and Pitarch 1997, 27-8). These Valencian specialized singers, taken as the main sources for the song items of that collection as we learn through the prefatory words, constituted a well-ensconced phenomenon both in the city of Valencia and in its hinterland, the fertile lowlands of the rivers Túria and Xúquer, interspersed with agricultural villages mostly of medieval, Muslim origin:

The Provincial Industry Subcommittee of Valencia, wishing that the folk songs of this province were represented at the *Universal Exhibition of Vienna* to correspond to the March 18 invitation by the Central Committee of Spain, invited the distinguished professor Mr. Eduardo Ximénez to gather and collect, using his acknowledged zeal and diligence, the folk music of our countryside. Accepted this mission by Mr. Ximénez, he immediately got down to work. It is worth reporting here the problems Mr. Ximénez had to overcome in order to fulfil appropriately the wishes of the Provincial Subcommittee, because in this way the importance of his effort, and his intelligence and perseverance in carrying it out successfully, can be judged in fair terms. The short time available to him required a special diligence, but the major predicament, which in principle made Mr. Ximénez hesitate about his success, was the absolute absence of written data and records on the authentic music of the [Valencian] folk songs and dances. Certainly, folk music, even if not written down, can be heard around instead very often both in the city and the villages of the province, something that would have seemed enough in order to transfer it into paper. But this was not the issue, it was a matter of writing the folk music in all its authenticity, in all its purity, and to this end, it was necessary to distinguish the true, authentic music from the infinite variations that the people, without making it loss entirely its character, have introduced into it. How to achieve such an outcome? There was only one way and it was followed by Mr. Ximénez without sparing any efforts: to look, both in Valencia and the villages of its surrounding fertile lowlands, for what the people call *cantors d'estil*, i.e., the singers who preserve in all its integrity the folk music handed down to them from generation to generation. A slow, difficult task full of setbacks, which, notwithstanding, in the end led the professor to the desired outcome.¹⁰ (Teixeró 1873)

Therefore, the Valencian pianist and composer Mr. Eduardo Ximénez, invited to collect Valencian folk music, was perfectly aware that the *cantadors d'estil* of his time were specialized and knowledgeable singers, bearers of a characteristic and old song tradition. Emiliano Teixeró, the leader of the Provincial Industry Subcommittee of Valencia and author of the transcribed passage, refers to them as *cantors* instead of as *cantadors*, which is the usual traditional term.

¹⁰ La Subcomisión Provincial de Industria de Valencia, deseosa de que en la *Exposición Universal de Viena* figurasen los cantos populares originales de esta provincia, correspondiendo de este modo a la invitación que con fecha 18 de Marzo le dirigió la Comisión Central española, invitó al distinguido profesor Sr. D. Eduardo Ximénez, para que procediera con su reconocido celo y actividad a recoger y coleccionar la música popular de nuestro país. Aceptada la misión por el Sr. Ximénez, puso desde luego manos a la obra. Conviene aquí indicar las dificultades con que ha luchado el Sr. Ximénez para corresponder dignamente a los deseos de la Subcomisión Provincial, y así se podrá juzgar con acierto de la importancia del trabajo y de la inteligencia y perseverancia empleadas para llevarla a feliz término. La brevedad del tiempo de que podía disponer requería una actividad sin igual, pero el obstáculo mayor, el que por un momento hizo vacilar del éxito al Sr. Ximénez, consistía en la ausencia absoluta de datos y antecedentes escritos sobre la música original de los cantos y danzas populares. Cierto que la música popular, si no está escrita, se oye en cambio con mucha frecuencia en la capital y en los pueblos de la provincia, y eso pudiera parecer suficiente para trasladarla sin dificultad al papel. Pero no era esta la cuestión, se trataba de escribir la música popular en toda su originalidad, en toda su pureza, y para ello era preciso distinguir la verdadera música original de las infinitas variaciones que, sin hacerla perder por completo su carácter, ha introducido el pueblo. ¿Cómo conseguir este resultado? No había más que un medio y a él apeló el Sr. Ximénez sin perdonar diligencia: buscar en Valencia y en los pueblos de la vega lo que el pueblo llama *cantors d'estil*, es decir, a los que conservan en toda su integridad la música popular transmitida hasta ellos de tradición en tradición. Tarea lenta, penosa y llena de contrariedades, pero que al fin ha conducido al profesor al término deseado.

In both the Spanish and Valencian languages, *cantor* applies to a church or choir singer, while *cantador* properly designates a folk one—hence, among, others the *cantaor* flamenco. Thus, there may well be on Teixero's part a projection of the high term over the folk one. In any event it is clear that these “singers who preserve[d] in all its integrity the folk music handed down to them from generation to generation” were specialized singers paid for their art, similarly to the Andalusian-Gypsy *cantaores* and the Aragonese *cantadores de jota* at that time.

About fifteen years earlier, in 1859, one of these *cantadors d'estil* is descriptively alluded to as a *cantador de oficio* (“singer by trade”), or in other words, as a singer hired by the *clavaris*, *majorals* or *festers* in order to sing in the *cantaes* for an agreed amount of money or another compensation, as still happens today. The 1859 text in which the above-mentioned allusion is found describes customs, traditions, and folk types popular and well-known at that time, like for instance the *corredor de joies* (“horse racer”) and his practice, a form of entertainment widespread among Valencian peasants during traditional patron-saint festivals up to the mid-twentieth century. After describing this peasant sport, the author tells us that, once the popular horse races are over,

[e]verything calms down when they [the *corredors de joies*] talk about the next [horse race which will be held in another nearby festival]; and the horse racers, apart from the comments they are allowed in order to vent their joy or their sadness [depending on if they won or lost], drink refreshments to the health of the *clavaris* during the *cantada de guitarras*, in which the flattering singer by trade never misses the occasion to delight their ears with that famous and old song:

Any man who has
a racing horse
and a dancing wife

of himself can be proud.¹¹

Thus, by the mid-nineteenth century, during the *cantaes* with guitars or *guitarraes* in which *cant d'estil* was sung, the *cantadors d'estil* or “singers by trade” used to compliment the *clavaris* and their guests with dedicated songs, essentially the same way that they do today.

In traditional Valencian festivals of that time different typical forms of entertainment were common, among them the *cantaes*, as contemporary reliable witnesses corroborate. The renowned composer and musicologist Francisco Asenjo Barbieri (1823-1894), who used to spend his summer holidays in Valencia, observed in 1859 that in street, neighborhood, or village festivals, the main celebrations included peasant theater (*Ball de Torrent*), singing spectacles by blind people (*cantaes de cegos*), convivial folk singing and dancing (*bureos*), and street serenades (that is, *cantaes* even if he just refers to serenades), as well as some other amusements. He adds that Valencian people willingly “pay for street festivals, ... pay for serenades,” and for any other diversions (Asenjo Barbieri 1859, 51). Here is further confirmation that the Valencian *cantadors d'estil* were traditionally paid for their performances, as it is common practice today.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, earlier than these first mentions of the *cantadors d'estil* as specialized, paid singers appear, the popularity of street serenades or *cantaes* in which they participated is out of question. Contemporary

¹¹ Todo se apacigua cuando se habla de la otra [carrera que se celebrará en la próxima fiesta de los alrededores]; y los ginetes [sic], aparte los comentarios que se les permite[n] en desahogo de la alegría o de la desgracia [de haber ganado o haber perdido], se desquitan con refrescar a la salud de los clavaros durante la cantada de guitarras, en la cual el ladino cantador de oficio nunca deja de recrearles el oído con aquella célebre y antigua canción: Cualsevol home que té / Ros[s]í corredor de choyes / Y la dona balladora, / Ya pot dir que's pinta a soles.

references to these musical events are laconic but significant. For instance, when the well-known British traveler Richard Ford toured Spain in 1844, he wrote that in Valencia “The lower classes are fond of pleasure; their national song is called *la Fiera*; and their dance *La Rondalla*, or roundabout. They execute this well to the *tamboril* and *dulzayna*, a sort of Moorish clarinet requiring strong lungs and ears” (Ford 1855, 363).

There is a bit of confusion in Ford’s account, but the evidence we may draw about the existence of the *cantaes* is undeniable. First, he mentions *la Fiera*, which is a well-known Aragonese *jota*, taking this reference from the description of Valencian customs made by the Dominican friar Jaime Villanueva y Astengo (1765-1824). This figure of the Enlightenment, an erudite and well-known liberal politician from Xàtiva, instead of categorizing the song as national (as usual in the first half of the nineteenth century, and in fact what Ford does) said that it was one “among the popular songs characteristic of the countryside ... an old one” (Villanueva y Astengo 1826, 138). This attests to the presence of the Aragonese *jota* in Valencia by the mid-1810s when Villanueva y Astengo wrote his observations published ten years later in 1826. This is of no relevance to our exploration. Yet, second, Ford refers to *La Rondalla*, which, even if he improperly calls it a dance, is the Spanish-Aragonese word for street serenade, especially that accompanied by stringed instruments, as we saw in Chapter 1. In the Valencian language it corresponds to *cantada* (colloquial: *cantà*, plural *cantaes*) or *ronda* (“roundabout,” as Ford renders it in English). Ford states that the Valencian people use the *tabalet* and *dolçaina* on these characteristic musical occasions. In a typical *cantà* or *ronda*, as described in the Introduction, the singers

wander through the different streets of a village visiting different households and usually sing accompanied by the guitars, but also, as Ford says, with the *tamboril* and *dulzayna* (Spanish names for the *tabalet* and *dolçaina* which accompany the *albaes* songs). Hence, despite Ford's confusion, it is pretty clear that the *cantaes* of *albaes* were the hallmark of Valencian peasants' music at that time.

A few years earlier than Ford's trip to Spain, an anonymous article of 1838, using again the Spanish-Aragonese word *rondallas*, confirms that the Valencian *cantaes* were the traditional and most typical expression in song form of the Valencian peasants and urban lower-class. This article, on national airs of Europe (see *Música: Tonadas nacionales de diferentes pueblos* 1838, 531), appeared on the *Semanario pintoresco español*, a weekly, family-oriented journal published in Madrid. After having listed a series of national song-dances from different European countries, the author concluded by describing those characteristic of Spain:

Lastly, the different Spanish provinces, so diverse in climate and customs, have their favorite tunes, full of the purest melody, as true expressions of their respective characters and inclinations: the Aragonese *jota*, the *seguidillas* of la Mancha, the Basque *zorricos*, the *rondallas* of Valencia, the *muñeira* and the *danza prima* [respectively] of the Galician and the Asturian peoples, the *habas verdes* of Castile, the *cachucha*, the *serení* and so many others particular to the Andalusian lands.¹²

It is worth noticing that among the song types mentioned in this passage, the Asturian, Castilian, and Andalusian ones (*danza prima*, *habas verdes*, *cachucha*, *serení*) are well-known specific song-dances; the rest are either well-known sung genres for dancing (*seguidillas*, *zorricos*, *muñeira*), or for serenading, like the

¹² Últimamente, las diversas provincias españolas, tan varias en clima y en costumbres, tienen cada una sus tonadas favoritas llenas de la más pura melodía y expresión verdadera de su carácter e inclinaciones respectivas: la *jota* aragonesa, las *seguidillas* manchegas, los *zorricos* vascongados, las *rondallas* de Valencia, la *muñeira* y la *danza prima* de asturianos y gallegos, las *habas verdes* de Castilla, la *cachucha*, el *serení* y otras ciento peculiares del suelo andaluz.

rondallas (i.e., *cantaes*) of Valencia, or eventually both for dancing and serenading (the Aragonese *jota*). The only sung genre which is not named after its specific, native denomination is the *cantaes* (or street serenades) of Valencia. The author does not mention the widespread *albaes*, which constitute a type of *cantà*. Notice, on the other hand, that in this early nineteenth-century snapshot of Spanish national airs there is no specific allusion to the Andalusian-Gypsy monodic expressive song tradition which would be later referred to as *cante flamenco* or *cante jondo*: only several Andalusian airs of that time are enumerated.

If textual mentions of the *cantadors d'estil* and of the *cantaes* are minimal, owing to the lack of interest in the *cant valencià* tradition on the part of the Valencian elite at the beginning of the nineteenth century, they are certainly significant, and primary sources like the musical sounds themselves and the lyrical structures can provide us with insight into the historical depth of the *cant valencià* tradition, depth which goes back far beyond the confining literary horizon of nineteenth-century journalistic or travel-book allusions. Vocality, textures, and other aspects of the larger part of the repertory, that is, the *cant d'estil*, *cant a l'aire*, *cant de l'horta*, *cant llaurador*, *cançons*, or *valencianes*, point toward the fact that these non-metric songs can be dated back to the intermingling of Muslim and Christian cultures in Valencia in the early modern era. There is no doubt that the *cant d'estil* underwent special developments over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries so as to achieve its present-day form, integrating contemporary influences such as specific accompanying instruments (i.e., Valencian community bands' winds) or ornamental and range

expansions (see Chapter 7, subsection 7.3.2.). Nevertheless, there are characteristic traits unmistakably pointing to its much older roots, as I examine next.

1) *Vocality*: First of all, these melismatic songs are performed with a particular type of clear, open, and highly-projected chest voice even in the high range, and with certain slight nasality characteristic of the Mediterranean area where Muslim culture has been influential for centuries. Amnon Shiloah (1963, 17; 1991, 99), citing the Moroccan scholar Al-Maqqarī (1578-1632), gives a clue that such kind of voices were preferred in the Islamic world of early medieval Spain. In fact, according to Al-Maqqarī, the most appreciated type of “voice was clear, loud, powerful and strong, without lacking nasality and without suffering from choking or from lack of breath,” as Ziryāb, the famous ninth-century singer who came from Baghdad to Cordoba, sought for in his prospective pupils.

Although Ziryāb has been mythologized to a great extent both by Al-Maqqarī in the seventeenth century, in order to have him appear as a hero, and by the anonymous author of the main medieval source of Al-Maqqarī’s text, in order to have him appear as a silly person (Reynolds 2008), the above-described vocal qualities he favored were, no doubt, appreciated by Al-Maqqarī’s contemporaries in his native sixteenth and seventeenth century Morocco and bordering Arab countries, which were existentially and culturally so close to the Valencian Moorish and subsequent *Morisco* peasant and urban world.

Arabic or Oriental influence over southern Spanish melismatic folk songs has been ironically negated by some scholars with a racial (Schneider 1946), religious

(Anglès 1964), or cultural (Ayats 2001) bent.¹³ Also, Constantin Brăiloiu (1987 [1953]) traveled to Spain in 1952 in order to refute the “Arab thesis” (or plead for an Arab influence on melismatic Spanish folk songs). For this purpose, he sought to obtain first-hand knowledge of the *asturianada*, considering the fact that such monodic expressive song tradition with non-measured, inflected vocal lines, allegedly with affinities to the Andalusian *cante flamenco*, had developed on the shores of the Bay of Biscay where an Islamic cultural substrate could hardly be posited. For him, this fact invalidated the existence of any Arab influence on Spanish folk-song traditions at large (!).

However, the traditional vocality of the *asturianada* is quite different from that of the *cante flamenco*, as Brăiloiu’s descriptions themselves, or minimal listening to its present-day performances, clearly show. For that matter, the vocality of the *asturianada* is also different from the traditional vocality of the *cant valencià*, for which it would be hard to argue the absence of any Islamic influence, although this does not imply that Valencian vocality can be equated to the Arab one.

¹³ Comparative musicologist Marius Schneider (1946), who arrived in fascist Spain after the demise of the Nazi regime with which he had collaborated, denied Arab structural influence on Spanish folksongs, comparing several song samples collected by him and by different Spanish musical folklorists for the *Instituto de Musicología* created by the musicologist Higinio Anglès in Barcelona. Instead, Schneider postulated a Berber influence, but this was an indirect way of accepting the influence of Muslim musical culture in Spain. Anglès (1949), who was a Catholic priest, had a special interest in highlighting the absence of any fundamental influence of Islamic musical culture on Spanish music. Finally, ethnomusicologist Jaume Ayats (2001), in addressing the origin of old work folksongs in Catalonia, postulates that these had no Oriental influence, adducing that it is pointless to search for the origins and that not only did the work songs of southern Catalonia (Tarragona and Tortosa) present a melismatic shape, but also those of central Catalonia (Barcelona) had the same character, as the early twentieth-century Catalan musicologists had acknowledged. Ayats’s arguments are questionable. Beyond the mythologizing activity implicit in the interest for origins that human beings have demonstrated over time in all cultures and civilizations, the critical search for beginnings can be a source of (social) scientific understanding. On the other hand, Catalan historians such as Joan Reglà (1992, 42) have emphasized that the hegemonic position of Barcelona in the medieval Crown of Aragon between the twelve and the fourteenth centuries depended on its strategic bordering position with the culturally and economically splendid Hispanic-Islamic world. Thus, it is difficult to deny any Islamic cultural influence on Barcelona’s old melismatic work songs after such a tight and sustained trading and cultural relationship over several centuries.

Let us remember that James G. Casey (1979), the major specialist in Valencian seventeenth-century history already cited in subsection 2.1.5., emphasized that the continuance of Islamic culture, despite the Aragonese conquest of the early thirteenth century, was one of the most decisive elements in the formation of Valencia over the whole modern period. Thus, it would be unthinkable that such a decisive element, still traceable nowadays in most spheres of Valencian traditional life from agricultural practices to language, was not to be found in song as well, particularly in a monodic expressive song tradition tightly linked to agricultural practices, as we will see below in section 2.2.2.¹⁴ Yet the Arab-based type of Valencian vocality must be put in

¹⁴ The Valencian musicologist Eduard López-Chavarrí Marco (1949, 9) wrote: “We must not forget the marked agricultural character which Valencia had, and therefore [that] the folklore of its rural population [had as well]. For centuries its rural population was Muslim, and its Oriental-like music still endures. There are reasons for this. When the tremendous expulsion of the *Moriscos* came about, boys and girls up to the age of twelve or fourteen were allowed to stay, and in countryside households many remained. Later, some of the emigrants, after having crossed the Mediterranean in a tragic odyssey, rejected by all the ports ([since] misery and disease were not good safe-conducts), returned to their native country to sell themselves as slaves, in order to continue living within this social class in their former lands. And here is the explanation why in the Valencian fields customs, songs, and dances of a marked Oriental type still endure.” (“*No se debe olvidar el carácter marcadamente agricultor que tuvo Valencia, y por lo tanto el folklore de su población campesina. Durante siglos fue población musulmana la del campo, y su música oriental perdura todavía. Razones hay para ello. Cuando sobrevino la tremenda expulsión de moriscos, los niños y niñas hasta de doce o catorce años pudieron quedarse, y en las casas de campo permanecieron muchos. Después otros de los emigrantes, luego de recorrer trágica odisea por el Mediterráneo rechazados por todos los puertos (la miseria y la enfermedad no eran buenos salvoconductos), volvieron a su país natal a venderse como esclavos, para continuar en tal clase viviendo en sus antiguas tierras. Y he aquí explicados cómo en el campo valenciano perduran costumbres, canciones y danzas de tipo marcadamente oriental.*”)

Despite the fact that the expulsion or deportation was most effective in Valencia, it seems that many *Moriscos* returned and remained, as recent genetic research on blood groups has shown by linking current Iberian populations with north-African ones. See Reyment (1983), and particularly Adams et alii (2008, 732, fig. 4), which have found in today’s Valencian population a significant 13% of Morisco descent, along with 15% of Sephardic Jewish and 72% of old Iberian. These data speak volumes and should be culturally investigated.

Unbiased ethnographic research on the historical connections between Arabic/Jewish and Spanish expressive vocal traditions could be a promising field the surface of which has hardly been scratched. Consider, for instance, the songs of Gila Beshari, a world-acclaimed Sephardic Jewish singer of Yemenite descent whose mastery of melodies and vocal inflections of the old Yemenite men’s synagogue songs and of Yemenite women’s vocal repertoires remains unrivaled. She performs songs like “Mi nishakani” in an impressively similar vocal style and with certain particular inflections close to those found in the *cant d’estil*, and this should not be overlooked. To the Valencian *cantadora d’estil* Victòria Sousa Genovès *Victorieta* (1942) I owe the clue that Gila Beshari, in her visit to Valencia in 1989 for a concert at the *Palau de la Música* concert hall, offered a song which Maria Victòria, the Valencian *cantadora d’estil*’s daughter, who attended the performance, identified as *l’u i dotze* melodic model of the *cant d’estil* repertory. An exploration of these fascinating similarities would seem useful to establish ethnographically plausible historical connections.

relationship to other musical elements, such as *modal harmony*, or to aspects such as the emphasis on clear communication of the lyrics, as well as to other historical aspects of the *cant d'estil* songs which are addressed next in this subsection.

2) *Modal harmony*: The musical structures of the *cant d'estil* songs can be basically ascribed either to the Spanish southern fandango form, or to what I have come to call the *fandangà* form. The former is widespread all over southern Spain, from an imaginary line running through from the Gredos Range through Madrid and La Mancha to Valencia, down to lower Andalusia (see Fig. 15 in Chapter 5, subsection 5.1.2.). In contrast, the *fandangà* form is found exclusively in Valencia, and is seemingly an offshoot of the fandango form. Both these Valencian non-metric forms (a musical description of which can be found in Chapter 5, subsection 5.2.2.) are invariably accompanied by strummed guitars performing a contrasting fandango-like, metric pattern which is similar to the eighteenth-century *seguidilla bolera* rhythmic formula.

One specific fact hints at the *Morisco* origin of the Spanish southern fandango forms in general, and of the Valencian fandango and *fandangà* forms of the *cant d'estil* repertory in particular: the strummed accompaniment in triads runs in parallel to the modal vocal lines, not like in modern classical harmony, that is, as a structural element of the songs themselves, but as an approximative harmonic pattern added just

As for the *cante flamenco*, the work of Pierre Lefranc (2000) has consistently explored the stunning parallels between, on the one hand, old versions of *tonás*, *siguiriyas gitanas*—the core of the Gypsy-Andalusian *cante jondo* of south-western Andalusia as recorded by him in the 1960s—and on the other hand, certain examples of Islamic *adhân* and *iqâma* first and second calls for prayer preserved in different places of the contemporary Arab world. He first showed these affinities in two lectures at the Collège de France, Paris, on 4 December 1995. The fact that this melodic link exists clearly points to Islamic musical sources on which the *cante jondo* originally drew, despite multiple claims to the contrary.

for color. Peter Manuel (1989) termed this kind of accompaniment as modal harmony and showed that it is a phenomenon characteristic of different Mediterranean areas of southern Europe where Islamic and Christian musical traditions cross-fertilized each other, giving birth to musically hybrid genres. It is apparent that the modal-harmonic accompaniment was later added to the older, non-metric, inflected, modal vocal lines of Islamic influence or descent. This is the case of certain Turkish, Balkan, and Spanish vocal traditions. In the Iberian Peninsula, Manuel studied the Spanish southern *fandangos* in particular, taking into account only the Andalusian *flamenco* and folk ones, which have transcended from *cante flamenco* studies to the ethnomusicological literature, while the southern *fandangos* from Extremadura, Castile-Leon, Castile-La Mancha, Murcia, and Valencia are still little-known abroad.

Considering that the use of the strummed guitar to accompany folk songs in Spain spread out in the sixteenth century when there was still a considerable population of *Moriscos* in the southern Spanish territories of the Iberian Peninsula, and even in Aragon, it appears rather clear that the modal harmony of the Spanish southern *fandangos*, highly characteristic of these forms, originated around that period and through the Christian contact with *Morisco* culture.¹⁵ The southern *fandangos*' Islamic substrate is further confirmed by their current geographical distribution all over southern Spain (see again Fig. 15 in Chapter 5, subsection 5.1.2.),

¹⁵ With regard to the spread of the strummed guitar among the lower classes in Spain, see Sebastián de Covarrubias's (1943) assertion, published in 1611 in his Spanish language thesaurus, which attests: "after the guitars were invented, those who devote themselves to the study of the *vihuela* are very few. It has been a great loss, because with the latter all kinds of plucked music used to be played, and now the guitar is but a cowbell so easy to play, especially when it is strummed, that there is no stable boy who is not a musician of guitar." ("*después que se inventaron las guitarras, son muy pocos los que se dan al estudio de la vihuela. Ha sido una gran pérdida, porque en ella se ponía toda clase de música puntada, y ahora la guitarra no es más que un cencerro tan fácil de tañer, especialmente en lo rasgado, que no hay mozo de caballos que no sea músico de guitarra.*")

always keeping the same fundamental kind of melodic structures and basically consisting of a handful of specific melodic types performed with different stylistic features according to the different vocal traditions which use them.¹⁶

If vocality and modal harmonic accompaniment procedures were not enough to ascertain the original Islamic substrate of the *cant d'estil*, also the attention traditionally drawn in performance to the clear communication of the lyrics, and the conceptual style of the stanzas reinforce, respectively, the argument for the Islamic founding influence on the *cant valencià* song tradition and for its early modern, sixteenth-century origins. I address first the conceptual style of the lyrics as chronological confirmation of the period when the *cant valencià* originated, and next the issue of the clear communication of the lyrics as directly related to Islamic cultural values.

3) *Lyrics and their communication*: On the one hand, the conceptual style of the *cant d'estil* stanzas, as well as that of the Valencian *albaes*, and in general the Spanish folk *coplas* (octosyllabic quatrains in the Spanish count, or heptasyllabic in the Valencian count) can be traced back to the characteristic conceptual character of the late sixteenth-century *seguidillas nuevas*, created by the most famous Spanish poets of

¹⁶ Lothar Siemens Hernández (2001, 1370) put the Spanish southern fandango forms' modal-harmonic accompaniment in relation to the Canary Islands's *folia*, originated in the early Spanish *folia*, observing that according to its features this Canary *folia* form is actually a proto-fandango. He characterizes the Spanish southern *fandangos* as "songs constructed over a ground bass ..., that is, a rather extended scheme that stems from the early Spanish *folia*." ("*canciones construidas sobre un bajo armónico ..., esto es, un esquema bastante ampliado que se deriva de la antigua 'folia española'*"). Thus, it may well have been the case that the modal harmony which characterizes the accompaniment of the Spanish southern fandango forms was developed in the sixteenth century by adapting the extant *folia* accompaniments to what originally were vocal forms. Siemens Hernández (*ibid.*) even suggests that in the names of the many Spanish southern *fandangos* called *la malagueña*, *la granadina*, *la rondeña*, and so on, the word *folia* was originally implied: *la folia malagueña*, *la folia granadina*, and so on. This is a very reasonable hypothesis which would also explain Valencian expressions such as *la valenciana*, *la riberenca*, *l'alacantina* and others used to refer to *cant d'estil* melodic models.

that time and quickly disseminated to the lower classes as a semi-popularized genre. These *coplas* addressed heterogeneous topics in a row of subsequent units, as it is still usual in most Spanish traditional monodic expressive and other song traditions today: no thematic nexus among the different stanzas links them, only, at most, a vague relation of literary tone or atmosphere conditioned by the performance context.

The Mexican scholar Margit Frenk Alatorre (1978), the main specialist in the folk lyrics forms of Spain and their historical development since the Middle Ages, emphasized the above-mentioned *heterostanzaic* lyric structure and conceptualist character of the Spanish folk *coplas*, both features highlighting the fact that the *coplas* owe their original character to a generalized development from the late sixteenth through the mid-seventeenth century. Courtly poetry of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and popularized poetry of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the *seguidillas nuevas*, are the formal, thematic and stylistic or conceptual antecedents of most contemporary Spanish folk *coplas*, including those of the *cant valencià*. Thus, this aspect corroborates in a secondary way the period in which the roots of the *cant d'estil* are to be sought.

However, there is a more important feature related to the communication of the lyrics which is much emphasized by the *cantadors d'estil*, and is consistent with traditional Islamic musical-cultural values. The Valencian non-metric, inflected songs of the *cant d'estil*, as well as those of the *albaes*, ideally must be pronounced with maximum articulation and clarity, because one the most important pursuits in performance is that the lyrics are fully understood by the addressee, granting significant importance to the word in an otherwise melodically inflected repertory in

which the expressive presence of the voice takes the privileged place. In relation to this is to be considered the fact that the instrumental preludes or interludes do not interfere with the sung stanza but precede or follow it, favoring clarity. This a structural characteristic inherited from Islamic culture by many Spanish folk-song genres (Siemens Hernández 2001) and fully evident in the *cant valencià*.

Finally, after having discussed vocality, modal harmony, and the conceptual style and clear communication of the lyrics, I move on to a different type of clue, a special discursive or metacommunicative aspect present in this Valencian song tradition that points to a centuries-old configuration of its *cant d'estil* repertory.

4) *Technical vocabulary*: The numerical expressions with which most of the melodic models of the *cant d'estil* repertory are traditionally identified—*l'u* (“the one”), *l'u i dos* (“the one and two”), *l'u i dotze* (“the one and twelve”), *el dotze i u* (“the twelve and one”), and so forth, are so old that in the last one hundred years nobody has been able to explain where they come from or which is the reason why they are used to identify these different melodic models.¹⁷ Thus, these kinds of numerical expressions might well date back to the early modern period. No satisfactory explanation has yet been advanced for this specifically Valencian technical vocabulary of song, which seems to reflect some sort of old systematicity in the peasant classification of the repertory.

¹⁷ The *cantador d'estil* Enric Pastor Sanmiguel *Pastoret*, born in 1941, was fond of asking the old singers of *cant valencià* in the 1960s what these numerical expressions meant, but nobody, he told me in 2009, was able to give him any idea in this regard.

Spanish tablature guitar teaching manuals from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, like the one by Juan Carlos Amat (1572-1642), first published in Barcelona in 1590 and reissued in Valencia in 1758 (see Amat 1758), refer to the different chords used on the guitar as *punts* (Valencian) or *puntos* (Spanish), and organize them in series of twelve. Considering this, I thought in principle there might have been a relationship between these twelve chords, named after the natural numbers, and the Valencian numerical expressions used in the *cant d'estil*. Each song type, I hypothesized, would have been identified by the numerical name of the chords used to play it, or at least its prelude. But, at close examination, there is no such correspondence: the chords described in the teaching manuals and those traditionally used for accompanying the Valencian *cançons* simply do not match. Thus, I had to discard this hypothesis, especially after realizing that there are some other melodic models, not practiced anymore today, named with numerical expressions such as *el dos i quinze* (“the two and fifteen”), *el set i dèneu* (“the seven and nineteenth”), *l'u i mig* (“the one and a half”), which have no possible correspondence with the twelve *punts*. These are additional quandaries surrounding this unresolved issue.

Some Valencian musicologists like Eduardo López-Chavarri Marco (1950 [?]) or Miguel Ángel Picó Pascual (1999, 16) have advanced the hypothesis that *l'u i el dos* refers to the position of the feet in dancing that song type, but there is no supporting evidence for it. These numerical names remain a puzzle pointing to the fact that the *cant d'estil* by no means is a recently-created tradition. Only one clue can be obtained as of now regarding the melodic model called *l'onze* (“the eleven”), which, according to a procedure fairly common in folk song, takes its name after the first word of a

famous Spanish stanza sung to it: *El once le dijo al doce: / ¿el trece donde estará? / Pregúntaselo al catorce. / El quince te lo dirá, / que el dieciséis lo conoce.* (“The eleven told the twelve: / where the thirteen might be? / Please, ask the fourteenth. / The fifteen will tell you, / that the sixteen knows him.”). Nevertheless, although this works for *l'onze*, no other similar stanzas exist that might explain the origin of the rest of numerical expressions for these Valencian songs.

Below, in subsection 2.2.3., some historical data on the *albaes* genre are provided as well, further emphasizing the early modern period as the time frame in which this monodic expressive song tradition was essentially formed. Previous to the presentation and discussion of such additional evidence, a clarification about the *cant d'estil* agricultural origins is in order. This elucidation of its agrarian descent will also partly locate these songs in their wider Mediterranean geographical context, further confirming the motivated character of the characteristic vocality of the *cant valencià* monodic expressive song tradition.

2.2.2. *Cant d'estil* and *cant a l'aire*

Another common name for the *cant d'estil* repertory among the Valencian specialized singers who basically maintain it is, as we know, *cant a l'aire* (“open-air song”). Manuel Marzal Barberà *el Xiquet de Mislata* (1918-1993), one of the main *cantadors d'estil* of the twentieth century, often explained in his introductions of Valencian song and dance performances on stage that the *cant d'estil* was also referred to as *cant a l'aire*. This other denomination, well-known by all the living

singers, was applied originally to monophonic songs used for certain kinds of peasant work in the fields, mostly for plowing and threshing in the open air, but also for some other tasks.

Thus, for instance, in the town of Mutxamel, in *el Camp d'Alacant* district, in the south of the Kingdom of Valencia, plowing songs, threshing songs, wheat-reaping songs, and others—though not performed anymore in their traditional context—are still remembered by elders and collectively referred to as *cançons a l'aire* (“open-air songs”) (see Salpassa 1997). Also, when in 2001 I interviewed and recorded the ninety-year-old singer *Fina la Querala* from Cabanes, a village in *la Plana de Castelló* district, sixty miles north of Valencia, she repeatedly said that during most of her life, while working in the fields, she used to sing *a l'aire* a particular melodic model locally known as *la malaguenya* (see Pitarch 2004a, b).

The widely-inflected songs of the *cant d'estil* repertory with modal vocal lines older than their metric, strummed, guitar accompaniment were in fact originally peasant, open-air work songs used in the countryside all over the area where the *cant valencià* has been in use for several centuries. Manuel Marzal Barberà *el Xiquet de Mislata* (2009, 99-100) explained how *l'u i dos* (*fandangà* form) was once sung by the peasantry of the fertile lowlands of the Túria river around the City of Valencia while plowing or while doing other outdoor work in the fields.

If we examine recently-issued Valencian folk-song CDs containing recordings made in different districts of the *cant valencià d'estil* area from the 1970s through the 1990s, it comes as no surprise to find that different open-air work songs, labelled with

the names of specific peasant agricultural tasks, are but instances of certain melodic models of the *cant d'estil*. Thus, in *la Costera* and *la Canal de Navarrés* districts, some forty miles south of the city of Valencia, it turns out that *l'u* was widely used in the past as a work song. For instance, in Torrella, a town in *la Costera*, a local threshing song is in fact a variety of *l'u* (see Escola de Danses de Xàtiva and Sarau 2004, CD 2: Sarau, track 12). Also, in Énguera, the capital of *la Canal de Navarrés* district, the local plowing song is but another version, slightly more inflected, of *l'u* (see Colla Brians 2007, track 8).

Moreover, a look at Valencian printed folk-song collections containing songs from the *cant valencià* area yields different examples of other peasant, open-air work songs consisting of the same melodic models found in the *cant d'estil* old repertory. For example, in Segorbe, the capital of *el Alto Palancia* district, about thirty miles north of the city of Valencia, a threshing song (see Seguí 1990, 200) is nothing more than a melodic variety close to the old *l'u i dos* (*fandango* form) used by the *cantadors d'estil* in the Valencian *cantaes* up to the last decades of the nineteenth century. Or in Fortaleny, in *la Ribera del Xúquer* district, about twenty miles south of the city of Valencia, a wheat-reaping song (see Seguí 1980, 488) is actually a variety of the melodic model called *l'onze*. Also, in Monòver, in *les Valls del Vinalopó* district, ninety-five miles to the south of Valencia, a grape-trampling song (Seguí [1973], 228) is simply the melodic model of *l'onze*. In Novelda, next to Monòver, in the same district, a threshing song (Seguí [1973], 243) is another version of *l'onze*.

To conclude with the musical evidence that links the *cant d'estil* repertory to open-air peasant work songs, let us say that in Ontinyent, the largest city in *la Vall*

d'Albaida district, some fifty miles south of Valencia, the Valencian composer and musical folklorist Ricardo Olmos (1950, 26) transcribed a plowing song by a peasant singer who called it “*Cançó [d]e l’u i el dotze*”: it is an old, unknown melodic model, different from *l’u i dotze* of the *cant d’estil* repertory now in use. This evidence points to the fact that Valencian peasants of old were clearly aware that particular work songs were specific melodic models traditionally identified by numerical names, as in the *cant d’estil* tradition.

All in all, these different pieces reported above are significant examples that bear witness to the agricultural origins of the *cant d’estil* part of the repertory used by the Valencian *cantadors d’estil*. Interestingly enough, these old versions once used in the fields and recorded in different ways and at different points by Valencian folklorists sometimes present less musical phrases than the most common forms of the *cant d’estil* as developed over the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries. This is simply clear and further indication that the Valencian traditional open-air work songs actually constitute an older vocal strand from which the forms of the main Valencian monodic expressive song tradition developed over time expanding its musical forms.

Finally, I should emphasize that *cant a l’aire* or *cançons a l’aire*, as a category of peasant open-air work songs, encompasses a larger number of melodic models and structural forms than those of the *fandango* or *fandangà* stems characteristic of the *cant d’estil* repertory. These other kinds of open-air song models are variegated in shape, at times consisting of just one or two close musical phrases sharing the same tonic degree. As far as I know, no systematic study of all their typological varieties

has been conducted.¹⁸ Some of these open-air songs recorded in *la Costera* and *la Marina* districts, south of the city of Valencia, are of unquestionable Hispanic-Islamic character, like for instance the southern fandango forms identified in the *cant d'estil* tradition as *l'u*. The renowned Valencian composer and musicologist Eduardo López-Chavarri Marco (1871-1970) (see Chapter 4, subsection 4.2.2.), visited northern Africa in 1908 and 1912, and found stunning affinities between Valencian and Moroccan threshing songs (see López-Chavarri Andújar 1955, 35). Further research is needed in order to know these peasant repertoires in more detail, particularly if we consider other parts of the Mediterranean area where peasant, open-air work songs are identified, significantly, with the same collective name used in Valencia.

2.3.2.1. *Canti all'aria* in central and southern Italy

In central and southern Italy the old work songs used on the fields for reaping, threshing, and the like have been generically called by the peasant population *canti all'aria* (“open-air songs”), the same as in Valencia. In fact, we find this traditional denomination in Abruzzo (Di Virgilio 2000) and also in Campania and Calabria, as far as I have been able to ascertain through scattered sources referring to their use in several outdoor peasant tasks (see Fig. 6).

Abruzzo and Campania in the past formed the northern, peninsular part of the medieval Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which comprised the island of Sicily and all

¹⁸ A sense of what the forms of this old strand of Valencian folk songs are can be obtained from different Valencian folk-music collections, especially from those consistently published by Seguí ([1973], 25-56; 1980, 465-505; and 1990, 195-212). Also, significant contextual, performance, and formal aspects of these peasant songs are reported by López-Chavarri Marco (1908), López-Chavarri Andújar (1955, 35), Oller Benlloch (1969), and Crivillé i Bargalló (1975).

of the southern part of the Italian Peninsula, including Calabria, Campania, Abruzzo, Molise, Basilicata, and Apulia. Strong economic and social relationships between central and southern Italy and Valencia were established in the Middle Ages, especially from when the Aragonese-Valencian King Alfons V, the Magnanimous, conquered Naples in 1442 and established it as the capital city of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, also transferring the Aragonese court there from Valencia (see above, subsection 2.1. in this chapter).

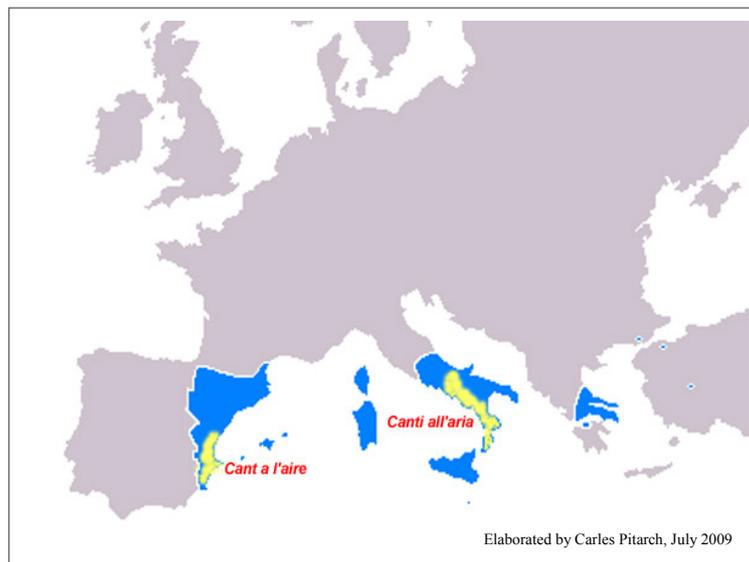


Fig. 6

The Crown of Aragon at its territorial height (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries) and approximate areas of *cant a l'aire* / *canti all'aria* peasant worksongs.

Map by Carles Pitarch

It is more than just coincidence the fact that the same name for the same kind of peasant work songs has traditionally been in use for several centuries both on the Valencian and the southern-Italian shores of the Mediterranean (Fig. 6). However, without further investigation, I would not dare to affirm that the influence in naming

these peasant songs the same went one way or another. The structural and textural characteristics of the open-air songs in Valencia and those in southern Italy must not necessarily be coincident. An exploration and comparison of both repertoires would of course provide insight into their relationships beyond the nominal and contextual-occasional coincidences, but this exceeds the scope of the present dissertation, and will be investigated in future opportunities.

Having already considered the *cant d'estil* and clearly shown its rural origins in the peasant (Muslim) world of Valencia (something which will be helpful in characterizing the typical vocality of the *cant d'estil* in Chapter 7, section 7.2.), I next address the other significant part of the *cantadors d'estil*' repertory, that is to say, the *albaes* songs, which constitute an urban strand of it.

2.3.3. *Albaes*

The *albaes* or “dawn songs” accompanied by *tabalet* and *dolçaina* and used in night serenades, as we know them in Valencia, appear to be mostly an urban repertory originally, and have been so for centuries. There are two different types of Valencian *albaes* songs accompanied by *tabalet* and *dolçaina*: on the one hand, (1) the melodic model generally used in the *cant valencià d'estil* area with its other two southern varieties (see the Introduction, subsection The repertory and its accompaniment), and on the other hand, (2) the different melodic types used in the inner, mountainous regions of the Kingdom of Valencia with different musical structure. Both have in common the fact that they are now, and were in the past, performed basically and

above all inside the villages or inside the cities, not in the fields walking from one farm to another farm. The only exception to this was perhaps in the fertile lowlands around the city of Valencia, where the *albaes* with *tabalet* and *dolçaina* of the *cant valencià* repertory expanded from the city into the rural settlements of its township and were used also in that context. The *albaes* sung in other rural areas also with a scattered population in the township of a village or city are, and have traditionally been, accompanied by guitars.

As early as the fourteenth century we have references to the *albaes* in urban settings. During the 1369 celebrations of Saint Denis festival, the main medieval festivity commemorating James I's seizing the city of Valencia from the Moors on October 9, 1238, five out of the twenty-two minstrels hired to enliven the celebration were also paid for singing "albades al senyor rey" ("*albades* dedicated to our lord the king") (Ferrer Valls 1994, 149). These minstrels called *juglars* used to play *dolçaines* (the plural of *dolçaina*), trumpets, and drums, according to extant administrative records of the medieval period. Valencia and the other Valencian royal cities used to officially appoint one or a few *juglars* to play year round during the main festivities. On special occasions, like the above-mentioned one, additional minstrels were hired.

The figure of the *juglar* playing *dolçaina* has been associated with traditional patron-saint festivals for centuries. In some northern mountainous districts of Valencia, like *el Maestrat*, where different medieval traditions are fairly alive, it was the case that up to the early twentieth century the traditional *dolçaina* players accompanying the *albaes* and playing street dances in village festivals were still called *julars*, that is, *juglars* ("minstrels"). Nevertheless, the *albaes* with *tabalet* and

dolçaina of *el Maestrat* district are of a type different from the *albaes* of the *cant valencià* repertory.

We cannot say what the above-mentioned fourteenth-century *albadès* dedicated to the king in the City of Valencia sounded like, but it is beyond a doubt that the *albaes* of the *cant valencià d'estil* repertory were commonly used already in the first half of the seventeenth century within the city of Valencia itself, and they must have not been created *ex novo* at that time: they were a well-ensconced tradition, as literary sources attest to it.

Pere Jacint Morlà (1605-1656), the canon of the Valencia Cathedral and a well-known popular poet, wrote a composition in verse titled “Lo Portal dels Jueus” (“The Gate of the Jews”), whose protagonist, Bertomeu, is one of the doorkeepers in Saint Andrew’s Gate “the former Gate of the Jews”—one of the medieval gates of the city of Valencia, demolished in the nineteenth century. Bertomeu describes and criticizes different customs and social issues that he has happened to observe while doing his job at the gate or that he has heard about. Thus, at a certain point, he mentions “*un potecari ... / home que de nit sonava / la dolsayna en les alvades* [sic]” (“an apothecary ... / a man who at night played / the *dolsayna* in the *alvades*.”) (Morlà and Vendrell 1645[?]; see also the modern edition of the manuscript: Morlà 1995). There is no doubt that these nightly *albadès* of the first half of the seventeenth century correspond to the present-day practice.

The modal melodies of the *albaes* used in the *cant valencià* tradition hark back at least to that period, despite some contemporary melodic developments of the late

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries such as the *cant requintat*. Thus, both literary and ethnographic data point to the same approximate period. The particular melodic varieties of the *albaes* used in *la Marina* and *el Camp d'Alacant* districts show an older modal fashion. Because of this, and because of their location in the southern periphery of the whole area where the *cant valencià* has been sung for centuries, we can confirm that the *albaes* belong at least to the early seventeenth-century and perhaps they are older. Peripheries maintain old-fashioned cultural forms which are somehow changed or transformed in the center where social life is more fast-paced and dynamic. As a musical practice or occasion on which songs accompanied by *tabalet* and *dolçaina* are dedicated to authorities or other important members of the community, the *albaes* date back at least to the fourteenth century.

It must be remembered that one of the first *cantadors d'estil* known to us, active in the second third of the nineteenth century and called *el Sardinero*, was highly sought after to sing *albaes* for the street festivals of downtown Valencia, in the neighborhoods around the marketplace, where he earned a living keeping a sardine shop (Pitarch 1997, 29). On the other hand, it should be noted that the abovementioned *dolçaina* player who used to accompany the *albaes* serenades in the first half of the seventeenth century, as cited by Morlà (1645[?]), was an apothecary by trade, that is, he also had an urban, artisan/commercial job.¹⁹

In light of what we have been considering about the historical depth of the *cant valencià d'estil* song tradition, it clearly appears that the main strand of its repertory

¹⁹ Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, playing the *dolçaina* became above all a practice by individuals of the weavers' and shoemakers' guilds (García Cadena 1859, 260), as their jobs allowed them some extra time for their secondary, musical trade.

traditionally consists of rural work songs of Hispanic-Islamic origin—the non-metric, melismatic songs collectively known as *cant a l'aire*—which from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries onwards seem to have been also used as serenading songs accompanied by guitars with an *ad hoc* modal-harmonic, strummed rhythmic pattern stemming from the old Spanish *folia*. It is not by chance that the *cant d'estil* portion of the *cant valencià* repertory is often called *cant de l'horta* (“song of the fertile lowlands”) or *cant llaurador* (“farmers’ song”). Old *cantadors d'estil* used to emphasize this in their extemporized verses, as they often began their improvised stanzas by singing such lines as: “*Farem un cant llaurador*” (“We will make a farmers’ song”), or “*En esta cançó llauradora*” (“With this farmers’ song”).

On the other hand, the *albaes* accompanied by *tabalet* and *dolçaina* constitute an old urban strand of the *cantadors d'estil* tradition, originally used in night serenades almost the same way as today. Thus, it is understandable that the urban lower-class people, like artisans and shopkeepers, integrated themselves, along with the peasant population, into the *cant valencià* tradition and became *cantadors d'estil* as much as the peasants themselves did.

This pattern is confirmed by what I have come to know through my research about the specialized singers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and explains why many contemporary *cantadors d'estil* in the past one hundred and fifty years have not been farmers, but city dwellers working in artisan or commercial jobs. This is the case, for instance, of *Carabina* (1849-1914), *Maravilla* (ca. 1850-ca. 1922), *el Sabateret* (1852-1909), *Pedro el de la Vacas* (1856-ca. 1925), *Evaristo* (1874-1951), *el Muquero* (1875-1954), *el Moll* (1875-1955), *el Cabiscol* (1883-1928), *el Torneret*

(1884-1940), *el Ceguet de Marjalenes* (1888-1940), *el Xiquet de Manises* (1898-1959), *el Xiquet de Paterna* (1904-1939), *el Sardineta* (1908-1993), *Conxeta la del Mercat* (1910-1998), *el Xiquet de Mislata* (1918-1993), *el Pollastre* (1919-1983), and others.

Many among the main *cantadors d'estil* known to us have been farmers, indeed, either in the first part or during most of their lives, or always: for instance, *l'Ambrosiet* (1880-1946), *el Xiquet de Benaguasil* (1885-1961), *el Xiquet de Xirivella* (1888-1968), *el Xiquet de Pedralba* (1889-1940), *el Ruc del Puig* (1890-1940), *el Xiquet de Bétera* (1893-1983), *Rafelet Tot-heu-saps* (1894-1971), *Sixto del Puig* (1901-1969), *el Requeni* (1904-1972), *el Blanco de Borbotó* (1904-1987), *el Xiquet de Museros* (1908-1979), *el Tremendo* (1927-2001), and so on.

In this respect, as much as in several other respects, the *cant valencià d'estil* can be said to be a boundary tradition: it is socially situated in between the countryside and the city, as much as it was culturally situated between Muslim and Christian cultures, and as it is geographically and aesthetically situated between the vocal poles of the Aragonese *jota parada* or *de estilo* and the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco*, being distinctively different from both of them.

Like all of the other main monodic expressive song traditions of Spain, the *cant valencià* is made of musical elements which hark back to the early modern period. Nonetheless, these song traditions got shaped in their current forms during the late eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries in an urban expanding process which attests to their dynamism: their practitioners adapted themselves creatively to

the contemporary world and to mass society, amplifying the inherent possibilities of their vocal traditions to cope with the new circumstances of social life, as I analyze in Chapter 7, section 7.3. In doing so, they transformed each tradition to different extents, drawing on musical elements of their time in order to maintain their own identities in a changing world.

Such dynamism of both personal and collective identities only can be explained by their deep rootedness. When we find for the first time in the nineteenth century more or less detailed descriptions of *cant valencià* practices and allusions to the specialized singers maintaining them, we can see, in fact, that it is a well-established tradition. In the next chapter, I present and discuss such descriptions, made either by antiquarian musicians and historians or by journalists. In the latter case, I extend my survey to the early twentieth century, when the first brief accounts of contemporary history of the *cant valencià* were published, and further to the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, when, in sharp contrast, some journalistic approaches have inappropriately denied its historical depth.

Chapter 3: Antiquarian and Journalistic Approaches to the *Cant Valencià d'Estil* (1869-2009): Early Transcriptions and Descriptive Fragments, First Historiographic Articles, and Current Misnomers and Misinterpretations

Given that historical descriptions of *cant valencià d'estil* performances and historiographic passages reveal its most notable social and occasional aspects, I analyze in Chapter 3 the content of most of the available descriptive fragments devoted to this song tradition. My focus begins with the second half of the nineteenth century, when the *cant valencià* first attracted the attention of antiquarians and journalists, and continues through the first third of the twentieth century, when we find the first brief but significant accounts of the tradition as it had risen to a prominent position in Valencian social consciousness from the early 1890s. For thematic coherence, I also succinctly examine the late twentieth-century and early twenty-first-century journalistic accounts of the *cant valencià*, which contrast sharply with the earlier ones in terms of accuracy and reliability.

In section 3.1., I present and discuss the antiquarian approaches of the last third of the nineteenth century (1873-1903), and in section 3.2., I address the contemporary journalistic approaches up to the first third of the twentieth century (1869-1930).

Altogether, they offer insight both into some relevant aspects of the *cant valencià* as it was practiced in the nineteenth century, and into the main developments which led it into a visible position within the urban bourgeois society of the Bourbon Restoration (1874-1931) and the *Renaixença*, when it became a hallmark of Valencian collective identity (see Chapter 1, section 1.5.). Sometimes these sources provide musical transcriptions of melodic models used during the nineteenth century as well as valuable, specific observations about the type of vocality characteristic of the *cantadors d'estil*, useful in ascertaining its continuity over time.

For thematic coherence, in section 3.3., I also discuss the journalistic approaches to the *cant valencià* of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries (1990-2009), which, in spite of their occasional publication in books, educational journals, or other similar works, are in a methodological sense journalistic views of the *cant valencià*.

3.1. Antiquarian Approaches to the *Cant Valencià* (1873-1903): Early Musical Transcriptions and Descriptive Fragments

3.1.1. Eduardo Ximénez Cos (1873): The first transcriptions of *cant d'estil* and *albaes*

The first known Valencian folk music collection had as informants the *cant valencià* singers of the city of Valencia and the surrounding countryside. In examining the historical depth of the *cantadors d'estil* phenomenon and of their repertory (in Chapter 2, subsection 2.2.1.), we saw that pianist and composer Eduardo Ximénez Cos (1824-1900) resorted to them in order to obtain “authentic, pure”

versions of Valencian folk songs, which until those days had not been the object of specialized attention (Teixeró 1873). This interest in urtext versions of songs and the fact that the collection in the end was organized as a mere list of items titled “Catalog of the songs and dances contained in this book” show the antiquarian mentality which informed this pioneering ethnographic endeavour, the first of its kind to deal with Valencian folk song and music research.

This collection contains eleven items, of which seven are songs (only three of them with their instrumental preludes) and four *dolçaina* tunes for processional dances or to be played at the beginning of religious processions. Obviously, Ximénez resorted to *dolçaina* players as well. Only three out of the seven songs belong to the *cant valencià d’estil* repertory: first, *la alicantina* (Val. *l’alacantina*); second, *el u y el dos* (i.e., *l’u i dos*), in its now outdated *fandango* form; and third, *les albaes*.¹ *L’alacantina* and *l’u i el dos*, transcribed by Ximénez, belong to the *fandango* form in terms of structure (see below, in subsection 3.1.2., Ximenez’s transcriptions as published by José Inzenga, Figs. 7-8) and seem to have been among the most characteristic melodic models used by the *cantadors d’estil* over the nineteenth century, of course along with the other ones which later became their basic repertory: *l’u*, *l’u i dos* (*fandangà* form), and *l’u i dotze*. Ximénez (1873) wrote in his Catalog that *l’alacantina* was very common in *la Ribera del Xúquer* district for serenades, and that *l’u i el dos* (*fandango* form) was spread all over the province of Valencia. It

¹ The other four songs include two characteristic Valencian *jotas*, one of which (*la jota del carrer*) was also used in street serenades; *el paño moruno* (a song used up to the first half of the twentieth century in *versaes*, that is, singing contests, as we know with certainty through ethnographic data); and finally *el punto de la Habana*, used probably in the same context as *el paño moruno* and a clear indicator of the influence exerted at that time upon the Iberian musical traditions by songs and musics coming from the Spanish colony of Cuba.

would have been very useful to know the instrumental preludes to these songs, but Ximénez did not transcribe them.

Through a letter addressed by Ximénez to the renowned composer and musicologist Francisco Asenjo Barbieri (1823-1894), who had previously requested and obtained a copy of this collection from the Valencian composer, we learn that the songs and tunes that it contains “were collected, notated, copied, and bound in eight days” (see Asenjo Barbieri 1988, Vol. 2, 1096). It is thus understandable that *l’u*, *l’u i dos* (*fandangà* form), *l’u i dotze*, and other melodic models used by the *cantadors d’estil* as well as other folk songs of that period could not be transcribed by Ximénez.

However, the other main melodic models of the *cant d’estil* repertory not transcribed by the Valencian pianist and composer are either mentioned earlier in other sources or mentioned, and even transcribed, later by different authors. For instance, in 1859, there is a reference to “la rondeña denominada entre los aficionados del *uno y doce*” (“the serenading song that among the aficionados is called *el uno y doce* [Val. *l’u i dotze*]”) (see Pitarch Alfonso 1997c, 24; and also the descriptive fragment which mentions the Valencian aficionados of the *cant valencià* in Chapter 7, subsection 7.3.1.). Also, *l’u* and *l’u i dos* (*fandangà* form), as well as other melodic models, are mentioned by other Valencian music antiquarians or referred to and sometimes transcribed by Valencian musical folklorists of the early twentieth century, such as Eduard López-Chavarri Marco or Manuel Palau Boix (see Chapter 4, subsections 4.2.1. and 4.2.2.). For instance, López-Chavarri Marco (1927, 114), clearly states that *l’u i dos* (*fandangà* form), which he transcribed under the misnomer

of *jota valenciana*, was in use during the last third of the nineteenth century, that is, when Ximénez gathered and transcribed his collection.

It is to be remarked that Ximénez's transcriptions of *cant d'estil* songs are approximate, in 3/4 time signature, which obviously does not reflect their actual non-metric character. Moreover, their melismatic nature becomes only apparent in the last phrase of *l'alacantina*, where the melodic formula of the cadence is rendered in a clumsy way with excessive and repetitive ornamentation (see Fig. 8 in subsection 3.1.2.): it can be compared with the actual last *terç* or musical phrase that the audio-recorded versions of the second half of the twentieth century present under the local name of *Ball Xafat* (see Seguí [1973], 402-4, who transcribes one version from Crevillent, in *el Camp d'Elx* district). Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that Ximénez's transcriptions of *cant d'estil* songs, as well as of the *albaes*, reflect the older *cant pla* melodic style of the *cant valencià*, developed into the more ornamented melodic style called *cant requintat* in the following decades.

3.1.2. José Inzenga Castellanos (1874; 1888): Publishing another version of the *albaes* as well as Ximénez's transcriptions of *cant d'estil* songs

A pianist and composer born in Madrid, José Inzenga Castellanos (1828-1891) was the first to publish general collections of Spanish folk songs that included examples from different historical territories of the nation-state. In 1857 the secretary of the Spanish Interior Ministry entrusted to him the collection of "all the folk dances and songs of Spain," and in 1858 the same ambitious order was reiterated by the

Minister of Public Works (see Saldoni 1986, Vol. 2, 493). However it might be, it seems that this governmental initiative was neither properly funded nor consequently carried out, for it took seventeen years until the first results of Inzenga's research were published. During all that time, Inzenga contacted chroniclers and musicians from the different Spanish territories, as well as colleagues at the Royal Conservatory in Madrid where he was teaching piano, asking for folk songs and dances as well as for historical and contextual information about them.

In 1874 he published a sample collection of musical transcriptions including songs and dances from all the Spanish historical territories (Inzenga 1874). And fourteen years later, in 1888, he began the publication of a series of fascicles with musical transcriptions of songs and dances preceded by introductions and accompanied by the historical and contextual information that he had been able to gather. Only three fascicles in all were published: Murcia, Valencia, and Galicia. In these fascicles Inzenga's antiquarian approach is apparent, since he emphasized second-hand descriptions and historical information, at times claiming that some of the collected folk songs hark back to Greco-Roman Antiquity as a legitimizing device.

In his 1874 publication, Inzenga included the *albaes* of the *cant valencià* repertory in his own transcription (Inzenga 1874, 39-40), which differs in some musical details and in the lyrics from the transcription made by Ximénez. In his 1888 fascicle devoted to Valencia, among other materials, Inzenga included the same musical version of the *albaes* that he had published in 1874 (Inzenga 1888, 27) and also the *cant d'estil* songs transcribed by Ximénez in 1873 (Inzenga 1888, 25-6 and 33-5), taking them from the original manuscript and giving him credit (see Figs. 7-8).

EL Ú Y EL DÒS
(El uno y el dos)

Mod¹⁰ *Transcripción de*
D. EDUARDO XIMÉNEZ.

VOZ.

Cas - ti - lli - to

PIANO.

(Imitando el rasgueado de la guitarra)

de her.mo - su - ra Cas.ti - lli - to de her.mo - su -

- ra mu.chos te die.ron com - ba - te

a - ho - ra te lo doy yo

da - te Cas.ti - lli - to da - te Cas.ti - lli - to de her.mo -

- su - ra

Fig. 7

El u y el dos (fandango form) transcription by Eduardo Ximénez (1873)
as published by José Inzenga (1888)

La alicantina

Vi-san-te-ta fi-lla me-ua, Vi-san-te-ta fi-lla
me-ua, no ti-res ai-gua al ca-rrer-
por-que pa-sa-rá el teu no-
vio i s'em-bru-ta-rá el cal-ser,
i s'em-bru-ta-rá
el cal-ser.

Fig. 8

La alicantina (Val. *l'alacantina*) transcribed by Eduardo Ximénez (1873).

Vocal line as published by Eduardo Martínez Torner (1934, 58) after José Inzenga (1888)

As for *l'u i el dos* (*fandango* form) and *l'alacantina*, Inzenga published the brief descriptive notes or contextual information that Ximénez had included in his manuscript catalog of songs and tunes; as for the *albaes*, Inzenga plagiarized a description of the Valencian night serenades with dawn-songs traditional in the fertile lowlands of Valencia, published in 1869 by the Valencian writer and journalist José Francisco Sanmartín y Aguirre (see below, subsection 3.2.1.). To the journalist's description he added four sample stanzas of *albaes* and a concluding commentary which illustrates the representativeness of the *albaes* at that time: "This song is the one with the most character and the most popular in the province" (Inzenga 1888, 55).

In fact, the Valencian *albaes* of the *cant valencià d'estil* repertory consist of a melodic model which is only found in the Kingdom of Valencia, and which during the *Renaixença* became an emblem of Valencian identity, mentioned even in the Valencian Anthem (1909) (see the Introduction, subsection The repertory and its accompaniment). In 1881, the Valencian composer Salvador Giner Vidal (1832-1911), the main representative of Valencian art music of the *Renaixença* period, composed a symphonic poem describing an *albaes* serenade (Sancho García [2002], 103-6) still widely performed by Valencian community bands. He gave a corrected version of Inzenga's transcription of the *albaes*, as used in his symphonic poem (see Fig. 9), along with Ximénez's transcription of *l'alacantina* and his descriptive-contextual commentaries, to musicologist Felipe Pedrell (1841-1922), who in 1920 published them in the second volume of his *Cancionero Popular Español* ("Spanish Folk-Song Book") (see Pedrell 1919-1922, Vol. 2, 113 and 227-8).

Also the French musicologist Raoul Laparra (1920 [1914], 2387) published the vocal line of *l'u i dos* (*fandango* form) as transcribed by Ximénez, taking it from Inzenga (1888, 25-6), and the Spanish musicologist Eduardo Martínez Torner (1934, 58) published the vocal line of *l'alacantina* from the same source (see Fig. 8). Thus, we can say that Inzenga's publications contributed to spreading in musicological circles *cant valencià* songs commonly used in the nineteenth century, but at the same time these were always presented as isolated samples without any reference to the song tradition to which they belonged. Musicologists would not come to know the other main *cant d'estil* melodic models up to the 1920s when these were cited or transcribed by Valencian musical folklorists in their publications (see Chapter 4).

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Albaes

Vega de Valencia. *Comunicada por el
Mtro. D. Salvador Giner.*

Donsaina.
(*Dulzaina.*)

Tabalet.
(*Tamboril.*)

Cantador I^o

Chique - ta recal - ca -
con un palillo sobre el borde

e - ta pertu pa - saré la mar pertu pa - saré la
del tabalet.

Cantador II^o

mar, - quieres com la co - do ñe - ta que no tens resque ti -
rar, que no tens resque ti - rar. - -
en el parche.

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Fig. 9

Version of the *albaes* by composer Salvador Giner as used in his symphonic poem *Una nit d'albaes* (1881), based on José Inzenga's and published by Felip Pedrell (1919-1922)

3.1.3. José María Varela Silvari (1883): Documenting the *albaes* in Alacant

A Galician pianist, composer, and music pedagogue, José María Varela Silvari (1848-1926) devoted two short chapters of a purportedly critical book on Spanish folk music (1883) to Valencia and to Alicante (Val. Alacant) respectively, that is to say, to

the two most important Valencian cities and their provinces. His observations on the music of the province of Valencia are second-hand or third-hand data taken from Inzenga (1874) interspersed with opinionated, derogative comments. However, in the chapter devoted to Alacant—a city that Varela Silvari seems to have visited—he offers a passage worth transcribing related to the *cant valencià d'estil* tradition, even though the author does not mention this tradition at all:

Certain dawn songs (*albaes*), ... which are sung in the fertile lowlands or in the prairie ... by the modest people who dedicate themselves to working in the fields, are part of the folk-song repertory in Alacant, and constitute the natives' song. The *Charamita* [i.e. *xaramita*], a type of perfected folk oboe, is the traditional musical instrument of Alacant's people. With it and with the *Tabalet*, a percussion instrument which is used to indicate the air and to mark the movement, they accompany all their songs, and with it they usually perform all their dance airs.² (Varela Silvari 1883, 95-6)

Since the *albaes* serenades in the city of Alacant are no longer in use, apparently since the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries, Varela Silvari's is a useful observation which ascertains the old presence of this tradition in the southern Valencian district of *el Camp d'Alacant*. The *charamita* (or *xaramita*) actually is the same instrument as the *dolçaina*, thought to be, like the *albaes*, more characteristically Valencian than any other instrument, as we can see in the following subsection through passages by a conspicuous Valencian writer, Teodor Llorente, who gave short descriptions of *cant valencià* practices.³

² Algunos cantos matinales (*albaes*,) ... que cantan en la vega o en la pradera ... las sencillas gentes que se dedican a las faenas del campo, forman parte del repertorio popular alicantino, y constituyen el canto de los naturales del país. La *Charamita*, especie de caramillo perfeccionado, es el intérprete músico popular de los alicantinos: con esto y con el *Tabalet*, instrumento de percusión que sirve para indicar el aire y marcar el movimiento, ejecutan aquellos todas sus canciones y acompañan habitualmente todos sus aires de danza.

³ Both names *dolçaina* and *xaramita* are geographically distributed in the Kingdom of Valencia: *dolçaina* is used from *la Ribera del Xúquer* district up to the far north penetrating southern Catalonia where there is a strong Valencian influence in traditional expressive culture, and *xaramita*—with its more recent variant forms *xeremita* or *xirimita*—is used from *la Costera* district to the south, penetrating Murcia where residual instances of the use of this once common instrument remain.

3.1.4. Teodor Llorente i Olivares (1889): Mentioning the gallant *albaes* sung with Oriental-like voices, describing the use of the *cant valencià* in spectacles by the blind

Teodor Llorente i Olivares (1836-1911) was a Valencian poet and journalist, a leader both of the literary movement of the *Renaixença* and of the Conservative Party which in Valencia supported the *Pronunciamiento de Sagunto* in 1874. As a journalist, he was the director of one of the main Valencian newspapers, *Las Provincias*, founded by him in 1866. As a historian, Llorente wrote in his significant historical work *Valencia* (1889) some descriptive notes regarding Valencian farmers' expressive culture and customs, and in particular the practice of the *cant valencià* tradition during night, courting serenades (*albaes*), as well as in popular on-stage spectacles offered on the eve of patron-saint holidays in the streets:

Very attached to their uses and customs, the peasant people always remained in Valencia very separated from the people of the city, as if they were two different races, looking somewhat askance one another and even with glimpses of disdain. The farmers boasted about their being farmers, and they did not want to imitate the artisans of the capital. Until very recently they resisted any innovation in their habits, in their customs ... Today ... the Valencian farmer has changed very much; but when we see him wrapped in his striped blanket, and wearing, tied to his head, his colorful kerchief, he still looks like a Middle-Eastern figure to us ... and, likewise, the harsh screams (*relinchos* ["neighs"]) with which, in the silent night, the young men accompany the strumming of their guitars in their languorous courting songs ... bring to our ears the notes of the Orient ... Playing a guitar and singing a stanza is a thing that a boy learns here as soon as he learns to weed chives. The guitar very rarely is absent in the modest apparel of the *barraca* [the characteristic rural dwelling with thatched roof]. Its soft vibrations accompany both the dance improvised in front of the farmhouse ... [and] the gallant *albaes* by the *fadrins* ["singles"].

Yet, the guitar, of such a widespread use in most parts of Spain, does not give the Valencian countryside a typical note. The *donsaina* [i.e., *dolçaina*] and the *tabalet* do, giving to it a markedly Moorish character. In our folk music there are no better instruments than these to enliven the festivals and predispose everybody to happiness. The *donsaina* pierces the ear and wakes the spirit up with its sharp, vibrant, almost strident voice, and the *tabalet* acts as the choir to that prolonged scream with a continuous roll, its dry and precipitated beats seem to gambol and dance ... [The] *donsainer* [*dolçaina* player,] ... when he manages to master his difficult instrument, acquires here as much reputation as in Galicia the best piper does, and the village people contend for him to play in their festivals. ...

Cantadores [Val. *cantadors*] and *coloquiers* [Val. *col-loquiers* "reciters"] achieve equal favor. ... The *coloqui* [i.e., *col-loqui*] is a [sort of] ballad, sometimes composed as a dialogue (hence its name), written in coarse Valencian and in which satire and the picaresque predominate ... A *cantà de cegos* ["singing of the blind"]... is a celebration very characteristic of the villages.

It is night time, probably the eve of the patron-saint [festival]. ... Against the wall of the town hall or the church a small stage has been set up. The *cantadoras* [Val. *cantadores* “female singers”] (some of them as famous as *la Cega de la Olleria* in later times), the *coloquero*, and the guitar and *citra* players go up (1). Song, music, and *coloqui* alternate.

(1) The guitar ensemble or orchestra consists of several instruments: the guitar in the strict sense, the *guitarró* (small guitar or treble guitar), the *citra* or *cítara* [long-necked, nine-stringed, three-course lute], and the *ferrets* (triangle).⁴ (Llorente i Olivares 1889, 441 and 449-50)

As mentioned by Teodor Llorente, some blind singers such as *la Cega de l'Olleria* also remembered in some early twentieth-century Valencian folklore compilations (see [Martí Gadea] 1906, 51), were excellent *cantadors d'estil* who used to perform very often in peasant festivals.⁵ Yet one of Llorente's most significant observations regards the popular favor that these singers traditionally achieved among

⁴ Apegadísimo a sus usos y costumbres, el pueblo de campo permaneció en Valencia muy separado siempre del pueblo de la ciudad, como si fuesen dos razas distintas, mirándose una a la otra con cierto desvío, y aun con asomos de desdén. El labrador se ufanaba de ser labrador, y no quería imitar a los menestrales de la capital. Hasta época muy reciente resistió toda innovación en sus hábitos, en sus costumbres ... Hoy ... [e]l huertano de Valencia ha cambiado mucho; pero cuando lo vemos envuelto en su manta rayada, y liado a la cabeza el pañuelo de colores, nos parece todavía una figura oriental ..., como traen también a nuestros oídos notas del Oriente ... los ásperos alaridos (*relinchos*) con que, en el silencio de la noche, acompañan los mozos el tañido de las guitarras en sus desmayadas canciones de amor... Tañer una guitarra y echar una copla es cosa que el muchacho aprende aquí tan pronto como a escardar cebollinos. La guitarra falta muy pocas veces en el modesto ajuar de la barraca. Sus vibraciones suaves acompañan lo mismo al baile improvisado delante de la alquería ... [que] a las galantes *albaes* del los *fadrins* (solteros).

Pero la guitarra, de uso tan general en gran parte de España, no da a la campiña valenciana una nota característica. Se la dan, sí, y de carácter marcadamente morisco, la *donsaina* y el *tabalet*. No hay, en la música popular, instrumentos que amenicen la fiesta y predispongan a la alegría como estos. La *donsaina* taladra el oído y despierta el espíritu con su voz aguda, vibrante, casi estridente, y el *tabalet* hace el coro al prolongado alarido, con un redoble continuo, cuyos golpes secos y precipitados parece que brinquen y bailoteen ... [El] *donsainer* ... cuando llega a dominar su difícil instrumento, adquiere aquí tanta fama como en Galicia el mejor gaitero, y se lo disputan los pueblos para sus fiestas. ...

Igual favor logran los cantadores y *coloqueros*. ... El *coloqui* es un romance, dialogado a veces (de lo cual viene su nombre) escrito en valenciano ramplón, y en el cual suel dominar la sátira y picaresca ... Una *cantà de cegos* ... es fiesta de mucho carácter en estos pueblos. Es de noche, víspera quizás del Santo Titular. ... Pegado a la pared de la Casa de la Villa o de la iglesia, se ha levantado un tabladillo. Suben a él las cantadoras (algunas tan afamadas como en estos últimos tiempos la *Cega de la Olleria*, el *coloquero*, los tañedores de guitarra y *citra* (1). Alternan el canto, la música y el *coloqui*.

(1) La música u orquesta de guitarra se compone de varios instrumentos: la guitarra propiamente dicha, el *guitarró* (guitarrilla o guitarra tiple), la *citra* o *cítara*, y los *ferrets* (triángulo).

⁵ Joaquim Martí Gadea (1906, 51) said about *la Cega de l'Olleria*: “Without a doubt she was very famous in the province of Valencia toward the mid-nineteenth century, because of her great voice, because of her talent in singing and playing guitar, and most of all because she had a great wit in *versar* or extemporizing songs, *trobos*, *coloquis* and ballads... She was not the first to have stood out in that genre, but according to word of mouth she was a renowned artist.” (“*Segurament era molt nomenada en la província de València a mitat del segle dè nau, per la seua gran veu, per la gràcia en cantar y tocar la guitarra, y més que tot per tindre tanta facilitat en versar o traure cansons, trobos, coloquis y romanços. ... No [é]s la primera que ha descollat en eixe gènere, però segons conten era una notabilitat.*”).

peasant villagers. Let us keep mind that the first *cantadors d'estil* known to us by oral-aural tradition, *Maravilla* and *Carabina*, were young men in their thirties when the Valencian poet and historian was writing these descriptive notes, and that these two singers achieved massive popularity (see subsection 3.2.3.). Also, notice that for Llorente i Olivares the vocality of these peasant singers' songs was languorous and Oriental-like, just as the jubilant screams accompanying the strumming of their guitars at the beginning or at the end of each song were understood as having the same origin.

In his role as a historian writing about popular Valencian traditions and customs, Llorente i Olivares takes an antiquarian stance and does not forget to remind us the Moorish character of the *tabalet* and *dolçaina*, harking back to the Middle Ages when Muslim populations predominated in these lands, and also the Oriental-like character of the songs of the Valencian singers who performed the *cant valencià*. Though not predicated out of a critical comparison as I did in Chapter 2, subsection 2.2.1., the points of contact between Valencian traditional song and old Hispanic-Islamic or North-African Islamic culture were common place among the learned in the late nineteenth-century Spain.

3.1.5. José Ruiz de Lihory i Pardines (1903): Describing the *albaes*, confusing the *jota valenciana* with the *fandangà* forms of the *cant d'estil*

To conclude with the antiquarian approaches, we need to refer to José Ruiz de Lihory i Pardines (1852-1920), a Valencian conservative politician, lawyer, and

writer, who met Teodor Llorente i Olivares at the University of Valencia, and through his influence got interested in the *Renaixença* movement. Ruiz de Lihory became the mayor of Valencia for a short time (1884-1885), and during his lifetime wrote different works on Valencian culture. In a kind of musical encyclopedia titled *La música en Valencia* (“Music in Valencia”) (1903), he devoted two short entries to *cant valencià* practices and songs. The first one, titled *Albaes*, describes the night serenades in the fertile lowlands around the city of Valencia:

The dawn songs or *albaes* are a typical custom in the villages of our fertile lowlands, where the young men serenade the maiden girls until the wee hours of the morning with those Moorish songs accompanied by clarinet, *bandurria*, guitars, and with the shot of rockets against the frontdoors of their houses, which, as usually, are recently whitewashed (1). [(1) It is a custom in *l'horta* [the fertile lowlands] to whitewash the *barracas* [or rural thatched dwellings] every Saturday evening.] The vanity of the maidens being courted correlates to having a greater number of marks left by their suitors around their windows from throwing burning rockets against the house during the *albaes*.

The gallant serenade works in a singular way: the music begins in a sweet, monotonous, and lulling form, the prelude lasting a couple of minutes, necessary time so that the young woman, addressee of the serenade, wakes up and leaves the bed in order to place herself, wrapped up in a blanket, behind the closed window, devoring through the gaps the movements and songs of the street bards who court her. Because there are two of them, one who begins by improvising the first and second lines of the stanza, and another one who concludes it, also improvising the third and the fourth [lines]. It goes without saying what singular and extravagant verses will come out of such improvisations, which often turn out to be ingenious and discreet. As for the language they use, there is absolute freedom, because the verses are in Castilian, or in Valencian, or bilingual. ...

Once the song is over, the same motif of the prelude seems to chase the *cantador*, who launches a few long and strident howlings, identical to the *lelilies* of the Arabs, which are the so-called *rellinch[os]* [“neighs”] in popular parlance.

When the *albaes*, losing their intimate and private character, are dedicated as a somewhat satirical token of affect to salient personalities or corporate entities, the instruments due for the accompaniment are the *dulzaina* [Val. *dolçaina*] and the *tabalet*.⁶ (Ruiz de Lihory 1903, 149-50)

⁶ Las alboradas o *albaes* son una típica costumbre de los pueblos de nuestra huerta, donde los mozos obsequian a las jóvenes solteras durante las altas horas de la noche con esas moriscas trovas acompañadas de clarinete, bandurria, guitarras y disparo de cohetes sobre la fachada de la casa, que suele estar recién blanqueada (1). [(1) Es costumbre en la huerta enjalbegar las barracas todos los sábados por la tarde.] Motivo de vanidad es para las obsequiadas que sus pretendientes dejen en torno a sus ventanas el mayor número de huellas de los cohetes encendidos que sobre su casa se han lanzado durante las *albaes*.

Funciona la galante ronda de una manera singular: comienza en forma dulce, monótona y arrulladora la música, durando un par de minutos la introducción, tiempo necesario para que la joven objetivo de la serenata se despierte y deje la cama para colocarse, rebujada en una manta, detrás de la cerrada ventana, devorando por las rendijas de

In his description, Ruiz de Lihory actually refers to the *guitarraes*, in which *cant d'estil* songs are performed. The expression “those Moorish songs” both alludes to their particular vocality and hints at the author’s antiquarian approach centered on reference to past civilizations. We have seen that the poet and historian Llorente i Olivares mentions the guitars that the young men use to sing during the *albaes*. However, Ruiz de Lihory conflates in his description two different practices: the splitting of the stanza between two singers in alternation, which is characteristic of the *albaes* songs with *tabalet* and *dolçaina*, and the singing of *cant d'estil* songs with guitar accompaniment by one singer alone.

The term *albaes* has been used in different places to designate Valencian night serenades in which both *cant d'estil* and *albaes* songs are performed. In different villages and city neighborhoods, the night street serenades during patron-saint festivals are still generically called *albaes*, something that at times may create confusion about the type of repertory actually being used, if one does not attend the event and ascertain it personally. Notice how Ruiz de Lihory emphasizes at the end of his description that when the *albaes* “are dedicated as a somewhat satirical token of affect to salient personalities or corporate entities” they traditionally required the

la misma los movimientos y canciones de los bardos callejeros que las obsequian. Porque son dos, uno que comienza improvisando el primero y el segundo verso de la copla, y el otro que la concluye, improvisando también el tercero y el cuarto. Ocioso es decir qué versos tan singulares y extravagantes saldrán de tales improvisaciones, que algunas veces suelen resultar ingeniosas y discretas. En el uso del idioma hay libertad absoluta, porque lo mismo son los versos castellanos, que valencianos o bilingües.

Al finalizar la copla, la misma cadencia de la introducción parece ataja[r] al cantador, que lanza unos prolongados y estridentes aullidos, idénticos a los *lelilies* de los árabes, que son prosaicamente llamados *rellinchs*.

Cuando las *albaes*, perdiendo su carácter íntimo y privado, se dedican como agasajo un tanto satírico a personalidades salientes o entidades corporativas, los instrumentos obligados para el acompañamiento son la dulzaina y el *tabalet*.

tabalet and *dolçaina* as already happened in the Middle Ages when we have this practice documented for the first time (see Chapter 2, subsection 2.3.3.).

Along with his description, Ruiz de Lihory (1903, 150) published musical transcriptions of the *albaes* prelude (“Dulzaina”) and postlude (“Después de la copla”) (Fig. 10). These versions are those collected at the turn of the twentieth century in Alboraiia by the Valencian organist and composer Mariano Baixauli (see Seguí 1980, 264 and 263); thus, he must have provided them to Ruiz de Lihory.



Fig. 10

Albaes prelude/postlude. Transcription published by Ruiz de Lihory (1903).
Version collected in Alboraiia at the turn of the twentieth century by the Valencian organist and composer Mariano Baixauli.

Moreover, in another short entry to his musical encyclopedia (1903, 151-4), Ruiz de Lihory made perhaps the first published textural description of the *fandangà* forms of the *cant d'estil* as used for dancing, adding a series of antiquarian commentaries purporting that these dances come from ancient Roman times, and referring to them

as *jota valenciana*, a misnomer which we find here for the first time in scholarly works (Chapter 4, section 4.3.). I give only the relevant passages of his description:

[The] Valencian *jota*

[I]t is our intention ... to make clear that the vivacity and contagious happiness of the Valencian character have contributed in a special way to the fact that these popular entertainments still preserve in *l'horta* their traditional character, close to disappearing dragged by the winds of modernism. ... [As] regards ... vocal and instrumental music, in which the lines of verse join the melody, we find an example in the *Jota: el U y el dos* and *el U y el dotçe* [sic]; ... its voluptuous contexture ..., the conjoining of the melody with the poetic stanzas carrying courtly, romantic, sublime, or transcendental ideas ... reappears ... in ... the popular and vibrant [Valencian] *jota*, ... the most suggestive and graceful dance of our peasant festivals.

The [Valencian] *Jota*, has the particularity that, during the instrumental preludes/interludes, the dancers rattle the castanets thunderously at the same pace as their pirouettes and jumps; but when the clarinet carrying the melodic motifs plays two notes, as a kind of warning, the rattling stops suddenly and the dancers moderate their movements, up to the point of swinging scarcely the body with languor, as if they were the prey of a restless nostalgia, putting their arms on their hips and forming with a slow movement of their feet some figures or movements ... Then the voice of the *cantador* with bravery begins the stanza, which starting on a high note loses its intensity sweetly until it dies in a chord from all the instruments—consisting only of guitars, *bandurrias*, *cítaras*, trombone, and clarinet, [a chord] which revives again the dizzying movement of the dancing couples and the rattling of their castanets.⁷ (Ruiz de Lihory 1903, 151-2)

Notice how Ruiz de Lihory describes the vocal performance of the *cant valencià* singers: “the voice of the *cantador* with bravery begins the stanza, which starting on a high note loses its intensity sweetly until it dies.” This passage documents for the first time the high projection of the voice, made “with bravery,” i.e., “*con valentia*” in his

⁷ [C]umple a nuestro propósito ... hacer constar que la vivacidad y alegría contagiosa del carácter valenciano ha contribuido por modo preferente a que estas expansiones [sic] populares conserven aún en nuestra huerta el sello tradicional, próximo a desaparecer arrastrado por el viento del modernismo. ... [R]especto a la ... música vocal e instrumental, uniendo los versos a la cadencia [musical], tenemos ejemplo en la *Jota, el U y el dos* y *el U y el dotçe* [sic]; ... su voluptuosa contextura ..., el engranaje de la cadencia musical con las estrofas poéticas portadoras de ideas amorosas, románticas, sublimes o trascendentales ... reaparece ... en ... la popular y vibrante *Jota* [valenciana], ... baile el más sugestivo y gallardo de nuestras fiestas.

Tiene la especialidad, la *Jota* [valenciana], [de] que durante las estrofas musicales los bailarines repican estruendosamente las castañuelas al compás de sus piruetas y saltos; pero cuando el clarinete portador del motivo melódico hace una apoyatura, como en son de advertencia, cesa repentinamente el repique y moderan sus movimientos los bailarines, hasta el punto de cimbraar apenas el cuerpo con languidez, cual si fueran presa de intranquilas nostalgias, posando los brazos sobre las caderas y formando con un pausado movimiento de pies algunas figuras o mudanzas ... Entonces la voz del cantador ataca con valentia la copla que, iniciada por una nota aguda, va perdiendo dulcemente su intensidad, hasta morir en un acorde de todos los instrumentos—que suelen reducirse a guitarras, bandurrias, cítaras, trombón y clarinete—, renaciendo de nuevo el movimiento vertiginoso de las parejas y el repiqueo de las castañuelas.

Spanish wording, using a term that the *cantadors d'estil* still use today to refer to their voice: *veu valenta* (“brave voice”) (see Chapter 7, subsection 7.2.1.1., point 1)).

Ruiz de Lihory transcribes six stanzas in a footnote and gives in the body of the text a musical transcription of the *jota valenciana* which does not correspond to any of the *fandangà* forms characteristic of the *cant d'estil* that he describes (*l'u i dos* and *l'u i dotze*); rather it is a real Valencian *jota* borrowed from Inzenga (1888, 32-3), who in turn took it from Ximénez (1873). Dance folklorists of the twentieth century, and some musical folklorists as well, will often replicate the misnomer *jota valenciana* to refer to *cant d'estil* songs of the *fandangà* stem (see Chapter 4).

3.2. Early Journalistic Approaches to the *Cant Valencià* (1869-1930): Useful Fragments, First Historiographic Articles, and the Shadow of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)

In contrast to what has been done in the study of other Spanish monodic expressive song traditions like the *cante flamenco*, no exhaustive compilation of journalistic sources has been carried out so far. I now consider the few relevant articles whose scope transcends merely giving news about *cant valencià* events or interviewing particular *cantadors d'estil* about their personal trajectories. These few articles that I take into account describe significant aspects of the tradition as a coherent and dynamic phenomenon worth of attention. They belong to a well-defined period approximately coincident with the Bourbon Restoration (1874-1931), the first known article considered here predating the initial date of that period.

3.2.1. José Francisco Sanmartín y Aguirre (1869): Illustrating the *albaes*, a historical perspective on today's current practices in the *cantaes*

The first journalistic approach to the *cant valencià* that I have been able to find is due to José Francisco Sanmartín y Aguirre, a Valencian writer specializing in family-oriented periodicals offering pleasant and curious readings on history, literature, social customs, economy, industry, science, and the like. He published an article describing the *albaes* serenades by young men in love as celebrated in the fertile lowlands of Valencia toward the mid-nineteenth century (Sanmartín y Aguirre 1869).

In his description, motivated by a *costumbrista* painting presented the previous year for a Fine-Arts contest in Saragossa by the young Valencian artist José Gastaldi i Bo (1842-1886), Sanmartín y Aguirre evokes the peaceful and charming atmosphere of summer nights and reports the way in which small groups of peasant men, with the *cantadors d'estil* and the *tabalet* and *dolçaina* players, used to approach a farm and sing *albaes* dedicated to its inhabitants. When the men are ready to perform,

[o]ne of them, to whom the other in the group give the name of *cantaor*, makes his silvery voice heard intoning in the native language the first two lines of the song below, that to the accompaniment of *tabalet* and *donsaina* is concluded by another *cantaor* who is also part of the group:

One song I'm going to sing,
and I'm going to sing it high,
and with it I'm going to soar up
both Cento and Viçanteta.

Meanwhile, the farmers spread out in the surrounding areas of the farmhouse, a few lying back on the benches that surround it, others standing up, others sitting down on the ground, [and] at the same time the wooer who is financing the serenade, which is the person alluded in the song, waits standing next to the musicians [until] his beloved maiden comes out. She does not indulge very much, because as soon as she perceives the beats of the *tabalet*, she abandons the bed hastily and looks out of the window to check on the fineness of her suitor, who, on having seen her, begins giving her hurrahs of happiness; hurrahs that his friends repeat on seeing that the door of the farmhouse opens and the person to whom these courtesies are dedicated comes out accompanied by her parents, who not knowing how to thank them [in a better way] for the deference that their daughter receives, entertain the visitors serving homemade sweets and drinks.

To the first song, others follow, either tender or piquant, that cause the general hilarity, and more than once make the girl blush. This way, they remain until the beams of the new day remove with their reflections the shades of the night, the hour in which they all go away, not without intoning the following [farewell] stanza, which is indispensable in these cases:

Goodbye I say of a rose,
goodbye of a carnation I say,
goodbye I say of Vicenta
and of her mother as well.⁸ (Sanmartín y Aguirre 1869, 331)

Along with his description, Sanmartín y Aguirre also provides an engraving which is the first known representation of a *cant valencià* night serenade (see Fig. 11). In it, the *tabalet* and *dolçaina* playing the prelude can be seen next to the singers, while the latter can be seen waiting for their time to begin: one of them ready to perform in a characteristic, erect bodily attitude, raising his face, which is similar to that adopted by current *cantadors d'estil* (see Chapter 7, subsection 7.2.1., point 1), and the other one ready to anticipate what is he going to say in the last two lines of the stanza which he must extemporize in response to the first singer.

⁸ Uno de ellos, a quienes [*sic*] los del grupo dan el nombre de *cantaor*, deja oír su argentada voz entonando en el lenguaje del país los dos primeros versos de la siguiente canción, la cuál es concluida al son del *tabalet* y la *donsaina*, por otro *cantaor* que también forma parte del grupo: Una cansó cantaré / Y la cantaré baixeta [*sic*, read the opposite: alteta], / Y en ella remuntaré / A Sento y a Visanteta.

Entre tanto los labradores se esparcen por las inmediaciones de la alquería, recostándose unos sobre los bancos que la rodean, permaneciendo otros de pie o sentándose los demás sobre el suelo, mientras el galán que costea la serenata, que es la persona aludida en la canción, espera de pie al lado de los músicos [a que] salga la niña de sus amores. No se hace de esperar ésta mucho, pues a penas percibe los sonos del *tabalet*, deja presurosa el lecho y se asoma a la ventana a corresponder la fineza de su amante, el cuál al verla comienza a dar hurras de alegría; hurras que repiten sus amigos al ver que se abre la puerta de la alquería y aparece la persona a quien van dedicados estos obsequios acompañada de sus padres, quienes no sabiendo cómo agradecerles las deferencias que su hija les merece, les osequian sirviéndoles dulces y bebidas del país.

A la primera canción siguen otras, ya tiernas, ya picantes, que causan la hilaridad de todos y hacen salir más de una vez los colores a la cara de la niña. Así permanecen hasta que los rayos del nuevo día disipan con sus reflejos las sombras de la noche, hora en que todos se retiran, no sin entonar antes la siguiente copla, que suele ser de cajón en estos casos: *Me despido de una rosa, / me despido de un clavel, / me despido de Vicenta / y de su madre también.*



Fig. 11

Albaes night serenade with *tabalet* and *dolçaina* accompaniment in *l'horta* of Valencia, engraving (1869) of a painting (1868) by José Gastaldi i Bo

Clearly, this is a privately-organized serenade for a special occasion, not one of the *cantaes* celebrated annually during patron-saint festivals. The only difference is that the *cantadors* [*d'estil*] sing only to one person and her family, in contrast to singing to several people during the same night and moving around from farmhouse to farmhouse in the countryside or from townhouse to townhouse in a village. In this early journalistic description we find many of the distinctive elements of today's Valencian *cantaes*: (1) the singers' voices are silvery (*argentadas*), that is to say, high and clear, like those of the best singers of the twentieth century we have come know through recordings or in person; (2) the singers are referred to and acknowledged by the group as *cantaors* [*d'estil*], that is as specialized in their art in opposition to the rest, a constant feature up to the present; (3) these *cantaors* [*d'estil*] are paid by the

person who organizes the serenade, as still happens today; (4) a couple of singers are hired to sing, a common practice which originated in relation to the *albaes* texture in which two singers answer one another; (5) they not only sing to the serenaded person, but to her parents or relatives as well, as nowadays occurs; and (6) the latter offer pastries, sweets, and drinks to the group of singers, musicians, and attendants in order to thank them for the serenade, as one can often find in the *cantaes* of the present. Altogether, therefore, this descriptive fragment provides a significant historical perspective about the most common practices of Valencian contemporary *cantaes*.

We have to wait until the early decades of the twentieth century to find a few additional significant articles about the *cant valencià* tradition, which appeared in what are today rare and hard-to-find, reviews and almanacs. Some of them are among the best historical sources for getting to know both the developments of the *cant valencià* tradition during the Bourbon Restoration period (1874-1931) and the most important *cantadors d'estil* of that time. The authors were knowledgeable and well-informed about the tradition, and if we set aside a few antiquarian comments, on the whole they enthusiastically transmitted accurate contemporary information about the *cant valencià* as well as making some perceptive observations about it.

These sources may seem paltry in comparison with the wealth of informative articles available to study other monodic expressive song traditions of Spain; nevertheless, what matters is that through them we have confirmation of facts which would otherwise be difficult to ascertain today, in addition to clues for further research into the past. The articles belong to three Valencian republican, left-wing journalists and writers.

3.2.2. José Alcina Navarrete (1917): Claiming the artistic quality of the *cantaes* and their power to evoke Valencian collective identity

José Alcina Navarrete, probably born in the industrial city of Alcoi, sixty six miles south-west of Valencia, was a writer and literary critic linked to anarchist and theosophical circles both in Valencia and Barcelona. As far as I know, he is the first one to have published an article vindicating the *cant valencià* in a special issue of the review *Fomento nacional* that appeared in 1917 on the occasion of the Valencian July Fair in which the *cant valencià* and dances sung to it as described by Ruiz de Lihory (see subsection 3.1.5.) were annually staged for large urban and peasant audiences. In his article, signed with the initials J.A., Alcina Navarrete lyrically reflects on the *cantaes*, emphasizing (1) their artistic value; (2) their embodied iconic power to evoke musically a territory or collective sentiment of belonging; (3) their traditional presence in many street and neighborhood festivals, as Asenjo Barbieri had already reported in 1859 (see Chapter 2, subsection 2.2.1.); (4) their celebration at the outskirts of the city, the most important ones being those in the festivals of outer Sant Vicent Street, outer Quart Street, and Sagunto (i.e., Morvedre) Street as it was still so in the 1960s; (5) their “magic” atmosphere pregnant with history; and (6) the large attendance they used to have. The following excerpt includes the relevant passages:

Faced with the nuances of the Levantine [i.e., Valencian] spirit, we are enthralled, especially when those [nuances] come together with Art, as it happens with the *cantaes*, that share its nature, even if their value has not been acknowledged; [value] which has been acknowledged by us, who have listened to them and are sure that they deserve the artistic solvency of those who dogmatize about art issues in the Academies’ ceremonious halls. ... [W]ill you find by chance something so anointed with humility and of primitive flavor as these regional songs, an ornament in any popular festival?: nothing personifies so perfectly a region as a musical strophe or stutter do, [in such a way that] at hearing them the ferments of that people get sketched in our mind, descending to the soul, to shake it softly, as it happens with any evocation ...

These festivals being repeated yearly, as it happens, you will observe that the *cantaes* are never absent in them, and likewise that these are more often celebrated in the neighborhoods bordering the fertile lowlands. Thus, one can understand that those [*cantaes*] organized in San Vincent Street (outside the city walls), Quart Street, and Sagunto Street attract more people. There we find the pristine flavor that airs them, like a magic breath coming from the fertile lowlands; and also these are the moments in which we feel our soul drenched by the infinite melancholy that comes out of the songs, in the starry night, when the singer's voice is accompanied by the strumming of the guitars, and [when], under the radiance of the torches that strapping lads hold, we can glimpse the crowd listening attentively, without a murmur, as if the history of their forbears, which floats in the atmosphere owing to the suggestive power of music and the verses, was perfuming saintly their hearts. What a lot of reflections the *cantaes* suggest to us! ...

In the celebration we are commenting upon, we will find without great effort the most delicate motions of the collective soul of our city. We have thought about it more than once while following, in a night of *cantaes*, the musicians, verse improvisers, and singers—the latter sometimes need the prompter [i.e., *versador*] when their imagination is not in accord with their larynx and their singing skills.⁹ (A.[Icina Navarrete] 1917)

As we can see, Alcina Navarrete's description is dense, the description of a learned and sympathetic person which reflects philosophically on a folk tradition from a first-hand knowledge: he has been reflecting on it "more than once while following, in a night of *cantaes*, the musicians, verse improvisers, and singers." In the end, he also emphasizes that the *cantaes* stand at the boundary between the city and

⁹ [A]nte los repliegues del espíritu levantino, nos detenemos emocionados, máxime cuando aquéllos confluyen al Arte, como ocurre con *les Cantaes*, que a él se solidarizan, aun cuando no se las haya reconocido validez; que ésta valorada ha sido por los que las hemos escuchado y estamos seguros de que se merecen la solvencia artística de los que se dogmatizan en cuestiones de arte en los recintos ceremoniosos de las Academias. ... ¿[H]allaréis por ventura algo tan ungido de humildad y de sabor primitivo como estos cantos regionales, ornamento en toda fiesta popular, pues nada encarna tan perfectamente una región como una estrofa o un balbuceo musical, ante los cuales los fermentos de ese pueblo se nos abocetan en la mente, descendiendo al alma, para sacudirla suavemente, cual acontece con toda evocación? ...

Repitiéndose, cual sucede, anualmente estas fiestas, observaréis que nunca faltan en ellas *les Cantaes*, como así el que éstas son más celebradas en las barriadas lindantes con la huerta. Así se comprende que atraigan más gente las que se organizan en las calles de San Vicente (extramuros), Cuarte y Sagunto. Aquí encontramos el sabor pristino que las orea, como una bocanada mágica de la Vega; y es también cuando sentimos empapada el alma por la melancolía infinita que trasciende de las coplas, en la noche estrellada, cuando se acompasa la voz del cantador con los rasgueos de las guitarras y bajo el resplandor de las hachas que mozaones sostienen, se vislumbra a la muchedumbre, escuchando atenta, sin un murmullo, cual si la historia de sus antepasados, que flota en el ambiente por el poder sugeridor de la música y de los versos, perfumara santamente sus corazones. ¡Cuántas reflexiones nos sugieren *les Cantaes*! ...

[E]n el festejo que comentamos, hallaremos sin gran esfuerzo, las más delicadas voliciones del alma colectiva de nuestra ciudad. Eso hemos pensado más de una vez, siguiendo, en noche de *Cantaes* a músicos, copleros y cantadores—que éstos, necesitan a veces del apuntador, cuando su imaginación no está acorde con su laringe y su escuela de canto—.

the countryside, being an expression of their dialectical relationship, and likewise that they happen at the boundary between night and day:

[T]he *cantaes* usually come to an end at the last households of the streets, which unavoidably converge to the fertile lowlands [around the city] ... Thus, the last songs coincide with the arrival of the retinue to the countryside, [precisely] when ... the magnificent clarities of the day being born spread over the lands. And it happens that the present returns to the past. Because we the Levantines [i.e., the Valencians], and among us the Valencians [of the capital city], live thanks to the fertile lowlands and we work for the fertile low lands, in such a way that the consolidation of the city helps to perpetuate even more the countryside.¹⁰ (A.[lcina Navarrete] 1917)

Alcina Navarrete's is a great interpretation that any good ethnographer would have endorsed. Unfortunately, as of the 1960s, the city stopped returning periodically to its peasant past, and the three main Valencian *cantaes*—all of them *guitarraes*—disappeared, ceding their prominent position to *nits d'albaes* in different Valencian villages (el Puig, Bétera, Chiva).

3.2.3. Bruno García Albarracín (1917; 1925): Reporting the emergence of the *cant valencià* in the Valencian collective imagination as of 1891

Bruno García Albarracín, an employee of the City Council of Valencia, and enthusiastic aficionado of the *cant valencià*, published two articles of great significance, since they document when and how the *cant valencià* transcended the *cantaes* to hold a prominent position in the imagination of the Valencian bourgeoisie and of Valencian society at large. If Alcina Navarrete (1917) emphasized that in the *cantaes* “we will find without great effort the most delicate motions of the collective

¹⁰ [L]es *Cantaes* suelen terminar en las últimas casas de las calles, que fatalmente convergen a la huerta ... Así las últimas coplas coinciden con el arribo del cortejo al campo, cuando sobre la tierra ... se esparcen las magníficas claridades del día que nace. Y es que el presente se vuelve al pasado. Porque los levantinos y entre ellos los valencianos, por la huerta vivimos y para la huerta laboramos, pues la consolidación de la ciudad contribuye aún más a perpetuar el campo.

soul of our city,” Garcia Albarracín (1917) reminded us how the *cant valencià* songs and dances came to the forefront of social attention in the last decade of the nineteenth century, being presented in the main bourgeois urban festival with general acclaim (see also Chapter 1, section 1.5., and Chapter 7, subsection 7.3.2.):

Valencia that smiles gallantly with sweetesses and loves, with art and poetry, also has her traditional song, her legitimate dances, as other regions do, [which are] light of the sentiments, ethnic reason that re-dresses her in beauty and light, like a legendary strophe.

The *cant valencià* and Valencian dance, worthy *Morisco* inheritance, imply in their genesis the smiling character of the people, which to their Sun and to their blue sky raise their sentiments with expressions of art and harmony. ... It was necessary to take the virtues of this traditional harmony to ... the Valencian Fair, created by the southern courage of art and the fantasy of the authentic Valencians. Thus, our dance and our song were brought to the Fair, to the one celebrated in the year 1891.

It became a great novelty for the people a stage which was raised at the descent of *el Real Bridge*: there was a *barraca* (as a white dove that would have fled from the fertile lowlands) figured like a theatrical backdrop, and on [the stage], the most classical [expressions] of our land’s song and dance.

The people were feeling in their chest the feverish enthusiasm of patriotic sentiment, and one night after another, were coming to delight in *el u y el dos* and the *cháquera vella* [sic], about which the spectator was not sure what to admire better, the classic flavor of the songs or the old style of these Moorish dances.

Since this celebration was successful, it was repeated in the following years. ... Today traditional dances are indispensable in our Fair. In happy nights of fresh breeze, when over *el Real Bridge* the people flock to the Fair, ... the harmonious melodies of our *cant valencià* can be heard with special interest, ... with spiritual interest. ... They are the airs of the hometown which with their sentiments sheltered the sons who still cherish its customs with real love.¹¹ (Garcia Albarracín 1917)

¹¹ La Valencia que sonríe galana de dulzuras y de amores, de arte y de poesía, tiene también su popular canto, sus bailes legítimos como las demás regiones... luz del sentimiento, razón étnica que la reviste de belleza y luz a la manera de estrofa legendaria.

El canto y baile Valencianos, digna herencia morisca, conllevan en su génesis el carácter riallero del pueblo, que a su sol y a su cielo azul elevan sus sentimientos con expresiones de arte y armonía. ... [E]ra preciso llevar las excelencias de esta armonía popular a ... la Feria valentina, creada por el meridional ardor del arte y la fantasía de los verdaderos valencianos. Y se llevó a la Feria nuestro *baile* y nuestro *canto*, en la celebrada el año 1891.

Grande novedad causó al pueblo un tablado que se instaló a la bajada del Puente del Real, en el que había una barraca (como alba paloma que huyera de la huerta) figurada a la manera de teatral fondo, y en él, a lo más clásico del canto y del baile de nuestra tierra.

Las gentes sentían en su pecho el febril entusiasmo del sentimiento patrio, y una noche tras de otra, acudían a deleitarse con el *ú y dos* y la *cháquera vella* [sic], en los que no se sabía qué admirar más, si el sabor clásico de las coplas o la antigua escuela de los bailes moriscos.

Como el festejo tuvo éxito, repitióse en sucesivos años. ... Hoy son indispensables los bailes populares en nuestra Feria. En noches alegres, de fresca brisa, cuando afluye la gente por el Puente del Real a la Feria, ... se oye[n] con un especial interés, ... con un interés espiritual, los armónicos sonos de nuestro canto valenciano ... Es

Less than one decade later, in 1925, García Albarracín gave a more detailed account of that significant event, providing information about the most famous *cantadors d'estil* of that period and how they were publicly dignified:

[F]rom generation to generation, as a spiritual treasure, the historical customs of our people are handed down to us, with their sparkles of art and pretense. ... I do not intend, readers, in this modest work to provide a history of our song and our dance. I only want to say something about the their virtues.

In the Fair that was celebrated in the year 1891, *Traditional Dances* were included for the first time in its program. And at the descent of *el Real* Bridge, beyond the Triumphal Arch and in front of the countess of Ripalda's castle, a stage was raised, which as theatrical backdrop was showing a white and fresh *barraca* like her sisters in the fertile lowlands. This celebration was crowned by the greatest of the successes, since up to the date it has not stopped being celebrated. The *albaes*, *el u y el dos*, *el u y el dotse* [sic], and the *cháquera vella* [sic], revived the regional sentiment of the Valencians who were so much missing the traditional harmony of such beautiful customs.

In the year 1891 the song and the dance of our land were (publicly) dignified. And I say this, because at that time the value of the singers of our region was acknowledged, [singers already] so popular in village and street patron-saint festivals; and [the value] of the dancers, whose merit was recognized in the contest of the aforementioned Fair. Valencia was already saturated with the atmosphere of traditional song and dance in the patron-saint festivals, and it was necessary to take their value, their essence, to the supreme court of the Fair. It was a democratic, wise move!

[Dancing] master José Martí (*el Pastis[s]er*) and popular dancer Ramon Porta, took part with the most select [group of students] from their schools. Rosita Camilleri, Emilia Martí, Amparo Navarro, Antonia de Porta, and several others were the female dancers that opened up that historical Fair. The fine Valencian style was beautifully interpreted by the aforementioned dancers.

The singers were as select as they were popular. *El Churret de Barraques*, *el Parandonet de Carpesa*, *el Torsedor* [sic] *de Serrans*, *Maravilla* and *Carbina*, the latter two being personalities of popular sublimity, because *Maravilla* and *Carbina* were the favorite idols of traditional song. With these elements the cycle of *Traditional Dances* in the Valencian Fair began.

Later they were renewed by other younger people, as much dancers as singers. Then (though later), *Evaristo*, *[el] Moqueret* [sic], *[el] Chiquet de Pedralva* [sic], *[el] Seguet de Marchalenes* [sic], *el Foguerer*, Lozano Ballester *Galima* [also] nicknamed *el Turisá*, and others that enriched the *cant valencià* took part. But the genuinely historical singers were *Maravilla* and *Carbina*. They were the lyric poets of our custom[s], the selected spirits of our style. ...

Oh, sublime troubadours of the soul of our people! Venerated in intimacy, without your glories having transcended to our sister regions! Yet the time-honored Valencia, the Valencian religious [devotees] of the *albaes* and of *el u y el dos*, preserve in the historical record of their

el aire de la patria chica que cobijó con sus sentimientos a los hijos que todavía aman las costumbres con verdadero amor.

festivals your wits and your ingenuities, with which you sang as much love as the cheerful harmony of the customs.¹² (Garcia Albarracín 1925, 11-15 and 21)

3.2.4. Enrique Bohorques Bohorques (1930): Paying attention to the most important troupe that staged *cant valencià* songs and dances

Enrique Bohorques, a journalist and playwright, and secretary of the Press Association of Valencia, published in 1930 an article about the most famous dance troupe which offered *cant valencià* song and dance spectacles during the July Fair and in many Valencian towns and villages during local festivals: the *quadro de cants*

¹² [D]e generación en generación, como tesoro espiritual, llegan a nosotros las costumbres históricas de nuestro pueblo, con sus destellos de arte y de vanidad. ... No pretendo, lectores, hacer en este modesto trabajo una historia de nuestro canto y de nuestro baile. Sólo deseo decir algo de las excelencias de éstos.

En la Feria que se celebró en el año 1891, figuraban por primera vez en su programa *los Bailes Populares*. Y se instaló a la bajada del Puente del Real, más allá del Arco del Triunfo y frente al chalet de la condesa de Ripalda, un tablado que como fondo teatral ostentaba una barraca blanca y lozana como sus hermanas de la huerta. Este festejo fue coronado con el mayor de los éxitos, pues hasta la fecha no ha dejado de celebrarse. *Les albaes*, el *u y dos*, el *u y dotse* [sic] y la *cháquera vella* [sic], endulzaron el sentido regional de los valencianos que tan faltos estaban del popular concierto de tan bellas costumbres.

En el año 1891 se dignificó (públicamente) el canto y el baile de nuestra tierra. Y digo ésto, porque entonces se aquilataron los valores de cantadores de la región, tan populares en las fiestas pueblerinas y santorales callejeros, y de bailadores, cuyo mérito fue reconocido en el concurso de la precitada Feria. Valencia estaba ya saturada del ambiente del popular canto y baile en las fiestas santorales, y era preciso llevar su valor, su esencia, al supremo tribunal de la Feria. ¡Fue un acierto democrático!

El maestro [de baile] José Martí (el pastiser) y el popular bailador Ramón Porta, concurrieron con lo más selecto de sus escuelas. Rosita Camilleri, Emilia Martí, Amparo Navarro, Antonia de Porta y otras más, fueron las bailadoras que inauguraron aquella histórica Feria. El fino estilo valenciano fue bellamente interpretado por las precitadas bailadoras.

Los cantadores fueron tan selectos como populares. El *Churret de Barraques*, el *Parandonet de Carpesa*, el *Torsedor* [sic] de *Serrans*, *Maravilla* y *Carabina*. Figuras estas últimas de excelsitud popular. Porque *Maravilla* y *Carabina* fueron los ídolos predilectos del tradicional canto. Con estos elementos se inició el ciclo de los *Bailes Populares* de la Feria valentina.

Después fueron renovándose con otros más jóvenes, tanto en bailadores como en cantadores. Entonces desfilaron (aunque más tarde), *Evaristo*, [el] *Moqueret* [sic], [el] *Chiquet de Pedralva* [sic], [el] *Seguet de Marchalenes* [sic], el *Foguerer*, Lozano Ballester *Galima* [también] denominado *el Turisá* y otros más que enriquecieron el canto valenciano. Pero los cantadores netamente históricos, fueron *Maravilla* y *Carabina*. Eran los poetas líricos de nuestra costumbre, los espíritus seleccionados de nuestro estilo. ...

¡Oh, trovadores sublimes del alma de nuestro pueblo! ¡Venerados en la intimidad, sin trascender vuestras glorias a las regiones hermanas! Pero la Valencia clásica, los valencianos religiosos [devotos] de *les albaes* y del *u y dos*, conservan en el historial de sus fiestas vuestras agudezas y vuestros ingenios, que lo mismo cantaron el amor, que la alegre armonía de las costumbres.

i balls populars valencians directed by the dancing master Enrique Vicent. In his article, Bohorques pays attention to where Vicent taught Valencian dances in downtown Valencia and mentions the most famous *cantadors d'estil* who collaborated with him, already cited by García Albarracín (1925, 13-15):

Enrique Vicent's academy is in the heart of *el Carmen* neighborhood. The young who feel devotion to dance, so as to learn the "steps" and the "figures" of the variegated series of Valencian traditional dance, go daily to the modest first floor of the house. Vicent is a veteran at this instruction. He has been exercising the sacred profession of [dancing] master for thirty five years. He tells me about his good times, about his youth, about his successes. He evokes his masters: the famous Martí, the father of a Valencian soprano who enjoyed great popularity, and Vicente Moreno, both famous in their epochs.

In the troupe of dancers, the musicians and the singers also play an important role. Without a good *dolçaina* player and without two singers that can give expression to the songs, the troupe does not have life; it remains without soul. One of the most famous pair of singers was composed of *Maravilla* and *Carbina*. Their lungs of steel, their natural ingenuity, and their great mutual understanding ignited the masses with enthusiasm. In Vicent's dance troupe two singers who also enjoy great popularity replace today *Carbina* and *Maravilla*: they are *Evaristo* and [*el*] *Mogero* [sic]. Also *el Seguet* [sic], of Marjalenes, and *el Torneret*, of Russafa, have a reputation.¹³ (Bohorques 1930, 149-51)

¹³ El baile es una de las expresiones más gallardas y elocuentes de los pueblos que tienen personalidad. Afortunadamente, aún no se ha perdido en Valencia el culto a sus bailes. Claro está que ese culto necesariamente ha de ser profanado por las modernas corrientes de la vida en las populosas urbes. Todo cambia al empuje del tiempo en un progreso que tiene sus ventajas y sus perjuicios. Sin embargo, no se pierden tan fácilmente en los pueblos las manifestaciones características de su espiritualidad. De ahí que la danza valenciana se sostenga y brille; de ahí que salga a la calle y a la plazuela, al tablado ferial y al de los escenarios, en los momentos de fiestas solemnes y ataviada con sus galas mejores, para satisfacer ese anhelo que sienten por sus tradiciones los naturales de un país amantes de ellas.

Y como una prueba del amor a éstas y de su orgullo en sostenerlas, Valencia ofrece al visitante, ansioso de vibraciones populares, sus bailes típicos, siempre que se presenta ocasión. Y la rondalla de tocadores y bailadores da a esos espectáculos, llenos de melodías, de color y de luz, carácter y ambiente valencianos, al compás de la música de su jota, de "les albaes" y de la "xáquera vella". Esta manifestación del alma popular valenciana deja en el alma del turista una grata impresión de belleza, un delicioso recuerdo del paso por un país de encanto.

La academia de Enrique Vicent está en el corazón del Barrio del Carmen. A la modesta planta baja de la casa van diariamente los jóvenes que sienten la devoción de la danza para aprender los "pasos" y las "figuras" de la variada serie del baile popular valenciano. Vicent es veterano en estas enseñanzas. Treinta y cinco años lleva ejerciendo la sagrada profesión del maestro. Me habla de sus tiempos buenos, de su juventud, de sus triunfos. Evoca a sus maestros: al celebre Martí, padre de una tiple valenciana que gozó de gran popularidad, y a Vicente Moreno, famosos en sus épocas.

En el conjunto de la rondalla de bailadores, los músicos y los cantadores también desempeñan un importante papel. Sin un buen dulzainero y sin dos cantadores que sepan dar expresión a las coplas, la rondalla no tiene vida; queda sin alma. Una de las más famosas parejas de cantadores fue la compuesta por *Maravilla* y *Carabina*. Sus pulmones de acero, su natural ingenio y su gran compenetración encendían a las masas de entusiasmo. En la rondalla de Vicent sustituyen hoy a *Carabina* y a *Maravilla* dos cantadores que gozan también de gran popularidad: son *Evaristo* y [*el*] *Mogero* [sic]. También les alcanza la fama al *Seguet*, de Marchalenes [sic], y al *Torneret*, de Ruzafa.

It becomes clear through all these early twentieth-century journalistic sources that the *cant valencià* was in full bloom. In Chapter 7, section 7.4., I examine how it became an icon of Valencian collective identity throughout Spain as well, up to the civil war, contributing along with the other three main monodic expressive song traditions of the country to re-define the image of the nation-state.

3.2.5. The Shadow of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) looming over the *cant valencià*

The fact that the earliest, most relevant journalistic approaches to the *cant valencià* addressing it as a coherent tradition and not just describing specific practices in an isolated way span the thirteen-year period between 1917 and 1930 is an index of the climactic moment that the tradition was experiencing at that time. In fact, over the 1900-1936 time span, three burgeoning generations of great *cantadors d'estil* were active: (1) that of *Maravilla* and *Carabina* (ca. 1870-1920), (2) that of *Evaristo* and *el Muquero* (ca. 1900-1950), and (3) that of *el Xiquet de Bétera* and *la Blanqueta* (ca. 1920-1970) (see the Introduction, subsection The specialized singers). It was during this period that the *cant requintat* became dominant (see Chapter 4, subsection 4.2.1., point (4) and Chapter 7, subsection 7.3.2.).

Significantly, the subsequent journalistic gap until the late twentieth century is but a direct consequence of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and its aftermath when general Franco's authoritarian regime (1939-1975) strongly repressed important *cantadors d'estil* and many other Valencian people for having collaborated with the

Republican regime (1931-1939) or for being suspected of adhering to its ideology against the Catholic conservative one (see Chapter 2, subsection 2.1.4.). This had long-lasting consequences for the tradition.

In fact, *Evaristo* (1874-1951), the creator or systematizer of the *cant requintat* and great master of the following two generations of *cantadors d'estil* (see Chapter 7, subsection 7.3.2.), was imprisoned in 1939, and when released he left for Barcelona probably in search for a job, living there for eight years away from the *cantaes*;¹⁴ *el Torneret* (1884-1940) died because in the tough times after the Civil War he couldn't find the necessary insulin for his diabetic condition;¹⁵ *el Civilet* (1884-1972) was also jailed for several years;¹⁶ *el Ceguet de Marjalenes* (1888-1940), being approached by a firing squad with the intention of killing him, was in the end spared, but, scared to death, died several months later;¹⁷ *el Xiquet de Pedralba* (1889-1940) and *el Ruc del Puig* (1890-1940) also died the same year;¹⁸ *el Xiquet de Paterna* (1904-1939) was imprisoned and put to death for having organized a *cantà* protesting against the new regime;¹⁹ *el Xiquet de Vinalesa* (1908-1991) was sent for several years to a concentration camp having been falsely charged with having participated in the

¹⁴ Personal information (2006) from the singer Victòria Sousa Genovés *Victorieta*, who said that the fact that *Evaristo* had been in prison was common knowledge among the *cantadors d'estil* when she was young in the 1950s. The fact that he lived in Barcelona for eight years is a personal information (2008) coming from Evaristo Payà Miralles, grandson of the great singer. See also Marzal Barberà (2009, 176, n. 202), who tells the story of his unexpected return during a *cantà* in 1947, three years before his death.

¹⁵ Personal information from Enric Rubió Brisa (1995), son of *el Torneret*.

¹⁶ Personal information from Francesc Calaforra Cubells (2007), son of *el Xiquet de Benaguasil*.

¹⁷ Personal information from Paquita Marco Jausaràs (1996), daughter of *el Ceguet de Marjalenes*.

¹⁸ See Marzal Barberà (2009, 196 and 198).

¹⁹ Personal information from Paquita Marco Jausaràs (1998), daughter of *el Ceguet de Marjalenes*. This is common knowledge among *cantadors d'estil*.

destruction of religious images,²⁰ *el Xiquet de Mislata* (1918-1993) was also sent to a concentration camp for having served in the republican army, although later he was released,²¹ and *el Pollastre* (1919-1983) was wounded during the war in 1938 while traveling to the battle front and suffered from his condition for a long time, although he managed to survive and sing.²²

In addition, no new young singers came out of the war generation, and already by the mid-1950s it became apparent that generational renewal was compromised. In sum, although the *cant valencià* did not disappear (see Chapter 7, subsection 7.3.3.), it lost the possibility of extraordinary growth and development that it clearly had in the 1930s. The late twentieth and early twenty-first-century amateur journalists who have devoted attention to it have emphasized its subsequent decadence, yet have contributed little to its understanding.

3.3. Late Twentieth and Early Twenty-First-Century Journalism about the *Cant Valencià* (1990-2009): Misnaming and Misinterpreting the Tradition

During the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, following the establishment of democracy in Spain, a renewed interest in the *cant valencià* has produced several texts not always published in newspapers, but presenting in fact a journalistic character. In marked contrast to the early journalistic approaches examined in section 3.2., these articles (Torrent 1990, 2001; Collado i Àlvez 1997,

²⁰ Personal information from Carme Sorribes Cataluña (2008), daughter of *el Xiquet de Vinalesa*.

²¹ See Pitarch Alfonso (2009, 26).

²² Personal information from Emília Guadalupe Llorens (2008), his wife.

1998; Frechina 1999, 2005, 2009a, b), have been written by authors with compromising views both of what singing the *cant valencià* is and of how traditions as socio-cultural and historical practices work. Occasionally, it is possible to obtain some useful information from these articles when they include interviews with contemporary *cantadors d'estil* (Collado i Àlvez 1997). However, these authors often inaccurately use traditional terms and categories and make impressionistic analyses that do not stand up to close ethnographic scrutiny. They all arbitrarily use *cant d'estil* as if this were the generic term for *cant valencià*—hence the misleading titles of most of their articles.

3.3.1. Vicent Torrent i Centelles (1990; 2001): A strange “new folklore,” “strip[ping] the songs of symbolic elements and meanings” to become modern through *riproposta*

Vicent Torrent, a folk revivalist musician and lyricist, public employee, and promoter of an audio-recorded Valencian traditional music collection, the *Tallers de Música Popular: Fonoteca de Materials* (“Folk Music Workshops: Record Library of Materials”), is also the author of two texts about the *cant valencià*. The first one is a chapter devoted to “The *cant d'estil* in the city of Valencia,” that is to say, to the *cant valencià* in general, which he included in a kind of journalistic travel book about Valencian traditional music (see Torrent i Centelles 1990). He mentions the most common musical occasions of the *cant valencià* such as *nit d'albaes* and *guitarrà* (1990, 63), citing its main melodic models with expressions common in *la Vall d'Albaida* and *les Muntanyes d'Alcoi* districts (*per la de l'u, per la de l'u i el dos, per*

la de l'u i el dotze) (*ibid.*), and alluding to its more ornamented melodic style or *cant requintat* (1990, 64). Next, he tries to define the workings of the *cant d'estil*.

(1) *Inspirational creation in performance according to one's own fantasy allegedly as the defining trait of the cant d'estil*: Torrent i Centelles conceives of the *cant d'estil* in romantic terms as

a structure that gives the interpreter the freedom to create in the very moment of the performance. ... When the renditions are repeated and become more and more alike, that means that the singers' creative capability diminishes ... and the elasticity of the song progressively becomes more stagnant. ... In order to sing [different] styles, great vocal conditions, a great mastering of the throat, and inspiration to improvise are necessary.²³ (Torrent i Centelles 1990, 64-5).

He acknowledges that “[t]he phrases that [the singer] performs follow a pre-established scheme” (1990, 64), but his characterization nevertheless misleads the reader by pointing to inspirational creation or free composition in performance according to one's own fantasy as the defining trait of the *cant valencià*. There is no ethnographic evidence that the melodic vocal lines or their ornamentations are created on the spur of the moment like the lyrics are (see Chapter 5, section 5.3., where I address vocal improvisation in the *cant valencià*, examining what musical folklorists and (ethno)musicologists have said about this issue).

(2) *The cant valencià d'estil allegedly as a “new folklore” of the nineteenth century*: the second text he devoted to the *cant valencià* is an article published eleven years later, in which he conceives of it as “a new folklore” born in the nineteenth century (Torrent i Centelles 2001). As I showed in Chapter 2 when examining the historical

²³ una estructura que deixe llibertat per a crear a l'interpret en el moment mateix de l'execució ... Quan les interpretacions se van repetint i van fent-se cada volta més paregudes, vol dir que la capacitat creativa dels cantadors va baixant. ... i aquella elasticitat del cant va esclerotitzant-se. ... Per a cantar estils cal[en] unes grans condicions de veu, un domini de la gola, i insperació per [a] improvisar el cant.

depth of the *cant valencià*, Torrent i Centelles's impressionistic idea is wholly without ethnographic support. He uses here the category of folklore in a puzzling way, for in his discourse new folklore is to be understood in the sense of folklorism, that is, a reuse of traditional musical elements in different contexts and for different purposes than the traditional ones. The *cant valencià* is a dynamic living tradition which "entered modernity" in the eighteenth century (see Chapter 7, subsection 7.3.1.) and has been maintained up to the present in its traditional setting, the *cantaes*, by its traditional specialized singers and aficionados, with the same purposes. It hardly can be understood as a phenomenon of folklorism, even if it began being presented on stage during the nineteenth century (see subsection 3.2.3.).

(3) "*Riproposta*" as revivalist agenda—"strip[ping] the songs of symbolic elements and meanings" and becoming modern: Torrent i Centelles's idea of what the *cant valencià* is in historical and social terms seems to be a projection of his own revivalist agenda made explicit in his publications, and which he terms using the Italian word *riproposta* ("new proposal"). With this label he defines "a new proposal of traditional music" in urban settings, or in other words, a "recycling of traditional music ... for consumption" in the modern world (Torrent i Centelles 1990, 134). Allegedly, *riproposta* would represent the best interventional option for the future preservation of traditional musics, as opposed to what he conceives of as the only two other possible options to prevent the disappearance of traditional repertoires: that is to say, *recopilació* ("compilation") or transcription and recording of traditional songs, and *restauració* ("restoration") or reproduction and re-presentation of songs and dances on stage (Torrent i Centelles 1990, 114-35). It is not clear why, but for him,

[w]e cannot think, without falling into fantasy, that our society is able to use its traditional music in the way it once did. Instead, we can think of a successful movement of musicians which will manage to adapt the sound of current traditional forms, adopting modern attitudes in order to create, by using new formulas based on traditional sounds ... that exceed the inertia of the musicians who cultivate traditional music today... One condition for the adaptation of traditional sounds to our times will be to strip the songs of symbolic elements and meanings which evoke the past ... It is necessary to adopt modern attitudes as regards the lyrics, the literary expression, the contents, the dressing. ... As a matter of fact, our [contemporary] people are more open and more capable than old people to assimilate new stimuli and new experiences. (Torrent i Centelles 1990, 134-5)²⁴

This passage does not need much comment. Torrent i Centelles clearly projects his own revivalist fantasy on the social world around him, disregarding the contents and values of living musical traditions, as well as their own practitioners' right to continue maintaining those practices and values on their own terms.

(4) *The cant valencià allegedly as a westernized, transnational genre*: Torrent i Centelles lumps together under the category of new folklore, in the sense explained above of folklorism, both the *cant valencià d'estil* and a series of disparate, for him Western (?) musical genres such as “evolved flamenco, Argentinean tango, the so-called Spanish *copla* [i.e., Spanish cabaret songs], Portuguese fado, Greek rembetiko, Maghrebi raï, and ... Afro-American music” (Torrent i Centelles 2001, 67). He seems unaware of the fact that, unlike the *cant valencià*, the other genres he cites are mostly modernized, urban, national, or transnational popular musics. For him, what would make all these musics, including the *cant valencià*, fall under a purportedly

²⁴ No es pot pensar, sense caure en la fantasia, que la nostra societat pot arribar a usar la música autòctona en la forma que ho feia antigament. Sí que cap pensar, en canvi, que pot arribar a quallar un moviment de músics que aconseguen adaptar el so tradicional a les formes actuals adoptant actituds de creació amb noves fòrmules sonores sobre la base tradicional ... que superen la inèrcia dels músics que avui cultiven la música tradicional Una condició per a aquesta adaptació del so tradicional a la nostra època serà despullar les cançons d'elements simbòlics i significats que evoquen el passat ... Cal prendre actituds modernes quant als textos, a l'expressió literaria, als continguts, als vestits. ... De fet, la nostra gent està més oberta i més capacitada que la gent antiga per [a] assimilar nous estímuls i noves experiències.

homologous category of new folklore is that they all were born by taking and transforming elements of previous traditional musics in urban settings.

However, inconsistent with his own argument, he expresses amazement at the fact that, “the *cant d’estil* [i.e., the *cant valencià*] being a young or new genre within Valencian traditional music, ... it has incorporated genuine musical elements which in other expressions of oral tradition have faded away or have weakened” (Torrent i Centelles 2001, 71). If the *cant valencià* is comparable to a series of Western or westernized, urban popular, national or transnational musics, how can it remain a genre “within Valencian traditional music” with all its genuine features? Torrent i Centelles himself edited the double CD + booklet *Antologia del cant valencià d’estil* (1997) and advertised this genre on the booklet’s cover as “ORIGINAL ETHNIC MUSIC.” There is a contradiction in terms.

The idea that the *cant valencià* is a young or new genre born in the nineteenth century is at variance with what a grounded ethnographic understanding reveals. Its genuine, traditional musical elements cannot be explained away as recent incorporations in a recycling process which in any specific way matches Torrent i Centelles’s analysis, but rather as traditionally maintained features by the *cantadors d’estil* themselves on musical occasions which on the whole have changed little in the past two centuries. It is a matter of fact (1) that the *cant valencià* experienced certain vocal developments in the late nineteenth century (the creation of a new, more ornamented melodic style in a higher range, the *cant requintat* (see Chapter 7, subsection 7.3.2.), and (2) that the *cant d’estil* incorporated over the nineteenth century brass and woodwind instruments from the widespread Valencian community

bands in order to make the traditional instrumental preludes more vivid and forceful. Nevertheless, these nineteenth-century developments do not mean that the *cant valencià* should be categorized as contemporary, urban, popular, national or transnational music—nor as a new folklore. Instead, it can be compared productively to the traditional *cante flamenco*, to the Aragonese *jota parada* or *de estilo*, and to the *asturianada* (see Chapters 1 and 7).

3.3.2. Josep Antoni Collado i Álvarez (1997; 1998): Some analytic thoughts in need of qualification and several useful interviews with *cantadors d'estil*

Josep Antoni Collado i Álvarez, a library employee and amateur photographer from Castile-La Mancha established in Valencia since childhood, was commissioned by Torrent i Centelles to write the article “Estudi del cant d'estil en l'actualitat” (“A study of the *cant d'estil* today,” translated into English as “*Cant d'estil* usage” (?) in the CD booklet where it appeared, see Collado i Álvarez 1997), then summarized by the author in conference proceedings (Collado i Álvarez 1998). The main article is the result of several journalistic interviews with a number of different *cantadors d'estil* over a short period. In its title we find, again, the misnomer *cant d'estil* to refer to the *cant valencià* or *cant valencià d'estil*, mistaking the part for the whole. He tries to characterize the *cant valencià* in the second half of the twentieth century by (1) addressing its current practice, (2) describing the type of public celebration that the *cantaes* are, (3) explaining the duration and method of hiring the performers, (4) attempting a census of interpreters, (5) proposing a geographical distribution of the *cant valencià*, (6) compiling a vocabulary of terms used by its performers, and finally

(7) aggregating the rest of gathered information into a miscellaneous section called “Anecdotes, quotes, opinions.” I summarize and discuss now some of these contents in order to qualify certain analytic ideas about the recent history of the *cant valencià*.

(1) *Current practice of the cant valencià*: Collado i Àlvez transcribes two interview excerpts about what the *cantaes* used to be like before the 1970s, and two other excerpts about old singing contests performed in social occasions. Then he mentions the incorporation into the *cantaes* in the 1960s of *cantadors d’estil* belonging to what I classified as the fifth known generation of semi-professional singers, that is, the generation of *el Xiquet del Carme* and *Victorieta* (see Pitarch 1997a, b, c, and 1998a, b), and quickly recalls the gradual disappearance in the 1970s and 1980s of the previous generation of singers, positing that the *cant valencià* experienced a slow but constant decline owing to three factors: (a) the “consolidation in the large cities of a new, heterogeneous, culturally uprooted immigrant population” from Andalusia and Castile, (b) the abandonment on the part of “the most progressive sectors of Valencian society—even ... those so-called nationalists, as a serious historical error—of all the links not only with this particular expression of popular traditional culture, but with most of its expressions,” and (c) the fact that, due to that very reason the left-wing parties that won the first local government elections in 1977 during the Spanish transition to democracy did not support the *cant valencià* from the municipal public institutions they ruled, “which ... are those which through subsidies, directly or indirectly, contribute to financing local festivals,” and therefore the *cantaes*.

This analysis (a) presupposes a massive Andalusian and Castilian immigration to large Valencian cities in the 1970s and 1980s, while it actually occurred in the 1950s

and 1960s under general Franco's authoritarian regime, during a time in which the *cant valencià* was still quite in form, thus there is no link between Andalusian and Castilian immigration and the decline of the *cant valencià*; (b) also implies that what he calls progressive sectors of Valencian society and nationalists, which embraced *fusterianism* from the 1960s on, had previously appreciated and shown interest in Valencian traditional culture, whereas because of Fuster's sui generis ideas (see Chapter 2, subsection 2.1.5), they had always strongly disregarded its expressions, that are in contradiction with their preconceived pan-catalanist ideology; therefore as of 1977 they did not abandon the *cant valencià*—they never paid attention to it; and (c) posits that municipalities have been the agents mainly responsible for the maintenance of the *cantaes* and, thus, that the alleged abandonment of the *cant valencià* on the part of left-wing rulers caused its decline, whereas the *cantaes* have mostly been sponsored with funds collected by festival organizers, and therefore the decline of the *cant valencià* in the 1970s-1980s is not a direct consequence of left-wing rulers actual disinterest, but of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and its aftermath which brought about the lack of a consistent rate of singers' generational renewal since the 1930s (see subsection 3.2.5.).

Moreover, Collado i Àlvez (1997, 39-40) observes that there has been a timid recovery of the *cant valencià* in the late 1980s thanks both to “a new vision of traditions as an element of cultural reassertion as well as of vindication of our own history” and to the appearance a new generation of singers. Thus, he situates in this special juncture the establishment in 1992 of the *Associació Cultural de Cant Valencià d'Estil* (“Cultural Association for the *Cant Valencià d'Estil*”), “with which

for the first time in history a great part of the people involved [with *cant valencià*] tried to share problems, experiences, wishes, and projects.” However, ethnographic evidence shows (a) that no clearly articulated new generation of *cantadors d’estil* comparable to the previous ones has emerged, owing to the lack of real support on the part of Valencian rulers of any political conviction, and also (b) that the *Associació Cultural de Cant Valencià d’Estil* is not the first association created by the *cantadors d’estil*, since it was actually in the early twentieth century when the *cant valencià* was in full bloom that the *cantadors d’estil* established their first association presided over by the great master *Evaristo*.²⁵

(2-3-4) *Description of the type of public celebration that the cantades are, explanation of the duration and usual way of hiring the performers, and census of interpreters:*

Collado i Àlviz makes some basic useful descriptions and explanations, and from the data gathered in his interviews, he gives short characterizations of twenty *cantadors d’estil*, two of them belonging to the fourth generation (of *el Xiquet de Mislata* and *Conxeta la del Mercat*), fourteen to the fifth generation (of *el Xiquet del Carme* and *Victorieta*), and four to the following one or “new generation” still to be articulated as such. Altogether, these are the most consistent parts of Collado i Àlviz’s work.

(5-6) *Current geographical distribution of the cant valencià, and vocabulary of terms used by cant valencià performers:* His proposal distinguishes a central area, encompassing from *la Plana de Castelló* district through *l’Horta de Gandia* district, in which the *cant valencià* “has been and/or is present sometimes throughout the year

²⁵ Information provided in 1996 by Evaristo Payà Lledó, son of the great *cantador d’estil* Evaristo Payà Cabanes *Evaristo*.

in a large number of towns,” and a peripheral area in which “it is starting to fade away, so that ... in no respect can one say that [in this peripheral area] there is a generalized presence like in the central area.” (Collado i Àlvez 1997, 60).

Nevertheless, ethnographic evidence shows, on the one hand, that in what he defines as the peripheral area of the *cant valencià*, rather than fading away, it is actually expanding, and on the other hand, that such area is much wider than he contends (for a discussion, see Chapter 4, subsection 4.1.2., and above all Chapter 5, subsection 5.2.1.). Finally, as for Collado i Àlvez’s vocabulary of terms used by *cant valencià* performers, it sometimes lacks precision or critical consistency, and for that reason is in need of a more accurate ethnographic and linguistic elaboration.

3.3.3. Josep Vicent Frechina i Andreu (1999; 2005; 2009a, b): Forging an unrecognizable image of the *cant valencià*

For his part, Josep Vicent Frechina, a K-12 teacher of physics and amateur journalist, has published three articles on the *cant valencià* (1999, 2005, and 2009). The second one is a Spanish translation of the 1999 original Valencian version, with a few specific sentences removed and a reduced discography and bibliography. The last article is an elaboration of the previous ones.

Frechina (1999, 49) assumes that the *cant d’estil* formerly “was renewed, was invented anew in each *guitarra*,” while allegedly “[n]ow this process has stopped and the song suffers a certain paralysis” or rather, he adds, an “ankylosis” (*ibid.*), the reason for such ankylosis being that “the degradation of the fertile lowlands [around

the city of Valencia] and the fading away of its related [rural] culture has brought about a parallel degradation of the song” itself (*ibid.*), to the extent that sometimes only the preludes help distinguish the different melodic models: “[u]nfortunately, the decline of the song has caused, in some cases, a situation where one can only resort to this introduction [or prelude] in order to recognize a style [i.e., a melodic model], so much standardization has occurred” (Frechina 1999, 50).

What for Torrent i Centelles (1990, 64) was “a structure that gives the interpreter the freedom to create in the very moment of the performance,” inspirationally, becomes in Frechina’s misconception something allegedly invented anew in each performing act. This contention is contrary to ethnographic evidence (see Chapter 5, section 5.3., for a discussion).

Moreover, Frechina’s environmental-determinist assumption about the degradation of song as a function of the overwhelming urbanization of the predominantly rural environment in which it flourished, lacks ethnographic and theoretical consistency. As discussed in subsection 3.2.5, the recent history of the *cant valencià* is strongly conditioned by the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and resulting problems for generational renewal that have been looming over the tradition. It is a matter of fact that today the competence of one part of the new generation of singers has diminished. Yet to describe the current state of the *cant valencià* as one in which songs sometimes have lost their forms and have become unrecognizable except for their preludes is hyperbolic and misleading.

While Frechina's explicit assumptions and statements reveal his problematic acquaintance both with the actual *cant valencià* tradition and with cultural theory, other ideas confirm a judgmental stance. For instance, we are told that the *cant valencià* lives in "an ambience anchored in the most blatant traditionalism" (Frechina 1999, 50), allegedly because most of the *cantadors d'estil* and *versadors* prefer to adhere to their long-held practice of improvising verses in homage to or in jubilant criticism of the serenaded people, following traditional aesthetic canons, rather than composing stanzas with a nationalist involvement, as one singer did once in praise of a well-known Valencian art poet. This argument, which in a way resembles Torrent i Centelles's in favor of stripping the tradition of its symbols and meaning, is so inconsistent that the author himself suppressed this passage in the published Spanish translation of his article (see Frechina 2005, 87).

Yet the author still puzzles the reader even further by maintaining that the *cant valencià*

has not been able to adapt itself to modernization processes and has taken refuge in its own "folkloric" pedestal. However, in spite of this relative immobility, it still remains a living cultural phenomenon handed down from individual to individual, as always has happened; [a tradition] which one can still enjoy because it has not gone through the sieve of "retrieval."²⁶ (Frechina i Andreu 1999, 49)

In Chapter 7, section 7.3., I analyze how the *cant valencià* "entered modernity" and its specialized singers developed its singing style precisely in response to the main moments of social radical situational change in western Europe while

²⁶ [E]l cant no ha sabut adaptar-se als processos modernitzadors i ha romàs parapetat al seu cadafal "folkloric." Tanmateix, tot i aquesta relativa immobilitat, continua essent una fet cultural viu, que es transmet d'individu a individu, com ha estat sempre, i del qual hom pot encara gaudir sense que haja passat pel tamis de la "recuperació."

nevertheless adopting a radical attitude rooted in their tradition. The *cant valencià* has stuck to its traditional spaces and musical occasions because there is no objective need to abandon them and because the adverse political and social conditions from the 1940s through the 1970s barred many opportunities available during the first third of the twentieth century.

Besides, ethnographic evidence shows that within the tradition itself there was a retrieval process for the first time in the 1950s and 1960s. *El Xiquet de Mislata* (1918-1993) created a School of *Cant Valencià* in order to palliate the clear fears of an uncertain future, vis-à-vis the lack of a new generation of singers that the predicaments of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and its aftermath had prevented from flourishing in a more traditional way (see also Chapter 7, subsection 7.3.3.).

Finally, in a recent article by Frechina i Andreu (2009a, b) published in two different online magazines, even though he finally correctly uses the name of this song tradition (i.e., *cant valencià d'estil*), his usual strained views still abound, and he even gives “an ideal eleven” list of *cantadors d'estil* of all times, as if they were in some respect comparable to the eleven players forming a modern soccer team. This kind of arbitrary projections is telling enough and does not require further commentary.

Overall, these contemporary journalistic analyses and their authors' statements and assumptions as regards the *cant valencià* must be taken with caution and necessarily qualified, since their wide circulation has helped spread a distorted image of the actual tradition. They are of little help in achieving an understanding of the *cant valencià* in its phenomenal complexity and experiential richness, in its actual

historical development and present state. Because traditions are complex phenomena made out of embodied social practices mediated by culture, and thus conditioned by cultural-relational and historical-political frameworks, there is a real need of thorough analyses beyond impressionistic, etic views.

In Chapters 1 and 2, I have partly analyzed such frameworks—they will be further addressed in Chapter 7. In Chapter 3, I have presented and discussed the approaches of antiquarian musicologists and historians as well as of early professional and current amateur journalists as ideological frames contributing to or hampering an understanding of the *cant valencià* and its characteristic vocality. From this examination, some historical observations and evidence have arisen that are especially useful, such as (1) the observations about the voices of the *cantadors d'estil* in the 1869-1903 time span, that match what we know ethnographically from early commercial recordings and current fieldwork research, and (2) the evidence about the older melodic style called *cant pla*, clearly predominant in the first available musical transcriptions (1873 and ff.).

In the next chapter, I survey the approaches to the *cant valencià* made from the disciplinary field of folklore as developed mostly in Spanish and Valencian settings, with its particular theoretical and institutional conditionings and the unmistakable ethnographic consequences of such conditionings.

Chapter 4: Folkloristic Approaches to the *Cant Valencià* (1937-2005): Fragmentary Views, the Strange Valencian *Jota*, Musical Elements and Textures, and Vocal Pre-eminence

In this chapter, I examine folkloristic approaches to the *cant valencià* (1937-2005). These have been of two basic kinds: those by dance folklorists and those by musical folklorists. On the whole, they have been as fragmentary as the earlier antiquarian ones, offering us snippets about particular aspects of the tradition. They have mainly focused on musical products and textural features, owing to the way folklore research was conducted in Spain. Over the twentieth century, they have constituted an ideological frame conditioning and often preventing a deeper understanding of the *cant valencià* in its complexity. Yet these approaches have also provided several insightful descriptive fragments and valuable musical data useful for our research purposes. In some cases they have described significant aspects of the *cant valencià* vocality, emphasizing the pre-eminence and value of the vocal lines.

In section 4.1., I address the approaches to the *cant valencià* by dance folklorists. From scattered and fragmentary descriptions of the tradition's elements and of classificatory biases with regards to its repertory, such as misnaming the *fandangà* form of the *cant d'estil* and conceiving of it as an allegedly stylized Valencian *jota*, they prevented the reader from achieving a real understanding of the *cant valencià*.

However, some of them do provide descriptions of *cant valencià* musical practices or brief characterizations of the *cantadors d'estil*' vocal style.

In section 4.2., I address the approaches to the *cant valencià* taken by musical folklorists. In general, they consist of fragmentary descriptions of the *cant valencià* which do not mention the name of this song tradition, with only one recent exception: a short paper by Maria Teresa Oller Benlloch (2005) (see subsection 4.2.6.). Yet on the whole they have produced quality data—mostly musical transcriptions, but also musical and textural descriptive fragments, which if gathered and considered from a wider ethnomusicological perspective become useful in getting to know different musical aspects of the *cant valencià*. Moreover, since the 1920s, Valencian musical folklorists such as Eduard López-Chavarri Marco contributed to spread the misnomer Valencian *jota* for the *cant d'estil* songs and were followed in this by other Spanish musical folklorists. In contrast, Manuel Palau Boix and Maria Teresa Oller Benlloch have offered the most cogent musical accounts of the *cant d'estil* repertory.

Finally, in section 4.3., I shed some historical light on what the actual Valencian *jota* is, on when the misnomer *jota valenciana* began being etically applied to the *cant d'estil* songs, especially to the *fandangà* form, and on how such a misnomer was uncritically used from the 1920s to the present by Valencian and Spanish musical and dance folklorists alike, even though it has never been used in the *cant valencià* tradition by the *cantadors d'estil* or others having emic knowledge.

It must be emphasized that folklore as a discipline has had no articulate presence in Valencian or Spanish universities, so that only a few museums and other research

and educational institutions have devoted some limited funds in certain periods to this kind of musical research. Thus, a significant portion of the research cited here was conducted under limited economic conditions and either appeared in diverse publications often not accessible to the public at large, or still remains unpublished.

4.1. Dance Folklorists on the *Cant Valencià*: New Descriptive Fragments, the Misnomer *Jota Valenciana* to Refer to the *Fandangà* Form of the *Cant d'Estil*

4.1.1. Violet Alford (1937): The *cant valencià* as “Valencian cross-roads” of Spanish northern and southern musical practices and instruments

Violet Alford (1881-1972), a well-known researcher on European folk dance, did most of her research in her chosen fieldwork area of southern France and northern Spain around the Pyrenees. In 1935, returning from Andalusia, she visited Valencia for the first time completely unaware of what kind of repertoires she would have found there: “who writes this tale had no ready-made ideas, ... the country was, to her, entirely bereft of signposts” (Alford 1937, 367). Two years after her visit, under the significant title of “Valencian Cross-roads” (Alford 1937), she published an article claiming that “[t]he alternating of northern and southern music is one of the surprises of the country. For here, in truth, do the breezes from Andalusia and Murcia not only meet Pyrenean winds, but actually blend with them.” Certainly, Valencia stands between northern and southern Spain and has received musical influences from both sides: understandably, however, after a short visit in 1935, the picture that she

traces about Valencian traditional music from an etic standpoint does not grasp its actual scope and specificity. The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in July 1936 prevented her from returning. Thus, Alford only came to know about traditional music of Valencia from what she could observe in the song and dance spectacles offered annually in the July Fair during her visit, even if she does not explicitly mention this event, and from what she could learn by looking up Inzenga's fascicle (1888) in a Valencian public library: this was one of only two specific publications about Valencian traditional music available in 1935, the other being Palau (1925).

In her article, two descriptions are relevant to the *cant valencià*, though she does not mention it as such. The first one is about the *albaes*, which she brings up when arguing that certain types of Valencian songs are of northern origin. Here, her perception was understandably conditioned by her research background in the Pyrenees:

A really Pyrenean type of greeting is the *albada* or dawn song, for it belongs to French and Spanish slopes alike, to western valleys as to eastern. In the wild highlands of Aragon as in the lush green valleys of Ariège, the words of *albadas* [sic] are apt to be exceedingly free. In the Catalan mountains, taste is just as gross, but when this Pyrenean type reaches Valencia it becomes softened, possibly through meeting the culture of a more refined civilization. Instead of unequivocal demands to have the window opened, the young man addresses the following innocuous verse to his listening *senyoreta*.

Visanteta, my little girl,
Don't throw water into the street,
For your fiancé will pass by
And will dirty his shoes. ...

The gift of improvisation [sic], often mentioned as a specialty of the Basques but actually shared by all Pyreneans, is used in Valencian *albadas* [sic] as well as in wedding songs and other occasions. Two singers will hold a *coloqui* in verse, one answering the other, each *copla* capping the last in expressions of admiration of the listening damsel, the bride, or some notable person. ...

The true regional instruments are again of a Pyrenean type, and might as easily be in the hands of a Basque or Aragonese in some grim mountain village, as in those of a musician among the orange trees of the Huerta [(Sp.), i.e., *l'horta* or fertile lowlands]. They consist of a wide-mouthed pipe of strident quality, closely resembling the *gaita* of Navarre—which is a bagpipe without a bag—, and a small flat drum about twenty centimeters in diameter. These are the *donsaina* and the *tabalet* respectively. They are not played by one and the same musician, as are

the old English pipe and tabor or the modern Catalan *flaviole* [sic] and drum, for the *donsaina* player is always accompanied by an attendant drummerboy. ...

The *coplas* [i.e., stanzas] preserve the satirical twists of Basque, Aragonese, or Béarnais singers, and—a curious instance of racial memory—when these are directed against backsliders from village morals, after the manner of the Pyrenean *Charivari* (or “Rough Music,” as the musical punishment is called in England), the southern guitars are laid aside and northern pipe and drum alone called in. (Alford 1937, 368-70)

Alford (1937, 368) includes a musical transcription of the *albaes* vocal line taken from Inzenga (1888, 27), which is also the source of the old traditional stanza she cites in translation. While the *albaes* or dawn songs, in fact, are found in all the territories she mentions, the Valencian ones belonging to the *cant valencià* tradition have a different musical structure consisting of a melodic model with two peripheral subtypes exclusively found in Valencia (see subsection 4.2.5. in this chapter). Only the musical occasion and the accompanying instruments coincide (the latter receive several names in the different territories—for instance, the *gaita* of Navarre, which is a folk shawm like the Valencian *dolçaina*, but the Catalan *flaviol* is a flute). Alford’s insistence on the Pyrenean origin of the *tabalet* and *dolçaina* draws our attention, because these are instruments of Middle-Eastern origin to be put in relation to Islamic Valencian culture.

The second description that Alford provides is about the *cant d’estil* used for the *fandangà* dances witnessed in Valencia, misnamed Valencian *jota* (see section 4.3.):

Alternating with the sound of these northern instruments [i.e., the *tabalet* and the *dolçaina*] we hear the thrum of southern guitar strings, and both North and South contribute also, in the most curious and interesting fashion, towards Valencian Jota dancing.

Guitarists and singers, their gaily stripped blankets slung over one shoulder, round skull caps upon their heads, legs in thick white stockings, feet in broad-laced *alpargatas*, take up their stand near the dancers ... Guitars play the usual stereotyped prelude of eight or twelve measures, repeated over and over again, until a high, thin tenor voice stabs through their thrumming and the *copla* singer elects to begin his verse quite at his own moment and at his own tempo. The insistent, reedy voice ceasing, the dance begins and continues ... followed by [another] dance,

[by] guitars and dance, [by] guitars and song, often until cockcrow—for Valencians apparently feel no need of sleep. (Alford 1937, 369-70)

Through both descriptive fragments, it becomes clear that Alford witnessed *albaes* songs and then *cant d'estil* songs for dancing *l'u i dos* and *l'u i dotze*, to which she improperly refers as Valencian *jota* (i.e., guitars and dance), alternating with *cant d'estil* songs (i.e., guitars and song). These spectacles, offered at night for seven to nine days during the July Fair, were one of its most important and well-attended attractions, lasting for hours. Hence, Alford's ironic commentary that "Valencians apparently feel no need of sleep."

Two important aspects stand out in Alford's descriptions:

(1) *Extemporized lyrics*: on the one hand, the improvisation of the lyrics, which is highly characteristic of the *cant valencià* tradition, both in the *albaes* and in the *cant d'estil*. Let us remember in this respect *la Cega de l'Olleria*'s talent and wit emphasized by Llorente i Olivares (see Chapter 3, subsection 3.1.4.).

(2) *The cantadors d'estil high, thin, and piercing voices*: on the other hand, the impacting vocality of the *cantadors d'estil*, that, in accord with the *cant requintat* which was at that time already predominant, she aptly characterizes as "a high, thin tenor voice [that] stabs through ... [the guitars'] thrumming" and sings "quite ... at his own tempo," that is to say, a highly projected, "insistent, reedy voice" singing non-measured melodic lines.¹

¹ As to other *cant d'estil* songs, Alford (1937, 386) says to have "danced the *Alicantina* and ... *El U i el Dos* (One and Two)" [*fandango* form] with a lad, "his castanets rattling and clacking in answer to hers," during a visit to the village of Biar, in *les Valls del Vinalopó* district, eighty miles south of Valencia. However, she seems to

In the rest of her article, Alford indulges in speculations about the origin of the *jota* in the Spanish southern *fandango* via Valencia.

4.1.2. Fermín Pardo Pardo (1982; [2001]): A scattered account of the *cant valencià*, the *fandangà* form of the *cant d'estil* as an allegedly peculiar, evolved *jota*

In the liner notes to a double LP, Fermín Pardo Pardo, one of the main Valencian dance folklorists, classifies under the label of “*Cant a l'aire* or *cant d'estil*” both the *cant d'estil* and the *albaes* (Pardo 1982)—a metonymic misnomer. Moreover, he includes *l'u i dos* and *l'u i dotze* within what he calls “the family of the *jota*,” and distinguishes two other “families” of songs within the *cant valencià*: the family of the *fandango* (including *l'u* and *la riberenca*) and the family of the *albaes*.

Later, in his collaborative monograph on Valencian traditional music (Pardo Pardo and Jesús-María Romero [2001]), he addresses the *cant valencià* in dispersed subsections within a broad chapter devoted to and titled “Secular Traditional Music” ([2001], 329-470). This scattered treatment seems to be a result of the content structure which was adopted, based on the distinction between religious and secular music, and in turn, within such broad categories, of different musical occasions and formal genres. Since the *cant valencià* is performed on different types of occasions and uses different song forms, it is addressed haphazardly, preventing the reader from easily grasping the fact that this tradition is a coherent and socially salient

extrapolate these songs from Inzenga's fascicle into a real dance situation in Biar, during the local Moors and Christians festival which she witnessed and succinctly describes.

phenomenon of the first order.² It is worth paying attention to the subsections in which the *cant valencià* is addressed, as this will show how it is conceptualized.

(1) *Serenades specific for festivals—albaes (de l’Horta) and guitarraes*: within a subsection on “Serenades specific for festivals,” Pardo Pardo and Jesús-María Romero [2001], 371-4) briefly describe the “*albadès de l’Horta*,” using this restrictive specification to distinguish them from the other types of Valencian *albaes* (see subsection 4.2.5. in this chapter), acknowledging, however, that these *albaes* are not only traditional in *l’Horta de València* district but also in *la Ribera del Xúquer*, *la Plana de Castelló*, *el Camp de Llíria*, *el Camp de Morvedre*, *la Serrania del Túria*, *la Costera* (i.e., *l’Horta de Xàtiva* plus *la Costera de Ranes*), *la Safor* (i.e., *l’Horta de Gandia* plus *la Vall de Tavernes*), and *la Marina* ([2001], 373).

The authors observe that these *albadès* have become part of the repertory of “the so-called *cant d’estil valencià*” ([2001], 373)—properly the *cant valencià d’estil*—because they are sung by professional or semi-professional singers. Thus, a commentary follows about what is described as another type of serenade used with the same objective, but with the accompaniment of stringed and wind instruments, “the so-called *guitarraes*” ([2001], 373), in which *l’u i dos*, *l’u i dotze*, and *l’u* are sung. Allegedly, the *guitarraes* would be basically circumscribed to *l’Horta de València*, *el Camp de Llíria*, *el Camp de Morvedre*, and *la Plana de Castelló* districts,

² I must say that Fermín Pardo invited me in 1996, when the draft of his book was ready for publication, to contribute a section about the *cant valencià d’estil*. I had already contributed data, descriptions, illustrations, and musical transcriptions to this monograph. Yet, since I had completed that year a conceptual and historical outline about the *cant valencià* to be published soon (Pitarch 1997b), I passed it to him for his reference and declined the invitation.

while the geographical extent of both the *nits d'albaes* and the *guitarraes* is wider (see Chapter 5, subsection 5.2.1., point (3), and Fig. 3 in the Introduction).

Emphasis is placed on the presence of *versadors*, who extemporize the lyrics in praise of the song addressees, and the professionalism of the singers and musicians, who are paid for their performances. This would be the reason why these serenades are linked to festivals and they are always organized and as they say occasional (?), rather than spontaneously performed by the singers ([2001], 373-4). Actually, these serenades are mostly cyclic, even though they can be occasional as well. We are never told that both the *nits d'albaes* and the *guitarraes* are generically called *cantaes*, nor that the semi-professional singers are the *cantadors d'estil*.

(2) *Conscripts' serenades in rites of passage*: thirty-four pages later, within a section about “Traditional music in the rites of passage,” Pardo Pardo and Jesús-María Romero [2001], 406-11) explain that during the *festa dels quintos* (“conscripts’ festival”), in a few villages of *la Vall d'Albaida*, *la Canal de Navarrés*, *l'Horta de València*, *la Foia de Bunyol*, and *la Serrania del Túria* districts young men drafted and leaving for the military service used to organize *rondes* or *cercaviles de quintos* (“conscripts’ serenades”), singing either variant songs of *l'u* or also *l'u i el dos* ([2001], 407-8). Yet nothing is said about the fact that the *cantadors d'estil* were hired for these serenades—actually one of the most significant musical occasions of the *cant valencià* for more than a century and a half (see the Introduction, subsection The musical occasions). The variant songs of *l'u* used in *la Vall d'Albaida*, *la Canal de Navarrés* and in truth all the southern Valencian districts were actually variants of *l'onze* (see in subsection 4.2.1. Palau's (1965) observation on this).

(3) *Showing-off songs in reunions*: twenty-eight pages later, within a subsection about “Reunion songs,” Pardo Pardo and Jesús-María Romero ([2001], 412-24), devote a passage to *cants de lluïment* (“showing-off songs”) and mention as the most characteristic ones “the three variants [i.e., melodic models] of the so-called *cant valencià d’estil* typical of *l’Horta de València* and neighboring districts (*l’u*, *l’u i el dos*, and *l’u i el dotze*)” ([2001], 422). These songs are described in general as requiring skill and good taste to entertain the attendees on social occasions and as characterized by the singers’ freedom to express themselves offering their own versions of songs. Notice, again, the improper restriction of the *cant valencià d’estil* to a few central Valencian districts.

(4) *The valencianes as serenading songs for indeterminate dates, comparable to the cante flamenco*: three pages later, in a subsection on “Serenading songs for indeterminate dates,” Pardo Pardo and Jesús-María Romero ([2001], 424-7) devote several paragraphs to “[t]he so-called *valencianes* [which] are a very peculiar way of performing serenading songs in *l’Horta de València* and neighboring districts” ([2001], 425). Once more, we see the geographical limitation, thus turning what is actually one of the most widespread Valencian ways of serenading into a very peculiar way of doing do, along with the way that uses several types of *jotas*.

In these paragraphs, Pardo Pardo and Jesús-María Romero ([2001], 425-6) tell us that: (a) structurally, what they deem to be peculiar songs belong either to the *jota* (*l’u i el dos*, and *l’u i el dotze*)—again the misnomer—or to the *fandango* genres (*l’u*); (b) notwithstanding this, their accompaniment reminds one of that of the *seguidillas* (see below point (5) in this section); (c) they are free-rhythm, melismatic songs in which

the singer has the liberty to start and stretch the melodic phrases *ad libitum*; (d) altogether, they are known today as *cant valencià d'estil*; (e) they might have originally been work songs; and (f) the *valencianes*, as these songs are also known, we are told were stylized in the late nineteenth century, like the traditional dances performed to their melodies, when they were presented on stage by the *quadros de cants i balls populars valencians* (see below point (6) in this subsection).³

Also, Pardo Pardo and Jesús-María Romero ([2001], 426) draw some parallels between the *valencianes* and the *cante flamenco*: both traditions, they say: (a) share the stylized recreation of commonly-used folk songs; (b) are used for showing-off, each singer making his or her own version; (c) have in common that only a few with special skills are able to sing these songs; and (d) feature singers who are professional or semi-professional people paid for their art, so that the maintenance of the *cant valencià* is linked to stringed-instrument ensembles, wind ensembles, singers, and *versadors*. The authors give an unstructured list of *cantadors*, again without mentioning their traditional specific name, *cantadors d'estil*.⁴

³ Song and dance stylization are not necessarily interdependent. That the *valencianes* allegedly only became stylized when they were presented on stage in the late nineteenth century, in parallel to the choreographic stylization of the dances sung to them, disregards the fact that the *cant requintat* was not a stylization, but a development of a monodic expressive song tradition that itself consisted in the performance of stylized, less ornamented songs, as well as the fact that this new, more ornamented melodic style emerged and became dominant in traditional serenade performances (see Chapter 7, section 7.3.), and only afterwards the *cant valencià* was staged.

⁴ A commentary on comparing the *cant d'estil* or *valencianes* with the *cante flamenco* is necessary here. To claim that both song traditions share the stylized recreation of commonly-used folk songs is misleading, since it is well-known that the *cante flamenco* drew on a variety of folk songs from Andalusia as well as from other places in Spain and abroad, stylizing them according to the *flamenco* vocal style and adding them to the core repertory, while from its inception the *cant d'estil* has stuck to its own repertory of original work songs and has kept the original vocal style of these peasant songs (see Chapter 7, subsection 7.2.1.).

(5) *The [Spanish southern] fandango in the cant valencià d'estil*: ten pages later, while describing the *fandango del sud* or “[Spanish] southern fandango” form, the authors observe that

[i]n l’Horta [de València] district, the variant [i.e., melodic model] of l’u [used] as showing-off and serenading song is accompanied with the chords typical of the fandango, [but] with the peculiar strumming of the above-mentioned *cant valencià d'estil*, which moreover reminds [the strumming of] the *bolero* and the slow *seguidillas*.⁵ (Pardo Pardo and Jesús-María Romero [2001], 437).

(6) *Allegedly evolved jotas originated in peasant work songs but which have preserved their archaic typical ways of singing in the cant valencià d'estil*: finally, six pages later, while addressing the *jota* form, we are warned that the *valencianes* allegedly are peculiar *jotas*:

In general, the *jota* songs might not hark back earlier than the eighteenth century, even if there may be some exceptions, and moreover, in some cases, ways of singing typical of archaic work songs have been preserved, as it is the case of the *valencianes de l’u i dos* and *de l’u i dotze*. We already pointed out that these styles [i.e., melodic models] likely originated in peasant work songs which evolved when they were adapted with instrumental accompaniment for dancing as well as for serenading and as showing-off songs.⁶ (Pardo Pardo and Jesús-María Romero [2001], 437).

In sum, only a patient reader with previous knowledge of the tradition is able to find and link all these scattered fragments about the *cant valencià* in the monograph, and even after this task, the picture that comes out is clearly insufficient. The most salient Valencian monodic song tradition, spread over most of the Valencian territory, is presented as something peculiar, restricted to the central districts, and comparable

⁵ A la comarca de l’Horta [de València], la variant de l’u com a cant de llüiment i de ronda s’acompanya amb els acords propis del fandango, amb els peculiars rapits del ja mencionat cant valencià d’estil que recorda també el bolero i les seguidilles lentes.

⁶ En general, les cobles cantades de la jota no deuen ser més antigues del segle XVIII, encara que pot [sic] haver-hi excepcions i, a més, en alguns casos s’han conservat formes interpretatives pròpies de cants arcaics de treball, com passa amb les valencianes de l’u i dos i de l’u i dotze. Ja hem dit que estos estils possiblement s’originaren en cançons camperoles que anaren evolucionant en acomodar-se a un acompanyament instrumental en l’aplicació ballable i com a cant de ronda i de llüiment.

somehow to the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco*. Neither its traditional name, *cant valencià*, nor the traditional name of their specialized singers are even mentioned. The *fandangà* form is misnamed and confusingly described as an evolved, stylized *jota*. These omissions and misnomer become all the more significant in a work that is intended to be a manual of reference for Valencian traditional music.⁷

4.1.3. Salvador Mercado Machí (1985): Fragments of the *cant valencià*, or serenading Andalusian-like *fandangos*, allegedly stylized *jotas*, and autochthonous *albaes*

In a similar way, Salvador Mercado Machí, the founder of a renowned Valencian folk dance troupe and author of a booklet in which he makes a descriptive inventory of Valencian folk songs and dances (Mercado 1985), gives a fragmentary view of the *cant valencià*, not even mentioning it as such. Yet references to *cant valencià* songs appear under three different subheadings: “Secular songs” (1985, 4-6), “The fandango” (1985, 15-7), and “The stylized *jota*” (“LA JOTA D’ESCOLA”) (1985, 21):

(1) *Serenading songs—guitarraes and albaes*: while presenting the *cançons de ronda* (“serenading songs”) within the “Secular songs” section, Mercado extrapolates the term *guitarraes* (or *guitarrades*) (serenades with guitar accompaniment) typical of the *cant valencià* tradition to the rest of serenades in which other guitar-accompanied genres like the *jota* are used but generally called *rondes* (“roundabouts”). Improperly, he classifies the *fandangà* forms of the *cant d’estil* as special *jotas*, just as Alford and Pardo do:

⁷ Even though the authors refer the reader to the *Antologia del cant valencià d’estil (1915-1996)* (1997) for additional information, they do not incorporate the information provided there.

The *cançons de ronda* ["serenading songs"] were sung in occasion of *guitarrades* organized by youths in order to visit the windows or balconies of the maidens. ... The *guitarrades* went out at night, especially on the eve of holidays or on Sundays, and in the summertime when all invites to get some fresh air and to serenade. ... On other occasions the serenades were institutionalized, as it was the case of the conscriptions, when the young said goodbye to a village, collecting groceries and money that helped them pass a better military service period. ...

The styles [i.e., melodic models] used in the serenades are not very diverse, since the *jota* and the *fandango* predominated almost exclusively. ... In the district of *l'Horta [de València]* and throughout its area of influence some special *jotas* were sung called "valencianes d'estil", "cant a l'aire" or "cant de l'Horta" with the variants of "[l']*U* i dos" and "[l']*U* i dotze." It was also common and very traditional another stylized song known as "*l'U*," a local variety of the *fandango*. In *la Ribera del Xúquer* [district] another variety of "*l'U*" called "[*la*] *riberenca*" was sung.

The "*albaes*" songs, autochthonous serenading songs par excellence, were accompanied with the *tabalet* and the *dolçaina* and two singers used to take part. The first one sings the first two lines of the stanza and the second one answers with the last two [lines]. The themes are usually very diverse, since [the *albaes*] were sung in the most diverse occasions: serenades to the maiden, greeting[s], satirical [songs], singing contests, etc.⁸ (Mercado 1985, 4-5)

Notice that only *l'u i dos* and *l'u i dotze* are considered by Mercado to be *valencianes d'estil* (uncommon expression), *cant a l'aire*, or *cant de l'horta*; he excludes *l'u* and *la riberenca*. As already emphasized in the Introduction, subsection The repertory and its accompaniment, the *riberenca* is not a variety of *l'u*, but a different melodic model, and it is not only sung in *la Ribera del Xúquer* district. Notice that the *albaes* are presented as autochthonous in contrast to the *fandango* and the *jota*.

⁸ Les *cançons de ronda* eren cantades amb motiu de *guitarrades* organitzades pel jovent per tal de visitar les finestres o balcons de les fadrines. ... Les *guitarrades* eixien qualsevol nit, sobretot les vespres de festa o diumenges, i més en estiu, quant tot convida a prendre la fresca i a rondar. ... En altres ocasions les rondes estaven institucionalitzades, com era el cas de les quintes, quan els fadrins s'acomiadaven del poble tot recaptat queviures i diners que els ajudaren a passar millor l'etapa del servei military. ...

Els estils que s'usaven en les rondes són poc variats, puix dominaven quasi exclusivament la *jota* i el *fandango*. ... En la comarca de *l'Horta [de València]* i en tota la seua àrea d'influència es cantaven unes jotes pròpies anomenades "valencianes d'estil", "cant a l'aire" o "cant de l'Horta" amb les variants d' "*U* i dos" i "[*el*] *U* i dotze". També era corrent i molt tradicional un altre cant d'estil escolaritzat que es coneix amb el nom de l' "*l'U*", varietat local del *fandango*. En *la Ribera del Xúquer* es cantava una altra varietat de l' "*l'U*" dita "[*la*] *riberenca*".

El cant de les "*albaes*", cant de ronda autòcton per excel·lència, s'acompanyava amb *dolçaina* i *tabalet* i en ell intervenien dues persones. La primera canta els dos primers versos de la cobla i la segona li contesta ab els dos darrers. La temàtica sol ser molt ampla, puix se'n cantaven en les més diverses ocasions: rondes a les fadrines, salutació, satíriques, de desafi, etc.

(2) *Allegedly, Andalusian-like fandangos interbreeding with the jota gave birth to the cant d'estil*: within the subsection devoted to “The fandango,” Mercado (1985, 15-7) classifies all the Valencian Spanish southern *fandango* forms as Andalusian-like and contends that the Valencian *cant a l'aire* songs, which he arbitrarily limits to *l'u i dos* and *l'u i dotze*, sprang from the relationship of the (southern) *fandango* with the *jota*:

Andalusian-like Fandango: the variants that have had more influence in Valencian folk music are “la malagueña,” “la rondeña,” and “la granaína,” as well as all the *fandangos* derived from them, and their influence on other dances occurs mainly to the south of the Xúquer river, and more sparsely to the north of the Túria river ... The name of the “malagueña” variant is changed in the Valencian-speaking area and it is often called “l’U” or “per la de l’U,” “[la]riberenca” or “[el] Dotze i U,” while in the Spanish-speaking area [of Valencia] it retains the name fandango or “malagueña.” ... From the relationship [of the fandango] with the *jota* the so-called “cants a l’aire” were born, such as “l’U i el dos” and “l’U i [el] dotze” and their respective adaptations for dancing traditionally called “valencianes d[e l]’U i dos” and “valencianes d[e l]’U i dotze.”⁹ (Mercado 1985, 16-7)

It is an etic idea, untenable under close ethnographic examination, that all the Valencian Spanish southern *fandangos* are of modern Andalusian origin (see Chapter 5, subsection 5.1.2. for a discussion), and likewise that the *malaguenya* has changed its name to be called *l’u* or *la riberenca* in Valencia, or also that the *fandangà* forms are hybrids of Spanish southern *fandangos* and *jotas*. Moreover, there is no distinction in the tradition between the expressions *l’u i dos* and *valencianes de l’u i dos* as Mercado implies: both are traditionally applied either to the song or to the dance.

⁹ Fandango de tipus andalús: les variants que més influeixen en el folklore valencià són “la malagueña”, la “rondeña” i la “granaína”, i tots els fandangos que se’n deriven i les seues influències en altres balls es donen principalment [sic] al sud [d]el riu Xúquer; i més escassament del Túria cap al nord ... [A] la variant “malagueña”, en la zona valencianoparlant, se li canvia el nom molt sovint i se l’anomena “l’U” o “per la de l’U”, “[la]riberenca” o “[el] Dotze i U”, mentre en la zona castellanoparlant conserva el nom fandango o “malagueña”. ... De la relació [del fandango] amb la jota naixen els anomenants “cants a l’aire”, com “l’U i el dos” i “l’U i dotze” i les respectives acomodacions al ball dites popularment “valencianes d[e l]’U i dos” i “valencianes d[e l]’U i dotze.”

(3) *The fandangà forms as allegedly stylized jotas used from la Plana de Castelló through l'Horta de Gandia districts: finally, in “The stylized jota” (“LA JOTA D’ESCOLA”)* section, Mercado insists on classifying the *fandangà* forms of the *cant d’estil* as stylized *jotas*. Even if their geographic extent is wider, reaching *la Marina* and other inner mountainous districts of Valencia, Mercado in 1985 was the first to acknowledge in a publication that the *valencianes* were sung in *la Plana de Castelló*:

The STYLIZED JOTA: we also find the jota within the set of dances which underwent “stylization” by “dance masters” which took up traditional melodies and steps from the people and re-structured them, measuring the steps according to the pattern of “punts” (“points”) of the “ball de comptes” (“step-counted dance”). These stylized jotas are known under the name of “valencianes,” and their area extends from Borriol ([in *la Plana Alta [de Castelló]*) to *la Safor* district [i.e., *l’Horta de Gandia* plus *la Vall de Tavernes*], although they are predominant in *l’Horta [de València]* and *la Ribera Alta [del Xúquer]*. ... The “valencianes” are *jotas* with their songs and instrumental ritornellos variable [in length], depending on the musicians and on the singers’ beginning of the song. ... The “valencianes” exist in two general variants: “valencianes de l’U i el dos” and “valencianes de l’U i el dotze.”¹⁰ (Mercado 1985, 21)

4.2. Musical Folklorists on the *Cant Valencià*: Musical Elements and Textures, the Strange Valencian *Jota*, and the Pre-Eminence of the Voice

I present and discuss in this section the main contributions and/or descriptive fragments about the *cant valencià* produced by Valencian musical folklorists. In contrast to dance folklorists, musical folklorists who collected traditional Valencian music within the *cant valencià d’estil* area mostly conducted their field explorations through public or private institutions devoted to musicological and folkloristic

¹⁰ La JOTA D’ESCOLA: també la jota la trobem dins el conjunt de balls sotmesos a “escolarització” pels “mestres de ball”, que arreplegaren les melodies i les passades tradicionals del poble tot estructurant-les i medint-les segons la pauta dels “punts” dels “balls de comptes”. Aquestes jotes escolaritzades són conegudes amb el nom de “valencianes”, l’àrea de les quals s’estén des de Borriol ([en *la Plana Alta [de Castelló]*) fins *la Safor*, tot i que predominen en les comarques de *l’Horta [de València]* i *la Ribera Alta [del Xúquer]*. Les “valencianes” són jotes amb les cobles cantades i les tornades instrumentals i [sic] variables segons el gust dels tocadors i l’entrada del cant. ... Les “valencianes” es presenten en dues variants generals: “valencianes de l’U i el dos” i “valencianes de l’U i el dotze”.

research, or at least from foundations which included music research among their supported activities.¹¹

Despite the extensive collections gathered between the 1920s and the 1980s (most of them still unpublished), reading through them one cannot learn about the *cant valencià d'estil* as a coherent social and historical musical phenomenon. Emphasis was placed on musical products, so these musical collections offer particular examples of *cant d'estil* songs without relating them to this well-ensconced monodic expressive song tradition. Moreover, not many research papers or monographs analyzing the collected corpus of songs and dances have been produced by Valencian musical folklorists. As mentioned above, we have to wait until the early twenty-first century, almost one decade after the publication of the *Antologia del cant valencià d'estil (1915-1996)* (1997), in order to find a paper specifically devoted to the *cant valencià d'estil* by one of them (Oller Benlloch 2005).

4.2.1. Manuel Palau Boix (1925; 1929 [1924]; 1942; 1965): First description of the *cant d'estil* musical elements, the eminence of the sung vocal lines

The composer and musicologist Manuel Palau Boix (1893-1967) was without a doubt one of the musical folklorists most acquainted with and best informed about the *cant valencià*. He was born in Alfara del Patriarca, a village in the fertile lowlands near Valencia. When he still was a child living there, Palau had an epiphanic

¹¹ Institutions that funded the main field research initiatives were the *Fundació Patxot* in Barcelona (1920s), the extinct *Museu Valencià d'Etnografia i Folklore* in Valencia (1920s-1930s)—precedent of the current *Museu Valencià d'Etnologia*, the *Instituto de Musicología* of the *Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas* in Barcelona (1940s), the *Instituto de Musicología y Folklore* of the *Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo* in Valencia (1940s-1960s), and the *Fundación Juan March* in Madrid (1970s-1980s).

encounter with the tradition, as he later poetically narrated in an unpublished lecture on the guitar given in Valencia toward the end of his life (1965):

[O]ne day ([when] I was absorbed in studying) a strong merriment that was approaching surprised me; it was the “music of the *quintos*.” A clarinet, a trumpet, a trombone, castanets, “ferrets,” “guitarró,” and two guitars were providing the raw ground, like in one of Goya’s etchings, on which the “versaor” was improvising the stanzas for the fandango-like music of “el U”, “el U i dos”, “el U i dotze”. The voices of the “cantaors” were plaiting garlands and arabesques of unforeseeable lines on the air, while an implacable rhythm of noble dance was being colored by the ultraviolet fluttering of the “guitarró,” by the categorical cadence of the wind instruments, and the lordly harmony of a pair of guitars ... That gust of youth passed facing its destiny; the night came, but I couldn’t get to sleep. What did those musics, those songs, have that could make me tremble so deeply? Far away, I heard feminine voices that were sighing rather than they were singing: *Mare, els quintos se’n van; ningú sap si tornaran!* [“Mother, the conscripts are leaving; who knows if they will return!”].¹² (Seguí 1997, 33)

(1) *The conscripts’ music and their instruments*: in this description of an event dating from around 1903, Palau vividly evokes one of the common *cantaes de quintos* celebrated at that time in almost every village of *l’Horta de València*, as well as in many other Valencian districts of the *cant valencià d’estil* area. Since the early seventeenth century, the youths had traditionally come together participating in religious brotherhoods from which they organized annual religious serenades in honor of their patron saints. The conscription system established in Spain in the early nineteenth century (and later restructured at different times) meant that in many villages the *cantaes* were held by the drafted youths as a rite of passage (see the Introduction, subsection The musical occasions, and this chapter, subsection 4.1.2., point (2)). However, many of these *cantaes de quintos* were abandoned from the

¹² [Un] día (absorto estaba yo en el estudio) me sorprende un fuerte jolgorio que se acercaba; era la “música dels quintos”. Un clarinete, una trompeta, un trombón, castañuelas, “ferrets”, “guitarró” y dos guitarras ponían un crudo fondo de aguafuerte goyesco sobre el cual improvisaba el “versaor” las coplas para las músicas afandangadas del “U”, el “U i dos”, del “U i dotze”. Las voces “dels cantaors” trezaban por el aire guirnaldas y arabescos de dibujo imprevisible mientras un ritmo implacable de danza noble se coloreaba con el tremolar ultravioleta del “guitarró”, con la categórica cadencia de los instrumentos de aliento y la señorial armonía de las dos guitarras... Pasó aquella ráfaga de juventud cara al destino; llegó la noche, pero yo no podía conciliar el sueño. ¿Qué tenían aquellas músicas, aquellas coplas, para poder estremecerme tan hondamente? Allá lejos, lejos oía voces femeninas que más bien suspiraban que cantaban: *Mare, els quintos se’n van; ningú sap si tornaran!*

1960s through the 1980s with social change and modernization, and lastly with the abolition of the military service in Spain in 2001, which have rendered them meaningless, except where the young men continue to celebrate them in honor of their local patron saints, keeping the name of *quintos*. Out of the detailed list of accompanying instruments mentioned by Palau, only the percussion ones (castanets and triangle) have fallen out of use since the 1950s.

(2) *Fandango-like songs, the singers' voices "plaiting garlands and arabesques" (or the ascent of the cant requintat), and their metric contrast with the accompaniment:* it should be noticed that Palau, who was a perceptive and experienced musician acquainted with the *cantaes*, clearly terms the melodic models of the *cant d'estil* as fandango-like songs, including in this qualification both the *fandango* form (*l'u*) and the *fandangà* form (*l'u i dos* and *l'u i dotze*). In fact, none of them is a *jota*. He also poetically emphasizes the non-metric vocal lines "plaiting garlands and arabesques of unforeseeable lines on the air," pointing to the *cant requintat* that was gaining ground at the turn of the twentieth century, and comments on the contrasting effect between the voice and the metric accompaniment with "implacable rhythm" sustained by the stringed instruments. He also stresses the *guitarró* ornamentations "fluttering" a fifth over the guitars' "lordly harmony."

About twenty years after his epiphanic experience, Palau compiled his first collection of Valencian folk songs in 1924 (see Palau 1929 [1924]), calling it *Cançoner valencià* ("Valencian [Folk-]Song Book") (see Palau (1925, 5). Based on these collected materials and on his first-hand knowledge, the following year he put out a short essay titled *Elementos folklóricos de la música valenciana* ("Folkloric

elements in Valencian music”) (Palau 1925), in which he examines traditional Valencian music focusing on rhythm, melody, and harmony: its constituent elements. Two short passages in this essay are probably the first published descriptions of how the musical elements of the *cant d’estil* songs work in performance.

(3) *Dancing songs with contrasting free vocal and measured accompanying rhythms*: beginning with this early work, Palau always uses in his publications the term *canciones danzadas* (“dancing songs”) in order to refer to the *cant d’estil* melodic models, even if they were neither exclusively nor mainly used for dancing. Among the *Elementos*, he describes first the rhythmic contrast between the free vocal lines and the measured instrumental accompaniment, a clash highly characteristic of the *cant a l’aire* or *valencianes* repertory:

In some ... songs the ancient free rhythm that ignores the tyranny of the bar survives. ... In the *dancing songs* [i.e., those of the *cant d’estil*], both rhythmic forms appear in opposition; the voice embroiders arabesques and draws the garland of every melodic phrase in absolute freedom, while the accompanying instruments are obstinate in sustaining marked, ternary percussions and wait for the conclusion of the cadence of every line of verse [or musical phrase] in order to switch, with two consecutive and stressed notes, from one tonal function to another.¹³ (Palau 1925, 9-10)

The ternary percussions alluded to here are the fandango-like strummed patterns of the guitars (similar to the slow *seguidillas*, as Pardo Pardo and Jesús-María Romero [2001], 437) have it), backbone of the instrumental accompaniment. Fully aware of the non-metric nature of the *cant d’estil* songs, Palau, unlike the antiquarian musicologists, uses no time signature when transcribing the vocal lines, yet he represents them approximately (see Fig. 12).

¹³ En algunas canciones ... subsiste el antiguo ritmo libre que ignora la tiranía de la barra del compás. ... En las canciones danzadas aparecen opuestas una y otra forma rítmica; la voz borda arabescos y dibuja la guirnalda de cada período melódico en absoluta libertad, mientras los instrumentos acompañantes se obstinan en mantener unas percusiones marcadamente ternarias, y esperan la cadencia de cada verso para pasar en dos notas seguidas y acentuadas de una a otra función tonal.

L' u

Cantó d'arrada

Instruments

Fig. 12

L'u of the *cant valencià* repertory, copy of a transcription by Manuel Palau (1929 [1924]) with no time signature for the free vocal lines. Microfilm, Fons de Manuscrits, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona

(4) *Ornamented singing (or cant requintat) and harmonic bi-modality*: also, in his *Elementos*, Palau addresses harmony, and in relation to the *cant d'estil* songs he points out very clearly:

As if our popular art had not showed for a long time the most surprising facts of what today constitutes the most advanced technique! ... In the second [—actually the third—] section of my *[VALENCIAN FOLK-]SONG BOOK I* have transcribed in the song of the U Y DOS ... two versions of its fourth phrase. The second version corresponds to the almost general way [of singing] adopted today, that is to say, a very ornamented expansion of the simple primitive form. Well, then; this phrase, clearly modulated to the homonym minor mode, is accompanied by a major chord! Not even Darius Milhaud would have imagined such a bold bi-modality.¹⁴ (Palau 1925, 22-4)

In this second passage written by Palau in 1925 both melodic styles of the *cant valencià* are aptly distinguished for the first time in a publication, even if he does not mention their traditional names—*cant pla* and *cant requintat*: the older one with little ornamentation, that is, the *cant pla*, and the more recent, more ornamented one, that is to say, the *cant requintat*, fully accepted and predominant by the 1920s as Palau confirms: “the almost general way adopted today.”

He also clearly emphasizes how the harmony created by the stringed instruments accompanying the vocal lines does not structurally follow the melody, but is, as we saw in Chapter 2, subsection 2.2.1., a modal harmony just for color, which sometimes clashes overtly with the vocal melody. This clash of minor and major modes, sometimes happening between the voice and the instrumental accompaniment, led Palau, and later other musical folklorists, to define the *cant d'estil* songs as bi-modal

¹⁴ ¡Como si nuestro arte popular no hubiera mostrado desde hace mucho tiempo los más sorprendentes hechos de lo que hoy constituye la técnica más avanzada! ... En la sección segunda [—en realidad la tercera—] del *CANÇONER [VALENCIA]* he puesto en la copla del *U Y DOS* ... dos versiones de su cuarto período. La segunda corresponde a la manera casi general adoptada hoy, o sea una ampliación muy ornamentada de la forma simple primitiva. Pues bien; este período, francamente modulado al modo menor homónimo, es acompañado por un acorde mayor! Ni un Darius Milhaud hubiera imaginado una bi-modalidad más atrevida.

(see subsections 4.2.3. and 4.2.4. in this chapter), yet the vocal lines themselves, as a matter of fact, are not bi-modal, but modal (see Chapter 5, subsection 5.2.2.).

Still two other fragments about the *cant valencià* were published by Palau in 1942 and 1965 respectively. Both are similar in content and offer dense information.

Palau wrote in 1942:

Dancing songs

The sung dances best known among us take numerical names: “El U,” “El U i Dos,” “El U i Dotze.” Other dances of the same kind have almost completely disappeared. That is the case of “El Dos i Quinze” and “El Set i Dèneu,” for instance. These [sung] dances are still in use and there is still some “cantaor” that does not distort the melodic line of the song, which seems to be improvised whenever it is sung. As for the stanzas, actually, they are almost always improvised.

Songs

One of the songs that emphasize the skills of [verse] improvisation of the Valencian people are “les Albaes.” A ritornello, that the *tabalet* and the sparkling *dulzaina* play, precedes and follows the song. The song is developed in the way of a dialog; one singer says freely two verses that must be answered or completed by his partner.¹⁵ (Palau 1942)

Compare Palau’s 1942 passage with its more expanded re-elaboration that the Valencian musical folklorist published later in 1965:

Another group of songs, the dancing songs, take as generic designation names that look like numerical expressions. These musics are not purely vocal: the voices are accompanied by instruments: *guitarro*, guitars, clarinet, trumpet, trombone, castanets, tambourine, etc. Those designated as “El U”, “El U i Dos” and “El U i Dotze” survive; also “Per la de l’Onze” is cultivated in the area of Alacant, but “El Dos i Quinze” and “El Set i Dèneu” have disappeared in practice (though we have noted down some of their themes). All of them are composed of a ritornello with fandango rhythm that the instruments play to initiate the songs, and also of an interlude between the songs; the latter, sung by a vocal soloist, are in free rhythm and spring forth

¹⁵ Canciones danzadas.

Las danzas cantadas más conocidas entre nosotros llevan apelaciones numéricas: “El U”, “El U i Dos”, “El U i Dotze”. Otras del mismo orden han desaparecido casi por completo. Tal ocurre con “El Dos i Quince” y “El Set i Dèneu”, por ejemplo. Todavía se bailan dichas danzas y queda algún “cantaor” que no desvirtúa la línea melódica de la copla que parece improvisarse cada vez que se canta. En cuanto a las letras, en realidad, se improvisan casi siempre.

Canciones.

Una de las canciones que pone en relieve las facultades de improvisación del valenciano es “les Albaes”. Un ritornello que hacen sonar el *tabalet* y la chispeante *dulzaina* precede y sigue al canto. Este se expone en forma de diálogo; un cantador dice libremente dos versos que han de ser contestados o completados por su “partenaire”.

ornamented with splendid melismas instinctively improvised by the folk singers, in spite of the fact that, at the same time that [vocal] music and poetry are unfolding themselves like an Oriental fantasy, the measured rhythm of the instrumental accompaniment is sustaining itself imperturbably and implacably with its inflexible ternary meter; [this accompaniment] waits until the end of every line of verse in order to change chords, like going from milestone to milestone, or also until the end of the entire song in order to restart the ritornello or to play the final cadence. The vocal lines sung in the music of this group [of songs] that we are commenting upon are highly superior in musical value, delicacy, and expressiveness to the instrumental music of the ritornellos, and these correspond, in style, to a music much more recent than that of the songs, in which the vigor of natural art and the nobleness of the select races converge.

Though there exist many old, famous stanzas for each of these dancing songs, generally the lyrics are improvised on every occasion, so that the music acquires the sense of homage or dedication; to this end, another personage accompanies sometimes the musicians and singers, the so-called *versaor*, who can be described as a person dedicated to fairly well improvise the stanzas needed for each moment or circumstance.¹⁶ (Palau 1965, 52-3)

In these two passages, beyond issues that he had already addressed in 1925 (i.e., the fandango-like strummed patterns in the accompaniment, the rhythmic contrast between the free vocal lines and the measured accompaniment), Palau emphasizes the following aspects of the *cant d'estil* songs:

(5) *Sung dances and disappeared melodic models*: instead of dancing songs, in 1942 Palau uses the term sung dances, which in the end is the same. He mentions living melodic models (*l'u, l'u i dos, l'u i dotze, per la de l'onze*) and two other fandango-

¹⁶ Otro grupo de canciones, las canciones danzadas, llevan como designación genérica nombres que parecen expresiones numéricas. Estas músicas no son puramente vocales: las voces van acompañadas por instrumentos: guitarra, guitarras, clarinete, trompeta, trombón, castañuelas, pandero a, etc. Perviven las tituladas “El U”, “El U i Dos” y “El U i Dotze”; también se cultiva “Per la de l’Onze” por tierras alicantinas, pero han desaparecido en la práctica (aunque anotados tenemos algunos de sus temas) “El Dos i Quinze” y “El Set i Dèneu”. Todas ellas están constituidas por un estribillo en ritmo de fandango que los instrumentos tañen para iniciarlas y para intercalarlo entre cada una de las coplas; éstas, cantadas por una voz solista, son en ritmo libre y surgen ornamentadas por espléndidos melismas improvisados instintivamente por los cantores del pueblo, a pesar de que, al mismo tiempo en que música [vocal] y poesía van desplegándose como una fantasía oriental, mantiénesse imperturbable e implacablemente el ritmo medido del acompañamiento instrumental con su inflexible metro ternario que espera, como de hito en hito, el final de cada verso para cambiar de acorde, o bien atento al término de la estrofa entera para reiniciar el estribillo o hacer cadencia final. Las coplas cantadas en las músicas [vocales] de este grupo [de canciones] que comentamos son muy superiores en valor musical, finura y expresividad a la música del estribillo instrumental, y éste responde, como estilo, a una música mucho más reciente que el de las coplas en las cuales se funde el vigor de[l] arte natural con el señorío propio de las razas selectas.

Aunque existen muchas letras antiguas famosas para cada una de estas canciones danzadas, generalmente se improvisa en cada ocasión la parte literaria con el fin de que la música adquiera el sentido de homenaje o dedicatoria; por ello a veces suele acompañar a músicos y cantores otro personaje llamado *versaor*, a quien se considera como persona decidida para improvisar más o menos bien las letras requeridas para cualquier momento o circunstancia.

like melodic models, *el dos i quinze* (“the two and fifteen”) and *el set i dèneu* (“the seven and nineteenth”) which had almost vanished already in the 1930s, and of which we do not have recordings today—they are not transcribed in Palau (1929 [1924]) as he seems to suggest—or at least not under these names, and now the *cantadors d’estil* are not aware of their previous existence.¹⁷

(6) *Seemingly improvised vocal lines and almost always improvised lyrics*: Palau pointedly emphasizes that the vocal lines of the *cant d’estil* songs seem to be improvised whenever they are sung (see Chapter 5, section 5.3. for a discussion of musical improvisation in the *cant valencià*), yet the lyrics are actually improvised on the spur of the moment.

(7) *The albaes foster the skills of verse improvisation of the Valencian people, and significance of the “versadors”*: this same idea was advanced by Violet Alford (1937, 369) a few years earlier: “[t]he gift of improvization [sic] ... is used in Valencian *albadas* [sic] as well as in wedding songs and other occasions” (see subsection 4.1.1. in this chapter). It is significant that Palau mentions the *versadors*, “dedicated to fairly well improvise the stanzas needed for each moment or circumstance,” personages that over the twentieth century would become a salient phenomenon in the *cant valencià* (see Chapter 5, subsection 5.2.4., point (6)).

¹⁷ Between the 1942 and the 1965 descriptions, Palau conducted fieldwork over the 1944-1945 period in *la Marina* district, eighty miles south of Valencia, for the *Instituto de Musicología, C.S.I.C.* of Barcelona. He also created the *Instituto de Musicología y Folklore* in Valencia (1948), for which the musicology students he himself was training at the Conservatory of Valencia did field research collecting *cant d’estil* songs in different places. Thus, in the 1965 fragment, the information about melodic models traditionally used in *guitarraes* is completed with *l’onze* or *per la de l’onze*, highly characteristic in the southern part of the *cant valencià d’estil* area (Palau himself transcribed *per la de l’onze* in the town of Altea, see below this section).

(8) *The historical precedence and the eminence of the sung vocal lines in the cant d'estil*: with his distinction between the “highly superior . . . musical value, delicacy, and expressiveness” of the vocal lines and the stylistically much more recent shape of the instrumental ritornellos, Palau shows his perceptive understanding that the *cant d'estil* songs belong to an older vocal strand to which later instrumental elements were added. Independent of his judgmental appreciation of the sung melodies—a typical expression of a historically-situated mindset—his contention that in them “the vigor of natural art and the nobleness of the select races converge” seeks to emphasize that this is a fine vocal art, as José Alcina Navarrete (1917) had stressed earlier.

To conclude with Palau, let us consider his unpublished notes on *cant d'estil* songs. Out of five fieldwork “missions” devoted to collecting folk songs in Valencia by the *Instituto de Musicología, C.S.I.C.* of Barcelona between 1945 and 1950, only two of them were carried out in the *cant valencià d'estil* area: *Mission no. 48* (1944-1945) and *Mission no. 40* (1950), the first of which was conducted by Manuel Palau (no. 48).¹⁸ From Altea, a village in *la Marina* district, Palau transcribed three versions of *cant per dalt*, the name under which *l'onze* is locally known there (Palau assigns it the name of *l'u (per dalt)*). He also collected one version of what he himself or his informant arbitrarily termed *cota alicantina* (that is, *jota* of Alacant), but which is not a *jota* at all nor *l'alacantina* sung by the *cantadors d'estil* during the nineteenth century. This melodic model transcribed by Palau is a local *cant d'estil* song. He

¹⁸ The other one (no. 50) was commissioned to the Valencian composer and folklorist Ricardo Olmos. He only collected two samples of *albaes* of the *cant valencià* repertory, from Betxí and Onda respectively, in *la Plana de Castelló* district.

wrote a note preceding his transcription, comparing it to the main melodic models and insisting upon one of the most prominent features of the *cant d'estil* songs:

In the *cota alicantina*, as in the dancing songs of the province of Valencia el “U,” el “U y dos” and [el] “U y dotze,” the accompaniment in constantly measured rhythm overlaps the undulating and non-predictable line of the voice which stretches forth in free rhythm.¹⁹ (Palau 1944-1945, no. 20)

Also, from the town of Pego, in *la Marina* district, Palau transcribed three more songs of the *cant d'estil* repertory, collected during the same fieldwork mission. In the following years he stopped his fieldwork activities completely. It is a pity that for Palau his musicological and folkloristic investigations always remained an incidental element of his primary and principal dedications: composition and teaching (see Seguí 1997: 25-6), because otherwise he would have been able to make great contributions to the study of *cant valencià*.

4.2.2. Eduard López-Chavarri Marco (1925[?]; 1927; 1930; 1987; [2001] [1950[?]]):
Perceptive descriptions of the *cant valencià*, spreading the misnomer *jota valenciana*

Eduard López-Chavarri Marco (1871-1970) is the other Valencian composer, musicologist, and musical folklorist to have witnessed nineteenth and early twentieth-century performances of *cant valencià* and to have produced several textual fragments describing its musical elements. He was older than Palau, but only dealt in writing with the *cant valencià* as of the second half of the 1920s, remembering dances that he had witnessed in his youth. Like Palau's, his descriptions were made in

¹⁹ En la jota alicantina, como en las canciones danzadas de la prov.[incia] de Valencia el “U,” el “U y dos” y [el] “U y dotze,” se superpone al acompañamiento en ritmo constantemente medido la línea ondulante y no previsible de la voz que se extiende en ritmo libre.

occasional, sparse moments, but they are closely connected thematically. Only two of them were published during the author's lengthy life-time (see below López-Chavarri Marco 1927, 113-4; and 1930, 14).

Despite the fact that he clearly described the musical workings of the *cant d'estil* songs like Palau, his insistence on designating *l'u i el dos* (*fandangà* form) as Valencian *jota*, forced him constantly to point out in his descriptions the quite unusual characteristics of this purported Valencian *jota*, which as a matter of fact hardly conforms to *jota* patterns or character (see section 4.3. in this chapter for a discussion about the Valencian *jota*). That this term was imposed ad hoc by López-Chavarri becomes quite clear while examining his first manuscript about the *cant d'estil*.

A transcription of *cant d'estil* songs that in all probability he made in the mid-1920s (López-Chavarri Marco 1925[?]) while working on his well-known book *Música popular española* ("Spanish Folk Music") (López-Chavarri Marco 1927) is titled by the Valencian musical folklorist as *Jota valenciana o baile del U y el Dos* ("Valencian *jota* or dance of *l'u i el dos*"). In it, we find first the instrumental prelude and the vocal line of *l'u*, which is actually a Spanish southern *fandango* form, and second, we find the instrumental prelude and the vocal line of *l'u i el dos* (*fandangà* form), following immediately without any distinction or separation. This shows that López-Chavarri Marco did not distinguish, according to emic knowledge and vocabulary, both kinds of songs. He gave them the factitious name of *jota valenciana* that José Ruiz de Lihory had already used in 1903 to refer to *l'u i dos* and *l' i dotze* in his musical dictionary *La música en Valencia* (see Chapter 3, subsection 3.1.5.).

At the end of his transcription, he wrote down the following note about the instruments used in these *cant d'estil* songs and about a particular way of distributing the lyrics lines among the musical phrases in rural areas around the city of Valencia toward the early 1880s:

The instruments with which this music was performed were (apart from the castanets that the dancers rattle): treble guitars [i.e., *tiples*], replaced later with *bandurrias*; “*guitarros*” [Val.] or “*guitarros*” [Sp.], replaced also by *bandurrias* and, more recently, by [Spanish modern] lutes; and guitars. The triangle and the tambourine were not used, because their use out of serenades and music that is played while walking becomes monotonous. A violin and a flute sometimes joined with the *bandurrias*. As for instruments such as clarinet, cornet, and trombone, they are of modern use; from around the 1880s, or maybe earlier. Perhaps this use springs from young men who did the military service in the music bands of the regiments, or also from the village community bands. The tuning of the guitars and *bandurrias* used to be done empirically and their diapason was higher than the current one; that of the organ or of the chapel was used as well, and even among organs there was, likewise, diversity of diapasons.

Among the singers ... it is customary to begin the song with the words of the second verse of the couplet, to continue then with the first, the second [again], the third, etc., in their order. The stanzas are quatrains or five-line stanzas.²⁰ (López-Chavarri Marco 1925[?])

(1) *Accompanying percussion instruments not in use now in the cant d'estil*: in this note, it is interesting to notice Lopez-Chavarri's observation that at the turn of the twentieth century both the triangle and the tambourine were mainly used in Valencian *guitarraes* (“the music that is played while walking”), as we also learn through Palau's descriptions (see above subsection 4.2.1.). It seems that these instruments were not always used in the dances performed to *cant d'estil* songs. In the early recordings of *cant valencià* (1900s-1930s), mostly performed by instrumental

²⁰ Los instrumentos con que se ejecuta esta música eran (aparte las castañuelas que tañen los bailarines) [son]: guitarras tiples, sustituidas luego por las bandurrias; “guitarros” o guitarros, suplidos también por bandurrias y, más modernamente, por laúdes; y guitarras. El triángulo y la pandereta no solían usarse, porque su empleo fuera de rondallas y de música que se emplea andando se hace monótono. Un violín y una flauta venían alguna vez a juntarse con las bandurrias. [En] cuanto a los instrumentos como clarinete, cornetín y trombón, son de uso moderno; de por los años de 1880, o tal vez antes. Acaso procede este uso de mozos que hicieron el servicio militar en las bandas de música de los regimientos. O también de las bandas de pueblo. La afinación de las guitarras y bandurrias hacíase empíricamente y su diapason era más alto que el actual; el de órgano o de capilla era empleado también, y aun entre los órganos había, asimismo, diversidad de diapasones.

Entre los cantadores ... suele ser costumbre empezar el canto con la letra del segundo verso de la copla, para seguir luego el primero, segundo, tercero, etc. por su orde. Las letras son cuartetas o quintillas.

ensembles of the *quadros de cants i balls populars valencians*, one can hear the castanets, but not those other idiophones. Nevertheless, in the 1910s, the writer and playwright Josep Calpe de Sabino, in a short novel that reflects traditional life in a village of the fertile lowlands around the capital, pointed out that in the *fandangà* or *l'u i dos*, as it was danced at that time,

[t]he music performed was made with guitars, [Spanish modern] lutes, and tambourines, except during the festivals celebrated in honor of the village patron saints, when it was accompanied by some instruments of the *Banda Primitiva* [i.e., the local community band], intervening a compensation offered by the *clavaris* [or organizers] of the festivals.²¹ (Calpe de Sabino 1915, 304)

(2) *The introduction of wind instruments from military and community bands in the cant d'estil*: also, López-Chavarri suggests that the winds were added to the *cantaes* by the mid-nineteenth century under the influence both of military bands, where young conscripted peasants played, and of the local community bands. From the early nineteenth century it was possible to find local community bands of winds and percussions imitating the prestigious military bands of the regiments even in remote mountain villages of the Kingdom of Valencia. The great availability of musicians participating in these bands all over the *cant valencià* area meant that the winds could be adopted for brilliance during the street performances of *cant d'estil* songs, both in serenades and public dances: Palau, López-Chavarri Marco, and Calpe de Sabino attest to it (see also Pitarch 1997c).²²

²¹ La música que s'eixcutaben se componia de guitarres, llaüts y panderetes, salvo en les festes que s selebraben en honor dels Sants Patrons del poble, que era acompanyà per algunes parts de la Banda Primitiva, mediant una retribusió donà per els clavaris de la festa

²² These abundant community bands still perform during processions, parades, and other events in village and neighborhood festivals. Nowadays, in the 542 Valencian municipalities, most of which have less than 10,000 inhabitants, there exist 513 bands, many of which were legally constituted as musical societies during the nineteenth century. About the community bands tradition in Valencia see Ruiz Monrabal (1993), Cohen (1997), and Galbis (2001). A surge of band creations is registered between the 1840s and the 1870s, during Elisabeth's II

(3) *Instrumental substitutions of stringed musical instruments in the cant d'estil*: in the above-mentioned manuscript note, López-Chavarri claims that the treble guitar or *tiple* was substituted by *bandurrias*. Actually this was a very small guitar formerly used like the *guitarró*. That the latter was replaced by *bandurrias* and Spanish modern lutes is contrary to ethnographic evidence, since the *guitarró* continues to be used in *cant d'estil*: in dialog with the voice, it has a leading role, signaling the chord changes to the guitars once the singer has ended a musical phrase.²³

(4) *Articulation between paraules (lines of verse) and terços (musical phrases)*: in the same manuscript note, finally, López-Chavarri's assertion that the order of repetition of the lines of a quatrain regularly was 2 1 2 3 4 4 1 needs qualification, since this has never been the most common one. Instead, the characteristic and usual repetition most typical then and today is 1 1 2 3 4 4 1. The one described by López-Chavarri is but a secondary possibility, which shows up rarely in 78 r.p.m. discs and today is actually not found in performance.

The above-mentioned manuscript note by López-Chavarri became the basis on which he made his description of *l'u i dos* published in *Música popular española* (1927, 113-4), along with a measured transcription in 3/4 time signature which is in contradiction with his own description of the non-metric song (see Fig. 13). Here, he

reign (1833-1868) and the Revolutionary Period (1868-1874): about twenty new bands every decade were being founded in different Valencian cities and villages. Band creations experienced double and triple that expansion from the 1880s through the 1920s, during the Bourbon Restoration (1874-1931), when this growth was backed by official musical contests during the July Fair, in which the Valencian bourgeois elite acknowledged these bands, along with the *cant valencià*, as "the spiritual expression of the land" (García Albarracín 1917), that is, as one of the two main musical icons of Valencian identity, enduring to the present (see García Albarracín's passage in Chapter 1, section 1.5.). After the decline occurred during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and its aftermath, the band boom began again, and especially increased from the start of the democracy in Spain (1977), when the band movement was unified into a federation as a major cultural exponent of Valencian society.

²³ See Rey and Navarro (1993) for a clarification about the Spanish modern lutes and their nineteenth century origins.

focuses on the song rather than on enumerating the accompanying musical instruments, now cited and their performance described in a footnote. Again, he refers to *l' u i dos* as if it were a *jota*, while the musical description shows something truly different in nature:

In Valencia the “jota” is a quieter dance, and has an Arab flavor in the song; it is very difficult to transcribe it in modern notation. The musicians follow the steps of the dance, but the singers intone their songs “entering” freely, ahead or behind in relation to the tonal functions, either in a sharp way or with melismatic passages (2).

This quiet and graceful dance has two main [generic] forms: one, maybe the most genuine, tends to use inflections in minor mode; the other one, most popular today is the one that ... is transcribed here as it was sung in the villages [around the city of Valencia] along the last third of the nineteenth century. It is still sung with voice inflexions, ornaments, and modal switches that are varied up to the infinite.

(2) The instruments with which this traditional dance is accompanied are: guitars, “*guitarrons*” (smaller guitars that are now used very little), “*tiples*” (even smaller guitars) today replaced with *bandurrias*, flute, and some violin; later and perhaps, because of the influence of the military service, the clarinet, the cornet and the trombone were added. The guitars keep the rhythm and determine with their chords the harmony. The *guitarrons* or [Sp.] “*guitarros*” beat a singing rhythm in eighth notes and double eighth notes in relation to the guitars, enlivening the movement. The *bandurrias* sing the [instrumental] melody of the dance, which is not that of the song. When a singer begins his song, the instruments keep silent, except the guitars, which continue to keep the rhythm and the harmony (the other plucked, stringed instruments often join with them). The dancers use castanets that usually stop playing, or play very softly, while the song lasts.²⁴ (López-Chavarri Marco 1927, 113-4)

²⁴ En Valencia la “jota” es baile más reposado, y tiene deijos arábigos en la copla cantada; ofrece gran dificultad para trasladarlo a la notación corriente. Los músicos van siguiendo los pasos de la danza, pero los cantadores entonan sus complas “entrando” libremente y anticipándose o retrasándose a las funciones tonales, ya de modo brusco ya con enlaces de floreos (2).

Esta danza reposada y airosa tiene dos formas [genéricas] principales: una, tal vez la más genuina, tiende a emplear inflexiones en modo menor; otra, la más popularizada hoy es la que ... se transcribe, tal como se cantaba por los pueblos en el último tercio del siglo XIX. Aún se canta empleando inflexiones de voz, ornamentos y cambios modales que varían hasta lo infinito.

(2) Los instrumentos con que se acompaña este baile popular son: guitarras, “*guitarrons*” (guitarras más pequeñas que ya se usan muy poco), “*tiples*” (guitarras todavía más pequeñas) hoy sustituidas por *bandurrias*, flauta y algún violín; posteriormente y acaso por influencia del servicio militar, se añadieron clarinete, cornetín y trombón. Las guitarras marcan el ritmo y determinan con sus acordes la armonía. Los *guitarrones* o “*guitarros*” baten un ritmo cantante en corcheas y dobles corcheas con relación a las guitarras, animando el movimiento. Las *bandurrias* cantan la melodía del baile, que no es la del canto. Cuando empieza un cantador su copla, callan los instrumentos, menos las guitarras (se les unen a menudo los otros de cuerda punteados) que quedan marcando el ritmo y la armonía. Los bailarines llevan castañuelas que suelen parar, o tocan muy suave, mientras dura la copla.

JOTA VALENCIANA
Allegretto moderato

Bandurrias
Guitarras

el acompañamiento rasgado

Se repite con adornos en los bandurrias. La voz entra *ad libitum* pero suele esperar la llegada de una cadencia de dominante; he aquí su melodía:

VOZ
Acompaña.

Has dit que no m'has volgu - t,
y yo'n câ no t'ha par.

la - t, y yo'n câ no t'ha par.
la - t;
la teud'hasienda'y la me. ua
no la llauren en for. ca. t,
no la llauren en for. ca.
t, ni en ro. sí, mu. la, ni e. gua
D.C. 8'

Fig. 13

L'u i dos or *fandangà* as it was danced in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

Transcription under the misnomer of *jota valenciana* by Eduard López-Chavarri Marco (1927)

In the above fragment there are three ideas on the *cant d'estil* to be emphasized:

(5) *Ornamented, non-metric songs with an Arab flavor, very difficult to transcribe in modern notation, contrasting with the steps of the dance:* in the above-mentioned passage, López-Chavarri Marco describes the melismatic nature and “Arab flavor” of the free vocal lines in the *cant d'estil*, the musical phrases of which the singers begin freely, either in a sharp way or with melismatic passages, perhaps starting ahead or behind in relation to the tonal functions, but singing these non-metric songs in clear contrast to the measured steps of the dance followed by the instruments.

(6) *Variation of the vocal lines in the cant d'estil*: also, López-Chavarri Marco remarks that the *cant d'estil* is “sung with voice inflexions, ornaments, and modal switches that are varied up to the infinite,” that is, with variation of the vocal lines in the different musical phrases (see Chapter 5, section 5.3., for a discussion). The musical folklorist’s expression is of course hyperbolic, as infinite variation seems an emic perception, rather than a matter of fact as knowledgeable singers can confirm.

(7) *Two main generic forms in the cant d'estil*: finally, even if it is not completely clear to the reader unacquainted with his 1925[?] manuscript note and transcription, in 1927 López-Chavarri Marco distinguishes the two generic forms of the *cant d'estil*: the *fandango* and what I have called the *fandangà* form. “[M]aybe the most genuine, tends to use inflections in minor mode,” he says: this is clearly *l’u* transcribed by him but not published (see López-Chavarri Marco 1925[?]); “the other one, most popular today,” is *l’u i dos*, in fact the most usual song in the *cantaes* then and now.

In the same book, López-Chavarri Marco (1927) published a description and musical transcription of the *albaes* of the *cant valencià* repertory, emphasizing, like Alford (1937) and Palau (1942), the alternation of two singers and verse improvisation:

The Levantine [i.e., eastern Spanish] custom of “les albaes” (dawn songs) is still practiced in many points of the Valencian kingdom. Sometimes an individual sings the song, but it is also customary that two singers intone it: one sings the first two lines of the quatrain and another one ends up by singing the other two; at the same time they rival each other in voice. Also those who possess qualities as verse improvisers usually distinguish themselves here. The *dulzaina* [Val. *dolçaina*] and the *tamboril* [Val. *tabalet*] perform the ritornello previous and posterior to the song itself: while the song lasts, only the drummer accompanies [the voice] with a very slight rhythm by hitting almost imperceptibly on the drum’s rim.²⁵ (López-Chavarri Marco 1927, 114-5)

²⁵ La costumbre levantina de “les albaes” (alboradas) aún se practica en bastantes puntos del reino valenciano. Unas veces canta la canción un individuo, pero también hay costumbre de entonarla entre dos cantores: uno canta los dos primeros versos de la cuarteta y el otro termina cantando los otros dos, a la par que rivaliza en voz.

López-Chavarri Marco was invited to give a lecture on Valencian folk dance as part of the cultural events of the *Semana valenciana* (“Valencian Week”) celebrated in Barcelona during the International Exhibition of 1929.²⁶ In his lecture, which was published the following year, López-Chavarri Marco observed the following about the dancing songs of the *cant d’estil*, referring to them with the usual misnomer:

Let us talk now about the music of our dance. In the expressiveness of dance, sometimes the music is fundamentally of dance: i.e., instrumental music, the rhythms of which serve as sonorous environment for the gestures and attitudes of the dancers; and thus, for example in the beautiful forms called “Valencian jota,” the respective rhythms [of music and dance] come together in a beautiful intimacy. ...

But, as it usually happens, folk dance is united to songs. And what is the musical form of the Valencian dancing songs? That of a monodic, lengthened, flexible melody with very flowery ornamentations and peculiar modulations.

It has been said that these melodies are of Middle-Eastern origin, and mostly Moorish. It is indeed possible. In our land, ancient Asian peoples, and Greek imperial armies, and Jews, and Muslims dwelled. Above all the latter.²⁷ (López-Chavarri Marco 1930, 14)

(8) *Flexible vocal melodies of Middle-Eastern, mostly Moorish origin*: as we can see, López-Chavarri Marco acknowledges that these lengthened, flexible songs “with very flowery ornamentations and peculiar modulations” are reminiscent of the Muslim Valencian past. If in 1927, he deemed the *cant d’estil* songs to have an “Arab flavor,” now he says that they may well be of Middle-Eastern, mainly Moorish origin.

También suelen lucir aquí las cualidades de improvisadores de versos los que las posean. La dulzaina y el tamboril hacen el estribillo anterior y posterior al canto: mientras dura la copla sólo acompaña un levisimo ritmo de tamboril golpeando casi imperceptiblemente en el aro de la caja.

²⁶ Also Palau delivered a lecture, but on Valencian folk song.

²⁷ Hablemos ahora de la música de nuestra danza. Es este expresivismo del baile, unas veces la música es fundamentalmente de danza: música instrumental cuyos ritmos sirven de ambiente sonoro para los gestos y actitudes de los bailarores; y entonces (por ejemplo en la bella forma llamada “jota valenciana”) se juntan con hermosa intimidad sus ritmos respectivos. ...

Mas, como suele suceder, la danza popular va unida a canciones. Y ¿qué forma musical tiene la canción de la danza valenciana? La de una melodía individual, amplia, flexible, con adornos bien floridos y modulaciones peculiares.

Se ha dicho que estas melodías son de origen oriental y, en su mayoría, moriscas. Ello es bien posible. En nuestra tierra vivieron de antiguo gentes asiáticas y ejércitos griegos imperiales y judíos y musulmanes. Estos últimos sobre todo.

After the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), López-Chavarri Marco became the technical consultant of the *Sección Femenina* (see Chapter 1, section 1.4.). When this women's institution of Franco's regime was commissioned in 1942 to collect folk dances and to stage them for preservation and propagandistic purposes, one of the tasks they were entrusted with was to document the dances they learned from elders in towns and villages, keeping record of their musical transcriptions and historical backgrounds. The women were assisted in this task by appointed technical consultants, and it is in this connection that López-Chavarri ([2001] [1950][?]) copied for the *Sección Femenina* archive of Valencia his 1925[?] musical transcription of *l'u i dos*, adding a descriptive note which focuses first on additional aspects not emphasized in 1925[?] or 1927 and then on the accompanying instruments again:

The Valencian dance called *el u y dos* (the one and two) probably receives this name either after the dancers' steps, or after the "positions" of the hand on the guitar [i.e., the chords] with which the dance is accompanied. Variants of this dance exist that seem to confirm the last criterion, for example, the one called "el u y el dotze." This dance, especially its second part [i.e., *l'u i dos* that López-Chavarri Marco transcribed around 1925], is usually called the *jota valenciana*. Anyway, this so-called "Valencian *jota*" differs considerably from the Aragonese one, the Navarran one, and any other one. Its quiet rhythms, its texture, its melodic line, its harmonic configurations, all are irrefutable proofs of what we say. The fundamental instrument to accompany the dance in question is the guitar; and with it the *bandurria*. When it was the case that a core of several performers was needed ([in] important family reunions for celebrations, or in festivals in the public square), in addition to guitars and *bandurrias*, [also other instruments] intervened: *guitarrons* or contralto guitars, *tiples* (today [substituted by] *bandurrias*), flute and violin, the latter two with less frequency. As for percussion instruments, the triangle and the tambourine [were used], but sparingly. Such is the actually traditional orchestra: in it, the guitars beat the rhythm and determine with their chords the harmonic switches.²⁸ (López-Chavarri Marco [2001] [1950][?])

²⁸ La danza valenciana llamada *el u y dos* (el uno y el dos) recibe probablemente ese nombre, ya por los pasos que trazan los bailarines, ya por las "posturas" de la mano en la guitarra con que se acompaña el baile. Existen variantes del baile que parecen confirmar el último criterio, por ejemplo, la llamada "el u y el dotze". A este baile, y singularmente en su segunda parte, se le suele llamar *jota valenciana*. De todos modos la llamada "jota valenciana" se diferencia considerablemente de la aragonesa, la navarra, y cualquier otra. Sus ritmos reposados, sus contextura, su línea melódica, sus disposiciones armónicas, todo son pruebas fehacientes de lo que decimos. El instrumento fundamental para acompañar la danza en cuestión es la guitarra; y con ella la *bandurria*. Cuando el caso requería un núcleo de varios ejecutantes (reuniones de fiesta familiar importante o festejos en la plaza pública) intervenían, además de guitarras y *bandurrias*, *guitarrones* o guitarras contralto, "tiples" (hoy *bandurrias*), flauta y violín, estos dos últimos con menos frecuencia. Como instrumentos de percusión, el triángulo y la pandereta, pero parcamente. Tal es la orquesta verdaderamente popular: en ellas las guitarras baten el ritmo y determinan con sus acordes los cambios de armonía.

(9) *The origin of the numerical expressions designating the cant d'estil songs*: in this fragment, López-Chavarri Marco's speculations about the origin of the numerical expressions with which the *cant d'estil* songs are traditionally referred to must be rejected, since they have no ethnographic ground (see Chapter 2, subsection 2.2.1., point 4)), in which this "Technical vocabulary" is discussed).

(10) *The strange specificity of the Valencian jota (which is not such thing)*: finally, López-Chavarri Marco's observations about the *fandangà* form of the *cant d'estil* are clearly indicative that we are in front of a very different thing: the "Valencian *jota*" differs considerably from the Aragonese one, the Navarran one, and any other one. Its quiet rhythms, its texture, its melodic line, its harmonic dispositions, all are irrefutable proofs of what we say." If so, how can it be a *jota*? It is not at all (see section 4.3. in this chapter for further discussion). Also, notice that now, in his description, López-Chavarri Marco applies the term *jota valenciana* especially to *l'u i dos*, the second part of the transcription he made around 1925.

The last time that López-Chavarri paid descriptive attention to the *cant valencià*, was toward the end of his life, around 1965, while writing the musical biography of a short-lived Valencian art music composer of the turn of the twentieth century who cultivated nationalism in his first compositions: Francisco Cuesta Gómez (1890-1921). In this study, completed by his son and published posthumously, López-Chavarri Marco begins with an outline of "La vida musical valenciana de entonces [1890]" ("The Valencian musical life of that time") in which both the *albaes* and the *cant d'estil* song of *l'u i dos* are described (see López-Chavarri and López-Chavarri 1987, 17-8 and 18-20):

Let us see now what the “albaes” are. In the Kingdom of Valencia there is a very curious song called “albaes.” Its lyrics consist of four or five lines, and sometimes of six. It is sung, singular practice and merit, between two performers: one intones half of the stanza and the other one finishes it. The singers must have facility of improvisation to dedicate stanzas to the people or entities which are feasted, [to dedicate] praises to a principal person, flowers to a nice girl, [and to make] more or less ingenious, more or less awkward jokes, if not taunting verses... The aspect of joking humor is very typical in such songs.

This duet of the “albaes,” we repeat, is not done by both interpreters singing at the same time, but, by answering each other in the way of a dialogue, and for this the good humor of the folk people is required. Also it is customary to ask assistance to those who have an acknowledged skill for such a task, and these are called “versaors,” in the sense of “verse improvisers.” It is not strange either that, before singing, the song contestants make an agreement to fulfill their task better. Likewise, it is a typical trait of this “shared” song that it be accompanied exclusively by “donsaina” and “tabalet.” The riotous notes of the first and the happy rolls of the drum seem to invite the use of jesting lyrics. The instruments loudly play the ritornello, and when the song starts, the “donsaina” stops, whereas the “tabalet” hits its rhythm with scarcely perceptible sound.

The musical part is simple enough. A slightly long roll of the “tabalet” announces the beginning; the “donsaina” launches to the air its jubilant call ..., and immediately the “tabalet” plays the rhythm of the song. When the singer is ready, he begins intoning the song ...

The second performer enters in turn and begins his [part of the] song with a rather “ritenuto” air, perhaps in order to have time to think the answer that he has to give forth to his companion, if they were not before in agreement; and when this second singer finishes his [part of the] song, immediately the “donsaina” and “tabalet” burst again into the happy ritornello of the prelude.

The “albaes” lyrics, as emphasized above, deal with [topics that are] for all kinds of tastes and circumstances: from the blunder transcribed above to the honoring of the maidens, as this shy insinuation says:

The three maidens of this home
in this *albà* I’m going to mention:
“Sunsión,” who is the older one,
Dolorettes, and Roser.²⁹ (López-Chavarri and López-

Chavarri 1987, 17-8)

²⁹ Veamos ahora qué son “les albaes”. Llámase “albaes” en el Reino de Valencia a una canción muy curiosa. Su letra consta de cuatro versos o de cinco, y a veces de seis. Se canta (práctica y mérito singulares) entre dos intérpretes: uno entona la mitad del texto y el otro la termina. Deben de tener los cantadores facilidad de improvisación para dedicar coplas a las personas o entidades a quienes se festeja, elogios a persona principal, floreos a una muchacha bonita, chistes más o menos ingeniosos, más o menos chabacanos, cuando no versos de vejamen... El aspecto de humor burla es muy característico en tales canciones.

Este dueto de las “albaes”, repetimos, no se realiza cantando ambos intérpretes a la vez, sino, respondiéndose de forma dialogada, y para ello [se] precisa el buen humor de las gentes populares. También es costumbre acudir a quienes tengan habilidad reconocida para tal menester, y a estos les llaman “versaors”, en el sentido de “improvisadores de versos”. Tampoco es extraño que antes de cantar se ponga[n] de acuerdo los duetistas para cumplir mejor su cometido. Asimismo es nota característica de esta canción “repartida”, el ser acompañada exclusivamente por “donsaina” y “tabalet”. Las notas bullangueras de aquella y los alegres redobles del tamboril parecen invitar al empleo de letras jocosas. Los instrumentos ejecutan fuerte el ritornelo, y cuando entra la copla, calla la dulzaina, mientras que el “tabalet” bate su ritmo con sonido apenas perceptible.

La parte musical es bien sencilla. Un redoble algo prolongado del “tabalet” anuncia el principio; la dulzaina lanza al aire, jubilosa, su llamada ... y enseguida el “tabalet” marca el ritmo del canto. Cuando al cantador bien le parece, entra entonando la canción ...

El segundo intérprete entra a su vez y empieza su canto con aire un tanto “ritenuto”, acaso para tener tiempo a pensar la contestación que ha de dar en el acto a su compañero (si antes no estaban convenidos), y cuando este segundo cantor termina la copla, inmediatamente “donsaina” y “tabalet” irrumpen de nuevo con el alegre estribillo de la introducción.

This description by López-Chavarri Marco is a typical performance of *albaes* old style, where the *tabalet* rolls at the beginning, as it can be heard in some 78 r.p.m. discs of the early twentieth century. Now it is common for the drum to directly attack the rhythmic formula characteristic of the *albaes*. The fact of answering each other with jesting humor during the *cantaes*, as was once the common practice among the participating *cantadors d'estil*, has yielded ground to praising or honoring the song addressee(s) above all, and only sometimes joking or describing their idiosyncrasies.

Next, López-Chavarri describes the *fandangà*, using its traditional name in numerical expression and then attaching to it the usual misnomer:

As for “L’U i el Dos” or Valencian *jota*, it has another character. It is a dance, and as long as it lasts, stanzas are sung, like it happens with the *jota* of Aragon. But this Valencian dance is of a lordly and quiet appearance. ...

That this Valencian dance could have a Middle-Eastern, more or less remote origin, may well be the case. The high position in which the arms are positioned, the hieratic [dancers’] figure, has that character. ... And certainly, the songs that are sung while the dance lasts are very Oriental, very Arab, with their long, sustained notes, followed by rapid vocalizations and ornamentations, which are so proper to all the banks of the Mediterranean Sea. ...

Even there is somebody who supposes that this dance is originally Greek, or Byzantine. But the mentioned vocalizations have all the alluded to Arab character. It may be, if you want, an Arabism of *l’horta* that lasted into the eighteenth century and was influenced by baroque elegances, without losing those strange harmonies that are still alive in those places not contaminated by the piano or by those so often mentioned enemies: the gramophone and the radio.

Also, there is the typical instrumental accompaniment of this dance, formed by guitars and *bandurrias* (the addition of wind instruments like the cornet, saxhorn, etc., is a modern aberration), while the dancers rattle the castanets.

The harmony is simple, elementary, and has a curious particularity, like “mounting” or overlapping one harmony and another, because the instruments follow the symmetrical steps of the dance, every four or every eight bars, whereas the melody is developed freely and its cadences do not correspond to those of the dance. This way, very curious harmonic clashes arise, and delays or anticipations that are elements of variety and gracefulness. ... [T]he chords of tonic and dominant (the most elementary ones in the guitar, which those untrained in sol-fa call “L’U i Dos” [“the One and Two”]) [are used] ... [with] dissociations between melody and harmony ...;

Las letras de “albaes”, como se ha indicado, tienen [temas] para todos los gustos y oportunidades: desde la patochada más arriba transcrita, hasta el homenaje a las muchachas, según lo dice esta tímida insinuación: Les tres xiques d’esta casa / en l’albà nomenaré: / “Sunsión” que és la més fadrina, / Dolorettes i Roser.

and let it be clearly understood that [I'm] mentioning only the simplest ones.³⁰ (López-Chavarri and López-Chavarri 1987, 18-20)

In this final description of *l'u i dos*, López-Chavarri Marco insists on the melismatic character of the *cant d'estil* songs, with a markedly Middle-Eastern or Arabic appearance, the roots of which he sees in early Islamic Valencian culture. He also shows his old-age prejudices against using wind instruments from the contemporary community bands for the preludes (compare his early descriptions) but above all, insists on the following aspect:

(11) *Harmonic overlappings, clashes, or dissociations*: in fact, he makes clear that between the vocal line and the accompaniment exist not only rhythmic contrast but also harmonic overlappings, clashes, or dissociations which are typical of modal harmony and point to the intermingling of two culturally-different musical elements (see Chapter 2, subsection 2.2.1., point 2)).

³⁰ [En] cuanto a “L’U i el Dos” o jota valenciana, tiene otro carácter. Es un baile, y durante el mismo se cantan coplas, como sucede con la jota de Aragón. Pero este baile valenciano es de traza señorial y reposada. ...

Que pueda tener este baile valenciano un origen oriental, más o menos remoto, bien puede ser. El mantener en alto los brazos, el hieratismo de la figura, aquel carácter tienen. ... Y desde luego, las coplas que se cantan mientras dura el baile, son bien orientales, bien árabes, con sus notas largas, tenidas, seguidas de rápidas vocalizaciones y adornos, que tan propios son de todas las riberas del Mediterráneo. ...

Ni falta quien supone que este baile sea griego, o bizantino. Pero las mencionadas vocalizaciones tienen todos los aludidos caracteres arábigos. Será, si se quiere, un arabismo huertano que perduró en el siglo XVIII y se dejó influir por las elegancias barrocas, sin perder aquellas armonías extrañas que aún están vivas en los lugares no contaminados por el piano o por [los] tantas veces citados enemigos: el gramófono y la radio.

También es característico el acompañamiento instrumental de esta danza, formado por guitarras y bandurrias (el añadir instrumentos de aire como cornetín, bombardino, etc., es una moderna aberración), mientras los bailadores repican las castañuelas.

La armonía es sencilla, elemental, y tiene una curiosa particularidad, como es la de “montar” o superponer unas armonías con otras, ya que los instrumentos siguen los pasos simétricos de la danza, de cuatro en cuatro o de ocho en ocho compases, mientras que la melodía se desenvuelve libremente y las cadencias de esta no concuerdan con las de aquella. Surgen así choques de armonía muy curiosos, retardos o anticipaciones que son elementos de variedad y de gracia. ... [Se usan] los acordes de tónica y de dominante (los más elementales de la guitarra, los que los desconocedores del solfeo llaman “l’U i el Dos”) ... [con] disociaciones entre melodía y armonía ...; y conste que solo [estoy] citando las más simples.

4.2.3. Manuel García Matos (1960): Spreading further the misnomer *jota valenciana* for the *fandangà* form “so different from the *jota* of Aragon in content and feeling”

Manuel García Matos (1912-1974), one of the main Spanish musical folklorists, was commissioned by UNESCO in the 1950s to collect recorded traditional music from the different territories of Spain (García Matos 1960). In this collection, he included two songs of the *cant valencià* repertory, among the few items recorded in Valencia, and he added the following two commentaries in the liner notes to the published LPs:

Per la valenciana (Valencia)

Here is the Valencian *jota*. The name is an expression which the people use—in the place it comes from—to say that one is going to sing or dance, or that one sings or dances, the *jota valenciana*. Like the Aragonese one, it consists of seven phrases, but melodically it is original, autochthonous, so different from the *jota* of Aragon in content and feeling. Although its instrumental accompaniment is tied to meter as well as to a defined rhythm, and in Major mode, in curious and clashing contrast, its *melos*—that of the song—follows a free and flowery rhythm, with dilatation of the phrases, and is from time to time of vague and not defined tonality, not harmonic, all of which, on the whole, gives this *jota* a very individual character, with a dreamy beauty and an Oriental-like aftertaste.

Albaes (Valencia)

The *albaes* are the songs that the young men sing in *l'horta* and in the Valencian villages, at dawn hours of certain holidays, on the streets of the settlement, and outside the entrances of their beloved ones' houses to honor them. Our recording shows the most beautiful and peculiar type of this species of song, which, according to custom, is performed by two singers with the usual accompaniment of *donsaina* and *tabalet*.³¹ (García Matos 1960)

³¹ *Per la valenciana* (Valencia) ...

He aquí la *jota valenciana*. El nombre es locución de que el pueblo se sirve—en el lugar de que procede—para decir que va a cantarse o bailarse, o que se canta o baila, *por la jota valenciana*. Como la aragonesa, consta de siete frases, pero melódicamente es original, autóctona, bien distinta de la jota de Aragón en contenido y sentimiento. Aunque el acompañamiento instrumental se sujeta a compás y ritmos definidos y dentro del modo mayor, en curioso y chocante contraste, su *melos*—el de la canción—sigue una rítmica libre y floreada, con dilatación de las frases, y es de tonalidad a trechos vaga e imprecisa, no armónica, lo que, en conjunto, imprime a esta jota un carácter muy individual, de ensoñadora belleza y como de oriental regusto. Acompañan un laúd y dos guitarras. Se oyen las castañuelas de los bailadores.

Albaes (Valencia) ...

Las *albaes* son las canciones que en la huerta y en los pueblos valencianos cantan los mozos en los amaneceres u horas del alba de ciertos días festivos por las calles del poblado y a la puerta de las casas de sus amadas en

It is apparent that he was influenced by Eduard López-Chavarri Marco's work on Spanish folk music (*Música popular española* 1927), in which the Valencian musical folklorist calls *jota valenciana* something that is not a *jota* at all. Thus, García Matos forces the Valencian folk expression *per la valenciana* used in some districts south of the capital—instead of the shorter *la valenciana* or *l'u i dos*—as if it implied the word *jota*: *per la [jota] valenciana*, but this is out of any reasonable expectation: instead *folia* would be implied here (see Chapter 2, subsection 2.2.1., point 2, note 16, and also section 4.3. in this chapter for further discussion about the *jota valenciana*).

4.2.4. Salvador Seguí Pérez (1973; 1980; 1990): Transcribing songs of a tradition that does not exist

Salvador Seguí Pérez (1939-2004), a student and collaborator of Manuel Palau at the *Instituto de Musicología y Folklore* in the 1940s-1960s, and the author of the most systematic collection of Valencian folk songs, a selection of which was published in three volumes (Seguí 1973, 1980, 1990), curiously enough made no explicit mention of the *cant valencià d'estil* in his folkloric musical works, although he gathered several examples belonging to this monodic expressive song tradition (see an instance in Fig. 14). Only in his volume devoted to the province of Valencia does Seguí (1980, 9) mention the *albaes* among the “Serenading songs,” but he does not describe them, focusing instead on the other kind of *albaes* characteristic of the inner mountainous parts of the Kingdom of Valencia, which do not belong to the *cant valencià* repertory.

homenaje a estas. Nuestra grabación recoge el tipo de la especie más bello y peculiar, y que, según costumbre, es ejecutado por dos cantores con el usual aditamento de la *donsaina* y el *tabalet*.

Valencianes

Fortaleny

$\text{♩} = 104$ *Copla*

Va — lèn — cia to — ta ro — dà.
de fi — gue — res pa — le — xais

Va — len — cia to — ta ro —
en ca no es — tan ma —

— da
du — res

ja les pi — quen els par — dais

Va — lèn — cia to — ta ro —

— dà.

Fig. 14

L'u i dotze. Transcription under the name of *valencianes* by Seguí (1980, 709)

Following his mentor Manuel Palau, Seguí included the different *cant d'estil* songs he had collected among the “Dancing songs” in general (1980, 12), warning that “the songs that the folk refer to as ‘Valencianes’ ... are like ‘el U’ [i.e., formally similar to the (southern) *fandango* form], but present an unhurried movement and are melodically enriched with abundant ornamentations and trills.” Also inexplicably, in dealing with the “Serenading songs,” he only mentions one example that belongs to the *cant d'estil* as if it were a special, rare exception in Valencian serenades: “‘la Valenciana’ of Llutxent [a village in *la Vall d'Albaida* district] ... is like the

valencianes which were included among the dancing songs, but in this case it is used, for different reasons and on diverse occasions, as a serenading song.”

Even though the *cant valencià* tradition is still living in many places of *la Plana de Castelló* district, Seguí does not mention it at all in his folk-song collection devoted to the province of Castelló, where again there is only a quick mention of the *albaes* in the section devoted to the “Serenading songs” (1990, 9):

On the other hand, the *albaes* exist in two very different musical types: one measured in 6/8 time signature with instrumental accompaniment of *dolçaina* and *tabalet*, the other one measured in binary rhythm and with accompaniment of *rondalla* [i.e., the ensemble of guitars, *bandurrias*, *guitarró*, etc.]. One type of *albaes* as much as the other are of antiphonal [sic] character, but in the first one, which we can call [*albaes*] *de l’horta*, since they are used mainly in villages of the littoral and with lyrics in Valencian, two soloists alternate and the second one must complete the phrase [i.e., the stanza] initiated by the first one; while in the second one, which we can identify as *highland [albaes]* since it is exclusively found in the inner [mountainous] regions, the soloist and a choir alternate, the latter limiting itself to the repetition of certain phrases and refrains previously sung by the soloist. Also, the *albaes* are sung in street, night serenades, and in different periods of the year, with different motivations, which gives place to *albaes* of diverse character: religious, festive, Christmas, love, or simply narrative of a singular fact or extraordinary event.³²

Seguí actually forgets that there are two types of Valencian *albaes* with *tabalet* and *dolçaina* accompaniment: those of the *cant valencià* tradition, to which he refers as *albaes de l’horta*, and those from the inner mountainous areas, which are typical in

³² Por su parte, las albadas [i.e. *albaes*] se ofrecen en dos tipos musicales bien distintas [sic]: uno, medido en compás de 6/8 u con acompañamiento instrumental de dulzaina [i.e. *dolçaina*] y tamboril [i.e. *tabalet*], otro, medido en compás binario y con acompañamiento de rondalla. Tanto unas albadas como otras son de carácter antifonal [sic], pero en las primeras, que podemos llamar “huertanas”, puesto que se dan principalmente en pueblos del litoral y con texto en valenciano, alternan dos solistas y el segundo debe completar la frase iniciada por el primero, mientras en las segundas, que podemos identificar como “serranas”, dado que son exclusivas de las poblaciones del interior, alternan el solista y el coro, que se limita a la repetición de determinadas frases y estribillos previamente cantados por el solista. Asimismo, las albadas se cantan en ronda callejera, pero nocturna, y en diferentes épocas del año, además de surgir distintas motivaciones, lo que da lugar a albadas de carácter religioso, festivo, navideño, amoroso o simplemente narrativo de un hecho singular o acontecimiento extraordinario.

village urban settings besides those used in rural districts accompanied by guitars and which he terms *highland albaes*.³³

All in all, it is perplexing to see that, after perusing the most systematic collection of Valencian traditional music, although one finds different transcriptions of songs which belong to the *cant valencià* repertory, nothing truly substantial can be learned about it as a coherent musical and social phenomenon.

4.2.5. Martin Cunningham (1980): The strange Valencian *jota* which musically is not that at all, characterizing the *fundagà* form of the *cant valencià*

The misnomer for the Valencian *l'u i dos* (*fundagà* form) has spread without criticism from Spanish musical folklorists into international music dictionaries of reference, with additional misunderstandings. It was taken from García Matos by scholars such as the Irish hispanist Martin Cunningham, who wrote in his article on Spanish folk music for the *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980) that

[t]he Valencian jota accompaniment has the structure and harmonic simplicity of the Aragonese jota, but its melodic characteristics are often surprisingly free. Tending towards syncopation and ornament, its tonality is frequently ambiguous, so that if the melody were sung alone it would scarcely suggest the well-defined harmonic pattern typical of the jota. Other dances of the region include *el u i el dos* (the one and the two), a double circle-dance with the men forming the inner circle. (Cunningham 1980)

³³ The *albaes* of the *cant valencià* repertory actually present a compound meter 3/8+3/8+2/8+2/4 (Reig 1997, 1998, 2006a), which Spanish musical antiquarians and folklorists have represented in 6/8 time signature. The other Valencian *albaes*, both those accompanied by *tabalet* and *dolçaina* and those accompanied by stringed instruments, present mostly aksak rhythms in 7/8, different anyway from that of the *albaes* of the *cant valencià* tradition, despite the fact that in several places they have been simplified recently into a binary rhythm represented in 2/4.

If at least the Spanish folklorists made clear that the people call *l'u i dos*, *l'u i el dos*, *valenciana*, or *per la valenciana* the *cant d'estil* song they describe under the misnomer *jota valenciana*, for Cunningham *el u i el dos* becomes another undefined song along with the strange Valencian *jota* “that if the melody were sung alone it would scarcely suggest the well-defined harmonic pattern typical of the *jota*.” Regrettably, the second edition of the *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2001, vol. 24, 148), after referring to “*el u i el dos* (the one and the two)” adds “*el u i el dotze* (the one and the twelve)” as another example of the purported Valencian *jota*, but does not correct neither the misnomer nor the misclassification.

4.2.6. Maria Teresa Oller Benlloch (1951; 2005): *Cant valencià d'estil*, “innate vocal virtuosity” and “a certain flavor of ... archaic musical elements”

Maria Teresa Oller Benlloch, another student and collaborator of Manuel Palau at the *Instituto de Musicología y Folklore* in the 1940s-1960s, collected several Valencian Spanish southern *fandango* songs in the *Vall d'Albaida* district that belong to the *cant d'estil* repertory: that is, one instance of what she labels *per la del u*—though it is actually an example of *per la de l'onze*—from Bèlgida, and two other versions of *per la del onze* [i.e., *per la de l'onze*] from Bèlgida and Atzeneta d'Albaida (Oller Benlloch 1951, 101-3, 114 and 121). While introducing the first above-mentioned song gathered in Bèlgida, she observes the following (1951, 103):

The version which follows was heard by us in Bèlgida from Bautista Pascual, who accompanied himself by playing the guitar. José Pla collaborated with him as “*tocaor*” [accompanying instrumentalist] of *bandurria*. Both told us that, when they were young, in many villages of the Kingdom of Valencia it was customary to serenade at night, singing mostly improvised stanzas. These stanzas expressed either loving or satirical feelings, etc. and had the

character of a farewell when the serenade was performed on the eve of the day the young men were drafted: thus, this is the reason why these songs are called “cançó dels quintos” [“the conscripts’ song”].³⁴

After this commentary, it seems that the informants, rather than calling the song *per la de l’u* called it *cançó dels quintos*. The transcription clearly shows that melodically it is but a version of *per la de l’onze*, the melodic model traditionally used for serenades in *la Vall d’Albaida* district, and generally in the southern part of the *cant valencià d’estil* area (see Palau 1965). The other example from Bèlgida is properly titled *per la de l’onze* and Oller Benlloch (1951, 114) adds: “This song-dance is accompanied by guitars and *bandurrias* ... It is also sung during night serenades.” Moreover, besides the above-mentioned examples of *cant d’estil* songs, she also transcribes another one that she titles *per la de l’u*, but which is actually a version of *l’alcoiana* or *l’u i dos* (*fandango* form) sung by a farmer from Alcoi (Oller Benlloch 1951, 136). After these few examples and comments, she would not deal again with *cant valencià* songs until more than half a century later, devoting a short paper to this singing tradition.

Significantly, Oller Benlloch is the only Valencian musical folklorist to have published a short paper about the *cant valencià d’estil* (Oller Benlloch 2005), after several ethnomusicological works had already addressed the phenomenon as a whole. In her paper, she emphasizes several significant aspects that characterize the *cant valencià*. I summarize and reorganize them thematically, citing from her article:

³⁴ La versión que a continuación exponemos la hemos oído en Bèlgida a Bautista Pascual, quien se acompañaba a sí mismo tañendo la guitarra. Con él también colaboraba como acompañante José Pla, “tocaor” de bandurria. Ambos nos relataron que cuando ellos eran jóvenes existían [sic] en muchos pueblos de la Región Valenciana [i.e., the Kingdom of Valencia] la costumbre de rondar por las noches cantando coplas improvisadas la mayoría de las veces. Estas coplas expresaban, ora el sentimiento amoroso, ora el satírico, etc. y tenían carácter de despedida cuando la ronda se efectuaba en vísperas de entregarse los mozos a quintas: este es pues el motivo por el cual a estas canciones se les [sic] llama “cançó dels quintos.”

(1) *Vocality*: the *cant valencià* requires an “innate vocal virtuosity; [and] timbre and range qualities which only those with privileged vocal faculties possess” (2005, 89), and “occupies within Valencian traditional songs a position comparable to that occupied by *flamenco* within Andalusian traditional songs” (2005, 91).

(2) *Musical occasions*: the *cant valencià* is used during “serenades in which the young men court their beloved girlfriends; [or] to solemnize festivals, or to greet respectfully the local authorities. ... [It is a]lso ... [used in] dancing songs, with which some festivals or family events are celebrated (wedding receptions, christening parties, etc.)” (2005, 89).

(3) *Geography*: the *cant valencià* is present in the “Valencian central districts, especially in the littoral ones, [which] are those in which the *cant [valencià] d’estil* shows its greatest vitality” (2005, 89) (for a discussion, see the Introduction, subsection The territorial extent, and Chapter 5, subsection 5.2.1., point (3)).

(4) *Musical repertory*: it consists of different song types: on the one hand: a) the “so-called *valencianes* of *l’u*, of *l’u i dos*, of *l’u i dotze*, *la riberenca* and those so-called *per la de l’onze* very common in *la Vall d’Albaida* district” (2005, 90); and on the other hand, b) “the *albaes*, [which] are the most representative serenading songs of the Valencian-speaking districts,” sung by a pair of singers answering each other, splitting the same stanza, “something that in the parlance of the old singers was called *retrucar* [‘answering back’]” (2005, 90).

(5) *Lyrics*: “The lyrics are usually extemporized by the singer or by an inspired *versaor* who prompts the singer with the lines of verse” (2005, 91).

To complete her characterization, Oller Benlloch describes in musical terms the *valencianes* or *cant d'estil* repertory as follows:

(1) *Major and minor tonalities predominate, but also archaic melodic elements are present*: “In many Valencian folk songs, melodic turns, modalities, cadences, and styles of old civilizations have found a refuge, and despite the fact that in the *cant d'estil* major and minor tonalities predominate, it does not fail to show a certain flavor of all those archaic musical elements” (2005, 92).

(2) *Different, coexisting melodic styles*: “It is characteristic in the *cant d'estil* to alternate within the same song syllabic and extraordinarily ornamented passages ... which always vary depending on the power of improvisation, the vocal range qualities, and the fantasy of each *cantaor* o *cantaora* [i.e., of each singer]” (2005, 89).

In this respect, she correlates the 1) *syllabic*, 2) *syllabic-ornamental*, and 3) *purely ornamental* styles which characterized medieval religious song—as she emphasizes, so tied to folk song, and both types so mutually influenced—with the two extant melodic styles of the *cant valencià*: she correlates the medieval syllabic one with the style “today termed *cant pla*,” and the medieval purely ornamental one with the style “which today the singers call [*cant*] *requintat*.” (2005, 91).

Additionally, she observes that

[t]he same way that in the Middle Ages these three melodic styles coexisted and developed, they also simultaneously exist in the *cant d'estil*, because each singer expresses him or herself adopting one or another depending of his or her vocal possibilities, his or her personal circumstances, or his or her mood in each performance. Thus, that one adopts one style or another in a particular moment [of performance] is not a matter of melodic chronology [i.e., of

one style being older than another one in the *cant valencià* history], but of personal circumstances.³⁵ (2005, 92)

Oller Benlloch's characterization of the main two melodic styles of the *cant valencià*, *pla* and *requintat*, needs qualification: the *cant pla* is not syllabic, but syllabic-ornamental, and the *cant requintat* is not purely ornamental but has also a syllabic part, even if its ornamental cadences are much more developed. Moreover, there exists a chronological succession between *cant pla* and *cant requintat*, as historical and ethnographic evidence clearly show (see Chapter 7, subsection 7.3.2.). A different issue is their optional use once both melodic styles became available.

(3) *Harmonic discrepancy voice/accompaniment or polytonality*: with these terms Oller Benlloch refers to the phenomenon which was already emphasized by Palau as bi-modality (see subsection 4.2.1.) and by López-Chavarri Marco as harmonic overlappings, clashes, or dissociations (see subsection 4.2.1., point (11)):

A true characteristic of many *cant d'estil* songs is the [harmonic] discrepancy between the solo voice and its instrumental accompaniment. While the accompaniment remains within a strong, rhythmic and harmonic inflexibility, the solo voice, weaving arabesques of melodic beauty, extends the phrases or shortens them, depending on how in that moment the singer's mood or voice feels like, whereby very often a curious polytonality occurs³⁶ (2005, 89-90).

(4) *Unusual instrumental textures*: "All these songs are accompanied with [strummed and] plucked instrumental ensembles, and also, on certain occasions, wind instruments intervene, altogether forming an ensemble that, according to eminent

³⁵ Aixina com en l'Edat Mija[na] convixqueren i se desenrollaren estos tres gèneros melòdics, en el Cant d'Estil se simultanegen també, ya que cada cantador s'expressa i adopta un gènere o un altre segons les seues possibilitats vocals, o les seues circumstàncies personals, o el seu estat anímic en cada interpretació. Per lo tant, no és qüestió de cronologia melòdica, sinó de circumstàncies personals, el que s'adopte un gènere o un altre en un moment determinat.

³⁶ És ben característic de molts Cants d'Estil el divorç [harmònic] entre la veu solista i el seu acompanyament instrumental. Mentre l'acompanyament permanenceix en una major rigideu rítmica i harmònica, la veu solista, teixint arabescs de bellesa melòdica, allarga frases o les acurta, segons s'encontre en aquell moment el seu ànim o la veu del cantador, produint-se, en tot açò, en moltes ocasions, una curiosa politonalitat.

European musicologists, for instance, professor [Marius] Schneider, are only used in Valencia” (2005, 90).

Oller Benlloch’s characterization of the *cant valencià* tradition is quite accurate, emphasizing aspects of vocality, musical occasions, geography, musical repertory, and lyrics. Also, her musical characterization of the *cant d’estil* is to the point.

4.3. The *Jota Valenciana* as Distinct from the *Fandangà* Form of the *Cant d’Estil*: Putting Things in Their Place

Sung as far away from its original place as Cadiz in southernmost Andalusia, the “bustling *jota* of Valencia” is already cited in a heroic-burlesque poem written in 1779 by the Valencian military man and lyric poet from Castelló de la Plana, Gaspar Maria de Nava Álvarez, Count of Noroña (1760-1815) (see de Cueto 1952, Vol. 2, 468). Some years later, in 1790, the *jota valenciana* was included in a *zarzuela* or comic folk opera performed in Madrid (Cotarelo y Mori 1934, 284). These data attest to the spread of the *jota valenciana* over central and southern Spain in the late eighteenth century, when in fact Valencian artisans toured different cities (Madrid, Saragossa, Seville, Cadiz, etc.) selling traditional drinks or trading goods and dancing for some additional income (Ruiz de Lihory 1903, 160). In the 1800-1850 period, the *jota valenciana* was sung and danced fourteen times in the theaters of the city of Valencia (Izquierdo Izquierdo 1985, 104), and between 1839 and 1876, it was staged eighteen times in its *Teatro Principal* (see Chapter 1, section 1.2.). There is no doubt that the *jota valenciana* was a popular song-dance. But what kind of music was it?

So far, the first known musically notated *jota valenciana* is one by the Aragonese composer Florencio Lahoz Otal (1815-1868), included in a collection of compositions based on Spanish folk songs, gathered in the mid-nineteenth century and published in Madrid. This *jota valenciana* (see Lahoz 1852), has ten instrumental ritornellos as well as two different vocal melodies which are characteristic, metric, ternary *jota* songs as we know them ethnographically in Valencia, Aragon, and eastern Spain in general. Also of the same kind are both the *jota valenciana* that composer José Gonzalo published in Madrid in 1870 (see Gonzalo [1870]) and the *Jota valenciana bailada en el Teatro del Príncipe*, i.e., the “Valencian *jota* danced in the Prince’s Theater” of Madrid in 1871, arranged by composer Cristóbal Oudrid y Segura (1825-1877) (see Oudrid [1871]). An additional musical example of *jota valenciana* common in the Philippines at that time, recorded and published by Manuel Walls y Merino (1892, 43-4) on his return to mainland Spain, has the same characteristic musical structure. Yet, if further confirmation is necessary, baron Charles Davilliers, who visited Spain during the late 1850s-early 1860s in search for its musics, confirms that “[t]he Valencian *jota* differs little from that of the Aragonese people” (Davilliers 1867 [1862], 314). The *jota valenciana* was a real *jota*.

Contemporary with the above musical samples, the first Valencian folk-song collection (Ximénez 1873) records only the vocal line of the *jota valenciana* (no. 4) and that of a closely similar variant so-called *jota del carrer* (no. 2), along with the *cant d’estil* songs *l’u i dos* (*fandango* form) (no. 3) and *l’alacantina* (no. 1) (see Chapter 3, subsection 3.1.1.). All this shows that in the 1870s, and earlier, there was no nominal or conceptual confusion between the metric, ternary *jota* genre and the

non-metric *cant d'estil* songs. The *jota valenciana* recorded by Ximénez, and even more clearly its variant *jota del carrer*, are of the same melodic type as the *Jota valenciana* that composer Enrique Granados (1867-1916) could listen to in Valencia in the 1880s and included as no. 7 of his famous *12 Danzas españolas* (“12 Spanish dances”) Op. 37, composed between 1888 and 1890, and published that last year. This melodic type of *jota valenciana* has mostly faded away in Valencia, yet I recorded older people performing it as a lullaby in the 1980s. Significantly if we take into account the 1779 reference from Cadiz, Manuel García Matos (1987, 64) identified this characteristic type of *jota valenciana* in the version published by Inzenga (1888, 32) after Ximénez’s transcription (1873, no. 4) as the melodic type that led to one of the two versions of the *alegrías* of Cadiz, which is a song consisting of a *flamenco* stylization of the *jota*. Thus, it is likely that the examples of the *jota valenciana* transcribed by Ximénez in 1873 hark back to the eighteenth century and that they were brought to Cadiz by visiting Valencians trading there.

Today, a well-known variant of this type is commonly identified as Navarran *jota*, not as Valencian or Aragonese, even though it exists in both Valencia and Aragon, here as a serenading song. However, the *jota* genre only was brought to Navarre in 1809 by Navarran volunteers returning home after having fought in Saragossa during the famous sieges by the Napoleonic armies (see López Antón 1996, 105 and 108; see also Chapter 1, subsection 1.3.). Anyway, the *jota* seems to have become a widely-acknowledged Navarran musical expression only around 1867-1870 (Arrarás Soto 1971, 203-4), and the Valencian composer Ruperto Chapí y Lorente (1851-1909) anachronistically included this type of *jota* we are discussing in

his famous zarzuela *La Bruja* (“The Witch”) (1887), the plot of which is set in Navarre during the rule of Charles II of Spain (1665-1700) when the *jota* did not exist there.

In sum, it is rather clear that the *jota valenciana* was an actual *jota* similar to the Aragonese and Navarran ones in its melodic, rhythmic, and harmonic shapes. In fact, in 1871, in *El averiguador* (“The Inquirer”), a journal devoted to publishing questions about several issues of social and historical interest and sometimes the answers to them by learned peers, somebody identified as M. posed the question “whether there are Aragonese *jota*, Navarran *jota*, and Valencian *jota*, or whether they are variants of the same one” (*Averiguador, El* 1871, 113). The right answer was implied in the question: structurally they are the same, but they differ in style and, as far as ethnographic evidence shows today, in some cases, in melodic shapes and instrumental ritornellos as well.

However, when did the label *jota valenciana* begin being used etically and improperly to refer to the *fandangà* form of the *cant d’estil*, which as seen above in previous subsections musically is not a *jota* at all? Actually, we find for the first time such a misnomer in the 1890s, applied for instance by a famous Valencian writer like Vicente Blasco Ibáñez to what in almost any musical respect is different from the *jota*: the *cant d’estil* song-dances. In a famous passage of his novel *La barraca* (1898), at the opening of Chapter 9, where he describes *l’horta* around the city of Valencia, he tells us that,

in a green farmhouse, under the aged vine arbor, flowery skirts, colorful kerchiefs were shaken as an amalgam of colors. The sleepy cadence of the guitars seemed to lull to sleep a shrill cornet

that was launching to all the corners of the fertile lowlands, sleeping under the Sun, the Moorish sounds of the Valencian *jota*.³⁷ (Blasco Ibáñez [1898])

Here, the expression “Moorish sounds” clearly shows that the famous novelist is referring to the *fandangà* song-dance, although the ritornellos do not have properly Oriental-like character.

Ruiz de Lihory’s description of the *cant d’estil* songs-dances under the misnomer *jota valenciana* was also written in the late 1890s and published a few years later in his musical dictionary *La música en Valencia* (1903) (see Chapter 3, subsection 3.1.5.), which soon became a reference work despite its shortcomings. When in 1905 the Gramophone Company launched in Spain the first one-sided, 78 r.p.m. discs of traditional or popular musics under the Zonophone label (Hita Maldonado 2002, 43), all the *cant d’estil* songs recorded by the great *cantador d’estil* Evaristo, including *l’u*, *l’u i dos*, and *l’u i dotze*, were arbitrarily released under the misnomer *jota valenciana*, never used in the *cant valencià* tradition.³⁸ Thus, by the 1910s, it had spread all over Spain, and wherever else the 78 r.p.m discs reached.

In the 1920s and 1930s, influential musical folklorists contributed to expanding the misnomer: López-Chavarri Marco through his monograph *Música popular española* (1927) (see subsection 4.2.2.), and Eduardo Martínez Torner, through his chapter “La canción tradicional española” included in the three-volume book *Folklore y costumbres de España* (“Folklore and Customs of Spain”) (1934) (see Martínez

³⁷ en una alquería verde, bajo el añoso emparrado, agitábanse como una amalgama de colores faldas floreadas, pañuelos vistosos. La dormilona cadencia de las guitarras parecía arrullar á un cornetín chillón que iba lanzando á todos los extremos de la vega, dormida bajo el sol, los morunos sonos de la jota valenciana.

³⁸ In fact, Manuel Marzal Barberà *el Xiquet de Mislata* (2009, 90) protested about the improper labeling of these non-metric songs as *jotas*.

Turner 1934), which became a reference work for three decades. Violet Alford (1937) improperly referred to the “Valencian Jota” (1937, 389) or to “the classical Jota ... called *El U i el Dos* (One and Two)” (1937, 387). Later, in the 1960s and 1970s, following López-Chavarri Marco, Manuel García Matos further spread the confusion in the liner notes to the *Antología del folklore musical de España* (1960) (see subsection 4.2.3.), and from the 1980s, the main Valencian dance folklorists in their texts (see subsections 4.1.2. and 4.1.3.) as well as Martin Cunningham in the world reference dictionary of music (see subsection 4.2.4.) contributed to it.

The only point of contact between the Valencian *jota*—or for that matter the most widespread type of Spanish eastern jota—and the Valencian songs of the *fandangà* genre (*l’u i dos, l’u i dotze*) is that both use an alternating tonic/dominant harmonic pattern in the accompaniment, yet even their respective thrummed rhythmic formulas are different in the *jota* and in the *cant d’estil* songs. As a matter of fact, López-Chavarri Marco (1927), García Matos (1960), and Cunningham (1980) were constrained to admit that what they believed to be the Valencian *jota* differs greatly from the Aragonese or the Navarran ones, and from any other one. They simply were describing something else completely. This will suffice to clarify this issue which has greatly prevented a real understanding of what these *cant d’estil* songs are in fact. In Chapter 5, subsection 5.2.2. the songs of the *fandangà* genre (*l’u i dos, l’u i dotze*) are musically characterized in detail.

So far, we have seen the mostly fragmentary, but often useful, contributions to the study of the *cant valencià* made by antiquarians, nineteenth and early twentieth-century journalists, and musical folklorists—the latter being those who have provided

the most accurate textural descriptions. We have also seen the problematic writings about the *cant valencià* by dance folklorists and late twentieth and early twenty-first-century amateur journalists, which have hardly contributed to a real understanding of this song tradition.

Above all dance and musical folklorists, as examined in this chapter, have provided some brief descriptive accounts about the characteristic vocality of the *cant valencià*, emphasizing its two melodic styles, the value of the vocal lines, and their rootedness in the rural Valencian Islamic past. Now it is time to probe ethnomusicological approaches to the *cant valencià*, from the mid-twentieth century to the present, (1) seeing to what extent they have confirmed folkloristic accounts of the *cant valencià* vocality and of its musical, contextual, or historical elements in general; as well as (2) discussing how the way of doing ethnographic research in each case, intensively or occasionally, has had a bearing on the respective results.

Chapter 5: Ethnomusicological Approaches to the *Cant Valencià* (1952-2007): Late Comparatism, Contemporary Intensive and Occasional Ethnographies, and the Pre-Eminence of Vocal Style or Vocality

I examine in this chapter ethnomusicological approaches (1952-2007) to the *cant valencià*. Different in scope, ethnographic method, and theoretical perspectives, not all of them have yielded pertinent ideas grounded in intensive field research and in-depth analysis. Nevertheless, late twentieth-century ethnomusicological approaches in particular, albeit in different respects, have opened up new paths both for an understanding of the *cant valencià* song tradition as a complex and significant musical phenomenon and for a wider diffusion of knowledge about that tradition in Spain and in Europe. They have often emphasized the pre-eminence of vocality.

In Section 5.1., I contextualize and discuss late comparative approaches from the second third of the twentieth century, consisting of short descriptions or conceptualizations of specific *cant valencià* melodic models or performances, made by two scholars, of whom Alan Lomax deserves special mention. In section 5.2., I summarize and discuss both my own contributions in the 1990s to the understanding of the *cant valencià* tradition as a coherent musical phenomenon and those by several (ethno)musicologists who contemporarily, or at the beginning of the twenty-first

century, approached it. I focus on interpretations and descriptions of the *cant valencià* as a whole, but also of its vocality and structural musical features. Since some ethnomusicologists have emphasized musical improvisation in the *cant valencià*, yet have described it in terms that are not in accord with what close ethnographic examination reveals, in section 5.3. I briefly discuss this issue, considering what musical folklorists and ethnomusicologists have said about it. Finally, in section 5.4., I gather the scattered references to the *cant valencià* vocality made by antiquarians and journalists, as well as by dance or musical folklorists and ethnomusicologists, in order to provide a view of what has been said in this respect, highlighting its pre-eminence and the need to study it in relation to identities and musical social signification.

5.1. Second Third of the Twentieth Century: Late Comparative Approaches to the *Cant Valencià*, Singing Style, and the Southern Spanish *Fandango* Form

As a theoretical counterpoint to the Valencian musical folklorists' localized vision of the *cant valencià*, we find in the 1950s and 1960s two (ethno)musicological, though occasional, approaches to it by the American ethnomusicologist Alan Lomax and by the Andalusian jurist and musicologist Hipólito Rossy. However different Lomax's and Rossy's respective standpoints, field methods, and actual motivations to devote some thoughts to the *cant valencià* in their fieldnotes or publications, in the end their approaches are inscribed in the late phase of comparative musicology, paradigm which due to methodological issues "exhausted itself in Alan Lomax's Cantometrics" project (Titon 2003, 177), even though Lomax opened up the possibility of a new understanding of music (see Chapter 6, subsection 6.1.1.).

5.1.1. Alan Lomax (1952-1953; 1953-1954; 1959): Describing the singing style of the *cant valencià*, characterizing the traditional singing styles in Spain

Alan Lomax (1915-2002) set sail for Europe in September 1950 with “the folk music of the world as ... destination” (Kaye and Barton 2005, 100), as he himself wrote. Staying in the Old World until his return to New York in July 1958, he not only corresponded profusely with scholars and musicologists throughout the world in order to collect sound recordings for an LP series of world folk musics to be published by Columbia Records, but also traveled extensively in order to document the folk music traditions of Ireland, Scotland, Spain, and Italy. Lomax had not originally projected to spend time in Spain, but owing to his commitments to Columbia, he attended the first International Folk Music Conference held in the country. It took place in Palma, the capital city of the island of Majorca, between June 22 and 29, 1952, and had been organized on the initiative of the Spanish musical folklorist Manuel García Matos. As Lomax has it,

I was informed by Columbia that publication of my series depended on my assembling a record of Spanish folk music, and so, swallowing my distaste for *El Caudillo* [i.e., general Franco] and his works, I betook myself to a folklore conference on the island of Mallorca [sic] with the aim of finding myself a Spanish editor ... [One of t]he professor[s] who ran the conference was a refugee Nazi [Marius Schneider (1903-1982)] who had taken over the Berlin folk song archive [i.e., the *Berliner Phononogramm-Archiv*] after Hitler had removed its Jewish chief ... [and he was now] in charge of folk music research at the Institute [of Musicology of the Council] for Higher Studies [in Barcelona or *Instituto de Musicología, C.S.I.C.*]. He let me know that he personally would see to it that no Spanish musicologist would help me. He also suggested that I leave Spain.

I had not really intended to stay. I had only a few reels of tape with me and I had made no study of Spanish ethnology. This, however, was my first experience with a Nazi, and, as I looked across the luncheon table to this authoritarian idiot, I promised myself that I would record the music of the benighted country if it took me the rest of my life. (Cohen 2001)

Schneider never belonged to the Nazi party, but his authoritarian and rude attitude toward Lomax says much about his political proclivity. Lomax’s recordings during

what in the end became a seven-month field-research trip to Spain (1952-1953) formed the basic collection for a radio series aired on BBC Radio in 1953-1954 and were also the source materials for the Spanish portion of the *Columbia World Library of Folk and Primitive Music* LP collection which he had been charged with assembling.

Lomax arrived in Valencia from Barcelona in early August 1952. In the city, on August 6, he tried to contact musical folklorist Manuel Palau at the research center *Institución “Alfonso el Magnánimo”*, where Palau had founded in 1948 the *Instituto de Musicología y Folklore* (“Institute of Musicology and Folklore”). Lomax was sent to the Valencian musical folklorist’s home in Alfara del Patriarca, a village near the city, in *l’Horta de València* district:

Went looking for contact—Maestro Palau—great difficulties and not until 9 p.m. in a little town out in the fragrant countryside. The mist out of the moist fields. The high corn. The tobacco almost as high as head. The houses with their halls leading into courtyards. Like a great reception hall, a guard room, a stable. Cool. Curtains over the wide doors. (Lomax 1952-1953)

He describes a typical village house. Understandably he had difficulties. August 6 is one of the main summer holidays in which patron-saint festivals are celebrated in Valencia, and it was not the best moment to find somebody available. However, during the following days Lomax would contact Palau’s student and assistant at the *Instituto de Musicología y Folklore*, Maria Teresa Oller Benlloch, meeting her at her home in downtown Valencia:

In Valencia. The Section of Musicology and Folklore of the Foundation for Jaime [sic, read: Alfonso] El Magnánimo gave us the names of several towns to the South where there was music.

This woman lived in a house filled with porcelain—a huge porcelain mirror in the living room and a porcelain table.¹ (Lomax 1952-1953)

Thus, after this meeting, he visited the town of Tavernes de la Valldigna, about thirty three miles south of the capital. One year earlier, Antonio Chover Salom had published a monograph about this village's traditional music that he had collected for the *Instituto de Musicología y Folklore* (see Chover Salom 1951). So, it is likely that this was the reason why Lomax was given this village's name as one "where there was music." There, he recorded the *albaes*, with *tabalet* and *dolçaina* accompaniment, as well as *per la valenciana*—that is, *l'u i dos*—and *l'u i dotze* melodic models of the *cant valencià* repertory, among several other local songs.

Two Alan Lomax's typewritten notes which belong to the BBC Radio series *The Folk Music of Spain* conducted by him in 1953-1954 describe *cant valencià* songs.

(1) *Describing the albaes of the cant valencià repertory*: the first Lomax's note is about the *albaes* in the village of Tavernes de la Valldigna.

Albaes. Sung by Antonio [Escrhuella Tur] and his friend [Salvador Armengol Escrhuella] accompanied by Dulzaina (short oboe) and drum.

Every year in Tabernes [sic] at midnight on the evening of the fiesta this quartet sets out into the cool narrow streets to announce the fiesta to the whole town. The raucous Arab voice of the oboe brings the whole street to the door, then high and clear the first man sings the first verse and his partner replies with an even more soaring line of melody; so they alternate through several stanzas. Then some kind and hospitable neighbor realizes their throats must be dry and the group is invited in for a glass of wine. So they go on, until dawn breaks, singing and playing in the fiesta day. The words of this version are of local interest only, but in other stanzas in another performance Antonio gave more traditional lines. (Lomax 1953-1954)

The *fiesta* referred to by Lomax is Saint Anthony's festival on January 17. The singers or *cantadors d'estil* that he recorded belonged to the folk song and dance

¹ Maria Teresa Oller Benlloch confirms that her father was very fond of porcelain, china, and old glazed tiles, so they had a nice collection at home (personal communication, March 7, 2010).

troupe or *quadro de cants i balls populars valencians* of *la Vall de Tavernes*, and were popularly known as *Polònio* (Antonio Escrihuela Tur) and *Pitxi* (Salvador Armengol Escrihuela). Through the allusion to the “Arab raucous voice” of the *dolçaina*, Lomax perceptively relates the instrument to Islamic culture.

(2) *The cantadors d'estil' high and clear voices and the perception of the cant requintat*: notice, on the one hand, Lomax's description of the characteristic voice of the *cant valencià* singers: “high and clear the first man sings,” and on the other hand, Lomax's unmistakable perception of the *cant requintat* melodic style in the higher vocal line which in fact is used in the second part of the *albaes*: “his partner replies with an even more soaring line of melody.”

Maria Teresa Oller Benlloch, acting as Palau's secretary at that time, advised Lomax in a letter from the *Instituto de Musicología y Folklore* (Correspondence, Alan Lomax Collection, Association for Cultural Equity, New York) to contact one of the best and most renowned *cantadors d'estil* of that period, Josep Calaforra Romero *el Xiquet de Benaguasil* (1885-1961), who was living in the city of Valencia. Thus, Lomax was able to record him singing *la riberenca* and *l'u*, two common melodic models of the *cant d'estil* repertory.

(3) *Recording el Xiquet de Benaguasil, with “the best style of any living singer of Valencian traditional songs”*: Lomax's second typewritten note from the BBC Radio series *The Folk Music of Spain* mostly concerns *el Xiquet de Benaguasil*, who was considered at that time the best *cant valencià* singer:

Riberenca. Sung by José [Calaforra Romero *el Xiquet de Benaguasil*] with guitar accompaniment.

This singer is 70 odd, but like many traditional Valencian singers, his high white tone has kept his voice alive and clear to this advanced age. He works at a furniture factory at a humble job and he lives in some poor apartment in a crowded street in downtown Valencia. He is much invited to fiestas and public celebrations in and around the city because he is regarded by all the experts as having the best style of any living singer of Valencian traditional songs. In spite of his many public performances, his manner is simple and his singing is completely sincere.

His first song, [la] *Riberenca*, is one of the many forms of the Fandango, and according to José, the oldest song he knows.

Probably the most distinctive feature of Valencian popular music is the wide use of brass band instruments. Throughout the whole rich orchard district [i.e., the fertile lowlands around the city of Valencia] there are brass bands in every little village. The farm laborers play in these bands, rehearsing every night to prepare for their fiestas and for the province-wide band contests. Many of the little towns have employed well-trained orchestra leaders to drill the local bands in playing the “light classics” and heavily arranged *pasodobles*, etc. This tradition dates back about a century, and so it is that José is accustomed to performing Valencian folk songs with the accompaniment of a small brass wind orchestra.

The two dances that follow are actually two variants of the Jota style, both the song and the dance having preserved the gravity of the old Jota. (Lomax 1953-1954)

Three aspects in this note are to be emphasized:

(4) *The clarity and high white tone of the cantadors d'estil voices*: Lomax calls our attention to the clear and high voices characteristic of the *cantadors d'estil*. *El Xiquet de Benaguasil*, whom he recorded in Valencia, was, in fact, a paradigmatic example of singer embodying these traits of the *cant valencià* vocality: “like many traditional Valencian singers, his high white tone has kept his voice alive and clear.”

(5) *The characteristic use of wind instruments from the local community bands in the cant d'estil*: also, Lomax points to the distinctive feature of the *cant d'estil* performances, consisting of the fact that since the mid-nineteenth century, community bands' wind instruments began being, and continue to be, used to play the song preludes/interludes (see Chapter 4, subsection 4.2.2., point (3)).

(6) *Using the misnomer jota to refer to the cant d'estil songs of the fandangà form*: in the last sentence-paragraph of his note, influenced by Spanish musical folklorists,

Lomax improperly refers to *l'u i dos* and to *l'u i dotze* recorded by him of *Polònio* and *Pitxi* in Tavernes de la Vall d'igna, that is, “[t]he two dances that follow,” as if these were “two variants of the Jota style.” Lomax adds that they preserve “the gravity of the old Jota,” trying to emphasize somehow their apparent formal difference with the actual *jota*, yet the old Valencian *jota* was bustling in character, not grave or quiet (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.).

Also, Alan Lomax’s assistant during his field trip in Spain, Jeannette Bell, wrote a fieldnote worth transcribing in relation to the *cant valencià* vocality. During their visit to Tavernes de la Vall d'igna, they came to know the local head of the *Sección Femenina*, the official institution overseeing the collection and presentation of folk dances for the regime’s own propaganda. The woman gave them a ride in her own car

to the house of some friends of hers, whose cowhand was the best singer of Valencianas [i.e., of *valencianes* or *cant d'estil*] in the province ... [T]he man we came to see drove into the yard with a team of mules tethered to a cart ... [his name was] Antonio. He was very shy ... His voice called out over the valley, and up into the mountains, following the line of the mountains against the sky. It told about loneliness, and sadness, and triumph; about what driving a cart was like, and hoeing a field, and reaping, and being happy. (Lomax 1952-1953)

(7) *Who was actually the best cantador d'estil in the 1950s?*: reading Jeanette Bell’s note we understand that she is reporting the pretense by the local head of the *Sección Femenina* that Antonio Escrihuela (alias *Polònio*), her friends’ cowhand, was the best singer of *valencianes* in the province; however, this is quite a dubious claim, if we listen to Lomax’s recordings and read his own fieldnotes: at that time, that position was held by *el Xiquet de Benaguasil* (see above point (3) in this subsection).

(8) *The non-metric, undulating vocal lines of the cant d'estil songs*: also, notice Jeannette Bell’s iconic and poetic perception of *Polònio*’s non-metric *cant d'estil*

songs when she describes his high-pitched and undulating vocal line as resembling the line of the range tops against the horizon: “His voice called out over the valley, and up into the mountains, following the line of the mountains against the sky.”

Some years later, Lomax (1959, 939-40) would make a broad characterization of the “Musical styles in Spain,” that is, a description of the Spanish singing styles, southern, central, and northern, according to his field experience of 1952-1953:

The South, including Andalusia, Murcia, Valencia and parts of Castile, is Eurasian, with strident high-pitched monody among the folk and a high, pure controlled tone among professionals, both delivered from a tense throat and with an expression of agony on the face. The melodies are long, highly decorated, and the mood varies from tragic to nostalgic; dances are solo or duo improvisations, tense, impassioned or frenetically gay. Both dance and song are, as in the Arab world, often performed by highly skilled folk professionals. Southern Spain formed a part of the Mediterranean world of high culture in classical times, and subsequently was thoroughly acculturated by the Arabs who brought fresh Oriental influences.² (Lomax 1959, 939)

(9) *The cant valencià singing style as southern Spanish and Eurasian*: Lomax’s characterization of the southern Spanish singing styles as Eurasian includes Valencia: “strident high-pitched monody among the folk and a high, pure controlled tone among professionals, both delivered from a tense throat.” It is a quite precise description, except for the fact that he attributes to all the southern singing styles an “expression of agony on the face” and a “mood ... from tragic to nostalgic,” traits actually belonging to the *cante flamenco*, but not pertinent when describing the *cant*

² Lomax’s characterization of “Eurasian” is as follows: “This musical style family includes the folk and cultivated music of the classical world and of the great empires of the past. ... The whole area is characterized by singing in solo, by unblended unison, by instruments used for accompanying songs or for dance tunes. The tone of these instruments very often corresponds to the voice quality, which is ordinarily high-pitched, often harsh and strident, delivered from a tight throat with great vocal tension, frequently with an effect of being pinched or strangulated. The expression of the singer’s face is rigidly controlled or sad, often agonized. The singing tone—so frequently soprano or falsetto in character, even for male singers—is suitable for the presentation of long and highly decorated melodic line, where variation is achieved by the addition of rapid quavers, glottal stops, and the like. The prevailing mood of the music is either tragic, melancholy, nostalgic, or sweetly sad, or else, in dance tunes, characterized by frenetic gaiety and a rather aggressive release of energy. Control and individualism are the key descriptive terms here.” (Lomax 1959, 935-6)

valencià. In fact, Lomax had in mind Andalusia, both when he made this characterization and when he said that “[t]his is a land of great estates and of extreme poverty and wealth.” In contrast, the *cantadors d’estil* usually adopt what he considered northern bodily attitudes (see below this subsection; also, Chapter 7, subsection 7.2.1.), and Valencia has always had its lands highly distributed among many small land-owners or among tenants with inherited rights to cultivate them.

We have seen in previous chapters that the *cant valencià* is in a liminal position between northern and southern monodic song traditions. In the same article, Lomax characterized central Spanish singing styles as follows, some traits of which apply to the *cant valencià* as well:

Central Spain, including Extremadura, parts of Castile and Leon, is a Modern European region with Eurasian influences to the South, Old European traces to the North and strong influences from the high culture of the Middle Ages. It is a monodic area with some unblended unison singing. The Castilian voice is lower-pitched and more open than the southern, but still is harsh, high-pitched and strident, delivered from a tense throat, the body being rigidly held with the face a composed mask. The melodies are extended but not prolonged as in Andalusia and, compared to southern Spanish tunes, relatively undecorated. ... Work songs are similar to those of southern Spain—long, high-pitched wails of despair. (Lomax 1959, 939-40)

(10) *High-pitched voices and extended melodies, but not so prolonged as in*

Andalusia: the cant d’estil and the albaes actually share vocal characteristics which Lomax attributes to central Spain, like the fact that voices are “high-pitched ..., delivered from a tense throat” (common in the South) and the fact that “melodies are extended but not prolonged as in Andalusia.” Yet, the *cant valencià* cannot be characterized as a “Modern European [song] with Eurasian influences,” and that is the reason why Lomax classified it as southern Spanish and Eurasian.

But there is more: even some stylistic features that Lomax attributes to northern Spain apply to the *cant valencià*, something that again highlights its liminal position.

In fact, Lomax characterized the northern Spanish singing styles as follows:

The North, including the provinces north of the Pyrenees as well as parts of Catalonia and Aragon, is Old European with Eurasian traces; the picture is further complicated by the Celtic ties of Galicia and by the mystery of the Basques. Although there are many types of solo songs—some, like the Asturianada, in flowery Eurasian style—the majority of songs and dances are choral. Voices are more open and more low-pitched than in central Spain, with more liquid vocal quality and occasionally with ringing tones. Bass voices are fairly common.

There is less vocal tension. The singer's body is relaxed, the throat is not distended with strain and the facial expression is often composed and lively and, though not always animated, neither melancholy nor mask-like. ... Melodies are brief and undecorated and most songs are short ... The mood of the songs is tender, gay, ironic, at times wholeheartedly joyous.³ (Lomax 1959, 940)

(11) *Singing voices with more liquid vocal quality, facial expression neither melancholy nor mask-like, and tender, ironic, or joyous mood of the songs*: these three northern traits apply to the *cant valencià*, confirming its in-between position: i.e., (a) voices with a “more liquid vocal quality,” (b) “the facial expression ... though not always animated, neither melancholy nor mask-like” (see Chapter 7, subsection 7.2.1.), and (c) “[t]he mood of the songs is tender, gay, ironic, at times wholeheartedly joyous” (see Alford (1937), in Chapter 4, subsection 4.1.1.).

Finally, let us recall that after his fieldwork in Spain Lomax had the original idea of relating musical stylistic factors to social factors and of classifying and comparing them in different parts of the world (see Chapter 6, subsection 6.1.1.).⁴

³ Notice in this characterization how Lomax classified the *asturianada* as an “Eurasian flowery style,” while its vocal style is quite different from that of the *cante flamenco*, with which several authors have made an analogy, and from that of the *cant valencià*.

⁴ Lomax (1959, 941) wrote: “When I left Spain, I had established in my own mind the possibility that a correlation exists between a musical style and certain social factors, most especially the position of women, the degree of permissiveness toward sexual love and the treatment of children. I had also begun to see the bearing of local history on the problem, but this still seemed secondary to the more basic factors of social structure and sexual pattern.”

5.1.2. Hipólito Rossy (1966): Discovering the *cant de l'horta*, turning it into a peculiar *cante flamenco* sung in Valencian—the southern *fandango* form

Hipólito Rossy (1897-1975) approached the *cant valencià* in the early twentieth century and wrote about it later in the 1960s. A comparative idea undergirds his observations also, although in this case it was not the musical style that he focused upon, rather the musical structure of certain melodic forms found in both the *cante flamenco* repertory and other Spanish song traditions like the *cant valencià*, i.e., the Spanish southern *fandango*. A jurist and knowledgeable aficionado of the *cante flamenco*, born in Seville and acquainted since early childhood with this expressive song tradition and with music, Rossy published in his old age a musicological treatise, *Teoría del cante jondo* (“Theory of Deep Song”) (Rossy 1966), in which he describes the different *flamenco* song forms, among these the (southern) *fandangos*.

Between 1916 and 1918 he lived in Valencia and came to know one of the melodic models of the *cant de l'horta* (Rossy 1966, 249), that is, *l'u i dos* (*fandango* form) of the *cant d'estil*. Because of his job, he visited many different villages during his stay in Valencia and had “a chance to listen to a beautiful *fandango* which there is not referred to by that name, but [is referred to as] *l'u i el dos*.” (*ibid.*). Aware of Ximénez’s transcription of *l'u i el dos* (*fandango* form), Rossy pointed out that in that particular transcription the song is “devoid of any ornament” (1966, 250), unlike the versions he could actually listen to during his stay in Valencia. Rossy was convinced that this flowery southern Spanish *fandango* form he came across in Valencia was an Andalusian *fandango* of the *cante flamenco* repertory, only because it was an ornamented (southern) *fandango*.

(1) *L'u i dos* (*fandango form*) and *l'alacantina* as allegedly Andalusian flamenco *fandangos*: in his treatise, Rossy (1966) arbitrarily classifies *l'u i el dos* (*fandango form*) personally heard around Valencia, as well as *l'alacantina* that he cites and describes after Pedrell (1919-1922, Vol. 2, 227-8) and Inzenga (1888, 33-5), as types of the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco fandangos*. According to Rossy, the *flamenco fandangos* include *verdiales*, *jabera[s]*, *rondeñas*, and *malagueñas* in Malaga; *granadina* and *media granadina* in Granada; the *fandango* of Huelva in this province; the *fandango* of the Almodóvar Range in Cadiz; and the *fandango* of Osuna in Seville; moreover, the *fandangos* so-called *de Levante* (“of the Spanish Levant”) in the provinces of Almeria and Murcia; and finally the above-mentioned *fandangos* of the *cant d'estil* repertory in Valencia and Alacant. Rossy thought that “the rhythm of the *fandangos* passed from Andalusia to all Spain and that this form became fashionable during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries” (Rossy 1966, 52), or in other words, that all the Spanish southern *fandangos* are of modern Andalusian origin.

The Spanish southern *fandango* form can be found with different names all over southern Spain (see Fig. 15). However, not all of them are necessarily imported from Andalusia. For instance, there is no doubt that the Valencian ones called *l'u*, *l'u i dos*, *l'onze*, *el dotze i u*, etc. are autochthonous, harking back, like the Andalusian ones, to the older *folia*—their modal-harmonic accompaniment is but a much expanded version of the early Spanish *folia* (Siemens Hernández 2001, 1370) (see Chapter 2, subsection 2.2.1., point 2, note 16).⁵

⁵ Unlike in the rest of Spain, four kinds of *fandango* forms exist in Valencia, of which the Spanish southern *fandangos*, structurally coincident with the *flamenco* ones, are only one kind. See Pitarch Alfonso (2004b) for a tentative classification of the other Valencian *fandango* forms, which (a) have melodic affinity with the



Fig. 15

Approximated area of the Spanish southern *fandango* form, much wider than just Andalusia. Map by Carles Pitarch

There is no reason to think that in Valencia the southern *fandango* forms which different Spanish musical and dance folklorists called Andalusian *fandangos* were originally imported from Andalusia. Were this the case, we would also find there the numeric expressions (*l'u, l'u i dos, l'onze, el dotze i u*, etc.) that we find in Valencia to identify such diversity of Valencian southern *fandango* melodic models, but there is no trace elsewhere of this old nomenclature, except in Valencia (see Chapter 2,

historically documented instrumental *fandangos* by eighteenth-century composers like Domenico Scarlatti (1685-1757) or Antonio Soler (1729-1783)—this is the case with the *dolçaina fandangos* played as closing part in the old public dances called *les Danses i Folies*; (b) have rhythmic affinity with certain kinds of Spanish southern *fandangos* as regards the pattern of successive strummed or thumb-hit strokes with which the guitar is played, but use a tonic/dominant/subdominant/tonic harmonic pattern—this is the case with the *fandangos* performed as a faster, climatic part after the *jota* in the northern districts; and (c) have still a different form—this is the case with another kind of *fandango* characteristic of the Valencian southern districts.

subsection 2.2.1., point 4)). This means that they belong to an old strand of Valencian culture, like that of Andalusia, coming from the intermingling of Muslim and Christian traditions in each place.

Nevertheless, the Andalusian *malagueñas* and *granadinas* seem to have experienced a great expansion in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries, reaching many parts of Spain, and even beyond the Iberian Peninsula into the Canary Islands, and from there to some parts of South America. For instance, in the Canary Islands, at the far periphery of Spain, Domingo J. Navarro, who was born in 1803, reported in his memoirs (Navarro 1895) that, when his grandparents were young (around the 1750s-1760s), they hardly knew the *malagueña*, the *seguidillas* and the *fandango*, and that the most common song-dance in their entertainments was the *folia* of the Canary Islands (see Díaz Ramos 2005, 299), which belongs to an older strand of Spanish song-dances from which the *malagueña* and other southern *fandango* forms like the Valencian ones sprang.

L'u sung in the *cant valencià* repertory, as a matter of fact, has an instrumental prelude melodically almost exactly as that of the *folia* which has survived in the Canary Islands. The fact that in *la Plana de Castelló* district, around the Valencian city of Castelló the people confusingly refer to the same melodic model of *l'u* either as *la granadina* or as *la malaguenya*, depending on the villages, attests to the diffusion of these forms over the nineteenth century, overlapping with older Valencian southern *fandango* forms and interfering with their denominations. Yet, in 1865, there is literary evidence coming from *la Ribera del Xúquer* district that *l'u* and *la granadina* were distinct things: “Y mos tocareu *la cota*, / *el fandango* revolcat, /

la del u, la granadina. / Viva, viva la borina!” (“And you will play for us the *jota*, / the tumbling *fandango* / *la de l’u* [i.e., *l’u* or *per la de l’u*], *la granadina. / Long live the good times!*”) (Pitarch Alfonso 1997c, 24). A similar confusion arose with the *jota*: different older forms began being called *jotas*, even if they had never been called thus (a case in point, the *fandangà* form of the *cant d’estil*: see Chapter 4, subsection 4.3.)

(2) *The fandangà form of the cant d’estil as allegedly a jota influenced by the (Spanish southern) fandango*: Rossy contends that the *jota valenciana*, the usual misnomer for *el u i el dos* (*fandangà* form) of the *cant d’estil*, was originally a *jota* form which became influenced by the *flamenco fandangos*, and thus he describes it this way: “[t]he Valencian *jota* initiates the song in a free way, like the *fandangos*, and even though it follows the Aragonese *jota* in its cadential phrases [i.e., it is accompanied with an alternating dominant/tonic harmonic pattern], its rhythm is fandango-like” (Rossy 1966, 53) (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.).

(3) *The cant de l’horta (or cant d’estil) as allegedly a splash of the cante flamenco in central and southern Valencia*: Rossy’s conceptualization of the Spanish southern *fandangos* in general as simply Andalusian was and is common among Spanish folklorists, as we said above. Yet to arbitrarily include the Valencian *alacantina* and *l’u i dos* (*fandango* form), which Rossy considers among “the purest or most classical *fandango* forms” (1966, 231), within the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco* tradition is beyond any common sense and unsupported by any ethnographic evidence.

Because of his contention, Rossy even asserts that the *cante flamenco* constitutes “an exclusively Spanish art of the provinces of Andalusia and Murcia, with splashes in those of ... Alacant and Valencia” (Rossy 1966, 74). He disregards the fact that the

aesthetics and vocal style of these *cant valencià* southern *fandangos* is quite different from that of the Andalusian-Gypsy ones. In an even more preposterous contention, while summarizing “the languages in which the *flamenco* is sung,” Rossy states without any sense of inadequacy that

[a]t present, the *flamenco* is sung in Spanish; sometimes, the Gypsies introduce words of their *Calé* dialect; and in *l’Horta de Valencia* [district], the peasants sing in Valencian their typical fandango-like songs.⁶ (Rossy 1966, 75).

In sum, in manner analogous to Lomax’s, Rossy was interested in comparing musical elements, but in this case with a goal of demonstrating that certain southern *fandango* melodic models that he had heard in Valencia allegedly belonged to the *cante flamenco* repertory. Unlike Lomax, he disregarded stylistic elements as a determining factor in the study of vocal traditions, so his conclusions are quite inconsistent. However, his direct observations about *l’u i dos* (*fandango* form) and *l’u i dos* (*fandangà* form) are useful in order to document these *cant d’estil* songs in the early twentieth century.

Apart from the different observations made by Lomax and Rossy, further (ethno)musicological approaches to the *cant valencià* were only undertaken in the late twentieth century: it was only then that an understanding of the *cant valencià d’estil* as a coherent musical phenomenon was attempted and developed.

⁶ En la actualidad, el flamenco se canta en castellano; a veces, los gitanos introducen palabras de su dialecto *calé*; y en la huerta de Valencia, los huertanos cantan en valenciano sus típicos cantos afandangados.

5.2. Late Twentieth and Early Twenty-First Century: Intensive and Occasional Ethnographies of the *Cant Valencià*, Musical Analysis, Vocal Improvisation, and Vocality

5.2.1. Carles Pitarch Alfonso (1997a, b, c; 1998a, b, c; 1999a, b; 2000): Understanding the *cant valencià* as a coherent musical, social, and historical phenomenon

In the early 1990s, I devoted my first efforts to globally understand, in its musical, social, and historical extents and contexts, the *cant valencià* tradition and its specialized singers the *cantadors d'estil*. The task was formidable: unlike the Aragonese *jota parada* or *de estilo* or the *cante flamenco* traditions, which were in the media and very well represented in the bibliography about Spanish traditional music with which I was well acquainted, the *cant valencià* did not exist at all for most media and scholars, beyond an isolated citation, and more often than not improper explanation, of the *albaes* and *l'u i el dos* as characteristically Valencian songs.

I was familiar with the tradition for three reasons: (a) from having heard *cant valencià* since I was a child on certain holidays in my village, Aldaia, five miles southwest of the city of Valencia, in *l'Horta de València* district; (b) from having listened to some early 1970s commercial recordings that my parents had at home, the liner notes of which gave no more information than the titles of the recorded melodic models (*l'u i el dos*, *l'u i el dotze*, *l'u*, *albaes*) and the names of the singers (*Pastoret*, *Pilareta*); and (c) from having found, since the early 1980s and in various locations related textual references during my continual search for historical literary sources and publications about traditional Valencian music in general. I had not yet found

anything relevant enough which coherently explained to me what this tradition was about and what its history and development had been.

Somebody more or less acquainted since childhood with the tradition could very well know, however, that certain renowned singers were crucial in its maintenance. They were hired to perform each year in the *cantaes*, and I was familiar with a few of their names: *el Xiquet de Mislata*, *Conxeta la del Mercat*, *el Xiquet del Carme*, *Victorieta*, etc. Therefore, in the early 1990s I decided to undertake a specific research in order to document as many *cantadors d'estil* as possible, both through archival sources (publications, recordings, and else) and through a series of interviews with the older living singers or with the surviving relatives of old ones. Given the absence of public collections with specific and rare materials such as the ones I was looking for, and also faced with the difficulty of identifying the singers themselves by first and last names, or of getting hold of their families, I hit upon two strategies:

(a) On the one hand, I began to attend the flea market in Valencia almost every Sunday, and, whenever I could also antique shops; in this way, little by little and over the years, I was able to gather 78 r.p.m. recordings spanning from the 1900s through the 1950s, as well as other kinds of documents, such as local festival programs in which the *cantadors d'estil* were cited as participating in *cantaes*, and sometimes even rare articles published in early twentieth century almanacs or reviews which could not be found in public, research, or other readily accessible libraries.

(b) On the other hand, I made a list of all the renowned singers I had heard of, or I had found written references to, and started asking around about them. My first

chance to formally interview the renowned singer *Conxeta la del Mercat* (1910-1998) came on May 29, 1992 at her home in Valencia, when she was 82 years old, and other interviews followed. When I could briefly talk to *el Xiquet de Mislata* (1918-1993) during a *cantà* in Aldaia one year earlier, in April 1991, my discovery that he himself had started to collect biographical data and memories of old singers (his masters and colleagues) in order to write an *Antologia del cant valencià* (“Anthology of the *Cant Valencià*”) became vital in my pursuit of interviewing old singers or their relatives when I had access to such materials (see Pitarch Alfonso 2009). *El Xiquet de Mislata* was still trying to complete his *Antologia*, and we were both equally amazed at our unexpected discovery that somebody else had been systematically collecting data about the history of the *cant valencià*. At that time I was busy both preparing my final examinations in order to complete my Bachelor’s degree in languages and searching for my first job as a teacher; therefore, we decided that I would formally interview him once I had settled all my urgent commitments. Over the following year, however, although I was able to interview *Conxeta la del Mercat*, I did not find a chance to interview *el Xiquet de Mislata* because he also was busy, and later, toward the end of the year, because he got ill. He died of cancer soon afterwards, in late January 1993 (see Pitarch Alfonso 2009, 37-8 and Chapter 7, subsection 7.5.2.).

I was introduced to his son a few days later, during a *cantà* in Russafa, Valencia. I talked to him about the materials for the *Antologia del cant valencià* that his father had been collecting, and, seeing each other a few weeks later, we agreed that it was important to publish them. My access to these materials, thus significantly enlarged my data about old *cantadors d’estil*, to an extent that I could have not imagined. But I

was faced with the problem of a critical edition: this meant that I had to continue my task of locating and interviewing with the relatives of all the old singers he had written about or had in his lists, in order to verify the data he had collected. *El Xiquet de Mislata* had already contacted a few families of old singers, so that he had their addresses, and this facilitated my task somewhat. Many others I had to find by myself, just by going to their birthplaces (villages or neighborhoods in larger cities) and by looking around in local bars or parks for old people who could have known them or heard about them and could direct me to their surviving relatives. Sometimes I was unsuccessful; at other moments, I made unexpected discoveries.⁷

Between the early 1990s and 1996 I had collected enough information to attempt a first synthetic overview of what the *cant valencià* was or had been, yet many questions remained without answers. This general synthesis was to become my basic “map” for future research, which I could only elaborate after realizing that (1) all the *cantadors d’estil* known to me could be organized into five successive artistic generations, spanning about one hundred and fifty years, and (2) there was a surprisingly large and theretofore unacknowledged geographical area in which they had been traditionally singing.

I had an opportunity to elaborate and disseminate my first findings by means of different research papers, both in Spanish and Valencian, at ethnomusicological or

⁷ This slow process and effort, which has lasted for fifteen years, only recently culminated with my critical edition of *el Xiquet de Mislata’s Antologia del cant valencià* in a volume published by the Valencian Museum of Ethnology (see Marzal Barberà 2009). Besides a preliminary study of the textual history of these materials and a biography of *el Xiquet de Mislata* (Pitarch Alfonso 2009), I contributed twenty-seven short biographies of old singers, in addition to the nineteen ones written by the author, who also left important descriptions or notes on melodic models, musical occasions, and a significant collection of improvised lyrics containing more than 400 stanzas.

historical conferences and lectures, written between 1996 and 1998 and published between 1997 and 2000 (see below, where I give the titles of these publications in English translation).

In my 1996 paper “About the ‘cant valencià d’estil’: Researches and projects” (Pitarch Alfonso 1997a, 1998a), in my 1996 lecture “The *cant valencià d’estil*: A historical and conceptual approach from an ethnomusicological standpoint” (Pitarch Alfonso 1997b), in my 1997 extended article “The *cant valencià d’estil*: Notes for a historical and conceptual study” (Pitarch Alfonso 1997c), and in my 1997 paper “The *cant valencià d’estil*: Concepts for an understanding from formal, functional, and historical standpoints”, I described with different emphases and examples the basic aspects of the *cant valencià* tradition:

(1) *Some defining musical and organographical aspects:*

(a) *The expressiveness or virtuosity of vocal performance:* I characterized it according to 1) a specific way of vocal emission (open, clear, incisive voice) and to 2) well-defined and explicitly-known principles for ornamentation (*un requint aragonés, dos requints valencià, tres requints flamenco*,” i.e., “one melisma or melismatic motif, Aragonese [*jota*]; two of them, Valencian [*cant d’estil*]; three of them, *flamenco*”), which altogether aesthetically situate the *cant valencià* between the two other most important Spanish monodic expressive song traditions.

(b) *The three concepts of estil (“style”):* I deduced them from traditional Valencian use by the *cantadors d’estil* and aficionados of the *cant valencià*: 1) *estil* as virtuoso vocal expressiveness (including the vocal and melodic traits characterizing

this song tradition), 2) *estil* as personal expressive character of a particular singer, and 3) *estil* as a specific melodic model of the repertory.

(c) *The musical ascription of the different cant d'estil melodic models*: I distinguished either 1) the Spanish southern *fandango* form (*l'u, la riberenca*) or 2) the Valencian *fandagà* form (*l'u i dos, l'u i dotze*). The latter musical form had not been described up until then as such; instead, these melodic models had commonly and improperly been classified as *jota valenciana* (see Chapter 4, especially section 4.3.). I also put emphasis on the fact that the *albaes* form of the *cant valencià* repertory is the most widespread type of Valencian *albaes*.

(d) *The melodic styles cant pla and cant requintat*: I described the first one as less ornamented and in a lower range, while the second one I described as much more ornamented and in a higher range, emphasizing their historical succession and development, from the first to the second one around the turn of the twentieth century.

(e) *The rhythmic-metric nature of the two different types of repertory*: that is, I emphasized the non-metric nature of the *cant d'estil* vocal lines and their clashing contrast with the measured accompaniment, as well as the metric nature of the *albaes*; and finally

(f) *The accompanying instruments*: I mentioned the accompanying instruments both in the *cant d'estil* (guitars and *guitarró* plus community band wind instruments for the preludes/interludes) and in the *albaes* (*tabalet* and *dolçaina/xaramita*).

(2) *The lyrics of the cant valencià:*

(a) *The mainly extemporized nature of the song lyrics and the phenomenon of the versadors:* I emphasized the improvisation of the lyrics, and the *versadors* that prompt the singers with the lines of verse that they extemporize on the spur of the moment.

(b) *An approximation to the themes usually present in the songs:* I mentioned the most common ones, such as the portrayal of situations and people, themes of love and affection, flattering expressions, more or less elegant social criticism, and manifestation of collective identity and local sentiments.

(c) *The kinds of strophes, metrics, and rhymes from a historical standpoint:* I showed them to be heptasyllabic, assonant or consonant *aba* tercets originally in the *fandangà* form, but above all and most commonly in all the repertory heptasyllabic, assonant or consonant *abcb* quatrains, and, since the late nineteenth-century to the present, mainly heptasyllabic, mostly consonant *ababa* five-line stanzas.

(3) *The geographical extent of the cant valencià tradition:* I emphasized that it is much larger than that acknowledged by the Valencian twentieth-century folklorists (i.e., *l'Horta de València* and its neighboring districts) (see Chapter 4), calling attention to the ethnographic evidence showing that the *cant valencià* was not a very localized vocal tradition of secondary or limited social presence but rather, historically, the most important vocal phenomenon within Valencian traditional music, present, as far as I could tell at that time, in most parts of the Kingdom of Valencia, from *la Plana de Castelló* district to the north, through *la Marina* district to

the south, and perhaps, I thought, even including *el Camp d'Alacant* district: in sum, all the most important cities and most populated Valencian districts.

Specifically, I could ascertain the presence of *cant valencià* practices, repertory, and *cantadors d'estil* in the following Valencian districts: *la Plana de Castelló, el Camp de Morvedre, el Camp de Llíria, la Serrania del Túria* (partially), *la Foia de Bunyol, l'Horta de València, la Ribera del Xúquer, la Canal de Navarrés, la Costera de Ranes, l'Horta de Xàtiva, la Vallidigna, l'Horta de Gandia, la Vall d'Albaida, el Marquesat de Dénia, la Marina, les Muntanyes d'Alcoi, and el Comtat de Cocentaina*; I was not sure at that time whether the *cant valencià* was also practiced in *el Camp d'Alacant* district, but I had some hints of it (later, I would be able to verify that the historical geographical area of the *cant valencià* was even larger, see Fig. 3 in the Introduction).

(4) *The musical occasions (which I improperly called functions) of the cant valencià in historical perspective*: I emphasized that it was and is performed above all in *cantaes* (“street serenades”), basically of two kinds (*guitarraes* and *nits d'albaes*), but that the *cant d'estil* in particular was until the mid-twentieth century also used for dancing in private and public convivial occasions or in festivals; it was also, since the late nineteenth century, presented in folkloric spectacles by the so-called *quadros de cants i balls populars valencians* (“troupes of Valencian folk songs and dances”) (see Chapter 1, section 1.5.; Chapter 3, subsection 3.2.4.; and Chapter 7, section 7.4.).

(5) *The phenomenon of the cantadors d'estil*: I emphasized the specialized or semi-professional singers who maintain the *cant valencià* tradition.

(a) *The first literary documents of the nineteenth century referring to them:* I provided these documents, which showed that by then the tradition was well-ensconced and considered to hark back several generations.

(b) *The existence of five known artistic generations spanning over the last century and a half:* I showed them to be headed by the *cantadors d'estil* 1st) *Maravilla* and *Carabina*, 2nd) *Evaristo* and *el Muquero*, 3rd) *el Xiquet de Bétera* and *la Blanqueta*, 4th) *el Xiquet de Mislata* and *Conxeta la del Mercat*, and 5th) *el Xiquet del Carme* and *Victorieta*. I provided the first and last names, as well as the dates of birth and death, when it applied, of the most important singers in each generation; and finally,

(6) *The scant but significant historical and literary documentation about the cant valencià d'estil phenomenon:* I provided all the historical sources which I had up to the late 1990s been able to find, including nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century short references to its specific melodic models, to its repertory in general, to its instrumental accompaniment, and to its specialized singers and musical occasions.⁸

In my other three papers written between 1996 and 1998, “A proposal for the creation of the Museum of the *Cant Valencià d'Estil*” (Pitarch Alfonso 2000), “The northern boundaries of the *cant valencià d'estil* area” (Pitarch Alfonso 1999a), and “The ‘riberenca’ of the *cant valencià d'estil* repertory” (Pitarch Alfonso 1998c), as well as in two later papers like “Local songs of the *cant valencià*: The *malaguenya* of Cabanes” (Pitarch Alfonso 2004a) and “The *malaguenya* of Cabanes: Analysis of a

⁸ In Chapter 2, section 2.2., in Chapters 3 and 4, and in Chapter 5, section 5.1., I have considerably expanded the known literature about the *cant valencià* before the late twentieth century, integrating all these data into historical and methodological frameworks for a better understanding of the different contributions, their value, and sometimes their limitations.

Spanish ‘southern’ fandango” (Pitarch Alfonso 2004b), I made a proposal for the creation of a Museum of the *Cant Valencià*, further explored the geographical extent of the tradition, and analyzed and contextualized some of its regional or local melodic models not commonly performed or fading away.

All in all, my efforts at understanding the basic workings of the *cant valencià* as a coherent phenomenon yielded an overall image of what turned out to be a consistent tradition with undeniably significant musical, social, historical, and geographical dimensions. This required long ethnographic and archival research, primarily supported with personal funds and related to my interest in acquiring a suitable ethnomusicological formation, all while I was teaching second languages. In the late 1990s, my efforts were backed by other scholars’ musical analyses of the main melodic models of the *cant valencià*, as Jordi Reig’s.

5.2.2. Jordi Reig Bravo (1997; 1998): A thorough musical analysis with not always emically-informed ethnographic descriptions and interpretations

Jordi Reig, a musicologist and professor at the Higher Conservatory of Valencia, in the late 1990s made a thorough transcription and musical analysis of the main *cant valencià d’estil* melodic models (Reig 1997 and 1998). His contribution is significant and contains fine observations, yet sometimes he does not use the traditional terms in a proper way or makes etic statements that are not in accordance with ethnographic or historical evidence. In “Anàlisi musicològica del cant d’estil” (“Musicological analysis of the *cant d’estil*”) (Reig 1997), and in a paper summarizing it, published

one year later “Principals trets musicals del cant d’estil” (“Main musical traits of the *cant d’estil*”) (Reig 1998)—notice the metonymic misnomer *cant d’estil* to refer to the whole *cant valencià* repertory, following in this Torrent i Centelles (1990)—he develops a musical analysis of the main melodic models of the *cant valencià*. I discuss the different aspects that Reig addresses in his first and more extensive paper, a fundamental contribution to the study of the *cant valencià*.

“Musicological analysis of the *cant d’estil*” (Reig 1997) is divided into several sections: (1) “Common characteristics,” (2) “The tuning of the accompanying instruments,” (3) “*L’u* [analysis of this melodic model],” (4) “Transcription of the *valencianes* [or analysis of *l’u i dos* and *l’u i dotze*, the melodic models of the *fandangà* form],” (5) “Signs of evolution in the *valencianes*,” (6) “*Albaes* [analysis of this melodic model],” and finally, (7) “Current state, conjectures” (translated as “Things now, conjectures” in the CD booklet where this analysis was published).⁹ I summarize each one of these sections, organizing their contents and making some commentaries or qualifications if necessary.

(1) “Common characteristics” (Reig 1997, 28-45):

1) *Sources and goal, origin and musical occasions:*

(a) *Sources and descriptive goal:* Reig (1997, 28-9) declares that his sources are a collection of 78 r.p.m. recordings as well as more recent ones, commercial or not; also that singers have been interviewed, and that his intention is descriptive, rather

⁹ Here, and in all the following citations, I provide my own English translations of the Valencian original text, because the English version appearing at the end of the CD booklet is very often poor and imprecise in rendering both the nuances of the author’s original discourse and the technical terms used.

than normative—that is, not about how the *cant valencià* should be performed, but about how it is performed.

(b) *The valencianes and the albaes allegedly originated in dances and are used for serenading*: Reig (1997, 29-30) claims that “these two types of songs [*valencianes* and *albaes*] seem to have been originated in dances, and are related, at least as regards their traditional functionality [i.e., musical occasions], to *jotas* for serenading, to conscripts’ *jotas*, and to serenades” (notice the repetition of categories). Yet there is no ethnographic or historical evidence that the *cant valencià* originated in dances (see Chapter 2, subsection 2.2.). Reig’s idea might stem from Palau’s insistence in classifying the *valencianes* as “dancing songs” (see Chapter 4, subsection 4.2.1.).

2) *Vocal features*:

(a) *Melodic vocal improvisation and virtuoso expressivity as defining features of the cant valencià*: Reig (1997, 29) maintains that “the *cant [valencià] d’estil* ... has as its essential feature melodic vocal improvisation, which implies a virtuoso expressivity.” (See below section 5.3. for a discussion).

(b) *Vocal ranges of the cantadors d’estil*: Reig (1997, 32-3) presents a precise description of the vocal ranges used by the *cantadors d’estil* made in comparison to the vocal ranges used by Western classical singers: A₂-B₅ for men, approximately a tenor range, surpassing it, and G₂-D₄ for women, approximately a contralto range, also surpassing it, and in any event both using chest voice.

(c) *Syllabic and ornamental parts in each musical phrase of the valencianes:*

Reig (1997, 35-7) distinguishes between a first syllabic part in each musical phrase corresponding to a line of verse, and a second melismatic trill part at the end of the sung line, or ornamental *requints*, defined as “simple, upper or lower notes applied over the real notes of each *estil*’s mode” in an “improvisational way.” However, *requints* are not only trills, they are also melismatic motifs (see subsection 5.2.1. point (1), (a)).

(d) *Partial tones in certain musical phrases of some cant d’estil melodic models:*

Reig (1997, 35) emphasizes the presence of partial tones in both the syllabic and ornamental parts in certain musical phrases of *l’u i dos* and *l’u* as performed by a number of singers, though not by all of them.

(e) *Two melodic styles, allegedly without a clear dividing line between them:*

Reig (1997, 35-6) mentions the *cant pla*, “when the singer does not ornament his sonorous discourse that much,” and the *cant requintat*, more ornamented, claiming “that there is no dividing line between *cant pla* and *cant requintat*; it is rather a matter of degree according to personal options in the use of more or less vocal ornaments.” This is also the contention by Oller Benlloch (2005) (see Chapter 4, subsection 4.2.6., point 2)), yet this is against the practice and teaching of the best *cantadors d’estil* and masters, who have clearly emphasized the melodic-stylistic difference and criticized those singers unable to master it (see Marzal Barberà 2009, 94-6).

(f) *Bodily attitudes related to vocal performance:* Reig (1997, 44) states that

“[t]he singers’ physical attitude is the same as the one adopted by poem reciters and

opera singers, helping themselves with a hand with which they follow their vocal arabesques”. Instead, in general, the *cantadors d’estil*’ bodily attitudes have little in common with those of opera singers or reciters (see Chapter 7, section 7.2.).

3) *Organographical features:*

(a) *The accompanying instrumental group in the cant d’estil:* Reig (1997, 39-42) describes the contemporary accompanying instrumental group in the *cant d’estil*, with special attention to the leading role of the *guitarró* and its rhythmic contrapuntal elaborations. Yet, that “[t]he ideal situation of the instruments is the *guitarró* on one side, next to the guitars” is not in accord with ethnographic evidence, since the *guitarró* is traditionally placed between the guitars (see, for instance, Fig. 1, in the Introduction; there are many early twentieth-century pictures attesting to it).¹⁰

(2) “The tuning of the accompanying instruments” (Reig 1997, 45-57): focuses on the *cant d’estil*, describing, first, the traditional guitar tunings, and then the new guitar tunings which appeared during second half of the twentieth century.

1) *Traditional tunings in the cant d’estil* (Reig 1997, 45-6):

(a) *The actual sounding chordal progressions:* Reig gives those used by the guitars in each one of the three main melodic models. *L’u*: C7 – Fm – (Db) – C – Ab – Db – Ab – Eb – Ab – Db – C7; *l’u i dos*: F – C7; and *l’u i dotze*: C – G7.

¹⁰ In the following section, Reig (1997, 51-6) describes the two types of *guitarró*, namely (a) *guitarró mascle* (“male *guitarró*”) or long-necked, with 17 frets, and (b) *guitarró femella* (“female *guitarró*”) or short-necked, with 9 frets. Reig hypothesizes that in origin, rather than two versions of the same instrument, these were “two members of different families, which [now] keep a mere, coincidental relationship.” The *guitarró mascle* would belong to the *vihuela* family—but we are also told first that it would have originally been a “treble guitar”—and the *guitarró femella* would be “the most high-pitched member of the extinct, ancient guitar, miraculously ... preserved to these days”. All this seems rather speculative.

(b) *The scordatura two whole steps down*: Reig emphasizes this scordatura as practiced by *cant valencià* guitarists in order to facilitate the hand postures in playing, so that the chords actually used are, in *l'u*: E7 – Am – (F) – E7 – C – F – C – G7 – C – F – E7; in *l'u i dos*: A – E7; and in *l'u i dotze*: E – B7.¹¹

(c) *The two usual hand (or chordal) positions in the guitar*: Reig (1997, 48) mentions the two usual chordal positions, i.e., *per dalt* (“up”) (=E or E7), closer to the pegbox, and *per baix* (“down”) (=A), beginning on the fifth fret, used traditionally in playing *l'u i dos*, as early twentieth-century pictures attest to (see Fig. 16).

2) *The modern tunings in the cant d'estil* (Reig 1997, 49-57):

(a) *The “punt baix” tuning*: Reig (1997, 49-51) observes that the so-called *punt baix* (lit. “low point”) or *to d'home* (“men’s tuning”) was practiced as of the 1960s in opposition to the traditional tuning, which was then renamed as *punt alt* (lit. ‘high point’) or *to de dona* (“women’s tuning”). The *punt baix* consists of playing the guitars one whole step down by changing the chords used for accompanying *l'u i dos* and *l'u i dotze* or by using the bridge on the third fret of the guitar in *l'u*.

(b) *The personal tunings*: Reig (1997, 56-7) mentions the “personal tunings, that is to say, those which better fit the vocal [range] peculiarities of each singer.” The guitars’ and *guitarró*’s tuning is made to diapason, like in current classical practice.

¹¹ Reig (1997, 48-9) calls for attention to the presence of the above mentioned scordatura also in the baroque, five-course guitar used in one of the climactic episodes of the Valencian medieval religious Assumption play called *el Misteri d'Elx* preserved in the city of Elx, eighty five miles south of the capital; a presence which could attest to the historical depth of the Valencian folk instrumental practice of the scordatura two steps down as preserved in the *cant valencià*. *El Misteri d'Elx*, representing the Assumption to Heaven of the Virgin Mary, is performed there uninterruptedly since the Middle Ages, with renaissance and baroque musical additions, inside the Basilica of Santa Maria on 14 and 15 August every year, and was declared a masterpiece of oral and intangible world heritage by UNESCO in 2001.

These personal tunings have become more and more common in the performance of the *cant d'estil* in the last decades, constituting a practice which “breaks with a, perhaps, centuries-old tuning tradition ... [and gives birth to] an additional problem when several interpreters with personal tunings that are too disparate perform together.”

(3) “*L’u* [analysis of this melodic model]” (Reig 1997, 57-67): here he makes a thorough analytical description of this form, including:

(a) *The prelude/interlude*: Reig observes that it [1] comprises two sections; [2] has a demarcative modulatory cell consisting of two notes, dominant and tonic, which marks the end of the first musical phrase, as a general characteristic in the *valencianes*; and [3] has a final, short coda that closes the last vocal phrase.

(b) *The lyrics form and its correspondence with the musical phrases*: Reig observes that [1] its form is heptasyllabic quatrains or five-line stanzas and [2] the correspondence between the lines (*a, b, c, etc.*) and the musical phrases or *terços* (=T) is : *a* – T1 | *a* – T2 | *b* – T3 | *c* – T4 | *d* – T5 | *a/e* – T6.

(c) *The harmonic pattern of the guitar and guitarró accompaniment*: Reig gives this pattern, that is, the usual chordal progression accompanying with modal harmony the vocal line (see above point (2)).

(d) *The character of the vocal melody—E mode, partial tones (lowered A in four phrases), range (approximately the modal octave), ad libitum beginning, heterophonic anticipation*: [1] it is always modal, and in the case of *l’u* it coincides

with the Phrygian mode—which he terms either Dorian, as it is common in Spanish musicology to prefer ancient Greek terms, or simply E mode; [2] it presents a lowered A in four out of six musical phrases; [3] its range has the same lower limit as the modal octave but above it only reaches one half step below the octave, although women may exceed it by one or two steps; [4] the voice begins at any point of the instrumental prelude, clashing against the prelude; and finally, [5] “a phenomenon ... abundantly present in *l’u* and in the *valencianes* in general [is] the *heterophonic anticipation* [my emphasis] by the [vocal] melody of certain notes of the following [phrase’s accompanying] chord,” i.e., “the voice rests on notes which do not belong to the [underlying accompanying] chord, and these cannot be notes which are accidentally out of tune, because they always happen in the same positions and in all the versions studied, old and new.”

(e) *The “disparity of systems underlying the [vocal] melody and its harmonic [instrumental] accompaniment: the former modal, the latter tonal.”* Yet, as I have discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.2., point 2)), that disparity or harmonic clash which the Valencian musical folklorists often emphasized (see Chapter 4, section 4.2.) is but the modal harmony phenomenon harking back to the early modern period when Muslim and Christian cultures intermingled in Valencia giving birth to the *cant valencià*.

(f) *The absolutely aleatoric duration of the melody:* free rhythm and ad libitum durations characterize the vocal lines, depending on subjective or contextual factors: “the inner state or predisposition of the singer, his or her inspiration, street temperature, humidity, the accompanying people, the [previous] dinner menu, and

many other circumstances.” However, this should be qualified, because there are certain aesthetic boundaries and particular *requints* or cadential ornamental formulas performed with specific rhythmic patterns, such as a pair of (near)-triplets. Reig actually refers to issues of coordination (see section 5.3., point (4)).

(4) “Transcription of the *valencianes*” (Reig 1997, 68-115): this is the most extensive section, in which six versions of each main *cant d’estil* melodic model (*l’u*, *l’u i dos*, and *l’u i dotze*) sung by different *cantadors d’estil* are transcribed musical phrase by musical phrase, and also *l’u i dos*, and *l’u i dotze* of the *fandangà* form are analyzed.

(a) *Unmeasured transcriptions*: the model used by Reig Bravo for the transcription of the *valencianes* is that followed by Philippe Donnier (1988) for transcribing the elastic flamenco song forms. Reig makes unmeasured transcriptions (1997, 73) of the vocal lines. The most important idea underlying his unmeasured transcriptions is that in the *valencianes* two kinds, or two categories, of contrasting metric compartments coexist: that of the instrumental accompaniment and that of the voice. Yet Reig confuses here the notions of meter and tempo in describing what he calls two *tempos*, but actually are metric and non-metric compartments: “The first category could be termed physical or metronomic *tempo* and the instruments which follow it admit a traditional notation system. The song, which follows a *tempo* that we could term psychical or simply melodic, escapes the norms of measured transcription” (1997, 69).

(b) *The harmonic pattern of the guitar accompaniment in the two melodic models of the fandangà form*: Reig (1997, 84 and 102) gives the usual chordal progression

accompanying, with modal harmony, the vocal lines in both melodic models of the *fandangà* form (see above point (2) in this section).

(b) *The lyrics form and its correspondence with the musical phrases in the fandangà form*: Reig (1997, 84 and 102) analyzes, in what I have termed *fandangà* form (*l'u i dos* and *l'u i dotze*), [1] their lyrics form (heptasyllabic quatrains or five-line stanzas) and [2] the correspondence between lines (*a, b, c, etc.*) and musical phrases or *terços* (=T): *a* – T1 | *a* – T2 | *b* – T3 | *c* – T4 | *d* – T5 | *d* – T6 | *a/e* – T7, different from that characteristic of *l'u* or of the other melodic models of the *fandango* form.

(c) *The character of the vocal melodies in the two melodic models of the fandangà form—their modes*: Reig (1997, 85-8 and 102-6) analyzes the specific modes which characterize *l'u i dos* and *l'u i dotze*: respectively, Lydian and Hypomixolydian—with which terms, again, Reig is following the Spanish musicological use of ancient Greek modes. It must be emphasized that this is the first time that a specific and detailed modal characterization of the Valencian melodic models of the *fandagà* form is made by a scholar, in contrast to the vague modality, bimodality or modal “flavor” attributed to them by musical folklorists (see Chapter 4, section 4.2.).¹²

(5) “Signs of evolution in the *valencianes*” (Reig 1997, 114-25): in this section, he compares the older recordings (1910s-1960s) and the later ones (1970s-1990s) and makes several observations:

¹² Reig’s thorough analyses and transcriptions show clearly, in a graphical way, that the dance folklorists’ and some musical folklorists’ classification of these forms as *jota valenciana* is nonsensical: the *jota*, measured and mostly in modern major or minor mode, is quite another thing (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.)

(a) *There is a recent uniformity of tempo in the performance of the cant d'estil melodic models*: the tempo, or speed as Reig says, was a bit faster in the past; the old metronomic pulsation rates for each main melodic model showed specific values (*l'u*: 100-112, *l'u i dos*: 104-132, *l'u i dotze*: 108-124), in contrast to a more recent uniformity (*l'u*: 92-102, *l'u i dos*: 92-106, *l'u i dotze*: 94-106) (1997, 114-5).¹³

(b) *Castanets intervene in old 78 r.p.m. recordings, not in the modern ones*: Reig (1997, 115-6) points out that castanets appear in old 78 r.p.m. recordings, and that this was probably so because the singers recorded with folk song and dance troupes in which they sang, while this percussion instrument is no longer present in current performance during the *cantaes*.

(c) *There is a recent ornamentation of the demarcative, dominant-tonic, two-note cell marking the end of the first musical phrase of the valencianes*: since the 1960s, the wind instruments often ornament with additional notes this two-note, modulatory cell in *l'u* (Reig 1997, 116-8).

(d) *Allegedly the contrapuntal, rhythmic elaborations made by the guitarró player are now of greater importance than in the past*: Reig (1997, 118) contends that this is so, but this is untenable from ethnographic evidence: a great *guitarró* player like Emeteri Pérez Pérez *Tério* learned these contrapuntal patterns from his grandfather, who played in the 1920s. The fact that the *guitarró* is not heard much in

¹³ However, we should not forget the limited available space in old 78 r.p.m. recordings, which often affected the music by making the singer compress and speed up their renditions in order to fit the medium. In fact, two ninety-year-old daughters of the *cantador d'estil el Muquero* that I interviewed in 2001 expressed the amazement they felt when they were children at hearing the increased speed, in relation to live performances, of one of their father's 78 r.p.m recordings. Also one should not overlook that dancing versions of the songs like those usually recorded on shellac discs were faster than serenading ones.

78 r.p.m. recordings may be the effect of the limited recording technology or of faster dancing versions, in which the instrumentalist cannot easily lengthen his renditions in dialog with the voice.

(e) *Allegedly, unlike in former times, now the singers wait until the prelude ends before they begin to sing:* Reig (1997, 119) observes that this is so, in contrast to the old singers that started at any moment and cut off the prelude. However, this is a contextual issue, a consequence of the limited space available on shellac discs. Historical evidence shows that this was not so in actual performances: for instance, Ruiz de Lihory (1903) reports that the prelude lasted a couple of minutes, the necessary time for the young woman to whom the serenade was addressed to come out (see Chapter 3, subsection 3.1.5.).

(f) *The instrumental preludes/interludes have not changed over the years:* no new ones have been invented according to Reig (1997, 119). Yet at least one interlude was invented in the 1950s by Pasqual Ortí Martí *Calet*.¹⁴

(g) *The topics addressed in the lyrics have not changed over time, but the rhymes in the stanzas are not as rigidly consonant as in the past:* this is Reig's (1997, 121) contention. However, this requires closer examination, not limited to old commercial recordings and a few modern ones, which represent a truly small sample.

¹⁴ Personal information by *Calet* (2010). Reig contends that the wind instrumentalists coming from community bands, having during the second half of the twentieth century effected a notable improvement of their technical skills, should have taken advantage of this new capacity to create new preludes. He is amazed at the fact they did not do so, but actually there is no need for it, because these preludes have an identifying function (for each melodic model) which would collapse if they were changed. Moreover, one should take into account the fact that the recent increase of personal tunings compels musicians to stick to the old preludes/interludes and to concentrate their efforts on performing them in different tonalities, rather than inventing new ones.

(h) *A new practice of alternating two singers in the rendition of the musical phrases of one cant d'estil song has been introduced:* Reig (1997, 121-2) contends that *el Xiquet de Mislata* and his brother the second *Xiquet de Mislata* introduced this practice, continued by *el Xiquet del Carme* and *Victorieta*; and that it can even evolve into the singing of the same song by several singers in order to break monotony. But the alternation of singers in one *cant d'estil* song was originally limited to the performance of the last, farewell song in a *cantà*, or to the moments in which the tired singers, after having sung hundreds of songs, needed some mutual relief; *els Xiquets de Mislata* used to sing this way mostly to relieve one another in middle and old age.

(i) *Allegedly, the cant d'estil accompaniment is tonal in contrast to the vocal melodies, which are modal:* Reig (1997, 122-5) contends that the *cant d'estil* accompaniment is tonal and therefore not older than the seventeenth century when the tonal system was invented, yet modal harmony is its actual nature and harks back to an earlier period.¹⁵ Reig (1997, 122-5) likewise observes that “the vocal melodies are not tonal, but modal, and therefore we must think they have a substrate datable prior to the seventeenth century if not earlier,” as it is the case.

(6) “*Albaes* [analysis of this melodic model]” (Reig 1997, 124-44): he analyzes the main melodic model of this other part of the *cant valencià* repertory, emphasizing:

¹⁵ Like in all the Spanish southern *fandangos*, in *l'u*, *la riberenca*, *l'alacantina*, and other melodic models of the *cant d'estil*, this modal-harmonic accompaniment is but a much expanded version of the early Spanish *folia* (Siemens Hernández 2001, 1370) practiced in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (see Chapter 2, subsection 2.2.1., point (2)).

(a) *The accompanying instruments and their relation to the albaes vocal range:* Reig (1997, 125) observes that these are the *tabalet* and *dolçaina* and that the latter's range determines the song's range: the lowest notes in both (i.e., A) coincide.

(b) *The lyrics's form and the distribution of lines of verse between the two singers:* Reig (1997, 126) mentions [1] the literary form (quatrains or five-line stanzas) and [2] how the singers sing it: first singer *a a b* – second singer *c d d/e*.

(c) *The compound metric formulas underpinning the dolçaina prelude, the song, and the instrumental coda:* Reig (1997, 127-31) gives these metric formulas for the prelude (2/8 + 4/8), the song (3/8 + 3/8 + 2/8 + 4/8) as well as for what he etically calls *lligam* ("link") or instrumental coda, which combines both patterns, that of the song plus that of the prelude (3/8 + 3/8 + 2/8 + 4/8 + 2/8 + 4/8). All of them are highlighted by the *tabalet*. It must be emphasized that these patterns are thoroughly described for the first time here. Reig includes a discussion which shows the inadequacies of the time signature 6/8 commonly used in folk-song books.

(d) *Tempo of the albaes:* finally, Reig (1997, 131) gives the variable metronomic tempos, faster in the prelude (166-202), slower in the song (106-138).

(7) "Current state, conjectures" (Reig 1997, 145-51): in this final section he makes several considerations "advancing some personal impressions" about the *cant valencià*. The most interesting of these impressions are the following two:¹⁶

¹⁶ The other impressions basically concern two issues: 1) *The current state of the cant valencià:* (a) allegedly, "two schools or ways of understanding the *cant d'estil* [would be extant], one ... of traditional formation, and another ... tending to innovation" which would "cordially coexist" (Reig 1997, 145); (b) both singers and aficionados would be "species in danger of extinction" because institutional oblivion and lack of support toward the tradition (1997, 149). 2) *What should be done to improve the cant valencià:* (a) it is true that in performance "the greatest

(a) *The natural magnetism of the singing voice*: Reig acknowledges “the natural magnetism that the singing voice usually exerts over the other human beings who listen to it” (1997, 147).

(b) *The characterization of the old singers’ personal styles*: Reig characterizes the Valencian *cantadors d’estil*’ various personal singing styles through a felicitous, succinct attribution of specific qualities, providing the basis for further explorations:

[E]ach singer has a personal and differentiated character in performance. This way of saying the musical phrases results in a melodic *tempo*. ... In this sense, we can talk about the exactness of *el Ceguet de Marjalenes*’s renditions, establishing a contrast with *la Xata de Godella*’s charming transgression, the unsurpassed mastery of Evaristo Payà, the grace and refinement of *el Xiquet de Xirivella*, the freshness dabbled with daring of ... *el Tremendo*, the clarity and soundness of Amparo Rubio [*la Xiqueta de Burjassot*]’s high-pitched notes, the ornamental preciousness without going too high of *el Torneret*, the uneasiness and wobbling figures of *el Muquero*, the sharp audacity of [*la*] *Sabatereta*, the easiness of *el Xiquet de Pedralba*, the moderation—being a woman—of Concha Tamarit, the dilatation of the long notes of *el Xiquet de Benaguasil*, the splendid high pitches of *el Moll*, the curious indeterminacy of *el Pollastre*, the delicate ornaments of *el Xiquet de Paterna*, the attractive shape of the phrases of ... *Faeneta del Grau*, the refined elegance of *el Xiquet de Mislata*, the rustic nobility of his brother Pep [*el segon Xiquet de Mislata*]... to give just a taste of what can be perceived listening to the recordings.¹⁷ (Reig 1997, 147-8)

In sum, Reig Bravo’s descriptive analyses of the *cant d’estil* and the *albaes* main melodic models are one of the most important contributions to the study of the *cant valencià*, breaking through traditional descriptions and transcriptions. He makes fine

responsibility lays in the voice, the difficulty level of its contribution is the highest one ... [and] it is the singer who achieves success and receives congratulations and admiration from the audience,” but “a mythologization [of the singer], a kind of *star system* ... would not be advisable” (Reig 1997, 146-7); (b) allegedly, “it is urgent a progressive introduction of new melodies” in the instrumental preludes/interludes (1997, 145).

¹⁷ [C]ada cantant [sic, i.e. cantador] té un caràcter interpretatiu personal i diferenciat. Aquesta manera de dir les frases musicals es concreta en un *tempo* melòdic. ... En aquest sentit podem parlar de la pulcritud en la interpretació *del Ceguet de Marjalenes* que contrasta amb l’encantadora transgressió de *la Xata de Godella*, la mestria inqüestionable d’Evaristo Payà, la gràcia i el refinament *del Xiquet de Xirivella*, la frescura amb un pèl d’atreviment de *Paquito el Tremendo*, la claredat i contundència en els aguts d’Amparo Rubio [*la Xiqueta de Burjassot*], el preciosisme ornamental sense aguditzar massa *del Torneret*, el desfici i les figures trontollades *del Muquero*, l’aguda audàcia de [*la*] *Sabatereta*, la desimboltura *del Xiquet de Pedralba*, la moderació—per [a] tractar-se d’una dona—de Conxa Tamarit, la dilatació dels valors llargs *del Xiquet de Benaguasil*, els alts esplèndids d’Antonio Soriano *el Moll*, la curiosa indeterminació *del Pollastre*, els delicats adornaments *del Xiquet de Paterna*, l’atractiu dibuix de frases *del desconegut Faeneta del Grau*, la finíssima elegància de Manolo Marzal *el Xiquet de Mislata*, la noblesa rústica del seu germà Pep [*el segon Xiquet de Mislata*]..., per citar només una part d’allò que es pot percebre en escoltar gravacions.

observations, yet also provides external data and interpretations which are not in accord with ethnographic evidence, as discussed in examining his points. More recently, he has written several entries for the *Diccionario de la música valenciana* (“Dictionary of Valencian music”) again presenting his analytical conclusions about the *albaes* and the *cant d’estil*, and about the latter’s melodic models *l’u*, *l’u i dos*, *l’u i dotze* individually (Reig 2006a, b, c, d, e).

5.2.3. Bernard Lortat-Jacob (2002; 2005): Near-operatic vocality, singing contests (or some perplexing outcomes of occasional ethnographies); and double improvisation

Bernard Lortat-Jacob first approached the *cant valencià* in the spring of 1995 on the occasion of a visit to Valencia as the keynote speaker in a conference on traditional culture. During the event, he was able to witness live performances of *cant d’estil* and *albaes*, and impacted by his discovery, in the fall of the same year he presented a group of Valencian *cantadors d’estil* and musicians in a memorable recital at the *Festival d’Avignon* in southern France. His first scholarly consideration of the *cant valencià d’estil*, as one of the possible examples of Mediterranean vocality, is found in his collaborative paper with Gilles Léothaud “La voix méditerranéenne: Une identité problématique” (“Mediterranean voice: A problematic identity”) (see Léothaud and Lortat-Jacob 2002).

(1) *Near-operatic vocality as allegedly characteristic of the cant valencià*: Léothaud and Lortat-Jacob (2002, 10) seek to define the parameters which would define a characteristic Mediterranean vocality, emphasizing that in principle a vocal identity

may be intuitively and immediately perceptible but difficult to address analytically. Their analytical attempt to define it distinguishes between two culturally differentiated poles of vocal behavior: (a) a *Folk Mediterranean vocality*: “concerning strictly oral tradition, and collectively anchored in peasant life” (2002, 10) and (b) *European art music vocality*: that is, specifically opera singing, born and developed in the same cultural area but “linked to urban culture (particularly implying the knowledge of writing, an explicit musical theory, institutionalized learning, and so on).” Both types of vocality are contrastingly characterized by specific parameters (*ibid.*):

| | (a) <i>Folk Mediterranean vocality</i> | (b) <i>European art music vocality</i> |
|-------------------------------|--|---|
| (1) <i>Phonatory behavior</i> | (a) a highly projected voice (high intensity) with reduced dynamic nuances and without vibrato | (b) a projected voice, although in a different way, through a firm abdominal support which allows for and often requires vibrato, with a developed dynamic expression |
| (2) <i>Range</i> | (a) reduced and high-pitched but generally in chest register | (b) much larger and high-pitched but to a lesser proportion and with the falsetto register present and strictly regulated |
| (3) <i>Timbre</i> | (a) a predominant nasality, which enriches the harmonics facilitating high intensities without exposing the vocal chords | (b) more homogeneous and with less affirmed nasality |
| (4) <i>Ornamentation</i> | (a) melismatic, affecting the phrase as a whole | (b) very elaborated, varied, and developed, the most apparent sign of art singing |

Table 1

The poles of vocal behavior in the Mediterranean area according to Léothaud and Lortat-Jacob (2002).

Elaborated by Carles Pitarch

Based on this polarity, Léothaud and Lortat-Jacob (2002, 10) posit that Mediterranean vocal behaviors defining vocal identities modify themselves “depending on their degree of proximity to urban or peasant cultures.” They give examples first mentioning the contrast between the *canção* of Coimbra, Portugal, which “owes more to classical technique than *flamenco*,” and next, “even more clearly, the *cantaor d’estil* of Valencia [who] possesses a vocal technique comparable to that of an opera singer when the former sings on the streets accompanied by a small brass band” (2002, 13-4). “Finally, [the Algerian singer] Khalifi Ahmed keeps the mark of Bedouin nasality while his song develops in the modal context heir to the great Arab tradition” (2002, 14).

It is really perplexing that Léothaud and Lortat-Jacob consider the vocalicity of the *cant valencià* as nearing that of an opera singer. The two vocalities are so contrasting that they are easily perceived as incompatible, even by people with a strict oral singing education like the *cantador d’estil* and great master *el Xiquet de Mislata*:

[O]ur *cant valencià* songs never lost over time the special character of their primitive vocal manners ... Valencian people maintained in the *cant valencià* the primitive vocal customs of the fertile lowlands peasantry; that’s why they have never distorted the proper constitution of the *cant valencià* ... It always sounded faulty in academically trained voices.¹⁸ (Marzal Barberà 2009, 90-2)

The *cantadora d’estil* Victòria Sousa Genovés *Victorieta*, with both traditional *cant valencià* education in the *cantaes* and Western classical singing training, stopped the practice of the latter mainly because of the incompatibility between both vocal

¹⁸ [E]ls nostres estils del cant valencià jamai pergueren al llarg del temps el caràcter peculiar de les formes d’interpretació primitives ... el poble valencià ha mantingut en el cant valencià less costums vocals primitives de l’horta, per lo que mai ha desfigurat la pròpia constitució del cant valencià ... Sempre ha sonat defectuós en veus preparades acadèmicament.

styles, which interfered with one another in a detrimental way. Moreover, nasality in the *cant valencià* is neither as pronounced as in Bedouin songs nor necessarily of the same kind, but it is clearly present and indispensable in “facilitating high intensities without exposing the vocal chords” as Léothaud and Lortat-Jacob (2002, 10) perceptively contend in relation to folk Mediterranean song traditions. Thus, explaining the characteristic vocal identity of the *cant valencià* in terms of proximity to opera singing seems highly inadequate. Moreover, the degree of proximity to Western art singing seems a problematic general criterion to be applied in order to study the Mediterranean vocal identities of the different song traditions in North African and Middle-Eastern countries.

Some years later, in the liner notes to a *cant valencià* CD edited by Lortat-Jacob (2005), he hails this singing tradition as “undoubtedly a great art” passed down via oral tradition, characterized by a demanding vocal technique, and hardly changed since the early twentieth century (Lortat-Jacob 2005, 10).¹⁹ He also emphasizes the mastery of both its specialized singers and the *versadors* or poets who improvise the lyrics on the spur of the moment.

(2) *The cant valencià as an alleged tradition of singing contests*: the subtitle of the CD (“Singing contests”) comes as a surprise. As matter of fact, the recording does not offer any singing contest or *versà*, and the primary use of these Valencian songs is in *cantaes* (“serenades”), both during patron-saint festivals and up to the late twentieth century during conscript soldiers’ rites of passage. Moreover, despite the claim that

¹⁹ The English translation does not do justice to all the nuances of the French original liner notes, thus, I’m giving my own translations of Lortat-Jacob’s original text.

the singers “confront each other with as much vocal prowess they can muster” (2005, 9), contesting during the serenades is not confirmed by current ethnographic evidence. Confront conveys the idea that they openly offend one another in public (*cf.* for instance the Maltese *spirtu prompt* in which this is the case). Instead, during the Valencian serenades or *cantaes*, hundreds of songs are dedicated in whole nights of uninterrupted celebration and the pair or group of three or four singers hired for this purpose behave mostly as a team, helping one another if necessary. The primary use of the *cant valencià* for serenading is underemphasized by Lortat-Jacob and this becomes a source of confusion.²⁰

(3) *The metonymic misnomer cant d'estil to refer to the cant valencià*: Lortat-Jacob (2005, 11) contends that *cant d'estil* is a generic term for this repertory that covers two families of songs: the *valencianes* and the *albaes*. He is without a doubt following Reig's (1997) identical but untenable claim.

(4) *Systematic improvisation of new ornamental variations in the high vocal range as allegedly the aesthetic principle of the cant d'estil*: Lortat-Jacob (2005, 11) claims that the “aesthetic base and beauty” of the *cant d'estil* consists in the way the singers systematically explore the high vocal range to improvise new ornamental variations that meet the expectations of a public of connoisseurs. This is baseless, echoing Torrent i Centelles (1990, 64-5) and Reig (1997, 29) (see Chapter 3, subsection 3.3.1, point (1), and, in this chapter, subsection 5.2.1., point (1), 2), (a) and section 5.3.).

²⁰ Also, to say that the *cant valencià d'estil* is mainly characterized as a “street, procession, and serenade song” (2005, 1) is rather confusing, for traditionally it has not been used as a urban street song, except for serenades, or when some cartwrights used it monophonically to entertain themselves during transportation, nor it has been used in processions (religious or other), except for very recently the *albaes* as an affirmation of Valencian identity in lieu of and opposed to the Andalusian, also recently imported, *saetas* during the Valencian Holy Week processions.

(5) *The cant d'estil as allegedly constrained by tonal harmony*: Lortat-Jacob (2005, 11) claims that the guitar accompaniment follows tonal harmony, and the singers, with their interpretive freedom, occasionally take the singing beyond it, but that they are always constrained to return in the final cadence to the rules of tonality. A consistent problem with this analysis derives from not sharply distinguishing the autonomous modal vocal melodies, which often do not come to a resolution in the tonic, from the subordinate guitar accompaniment in chordal progressions of triads which just add “color” to the songs. As I have already emphasized in Chapter 2, subsection 2.2. point (2), this creates a modal harmony which cannot be accounted for in terms of tonal harmony. Lortat-Jacob himself makes clear that “[w]e would not assume that the singers’ melodic conceptions are completely tonal” (2005, 11). It is not suitable or productive to concurrently analyze two diverse systems running in parallel and constantly clashing as Valencian musical folklorists already emphasized (see Chapter 4, section 4.2.).²¹

In sum, we find in Lortat-Jacob’s attempt at describing the “*cant [valencià] d’estil*” a genuine interest in the tradition, given his longstanding and outstanding study of different Mediterranean musics, but the problems of occasional ethnographic approaches: a few direct observations in scattered moments and the use of not always reliable secondary sources. He would have deserved better Valencian collaborators.

²¹ There are some additional issues. Lortat-Jacob pays scarce attention to Valencian emic terms throughout the liner notes of his edited CD. Some terms referring to basic concepts indispensable for a description of the *cant valencià* tradition as a social and historical phenomenon are not even mentioned—*cantaes*, *cantadors d’estil*—or properly addressed and emphasized—*cant requintat*, *cant pla*. These last two terms that define the two available melodic styles are alluded in passage within a side commentary to the lyrics of the last featured song in the CD, as if they were unimportant. Other terms, for some incomprehensible reason, are distorted into existing Spanish equivalents: *cantadoras* instead of Valencian *cantadores* feminine plural, *rondalla* instead of Valencian *ronda* (accompanying instruments), or, even worst, into invented ones: **requintos* instead of Valencian *requints* (the ornamental passages or melismatic motifs in the upper range), and so on.

5.2.4. Christian Poché (2005): The privilege of vocality over lyrics, alleged Yemenite medieval origin of the *versadors*, and Arab roots of the *cant d'estil*

The French ethnomusicologist Christian Poché witnessed a recital of *cant valencià* in Peníscola, 90 miles north of Valencia, which I organized in 2000 on the occasion of the University of Valencia's Graduate Diploma of Professional Specialization in Ethnomusicology summer courses. In his *Dictionnaire des musiques et danses traditionnelles de la Méditerranée* (2005) he devoted a short entry to the *cant d'estil* (Poché 2005), addressing this song tradition based on his one-time experience in Peníscola, and drawing on several published sources cited in his bibliography (Torrent i Centelles 1990; Reig 1997; Pitarch Alfonso 1997b, c; Lortat-Jacob 2005).

(1) *The metonymic misnomer cant d'estil instead of cant valencià*: Poché uses the name of the part as if it referred to the whole: “[t]here is likewise in Valencia another genre of *cant d'estil* which is called *albaes*” (2005, 85).

(2) *The cant d'estil as a melismatic song, in Valencian language, of the city of Valencia and its region*: aside from the misnomer, he defines the *cant d'estil* as follows:

Form of melismatic song, in Valencian language, of the city of Valencia and its region (from Castelló to the north through Alacant to the south). ... [L]iterally the term means a song widely ornamented, and at the same time it refers to a singing contest, since it often requires the presence of two singers ... which alternate.²² (Poché 2005, 83)

The idea of the singing contest as a defining trait of the *cant d'estil* seems to come from Lortat-Jacob (2005) and overlooks the *cantaes* as major musical occasions.

²² Forme de chant mélismatique en valencien de la ville de Valence et de sa région (de Castelló au north, jusqu'à Alicante au sud). ... [L]ittéralement le terme signifie un chant avec d'amples ornements, il renvoie tout autant à une joute chantée, car il se traduit souvent par la présence de deux chanteurs ... qui alternent.

(3) “[T]he apotheosis of the song over the poetry” in the *cant valencià*: afterwards, Poché emphasizes that despite its “ornamental overload,” the *cant d’estil* “must keep the message’s clarity” and that its singularity resides in the fact that both a singer and a poet or *versador* in charge of improvising the lyrics intervene (2005, 84):

As for the song, it always starts with a passionate surge, which begins in the high notes and comes down. This surge, which concerns the first verse, is twice repeated [i.e., the first line is sung twice] in order to value the spirit of dash and space. All this privileges the musical with regard to the poetic, because the recitation [by the *versador*], whispered [to the singer’s ear], is not heard by the audience. It is thus the apotheosis of the song over the poetry.²³ (Poché 2005, 84)

Or in other words, there is a pre-eminence of vocality in the *cant valencià*, which “requires on the part of the singer a great effort of concentration and tension” (2005, 83) and the mastery of a “singing technique ... [which] seems to follow a typical formula, the sway of which the interpreter can vary” (2005, 84).

(4) *Modal-tonal ambiguity*: then Poché (2005, 84) adds that, against the backdrop tonality of the accompanying instruments “the singing voice blooms modally, which makes us think that the orchestral dressing came to be grafted onto an older vocal model.” Here he seems to follow Reig’s (1997, 122-5) interpretation.

(5) *The alleged Yemenite medieval origin of the versadors*: moreover, taking into account that (a) a medieval practice similar to that of the Valencian *versadors* survives in Yemen, (b) a Yemenite colony is documented in medieval Islamic Valencia, and (c) an opposition poet/singer, with the latter predominating, is such a rare phenomenon, Poché advances the hypothesis that such a practice might well have

²³ Quant au chant, il débute toujours par une envolée passionnée, qui commence dans l’aigu et descend. Cette envolée, qui concerne le premier vers, est reprise deux fois, afin de valoriser le sprit de panache et d’espace. Tout ceci privilégie le musical par rapport au poétique, puisque la déclamation, chuchotée, n’est pas entendue à la ronde. C’est donc l’apothéose du chant sur la poésie.

been imported to Valencia by Yemenites during the Middle Ages and be holdover of an even older practice harking back to the quarrel between the representatives of these two arts at the Abbasid court of Baghdad in the ninth century:

Having seen the importance achieved by the musician [or singer], who had relegated the poet to the shadow, it was decided that both would appear in front of the caliph, the first one declaiming his poem and the second putting it immediately in music. This kind of contest associating two different personalities, an extremely rare phenomenon itself, persisted in the oral tradition of Yemen, especially in the province of Hadramout, under the name of *dan*, a word which refers to a syllable without meaning. It brings together poet and singer, the first one declaiming line by line, and the second putting them to music. In order to clearly distinguish the opposition between the declaimed [line] and the sung [line], it is required to embellish the singing from the start with the syllable without meaning *dan*, on which the performance begins, and [to do so] in a high range. It is known that a Yemenite colony, in the distant past [during the Muslim rule of Al-Andalus], settled down in Valencia, where they became integrated into the population. They might well have been able to bring this contest [practice] there or to have taken it from other local Arabic populations, because historically this procedure is native to Baghdad.²⁴ (Poché 2005, 84)

However, this allegedly historical connection can be easily disregarded on close examination of the actual practices of both the Yemenite *al-dan* poets/singers of Hadramout and the Valencian *versadors/cantadors d'estil*. In fact, the musical procedure and occasions are completely different. The Yemenite *al-dan* song is or was performed indoors, during a special companionship session called *al-dan al-summar* (“*al-dan* gathering”) in the main room of the Hadrami households, invariably including a samovar and tea service as long as the declaiming and singing session lasted (Al-Kamaly 2003)—this may well be a survival of the Baghdadi medieval courtly practice as Poché has it.

²⁴ Devant l'importance prise par le musicien, qui reléguait dans l'ombre le poète, il avait été décidé que tous deux se présenteraient devant le calife, le premier déclamant à haute voix son poème et le second le mettant aussitôt en musique. Ce genre de joute associant deux personnalités distinctes, phénomène rarissime en soi, s'est perpétué dans la tradition orale du Yémen, en particulier dans la province de Hadramout sous le nom de *dan*, mot qui renvoie à une syllabe sans signification. Il met en présence poète et chanteur, le premier déclame à haute voix vers après vers, et le second les met en musique. Afin de départager clairement l'opposition du déclamé par rapport au chanté, il est requis d'enjoliver d'emblée le chant, par la syllabe sans signification *dan* sur laquelle débute la prestation, et dans un registre aigu. Il est connu qu'une colonie de Yéménites, dans un temps lointain, s'est installée à Valencia où elle s'est intégrée à la population. Elle a bien pu y amener cette joute ou la recueillir sur place de populations arabe autres, car historiquement ce procédé est originaire de Bagdad.

In contrast, the *cant valencià d'estil* is and was performed mainly in the *cantaes* on the streets as described in the Introduction and in different cited historical fragments (see Chapters 3 and 4). In addition, until the first decades of the twentieth century, as Manuel Marzal Barberà *el Xiquet de Mislata* (1918-1993) confirms (Marzal Barberà 2009, attached CD, track #15), it was unthinkable that a *cantador* or *cantadora d'estil* would let somebody else improvise the stanzas for him or her, even if the singer was not good at extemporizing the lyrics and the results were sometimes, or even often, regrettable. Thus, each Valencian singer used to improvise his or her own stanza, a practice that survives, for instance, in the city of Xàtiva. The most famous *cantadors d'estil*, at least until the 1920s, were themselves *versadors*, so that the poet/singer opposition in the *cant valencià* is an early twentieth-century development hardly to be thought of as something held over from medieval times. Also, the *versador* as such is not mentioned in any nineteenth-century source.

It is the increasing specialization of the singers fostered in the early twentieth century by great *cantadors d'estil* such as *Evaristo* (1874-1951), who developed the *cant requintat*, that favored the collaboration of specialized, independent *versadors*, i.e., peasant or folk poets which apart from the *cantaes* have flourished in Valencia for centuries. In the eighteenth century they were called *versistes*.²⁵

²⁵ In eighteenth-century Valencia, it seems, the *versadors* were called *versistes*, and are described, in hyperbolic and contemptuous terms, in a *Col·loqui*—folk versified dialog—by the notary public and popular poet Carles Ros (1703-1773), as rustic and unskilled at creating ten-line stanzas or rhyming consonantly the lines, in contrast to art poets: (“Look at those *versistes*, / take dislike, they are so uninteresting! / They always bring little sheets of paper / with awful verses, showing / ten-line stanzas with seven lines, / with thirteen, and even more. / Sheets without consonance; / a concept? don’t even think of it; / for assonance, which is less, / they can’t have it fit, / because they lack any ear, / or if they have ears, they are those of a donkey, / making the poets laugh / or upsetting—to say it clearly.” (“*Pués quins atres los versistes / per mania, són molt falts! / Sempre van en paperets / de vers pervers, amostrant / dècimes de set renglons, / de tretse, y de aí en abant. / Quartilles sens consonància, / concepte ni en tal pensar, / pués la asonància, que és meñs, / no se’ls aplega a encaixar, / que.ls tals no tenen orelles, / o si en tenen, són rucals, / donant que riure als poetes, / o disgust, per dir-ho clar.*”) (Martí Mestre 2006, 169).

(6) *The Middle-Eastern origin of the cant valencià*: Poché perceptively observes that the *cant d'estil* unquestionably harks back to the Valencian Muslim past:

Numerous features confirm its Middle-Eastern origin: the resumption of the first sung line of verse, [as well as] the fact of keeping the song's comprehensibility despite its ornamentation, are aesthetic marks of Arab song. Its modal property [of the *cant d'estil*] confirms it.²⁶ (Poché 2005, 85)

Moreover, in relation to the *albaes*, Poché (2005, 85) points out that, in the Valencian traditional expression *tabalet i dolçaina*, “[t]he fact of maintaining the precedence of the drum in the order of instrument citation means that we are also facing an Arabic heritage, where the membranophone is always quoted first, with regard to the aerophone.”

(7) *The cant d'estil as expression of the Valencian genius*: yet, Poché concludes, that

[i]n spite of these multiple examples which plead for a Middle-Eastern origin, the *cant d'estil* represents the Valencian genius well. It no longer bears any relation to the [Arab song] model of departure except at the structural level.²⁷ (Poché 2005, 85)

Perhaps this would require a better exploration: interestingly enough, the leads available to do so come from the striking similarity of certain elements in Yemenite Jews' songs (see Chapter 2, subsection 2.2.1., point 1)).

²⁶ De nombreux traits confirment son origine orientale: la reprise du premier vers chanté, le fait de conserver au chant, malgré les ornements, son intelligibilité, sont la marque de l'esthétique du chant arabe. Sa propriété modale le confirme.

²⁷ Malgré ces multiples exemples qui plaident pour une origine orientale, le *cant d'estil* représente bien le génie valencien. Il ne garde plus de relation avec le modèle de départ sauf sur le plan structurel.

5.2.5. Jaume Ayats Abeyà (2007): Misinterpreting the *cant valencià*, a nationalist agenda conditioning ethnomusicological research

Jaume Ayats Abeyà devotes a section to the *cant d'estil* in his recent work *Les chants traditionnels des Pays Catalans* ("Traditional song in the Catalan Countries") (2007, 69-71), which attempts to "offer an outlook ... of traditional songs and their contexts within the Catalan linguistic area." He commits a series of inconsistencies which demonstrate a very passing acquaintance with the tradition.

(1) *The metonymic misnomer cant d'estil instead of cant valencià d'estil*: to start with, we again find not only the misuse of the part for the whole, but also the confusion of both terms: "within the districts which span from *la Plana de Castelló* to *la Marina*, the main song genre is the so-called *cant d'estil*, *cant valencià d'estil*, or *cant a l'aire*" (Ayats Abeyà 2007, 69). *Cant d'estil* is the same as *cant a l'aire*, but not the same thing as *cant valencià d'estil*, which is a general term for the repertory.

(2) *A factitious explanation for the term cant a l'aire*: Ayats Abeyà (2007, 69) contends that *cant a l'aire* means "flexible and dialogic synchronization between the vocal line and the instruments which accompany it." However, there is actually no synchronization at all, only a continual superposition of two different systems, as the Valencian musical folklorists and musicologists have emphasized since the early twentieth century. Additionally, the *cant a l'aire*, being in origin a non-metric, monophonic vocal line that historically precedes its measured instrumental accompaniment, cannot be defined in terms of its relation with the instruments. It means, as we already know, "open-air song" (see Chapter 2, subsection 2.2.2.).

(3) *The cant d'estil as allegedly born from dancing fandangos and jotas*: further confusion is added by Ayats Abeyà (2007, 69) when he asserts that “[t]he habitual genres, [that is, the melodic models] ... *l’u, l’u i el dos, l’u i el dotze*, and *les riberenques* [are] all of them linked to the environment of the dancing *fandangos* and *jotas* from which these [Valencian] songs were born.” The misconception that the *cant d'estil* repertory originated in dances is taken from Reig (1997) and the idea that some *cant d'estil* songs are *jotas* or derive from them is contrary to ethnographic evidence (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.).

(4) *The albaes are allegedly not serenading songs*: moreover, in an independent section devoted to the *albades* in general Ayats Abeyà (2007, 67) implies that these songs have a different purpose from that of what he calls *cançons de ronda* (“serenading songs”) addressed in a different section. Yet, the *albaes* are themselves serenading songs as we know. Addressing the Valencian ones, Ayats Abeyà (*ibid.*) misnames the folk shawm which accompanies the *albaes*, dubbing it a **xirimia*, instead of the real Valencian term *xaramita* or *xirimita*.

(5) *The cant valencià as an allegedly singular and surprising extemporized social critique characterized by an aesthetic melodic research*: Ayats Abeyà addresses the *cant valencià* including it within a group of songs which he classifies as “Shared voices and ‘extemporized’ social critique,” characterized by

a melody that the soloist repeats with lyrics of new formulation ... [a] voice proclaimed in front of the people ..., important because it expresses [that social critique] by means of words and not

by an aesthetic research within [the plane of] the melody ..., which remains secondary.²⁸ (Ayats Abeyà 2007, 64).

However, he is forced not only to acknowledge that within the area surveyed in his monograph this is so “perhaps with the only exception of the *cant d’estil*” (*ibid.*), but also to present a tradition like the *cant valencià*, in which vocality is pre-eminent, as a kind of singularity, an unexpected surprise:

This is probably the most surprising genre of all those in which the lyrics are extemporized, and today also the most alive, the most professionalized, and that which attracts more people, with a large network of singers, musicians, and aficionados.²⁹ (Ayats Abeyà 2007, 69)

By contextualizing the *cant valencià* as if its only scope were social critique and by conceptualizing it as a surprising anomaly within a linguistic context which is not relevant for understanding it as musical process, Ayats Abeyà contributes little to an understanding of this song tradition: indeed, he creates further confusion. His pan-catalanist agenda constrains him to overlook the historical and political space in which the *cant valencià* developed during the past two centuries: the modern Spanish nation-state. His approach to the *cant valencià* seems to respond to nationalistic purposes rather than to an attempt at understanding ethnomusicological issues from relevant geographical and conceptual perspectives that might shed some otherwise unattainable light on the studied traditions (see below the conclusion to this subsection).

(7) *Several pertinent aspects and traits of the cant valencià*: at least, Ayats Abeyà (2007, 64-5), relying above all on Reig (1997), Pitarch Alfonso (1997c), and Lortat-

²⁸ Une mélodie que le soliste répète avec des textes de formulation nouvelle ... [une] voix proclamée devant le peuple ..., importante par ce qu’elle s’exprime par les mots, et non par un recherche esthétique dans la mélodie qui ... reste secondaire.

²⁹ C’est probablement le genre le plus surprenant de tous ceux qui improvisent un texte et, aussi, celui qui est actuellement le plus vivant, le plus professionnalisé et celui qui déplaç le plus de gens, avec un réseau étendu de chanteurs, de musiciens et d’amateurs.

Jacob (2005), emphasizes several pertinent aspects and traits of the *cant valencià* such as: (a) its being traditionally practiced mainly in the irrigated fertile lowlands of Valencia, (b) its use in *cantaes* or *guitarraes*, (c) the improvisation of its lyrics by the *versadors*, which prompt the singers with the stanza line by line, (d) the difference between the *cant pla* and the *cant requintat* melodic styles, (e) the combination of stringed and wind instruments in the *cant d'estil*, and so on. Nevertheless, his assumptions and general conclusion about this monodic expressive song tradition are untenable from historical and ethnographic standpoints.

(8) *The cant d'estil as an allegedly modern urban genre born in the mid-nineteenth century and showcased as exotic traditional music:*

Historically, there is no mention of the *cant d'estil* before the mid-nineteenth century and therefore it would have developed as a modern genre in an urban setting in real consonance with two phenomena much appreciated in those decades. On the one hand, the vocal virtuosity of the singers—within a growing process of semi-professionalization and with attitudes and gestures which recall [those of] the opera singers, and on the other hand, the folkloristic spectacles of the *quadros de cants i balls populars valencians*, which, in parallel to other spectacles of exotic traditional music (like the *flamenco* and the Aragonese *jota*) toured different towns offering an image and customs [sic] in the purest style of the *huerta* [i.e., the fertile lowlands] of Valencia.³⁰ (Ayats Abeyà 2007, 71)

I have already addressed the issue of the historical depth of the *cant valencià* in Chapter 2, showing that it is not a modern musical phenomenon born in the second half of the nineteenth century, and also discussed in Chapter 3 the strained conclusions advanced by Torrent i Centelles (2001). Ayats Abeyà's assumption that there are no mentions of the phenomenon before the mid-nineteenth century is an

³⁰ Historiquement, il n'y a pas de mention du *cant d'estil* antérieure à la moitié du XIX^e siècle, et il serait alors développé en tant que genre moderne et d'environnement urbain très en consonance avec deux phénomènes très appréciés dans ces décennies-là. D'une part la virtuosité vocale des chanteurs—dans un processus croissant de semi-professionalization et avec une attitude et une gestuelle qui rappellent les chanteurs d'opéra—et d'autre part les spectacles folkloriques de “tableaux de danses et chants populaires valenciens”, qui, parallèlement à d'autres spectacles de musique traditionnelle exotique (comme le flamenco et la *jota* aragonaise), parcouraient les villes en offrant une image et des costumes dans le plus pur style de la *huerta* de Valence.

improper deduction from the historical-literary data that I offered about the *cant valencià* in one of my first general studies about it (Pitarch Alfonso 1997c): all the citations that I had collected there span the 1859-1873 period.³¹

To conclude, there is one issue that must be emphasized. As we saw in Chapter 2, subsection 2.2.1., point (2), Ayats Abeyà (2001) denies any Arab influence on traditional melismatic work songs of the eastern Iberian Peninsula—the musical stuff of which the *cant d'estil* is made—and later (Ayats Abeyà 2007) he minimizes the historical depth of the *cant valencià*, not taking the time to verify the data that he uses, linking what data he has uncritically, and examining this tradition in an irrelevant context. What is important for him is to intentionally refer to his chosen area of study as Catalan Countries in capital letters, rather than as Catalan speaking countries, as if these were synonymous expressions—the former has a strong political charge of Catalan and pan-catalanist nationalism rejected by most Valencians.

As discussed in Chapter 2, subsection 2.1.5., pan-catalanist research has usually conditioned *a priori* any historical conclusions about Valencian culture and history, rather than showing a genuine interest in a grounded exploration and understanding of the ongoing Valencian social and historical processes on their own terms as manifestations of a collective identity which cannot be reduced to something else. It is a political stance in which there is a clear tendency to minimize the significance of any Valencian historical phenomenon which does not fit the pre-conceived

³¹ Another problematic point is Ayats Abeyà's uncritical use of Reig's (1997, 44) statement that the *cantadors d'estil* show the attitudes of the opera singers. From a grounded ethnographic standpoint, it is untenable that the Valencian *cantadors d'estil* developed their virtuoso singing by imitating opera singers in the city of Valencia during the second half of the nineteenth century or by willing to please their audiences while being presented on stage (see Chapter 7, sections 7.2. and 7.3.).

ideological schemes (Baydal Sala 2008). In this sense, Ayats Abeyà's approach to the *cant valencià* seems to be an example of a pan-catalanist nationalist agenda conditioning ethnomusicological research to the detriment of actually understanding Valencian socio-historical realities.

5.3. Vocal Improvisation in the *Cant Valencià*: Spontaneous Actualization of Melodic Models, Microvariation, Melodic Style Choice, and Coordination

Since several journalists, folklorists, and (ethno)musicologists have considered vocal improvisation as a defining trait of the *cant valencià*, making more or less unspecific statements about it, I here briefly address this issue with the purpose of clarifying in which sense the *cant valencià* can be said to be musically improvised, or if it can be conceived of as improvisatory, as its lyrics clearly and apparently are. First of all, it must be emphasized that musical improvisation is a notion which means little if its actual scope and procedures are not described in relation to each specific musical tradition. Let us summarize, then, what different authors have said with regard to musical or vocal improvisation in the *cant valencià*.

Among the amateur journalists, Torrent i Centelles (1990, 64-5) contended that inspiration to improvise is necessary in the performance of the *cant d'estil*. Allegedly it is "a structure that gives the interpreter the freedom to create in the very moment of the performance" (*ibid.*), that is to say, to create inspirationally different melodic lines on the spur of the moment departing from "phrases that ... follow a pre-established scheme" (*ibid.*): "when the renditions are repeated and become more and more alike,

that means that the singers' creative capability diminishes" (*ibid.*). Frechina i Andreu (1999, 49) assumes that the *cant d'estil* in the past "was renewed, was invented anew in each *guitarrà*." However, is the *cant d'estil* inspirationally invented anew, departing from pre-established schemes as, for instance, jazz is? There is no ethnographic evidence of it.

Let us see what the Valencian musical folklorists said about improvisation in the *cant valencià*. For López-Chavarri Marco (1927, 113-4) the *cant d'estil* is "sung with voice inflexions, ornaments, and modal switches that are varied up to the infinite," that is, with continual variation of the vocal lines. For Palau (1942) in the *cant d'estil* "the melodic line of the song ... seems to be improvised whenever it is sung"; later he referred to "the undulating and non-predictable line of the voice" (1944-1945, no. 20) "ornamented with splendid melismas instinctively improvised by the folk singers ... as an Oriental fantasy" (1965, 53). For Oller Benlloch (2005, 89) "[i]t is characterise in the *cant d'estil* to alternate within the same song syllabic and extraordinarily ornamented passages ... which always vary depending on the power of improvisation, the vocal range qualities, and the fantasy of each *cantaor* o *cantaora*." From these passages it becomes clear that improvisation in the *cant valencià* is mainly about ornamental variation, rather than about inventing inspirationally new melodies. Yet it is highly questionable whether ornamental improvisation is made in an infinite and unpredictable way following only the fantasy of one's own mood.

Some (ethno)musicologists have made similar claims. Reig (1997, 29) first contended that "the *cant d'estil* ... has as its essential feature melodic vocal improvisation, which implies a virtuosic expressivity," and later made the same claim

indirectly when explaining what the ornamental *requints* are (“simple, upper or lower trill notes applied over the real notes of each *estil*’s mode”), adding that they are performed in an “improvisational way” (1997, 35-7). Lortat-Jacob (2005, 11), echoing Torrent i Centelles (1990, 64-5) and Reig (1997, 29) claimed that a systematic exploration of the high vocal range improvising new ornamental variations that meet the expectations of a public of connoisseurs is the “aesthetic base and beauty” of the *cant d’estil*, and thus that it “is improvised in two ways” (Lortat-Jacob 2005, 11): in the lyrics and in the vocal lines. However, are the *cantadors d’estil* improvising systematically new ornamental variations or *requints* to please the aficionados or connoisseurs? Again, ethnographic evidence shows that this is not the case.

Improvisation in many musical cultures involves following specific models, spontaneously varying them in performance according to pre-established procedures (Lortat-Jacob 1987; Nettl 1998). If we take into account Lortat-Jacob’s (1987, 55-57) observation that a model as a “module [or building block] is at the same time an utterance and the set of equivalent utterances which may take its place,” and “module may cover ... melodic notions” (*ibid.*), then the *cant valencià*, as lyric song, may be characterized as a “monomodular system with ornamental variations ... [as in] European song in general” (Lortat-Jacob 1987, 57).

Faced with significantly ornamented songs like those of the *cant d’estil*, the first reflection to be made is that the etic listener may think that the singer is improvising *requints* in the romantic sense of inspirationally or freely inventing new things according to his or her own fantasy; yet he or she is actually spontaneously performing and slightly varying, depending on the singer’s mood or fitness or on

contextual feedback, well-defined melodic patterns and ornamental formulas that he or she knows in depth as a result of many years of practice since childhood. Also, the knowledgeable singer steps to specific aesthetic values which guide ornamentation.

(1) *Spontaneous performance of internalized melodic models*: rather than a continual creation of new melodic elements in the performance of the *cant valencià*, it is a matter of spontaneously performing internalized melodic models/modules, and of more or less successful realization of cadential ornamental formulas according to general principles which function in other Mediterranean and Asian musics as well. The *cantadors d'estil* spend many hours rehearsing the melodic models and their appropriate ornamentations according to specific traditional values. The *exactitud al dir el cant* (“exactness in saying the song”) implies both mastering the melodic models with their cadential ornamentations and properly fitting the lyrics into them in a way that does not distort prosody in the syllabic part of each *terç* or musical phrase. The singers are expected to sing these models showing their personality with slight personal variations, rather than to render them in an identical way, yet bold originality and musical risk-taking are commonly rejected by singers and aficionados alike.

(2) *Microvariation*: the improvisation in the *cant d'estil*, rather than as “exploration of new ornamental variations” is better described as microvariation, which is what the Maltese composer and musicologist Charles Camilleri (1988, 28) termed *re-improvisation*, considering it one of the most significant characteristics of the Mediterranean non-metric, vocally-inflected song traditions. The *cantadors d'estil* are expected to slightly vary similar *terços* of a song in a rendition: monotony is not appreciated. It takes years to master this art, which only can be accomplished after

having listened to good *cantadors d'estil* for a long time. As *el Xiquet de Mislata* emphasized (Marzal Barberà 2009, 92-3), the *aficionats* (“aficionados”) also play an important role in defining what is acceptable or not in this sense (see Chapter 7, subsection 7.3.1.). When the *cant requintat* was created, a polemic sprang up, only settled by the great *cantador d'estil Evaristo* (see Marzal Barberà 2009, 94-6).

(3) *Melodic style choice*: since the late nineteenth-century the *cantadors d'estil* vocal performance admits two melodic styles: *pla* (“plain”) scarcely ornamented, and *requintat* (“ornamental”), in a higher range, with more extended ornamentations (see Chapter 7, subsection 7.3.2.). As Oller Benlloch (2005, 92) aptly put it, “each singer expresses him or herself by adopting one or the other style depending on his or her vocal possibilities, his or her personal circumstances, or his or her mood in each performance.” Yet there are also explicit aesthetic values which guide ornamentation and are systematically used by the best *cantadors d'estil*: “one *requint* Aragonese [*jota*], two *requints* Valencian [*cant d'estil*], three *requints flamenco*,” showing the ornamental balance that is a defining trait of the *cant valencià* (see subsection 5.2.1., point (1), (a) and Chapter 7, subsection 7.3.2.). My ethnographic experience shows that not all singers master both melodic styles, and some of them are unable of distinguishing both clearly, yet this does not mean that there is no dividing line in-between as Reig (1997, 35-6) contended (see subsection 5.2.2, point (1), 2), (e)).

(4) *Coordination or contextual feedback*: finally, there is contextual feedback, or what Stephen Blum (1998, 32) called “problems of coordination,” which sometimes constrain the singers’ choices. For instance, if there are too many addressees to “be sung to” during a *cantà*, the performers may choose to sing *cant pla*, and even older

versions with only five *terços*, instead of the usual versions with seven musical phrases, in order save time. Also, the *aficionats* may push the singer to sing requintat even if he or she was not originally intending to do so. As Blum perceptively highlights,

[p]erformers cannot know in advance how listeners, or even how they themselves, will respond to the conjunctures and moments of coordination that occur in performance. Evaluation of what has happened, or of what should happen, may place greater emphasis on the behavior of all parties than on the performer's manipulation of "models." (Blum 1998, 32)

In sum, the *cant valencià* may be said to be vocally improvised to an extent that is far from comparable to the extemporization of its lyrics. Aesthetic emphasis is placed on spontaneity and personality, but not on bold originality departing in a risky way from the traditional melodic models and patterns of ornamentation: slight ornamental variation is expected, but the surprises are almost always little ones. Also, different *eixides* ("first musical phrases") of a song can be performed by a singer; or different personal or geographical variants of the same melodic model. Along with melodic style choice and contextual feedback, all these procedures render the *cant valencià* sufficiently varied. Inexperienced singers tend towards monotony and literal repetition, which some authors lament, yet free inspirational fantasy in the performance of the vocal lines does not define at all what this tradition is about.

5.4. The Pre-Eminence of Vocality in the *Cant Valencià d'Estil*

So far, I have examined with particular attention the most significant approaches to the *cant valencià d'estil* in the last century and a half. From the first detailed description of an *albaes* performance in 1869 by a journalist who described the

“*cantaor*[‘s] silvery voice ... intoning in the native language the ... lines of the song” (Sanmartín y Aguirre 1869, 331) to the twentieth and twenty-first-century accounts by dance or musical folklorists and (ethno)musicologists, different authors have often highlighted in several ways the pre-eminence of vocality in this song tradition.

In 1935, Violet Alford clearly perceived its relevance by reporting that in the *cant d’estil* performance “a high, thin tenor voice stabs through ... [the guitars’] thrumming,” an “insistent, reedy voice” (Alford 1937, 369-70). Almost twenty years later, Alan Lomax emphasized the “high white tone” that characterizes the voice of “many traditional Valencian singers,” a “high and clear” voice, to which the partner singer in the *albaes* responds “with an even more soaring line of melody” (Lomax 1953-1954). Bernard Lortat-Jacob emphasized that the great *cantadors d’estil* sing with a “strongly projected voice, both supple and powerful, tense and expressive, capable of venturing with great freedom into the top range” (Lortat-Jacob 2005), and Maria Teresa Oller Benlloch highlighted their “innate vocal virtuosity; timbre and range qualities which only possess those with privileged vocal faculties” (Oller Benlloch 2005, 89).

On the other hand, Manuel Palau described “the voices of the [Valencian] ‘cantaors’ ... plaiting garlands and arabesques of unforeseeable lines on the air” (Seguí 1997, 33; Palau 1925, 9-10 and 22-4), or “the undulating and non-predictable line of the voice ... [which] stretches forth in free rhythm” (Palau 1944-1945, no. 20), unequivocally “superior in musical value, delicacy and expressiveness” (Palau 1965, 53). In this connection, Eduard López-Chavarri Marco underscored the “Arab flavor in the song ... [that] the singers intone ... with voice inflexions, ornaments, and

modal switches that are varied up to the infinite” (1927, 113-4), with “long, sustained notes, followed by rapid vocalizations and ornamentations ... so proper to all the banks of the Mediterranean sea” (López-Chavarri Andújar and López-Chavarri Marco 1987, 18-20). These vocal inflections, as Manuel García Matos observed, give the *cant d’estil* “a very individual character, with a dreamy beauty and an Oriental-like aftertaste.” (García Matos 1960).

Christian Poché highlighted that in the *cant d’estil* “the song ... always starts with a passionate surge, which begins in the high notes and comes down. This surge ... is ... repeated ... in order to value the spirit of dash and space. All this privileges the musical with regard to the poetic, because the recitation [by the *versador*], whispered [to the singer], is not heard by the audience. It is thus the apotheosis of the song over the poetry” (2005, 84). “[T]he *cant d’estil* represents the Valencian genius well” (2005, 85).

Therefore, addressing the study of the *cant valencià* calls for a special attention to its remarkable and distinctive vocality in relation to identities. It is an expression of a historical collective identity, contrasting with those of other Spanish territories, likewise articulated through monodic expressive song traditions. It is also expression of personal identities. In the next chapter, before I can address the study of vocality and the performance of identities in the *cant valencià*, I probe the notion of vocality as ethnomusicological category for ethnographic research, basis on which to develop a musical anthropology of the voice.

Chapter 6: Vocality—as Distinct from Orality—and Social Meaning: Toward a Musical *Anthropology of the Voice*

“We are social beings by the voice and through the voice: ... voices are the very texture of the social, as well as the intimate kernel of subjectivity.”

(Mladen Dolar 2006, 14)

My purpose in this chapter is to discuss and outline the prospects for a musical anthropology of the voice based on an understanding of how vocality—the phonic, bodily dimension of the voice modulated in singing and closely related vocal performances—iconically relates to configurations of individual and collective social and existential meanings mediated by culture.¹ How can the study of vocality be approached in ethnomusicology beyond the modern ideology of musicology largely constructed on nineteenth-century romantic conceptions of the transcendence of voice and musical sound (Tolbert 2001, 458)? With what assumptions and addressing what ethnographic research issues—suggested by the nature of the voice itself—is a relevant anthropology of the voice possible? In order to address these and other related questions, I explore them in three sections which correspond to different phases of my theorization.

In section 6.1., I first trace the history of the notion of vocality in contemporary humanities and ethnomusicology as a first necessary move toward developing a

¹ This chapter is partly based on my doctoral comprehensive examination paper “Vocality and anthropology of the voice in the Mediterranean area” (Pitarch Alfonso 2005a).

musical anthropology of the voice; I then explore its relationship with the study of vocal or singing style in ethnomusicology as a meaningful dimension of musical sound (section 6.1.1.); and third, I address the iconicity of style as a foundational principle for the study of vocality, drawing on relevant ethnomusicological and semiotic research regarding the phenomenon of musical iconicity and of iconicity in general (section 6.1.2.).

In section 6.2., I propose two sets of central ethnographic issues that a musical anthropology of the voice should adequately address as relevant to the nature of its object of study: on the one hand, the issues of identity, gender, and authority and the articulation of *sonic histories* and *geographies* through the performing voice (section 6.2.1.); on the other hand, the issues of *acoustemology*, *interpellation*, and spiritual transcendence in relation to the human voice (6.2.2.).

In section 6.3., finally, I make some reflections on ethno-inclusivity, transdisciplinarity, and the study of the “materiality” of communication, as three strategic approaches to overcome one-sided or abstract studies of the human voice in performance that may hamper coherent understandings of particular vocal traditions.

6.1. Vocality and Vocal Style as Meaningful Dimensions of Musical Sound: Steps toward Developing a Musical Anthropology of the Voice

A first concern that must be confronted from an ethnomusicological standpoint when approaching the study of the human voice is how to overcome historical conceptions which have impeded and continue to encumber the approaches to

vocality and vocal performance. The Slovenian philosopher Mladen Dolar (1996), reflecting upon the voice as object, observed that in Western culture the dominant paradigm of logocentrism, or belief in the superiority of the word and reason over the sound and the senses, historically constructed the phonic dimension of the human voice, so central in many (musical) cultures, as the radical alterity of the logos, thus generally rendering it devoid of any meaning beyond language, at most granting it expressive qualities. Since the formative years of Greek philosophy, in fact, vocal sound was fundamentally conceived of as an exclusive vehicle for the word. The Aristotelian definition of the logos as *phoné semantiké* attests to this (Cavarero 2005, 54): according to the ancient philosopher, voice “must have soul in it and must be accompanied by an act of imagination, for voice is a *sound with a meaning* [*phoné semantiké*]” (*De anima*, cited in Dolar 2006, 23), that is to say, voice is voice inasmuch as it carries linguistic meaning.

The above-mentioned cultural assumption has necessarily had a significant impact on the scholarly study of voice and singing throughout history, to such an extent that the attempts to overcome the implicit paradigmatic divide which denies any meaning to the sonorous dimension of the voice as such have not found full success yet. For centuries, in Euro-American culture, the philosophical interest in the voice remained fundamentally tied to oratorical delivery. See, for instance, Salazar’s (2006) observation that in Renaissance and Baroque rhetorical treatises voice was part of a theological, political, and educational understanding of public culture; or see, still in the nineteenth century, James Rush’s (1833 [1827]) and James Hunt’s (1859) treatises on the philosophy of voice. Theater scholar Andrew M. Kimbrough

(2002, 28) emphasized “the extent to which many of the ageless associations of the voice with metaphysics and the phono-logocentric tradition still permeate recent theoretical work on speech and language in the twentieth century” and in this respect advanced a critique toward phenomenological views of voice and language in Husserl, Heidegger, and Merleau-Ponty (Kimbrough 2002, 28). In fact, if we exclude Giambattista Vico’s and Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s “historical discovery of the primacy of tone as the first language behind all words” (Tomlinson 1999b, 45), soon overshadowed by the nascent, modern ideologies of music and anthropology (*ibid.*), it was not until the second half of the twentieth century that new ideas and ways of approaching the study of the human voice developed within the humanities and social sciences.

A significant strand of these new ideas comes from the theoretical reflection produced by what Kimbrough (2002, 26) called the “theatres of presence” of Antonin Artaud, Jerzy Grotowski, and Peter Brook. In the 1960s, for instance, Jerzy Grotowski (1991 [1969]) drew attention to the inescapable primacy of the bodily, material dimensions of the human voice as means of communication:

In the vocal process, all parts of the body ... vibrate. ... we learn to speak with the body first and then with the voice. The voice is something material. It can be used for everything. All the body’s stimuli can be expressed by the voice ... The human voice seeks resounding elements. The body ... is the first and right place for the resonance of the voice. (Grotowski 1991 [1969], 152 ff.)

Another important strand of the new ideas concerning voice comes from post-structuralist thought of the 1970s-1980s. The primary, material dimension of voice as manifestation of bodily presence in musical performance is, partly, what Roland Barthes (1977 [1972]) dubbed the *grain of the voice*, or *geno-song*, preferring it as a

foundation for an aesthetics of music in opposition to what he called *pheno-song*.

Transposing the terms *geno-text* and *pheno-text* from Julia Kristeva's (1984) theory of texts,² the French semiotician (1977 [1972], 182-3) made the following distinction:

The *geno-song* is the volume of the singing and speaking voice, the space where significations germinate 'from within language and in its very materiality'; it forms a signifying play having nothing to do with communication, representation (of feelings), expression; it is that apex (or that depth) of production where the melody really works at the language—not at what it says, but the voluptuousness of its sounds-signifiers ... It is, in a very simple word but which must be taken seriously, the *diction* of the language. (Barthes 1977 [1972], 182-3)

The *pheno-song* ... covers all the phenomena, all the features which belong to the structure of the language being sung, the rules of the genre, the coded form of the melisma, the composer's idiolect, the style of the interpretation: in short, everything in the performance which is in the service of communication, representation, expression, ... which forms the tissue of cultural values ..., which takes its bearing directly on the ideological alibis of a period ("subjectivity", "expressivity", "dramaticism," "personality" of the artist). (Barthes 1977 [1972], 182)

Having emphasized not only the voluptuousness but also the eroticism of the *grain*, Barthes defined it more concisely one year later (1975 [1973], 66), distinguishing it from *diction*: the *grain* is "an erotic mixture of timbre and language ... [which] can therefore also be, along with diction, the substance of an art."

Despite the promising focus advocated by Barthes on the materiality of the voice as significant, his definitions of *geno-song* and *pheno-song* imply a crucial hampering problem: he uses communication in the narrow and arguable sense of linguistic communication (see Pitarch 2004c), thus precluding any real possibility of granting the bodily, material dimensions of vocal sounds the capacity to communicate cultural meanings. Barthes, in fact, foregrounded the grain of the voice but assigned to it only pleasurable, pre-semiotic connotations beyond (or before) culture: it has erotic

² For Kristeva (1984, 86-7), "[e]ven though it can be seen in language, the genotext is not linguistic ... it is, rather, a *process*, which tends to articulate structures that are ephemeral ... and nonsignifying." Instead, the phenotext is "language that serves to communicate, which linguistics describes in terms of 'competence' or 'performance' ... The phenotext is a structure ... it obeys rules of communication and presupposes a subject of enunciation and an addressee."

significance but not meaning in his contention. This stance arguably makes little sense from an ethnomusicological standpoint, if we simply consider the extant ethnographic evidence that the sound of the voice in itself as a material, bodily thing may have situated meanings: expressing iconically, in different ways, connotations and denotations in specific cultural and social settings (see below subsection 6.1.1.). The body and the sound of the voice may precede or exceed language, but they cannot escape culture.³ Furthermore, the vocal styles, the coded forms of the melismas, and the personal styles of interpretation which Barthes puts on the side of the *pheno-song*, thus become surprisingly deprived of their material, bodily dimension, which is a condition of possibility for their very existence and actual articulation. To make one relevant point respecting this: could we conceive of a singing style or technique, or its overall encoded features, without its very material way of vocal emission, without its bodily conditions of production?

We need to turn to more recent lines of thought which emerged during the 1980s within the trail of post-structuralism in order to find mature ideas on the importance of the sonorous dimension of the voice as a means of social communication. The notion of vocality to refer to the material or phonic dimension of the human voice in its capacity to carry existential and socio-cultural meanings outside language

³ Feld, Fox, Porcello, and Samuels (2004, 341) make a similar argument to mine: “the sonorousness of the voice indexes a clear social agency and a sense of place. Practice-oriented approaches to the phenomenological intertwining of language and music make clear that voice itself is a way of writing against essentialization, a way of writing for performativity, and creative agency. This in no way denies the body or pleasure, any more than it denies acoustics or physiology; rather it insists that these are materially social sites as much as anything else. In other words, the physical grain of the voice has a fundamentally social life.”

For her part, Pavitra Sundar (2008, 175, n. 38) argues “that, given the countless ways we experience and interpret our bodies, sensing the body in voice does not necessarily sway us to *jouissance*. How we hear the grain of the voice, the sensation it inspires, is at least in part a function of culture.” Finally, the British singer John Potter (1998, 172) claimed that “Barthes’[s] essay is problematic for performers: ... I find it almost impossible to identify the points he makes with the paradigms he chooses (Panzéra[’s] and Fischer-Dieskau[’s])” vocal renditions as foregrounding respectively geno-song and pheno-song).

significantly arose in close connection with the claim for the need to develop an anthropology of the voice, as I'm pursuing here.

It was the Italian philologist Corrado Bologna the first scholar to set forth the prospects for an anthropology of the voice, as well as for a metaphysics of the voice. In his entry "Voce" ("Voice") (1981) for the *Enciclopedia Einaudi*, Bologna set out to account for its acoustical materiality as the primary carrier of meanings in human social and inner experiences. His text made up for the entry that Barthes had been commissioned for the same encyclopedia, but had been prevented from writing owing to his death in 1981. "Voce" as published was actually a condensation by fifty per cent of the essay Bologna had written, but the original, complete text, only appearing about one decade later as *Flatus vocis: Metafisica e antropologia della voce* (1992), exerted a key influence on medievalist Paul Zumthor, pushing him to coin the notion of vocality which concerns us.

Having shifted his interest from an exclusive semiotic attention to structures of meaning in medieval texts to the development of a phenomenology of voice and writing as body-centered modes of communication (Pfeiffer 2004, 9), Zumthor was preparing his soon-to-be influential *Introduction a la poésie orale* (1983; 1990). During a visit to Rome in 1981-1982, he came to know Bologna, and was able to read his original, typewritten essay.⁴ As the medievalist acknowledged in the preface to *Flatus vocis* (Zumthor 1992, 9) "the reading was greatly enlightening: it allowed me to order some of my ideas, still underdeveloped, and had me understand the relevant scope of a distinction

⁴ Prof. Bologna's personal communication (2005).

between *orality* and *vocality*.⁵ He thus strategically distinguished *vocality*, which emphasizes the senses and the corporeality of the voice, from *orality*, which emphasizes the logos and the word: “I do define ‘orality’ the working of the voice as it brings language; ‘vocality’ the whole activities and values which are its own characteristics, apart from language” (Zumthor 1992, 9, trans. Minarelli 1999).

Probing the usually hindering dichotomy orality/literacy in philological and literary studies, Zumthor explained his strategic distinction in more detail:

I prefer, instead of the term *orality*, that of *vocality*. *Vocality* is the historicity of the voice: its use. A long tradition of thought, it is true, considers and values the voice as the carrier of language, as the site where and the means through which the signifying sonorities are articulated. Thus, what must concern us more is the wide function of the voice—of which the word constitutes the most evident manifestation, but neither the only one nor the most vital one: I mean the exercise of its physiological thrust, its capability to produce the *phoné* and to organize its substance. This *phoné* does not relate to sense in an immediate way: it only provides it its place. What is proposed as worth of attention is the corporeal element ... [or] mode of existence as object ... of sensory perception.⁶ [emphasis in the original] (Zumthor 1987, 21)⁷

⁵ La lettura fu oltremodo illuminante: mi consentí di dare ordine ad alcune mie idee, ancora poco sviluppate, e mi fece comprendere la portata rilevante di una distinzione fra *oralità* e *vocalità*.

⁶ [J]e préfère, au mot d'*oralité*, celui de *vocalité*. La *vocalité*, c'est l'historicité d'un voix: son usage. Une longue tradition de pensée, il est vrai, considère et valorise la voix en tant qu'elle porte le langage, qu'en elle et par elle s'articulent les sonorités signifiantes. Pourtant, ce qui doit nous retenir davantage, c'est la fonction large de la voix—dont la parole constitue la manifestation la plus évidente, mais ni la seule ni la plus vitale: je veux dire l'exercice de sa puissance physiologique, sa capacité de produire la *phonie* et d'en organiser la substance. Cette *phoné* ne tient pas au sens de manière immédiate: elle ne fait que lui procurer son lieu. Ce qui se propose ainsi à l'attention, c'est l'aspect corporel ... [ou] mode d'existence en tant qu'objet ... de perception sensorielle.

⁷ Going further ahead than Zumthor, linguists Ron Scollon and Suzanne Wong Scollon (1995) significantly suggested that “*somatic communication* might be a useful and more appropriate, alternative term to *orality*, since the latter “as a technical term ... is insufficient, negative, obsolescent, phonocentric, logocentric, and uniformitarian.” According to them, “[t]he term is insufficient because the two terms, orality and literacy, together suggest a closed and binary field of study rather than a high level of interdiscursivity between orality and literacy. It is negative in that it signals an opposition to the largely preferred literacy. It is obsolescent in that it suggests a stage prior to the development of literacy and fails to acknowledge that literate societies remain fundamentally oral. It is phonocentric in that its focus is on spoken aspects of communication to the exclusion of gesture and other forms of communication. And it is uniformitarian because research has demonstrated not one, but many forms of orality across the world’s cultures.” (See Scollon and Wong Scollon 1995, Abstract).

The German medievalist Ursula Shaefer (1992) rejected neat dichotomies between “oral” and “literate,” as untenable vis-à-vis certain medieval poems, and posited a modality that participates in both oral and literate culture, yet also has a logic and esthetic of its own. Borrowing and slightly changing Zumthor’s notion, she called *vokalität* (“vocality”) such mixed modality, arguing that it best captures the coexistence of both written and oral modes, each in its appropriate sphere, and a characteristic interplay between features of both, as apparent in the workings of certain English medieval epic poems (see Otter 1994; Bremmer 1995).

Zumthor's notion of vocality, the sense of which is not immediately available but which must be apprehended through (ethnographic) attention to specific cultural contexts, started taking ground in the humanities, particularly in the 1990s. It was then that the English language and song scholars Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones, taking over this notion, published the collaborative, interdisciplinary volume *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Cultures* (1994). Invoking post-structuralist semioticians like Barthes (1977 [1972]) and Kristeva (1984), as well as psychoanalyst Michel Poizat (1992), who had addressed the operatic voice from a psychological standpoint, Dunn and Jones stressed the meaningfulness of the sonorous, embodied content of vocal utterances defining vocality as the *presence* (Ong 1981 [1967]) and *historicity* (Zumthor 1987, 21) of the human voice and the human body both in spoken and sung performances (Dunn and Jones 1994, 1).

The scholars involved in this project, including ethnomusicologist Elizabeth Tolbert (1994), explored the signification of vocality in different Western socio-cultural settings and moments in light of current theories of subjectivity, the body, and sexual difference, and emphasized that vocal meanings derive from “an intersubjective acoustic space.” Thus, any attempt to articulate those meanings should necessarily “reconstruct ... the contexts of ... hearing” (Dunn and Jones 1994, 2).⁸

Mikhail Bakhtin's (1986) notion of *vocality*, that is to say, the metaphorical, authorial voice, or otherwise the multiplicity of subjective voices inscribed in literary texts, refers to a different phenomenon from the one with which an *anthropology of the voice* as conceived by Bologna is concerned. Bakhtin's concept has been appropriated by anthropologists, at times trying to develop a “critical anthropology of voice” (Giulianotti 2005), always taking *voice* in its metaphorical sense.

⁸ Almost contemporarily, though from a different standpoint, the French ethnolinguists Nicole Revel and Diana Rey-Hulman proposed to develop an “anthropology of voices” in their edited volume *Pour une anthropologie des voix* (1993), in which they also gathered multidisciplinary works around the topic of voice in different cultures.

The phenomenon of vocality as a central object of ethnographic observation for the development of a musical anthropology of the voice, as I'm pursuing here, thus, refers, in specific terms, to the sonorous material/textural qualities of the human voice in the continuum of intermediate possibilities between, on the one hand, primal utterances such as wailing, screaming, groaning, laughing, babbling, and so on; and on the other hand, the sounds of singing, whistling, chant, sprechgesang, recitation, speech (intonation, accent), whispering, glossolalia, or others, as well as their instrumental extensions and surrogates, as they become socio-culturally meaningful expressions in performance.

The anthropological study of vocality suitably should focus on the sound materiality of the voice and the intertwining of the voice with other voices as signifying signifier(s), or to put it more explicitly, on (1) its *timbral qualities* such as tension, roughness, breathiness, nasality, etc. (van Leeuwen 1999, 140); (2) its *dynamic qualities* or volume/intensity—*forte*, *decrescendo*, etc.; (3) its *pitch inflections* or ornamentations—*vibrato*, *tremolo*, *trills*, *glides*, *melismas*, *ornamental formulas* etc.; (4) its *modes of emission* or *registers*—*chest*, *head* or *falsetto* (Castellengo 1991), *yodel* (Plantenga 2004), etc.; (5) its *pitch ranges*—*tenor*, *soprano*, *baritone*, etc.; (6) its *duration*, *rhythm*, and *articulation* as overall manifestations of psychological and bodily attitudes—*long song* (Constantin Brăiloiu, see Nattiez 1984), *logogenic/pathogenic* styles (Sachs 1943; see also subsection 6.1.1.), etc.; (7) *singing techniques*, such as *overtone singing* (van Tongeren 2002), *voix sombre* (“darkened voice”) (Potter 1998, 47-66; Bloch 2007), etc.; and last but not least (8) its *textural configurations*, such as *heterophony*, *overlapping*, *drone*, *parallelism*,

homophony, polyphony, ostinato, imitation, melodic counterpoint, rhythmic counterpoint, hocket (Simha Arom, see Agamennone 1996, 26-31), echo-polyphony or “lift-up-over sounding” (Feld 1994a [1988], 118-9), glossolalia (Goodman 1972; de Certeau 1996; Cartledge 2006), antiphony etc.; in short, it should focus on any of the bodily, material/textural qualities of the voice as they iconically relate to significant dimensions of social and inner human life, with the explicit assumption that iconicity is not only a natural phenomenon of consciousness primarily implied in all communication, but also a culturally mediated one (see subsection 6.1.2.).

In this sense, the notion of vocality which I postulate here is wider than Barthes’s grain of the voice (see above section 6.1.), or for that matter, than Feld, Fox, Porcello, and Samuels’s (2004, 328) vocality, which refers exclusively to the timbral qualities of the voice as “sonic material of [semantic, metaphoric] articulation” intertwining with speech. The notion of vocality that I propose here is closer to Corrado Bologna’s materiality of the voice (1992, 91; see also below this section) and to Zumthor’s vocality. In the sonic, embodied sense emphasized here, vocality thus coalesces with the notion and phenomenon of *vocal* or *singing style* traditionally explored—to different extents and with different assumptions—over the whole history of ethnomusicology, since its early disciplinary stages.

The notion of vocality, on the one hand, (1) advantageously expands the scope of vocal style—by encompassing larger bodily-dependent traits of the human voice and its intertwining with other voices as the central or a salient means of aesthetic and ethical production of meaning, and on the other hand, (2) acknowledges the pre-eminent position of vocal or singing style in the hierarchy of musical values by

underscoring that the material/textural qualities of vocal sounds (and of sounds in general) are paramount from a communicative standpoint, and hence primary in the articulation of meanings as they shape our first musical perceptions. Most significant, finally, vocality in the sense I'm positing here involves the suitability of exploring existential dimensions of being human in relation to the voice qua sound (as will be emphasized below in subsection 6.2.2.).⁹

The abovementioned coalescence of vocality and vocal or singing style becomes clearer if we consider the basic idea that Bologna emphasized in the first chapter of his "Anthropology of the voice," titled "The (un)natural voice," in allusion to both its natural and cultural dimensions as object of ethnographic inquiry:

The *intensities*, the *timbres*, the *colors*, the *registers*, the *tones*, the *placements* of individual voices can reach the status of collective-social stereotypes so as to evoke "immediately" ... through their "phonic style" an "existential" or "cultural style."¹⁰ [italics in the original] (Bologna 1992, 91)

This idea connects with Giambattista Vico's and Jean-Jacques Rousseau's, who prefigure modern science and anthropology. In the eighteenth century, they deemed that singing, as a device foregrounding the basic tropes of sensate, bodily thought or imagination, was a seemingly universal and neutral means to comprehend others (Tomlinson 1999a, 353; 2003). However, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, romantic notions of the musical transcendence of vocal (and musical)

⁹ The Hungarian linguist and psychologist Ivan Fónagy (1991 [1983], 9-25; 1999, 10), noted for his research on *psycho-phonetics* or psychology of the *vive voix* ("living voice"), takes vocal style in a much more restricted sense: for him, it is just a "way of pronouncing" conceived of as an originally independent non-verbal message, conveyed by a sequence of phonemes.

¹⁰ I *livelli*, i *timbri*, i *colori*, i *registri*, i *toni*, le *impostazioni* delle voci individuali possono venire assunti al livello di stereotipi collettivi-sociali, ad evocare "immediatamente" ... attraverso il loro "stile fonico" uno "stile esistenziale" o "culturale."

sounds prevented an anthropological exploration of the meaning of the singing voice in its phonic dimension, as Elizabeth Tolbert (2001, 258) pointedly underscored:

The analysis of vocality has been a stumbling block for musical scholars because it challenges the autonomous nature of so-called absolute music, while questioning how the role of vocal presence participates in the creation of sociocultural meaning. Vocal presence cannot be uncritically accepted as philosophically naive, nor can it be assumed that its role as a sociocultural construct is transparently obvious. (Tolbert 2001, 456-7)

By the time Bologna originally wrote his essay *Flatus vocis* (late 1970s-early 1980s), the very same idea—that material/textural qualities of (vocal) sounds immediately evoke an existential or cultural style through their phonic style—had already taken ground in ethnomusicology. Actually, Bologna was unaware of the pioneering insights and research of Alan Lomax, who from the mid-1950s to the late 1960s had been exploring the homologies between song styles and cultural values or behaviors in his ambitious project *Cantometrics* (see Lomax 1968). His fertile insights on the relation between style and cultural values, in fact, underpinned a series of ethnomusicological ethnographies, mostly developed in the 1970s, which, going beyond Lomax's methodological assumptions, grounded his basic idea in substantial ways, thus opening up significant avenues for the development of ethnomusicology, as well as for the development of a contemporary musical anthropology of the voice.

A synthetic reconstruction of how vocal or singing styles, or issues of vocality, have been addressed in ethnomusicology from its disciplinary inception as comparative musicology will prove useful at this point in order to understand where Lomax stood, what kind of developments followed in the 1970s-1980s after his insights opened new avenues, and in this connection, where a musical anthropology of the voice centered on the notion and phenomenon of vocality may further lead us.

6.1.1. Vocal styles in ethnomusicology: universalist and particularist views

Early in the history of ethnomusicology, in the 1920s, Erich von Hornbostel, who thought over “many problems of music other than the purely structural” (Merriam 1960, 108) suggested “a paradigm for describing musical style ... [as] illustrated in many of his culture-specific articles” (Nettl 2002, 10). He used the term *style* specifically to address habitual manners of singing and playing expressed through techniques of the body, as opposed to what is sung and played, and regarded style as a universal category defining broad geographical areas—such as, for instance, the Amerindian encompassing the whole North and South American continents (Blum 1990, 170). On his side, Milton Metfessel (1928) provided the first technical means for an accurate notation and description of pitch nuances of the human voice, particularly focusing on Afro-American song. Such an early ethnomusicological interest in vocal issues is strikingly contemporary with linguistic ideas which prefigured the development of phonetics and phonology in the 1930s. As a matter of fact, the linguist Edward Sapir (1921, 43) remarked that “neither the purely formal aspects of a language nor the course of its history can be fully understood without reference to the sounds in which this form and this history are embodied.” Sapir, however, did not apply this insight to his research.

Curt Sachs (1943), who often synthesized previously unacknowledged or scattered domains of musical research, distinguished for his part between a *logogenic* melodic style of singing, born from the spoken word, and a *pathogenic* style, born from outbursts of voice reaching a climax. Furthermore he claimed in 1956, prefiguring Alan Lomax’s insights and within a line of thinking useful for the

development of a musical anthropology of the voice, that “[h]ow people sing is no less meaningful than what they sing” (see Sachs 1962, posthumously edited by Jaap Kunst). Acknowledging that “VOCAL MANNERISM is the hardest and most neglected branch of our studies,” Sachs proposed a physiological method for the study of vocal styles—an idea also mirrored in the development of phonetic methodologies throughout the 1930s. He gathered evidence from South America, Polynesia, Australia, Africa, “the West,” and India, that “[f]ew regions have completely unified styles and mannerisms.” His particularist view on vocal styles was therefore in apparent contrast to Hornbostel’s universalism.

It is worth noticing that this polarity of standpoints remained in the most significant approaches to the study of *vocal styles* of mid-twentieth century. In the same year that Sachs completed the manuscript of his posthumously published work (1956), Alan Lomax (1955-1956 and 1956) put forward the hypothesis that there exists a meaningful relationship between song styles and life styles—in the final analysis, the same idea that Corrado Bologna would later advance in Italy. Actually, Lomax’s insight came out of his fieldwork experience in Spain (1952-1953) and Italy (1954-1955), through realizing that the singing voices of women in the Southern regions of both European peninsulas presented a tense, high-pitched, and somewhat nasal quality which he interpreted as indexical of their apparent sexual subjugation and repression in rural, markedly patriarchal Mediterranean societies (Lomax 1959, 938-9; see also Chapter 5, subsection 5.1.1.). From this starting point, he came to see song style, or musical style generally, as a universal category which “can form a basis for field observation” (Lomax 1955-1956, 48):

When one considers the musical event as a whole, including the mannerisms of the singers, the social organization of the music, the timbre of the voice, and the technique of vocalizing, the function of music, its evident emotional content, along with the main points of musical emphasis (as opposed to the musical details which strike the trained European musician), there seem to emerge certain generalized patterns which occur again and again. These patterns of musical behavior, which may be likened to a set of habits, I group together under the term *musical style*. I propose that the science of musical ethnography be based on the study of musical style or musical habits of mankind. (Lomax 1955-1956, 48)

Lomax (1966) assumed that sung, as distinct from spoken, communication has persistent referents which are cultural rather than situational, and therefore that the former's meaning is formal rather than contextual. Thus, in his monumental project Cantometrics, Lomax (1962; 1966; 1968; 1976; 1989) developed, as is well-known, a formal apparatus of 37 stylistic and textural parameters to compare a few sample songs from each of a variety of cultures worldwide. It was through this observational method that he established a set of stylistically-differentiated singing areas of the globe.¹¹

Also in 1956, the same year that Lomax first proposed his ideas and global stylistic areas, Charles Seeger gave a lecture on "singing style" at the American Anthropological Association. In his lecture, published two years later, Seeger (1958) significantly invoked Metfessel's work as a precedent, and proposed, in clear contrast to Lomax's universalist stance, a particularist conception of singing style, so that this relevant phenomenon was to be explored through intensive fieldwork in each specific

¹¹ He first distinguished among (1) Eurasian, (2) Old Eurasian, (3) African Negro, (4) Pygmoid, and (5) Amerindian—in this particular case in coincidence with Hornbostel (Lomax 1956a, b), and later distinguished in inverse order ten areas: (1) American Indian [= 5 Amerindian], (2) Pygmoid [= 4], (3) African [= 3 African Negro], (4) Australian, (5) Melanesian, (6) Polynesian (7) Malayan, (8) Eurasian [= 1], (9) Old European [= 2 Old Eurasian], and (10) Modern European (Lomax 1959). Variously reworked as the project progressed (Lomax 1962; 1968), he produced in the end a more nuanced map, ordered from the oldest tribal societies in Africa up to modern Europe with a clear old comparative-diffusionist bent: (1) African gatherers [= Pygmoid], (2) Proto Melanesia, (3) Siberia, (4) Circum-Pacific [= most of North and South America, Melanesia, Australia], (5) Nuclear America [= the Andean range and the isthmus], (6) Tropical gardeners [= Black Africa, plus southern India and the West Indies], (7) Malayo-Polynesia, (8) Old High Culture [= Mediterranean Europe, plus North Africa, the Middle East, and South and East Asia up to Japan], (9) Central Asia, and (10) Europe [= Old and Modern, with its expansions into North and South America] (Lomax 1976; 1989).

culture. Seeger's (1958), and later Kōngās Maranda's (1970), McLeod's (1974), and Irvine and Sapir's (1976) critiques to the Cantometrics project all agreed that Lomax's work was based on several problematic methodological assumptions which can be summarized as follows: (1) each culture has a single musical style rather than several as it is the case; (2) musical styles are culture-specific rather than context-specific as it actually happens; as a consequence, (3) an etic analysis of a few scattered examples of each culture can be sufficient to attribute meanings to them instead of such attribution requiring intensive fieldwork as experience shows; finally, (4) the stylistic features and roles available in performance can be universally interpreted rather than being dependent on a set of situated social opportunities and historical circumstances for their actual meanings as it is the actual fact.

Victor Grauer (2005), the co-creator with Alan Lomax of the Cantometrics coding system in 1961 and a research associate in the Cantometrics project under Lomax's supervision from 1963 through 1966, responded recently to similar criticisms leveled against their project by the British folklorist Fred McCormick (2002 [1990s]). In the final analysis, Grauer's rejoinder leaves the same problems unsolved. The core of his response to McCormick lies in these excerpts:

[A] difference of opinion between Lomax and myself, I see Cantometrics as an essentially heuristic method, the results of which must always be regarded as provisional. There are many reasons for this, among them the possibility of [stylistic parameter] rater['s sic] error or bias, the very real difficulties in obtaining truly representative samples, and the difficulty of interpreting very broadly defined correlations. ...

Cantometrics was designed to look past the creativity to the traditions beneath it, as well as [to] the social, historical and psychological forces which lie beneath those traditions ... The relation between song style and social forces may not be as straightforward as one might think from reading some of Lomax's commentaries. In my opinion, the force of tradition itself must also be reckoned with. Certain ... traditions may have survived simply through a force of their own, regardless of cultural transformations ...

While many of Lomax's explanations are convincing, others are not. As I see it, this methodology is designed to open the doors to many possibilities, only a few of which have been considered to date. (Grauer 2005)

As we can clearly see, the rating errors or biases, the difficulties in assessing culturally representative song samples or in interpreting very broadly defined stylistic correlations among different cultures, the looking past the creativity of traditions, in sum, the straightforward etic assignment of meanings to the relation between song style and culture, are but the core problems of the old methodological procedures of comparative musicology, the practitioners of which did their main research in the office rather than in the field.

There is no doubt that Lomax was "asking many of the right questions about [the relation between] music and social institutions, but [on the other hand] the mechanics of cantometrics cannot satisfy ... intensive field work, in-depth analysis, and grounded ethnographic theory," as Steven Feld (1984, 385) coherently remarked, thereby pointing to the hallmarks of contemporary ethnomusicology as it developed in the anthropology of music phase from the mid 1960s onward (Bohlman 2001). In this connection and with critical perspicuity, Jeff Todd Titon (2003, 177) observed that the comparative musicology phase of ethnomusicology, with its universalist projects, "exhausted itself in Alan Lomax's cantometrics" (see also Titon 1982).

Clinging to his universalist conception of song style and research method until the last moment, Lomax (1989) prevented himself from fulfilling the heuristic ethnographic value of his basic insight, namely, that "song expresses more than it says" (Köngäs Maranda 1970, 184) and that an ethnographic exploration of its

stylistic features in relation to their aesthetic, social, and existential meanings is of great consequence. In this sense, Lomax “clearly heralds a new understanding of music” (McLeod 1974, 109), which brought to the forefront of ethnomusicology the idea that underlying social homologies inform the musical production of sounds.

Lomax’s useful insights had not to be cast aside along with his problematic methodological assumptions. Thus, “the science of musical ethnography ... based on the study of musical style or musical habits of mankind” (Lomax 1955-1956, 48) that he extolled actually needed and, in fact, subsequently underwent a dramatic reorientation toward exploring the situatedness of the social meanings of vocal and musical styles. After Lomax’s first impulse, and under the influence of the structuralist orientation in anthropology and ethnomusicology which emerged in the 1970s, the question of how homologies of style and behavior could be salient for an understanding of music’s articulation of meanings was indeed explored in a new dimension grounded in intensive fieldwork. Thomas Turino ([2002]) stressed this, drawing several examples from Steven Feld’s (1994a [1988], 131-2) previous reflection on the present issue, and adding Turino’s own research as another instance of the new approach:

Practitioners of the anthropology of music loosely adapted Lévi-Straussian structuralism as a key approach in the 1970s and 1980s. Typically, ethnomusicologists were not concerned with Claude Lévi-Strauss’s starting point, the common structure of the human mind. Rather, working on a culture-specific basis, they assumed that there would be deep structural patterns that would shape (surface) cultural practices and forms, creating homologies across different domains of social life. Thus, Charles Keil [1979] identified patterns involving circles and angles, in roof designs, visual arts, and in music [and song of the Tiv people in northern Nigeria], and Adrienne Kaeppler [1978] found homologies across different realms of Tongan art and society [including traditional song].

Combining the earlier interest in homologies with the Peircean concept of iconicity, Judith Becker and Anton Becker [1979; 1981] found similar structures in Indonesian calendrical concepts and gamelan music; Steven Feld [1990a [1982]; 1990b; 1991 [1982]; 1994a [1988]], 1996] documented the iconicity of aesthetics, practices, and style across a number of domains of

Kaluli social life [in Papua New Guinea]; and Thomas Turino [1988; 1989] observed a series of symmetrical structures organized around a centerline in Aymara panpipe and flute ensembles, in Andean weaving, in the conceptualization of agricultural niches, and in the organization of space during festival celebrations. (Turino [2002])¹²

Bruno Nettl (1983, 207-8) also found homologies between the organizational structure and conceptualization of Persian classical music, *mūsīqī-e aṣīl-e īrānī*, on the one hand, and Persian social values and relations on the other, identifying hierarchy, family kinship, and introductory behavior as core patterns across domains.

The list of specific examples could be certainly enlarged, but what really matters at this point is how the newest approaches moved a step forward, beyond the strict, formal recognition of structural homologies into acknowledging “that music’s iconicity with other cultural values and styles is the source of its power to move us profoundly” (Rice 1994, 3).

6.1.2. The iconicity of style, foundational principle for the study of vocality

In the early 1970s, philosopher and western classical singer Vernon A. Howard drew attention to what he called the “Iconic Sign Theory” of musical meaning, based on ideas about musical signification and feeling which were advanced in the first half of the twentieth century by semioticians such as Charles S. Peirce (1931-1958) and Charles W. Morris (1939; 1946), as well as by aestheticians such as Louis A. Reid (1931; 1966) and Susanne K. Langer (1953; 1957 [1942]). The core of their particular views on musical meaning, Howard summarized, is that, “being an auditory process,

¹² For clarity, I have split the cited text into two paragraphs, considering the contrasting ideas expressed in each one of the two portions. I have also completed the references, which are not given in the original.

music becomes an *iconic* sign of other processes, most notably psychological ones, by virtue of its morphological or kinetic resemblances to them” (Howard 1997 [1971], 313).

Peirce himself did not elaborate or develop a theory of music as an iconic sign of inner processes, yet the idea of music’s iconicity with feeling is both implicit and explicit in his writings. The idea is implicit, on the one hand, when he contends that the first proper “significate effect” or interpretant of a sign is a feeling produced by it:

in some cases, it is the only proper significate effect that the sign produces. Thus, the performance of a piece of concerted music is a sign ... [that] conveys, and is intended to convey, the composer’s musical ideas; but these usually consist merely in a series of feelings. (Peirce 1931-1958, Vol. 3, 326)

The idea is explicit, on the other hand, when Peirce, in a letter of October 12, 1904 to his fellow colleague in the study of signs Lady Victoria Welby, states that:

In respect to their relations to their dynamic objects, I divide signs into Icons, Indices, and Symbols (a division I gave in 1867). I define a Icon as a sign which is determined by its dynamic object by virtue of its own internal nature. Such is any qualisign [i.e., any sign of the nature of an appearance], like a vision, —or the sentiment excited by [the performance of] a piece of music considered as representing what the composer intended. (Peirce 1931-1958, Vol. 7, 228)

For Peirce, music’s internal nature is iconic with the sentiment it excites. Anyway, passing over the “frankly ingenuous and simplistic” contention (Mirigliano 1995, 53) that musical ideas consist merely in a series of feelings, and that musical representations have determined, univocal effects upon listeners, we can safely say in Howard’s words, that the “Iconic Sign Theory” of musical meaning (developed from Peirce’s original insight) assumes that music can be analyzed as a kind of sound-map

of emotions, feelings, moods, or virtual time, space, or motion (Howard 1997 [1971], 314).¹³

This early twentieth-century idea (that music is primarily an iconic correlate of human inner domains of experience) was the basis for the seminal work of Alton Becker (1979) and Judith Becker (1979), and most specifically for their collaborative paper “A musical icon: Power and meaning in Javanese gamelan music,” delivered in 1978 at the International Conference on the Semiotics of Art, in Ann Arbor, and published three years later (Becker and Becker 1981; reissued in 1995). Becker and Becker were explicit about their use of iconicity as naturalization of linguistic—that is to say, culturally-conditioned—metaphors across domains of human experience:

[F]rom Charles Peirce, we borrow the term iconicity and argue that it is often in homologies between musical text-building strategies and other cultural forms that musical power is expressed [emphasis in the original] ...

[T]he major source of power of a kind of music ... is associated with the iconicity, or “naturalness,” of the coherence system that informs that music. ... We might call *iconicity* the nonarbitrariness of any metaphor. Metaphors gain power—and even cease being taken as metaphors—as they gain iconicity or “naturalness.” ... One way to describe what happens to make terms ... powerful is to say that they operate across epistemologies, from one kind of reality to another kind of reality. ... there seem to be four basic kinds of reality [or realms] we talk about: nature, human relations, language itself, and the supernatural. ... iconicity can be defined ... as finding the image of something in another realm ...

To the extent that the coherence system of Javanese gamelan music is felt to be natural, it is iconic with Javanese conceptions of the workings of time. Musical systems or languages are always more than organized sounds, vocabularies, and syntaxes. They are instances of the way a specific people understand and relate to the phenomenal world. (Becker and Becker 1995 [1981], 349-50 and 363)

¹³ Nevertheless, Howard (*ibid.* and 1996), criticized the iconic theory of music by pointing out that iconicity rather than on actual, literal similarities depends on culturally-based metaphors. In this connection, Felicia Kruse (2007) acknowledged that Peirce was correct in maintaining that music primarily signifies feeling-content, but remarked that musical signification is not purely iconic because the response to musical feelings represented in a work requires previous acquaintance with its style and tradition, and is therefore culturally conditioned. Both Howard’s and in Kruse’s analyses address the notion of iconicity without taking into account the contributions of semiotic theory which, starting with Peirce himself, have shed light on the complex nature of iconic sign relations, which can be both primary and secondary or conventional. See below this section.

If, as research from different scientific and humanistic disciplinary fields has demonstrated, “patterns of relatedness among things in the world of experience influence patterns of relatedness among words in discourse and language” (McGreevy 2005, 67), and conversely, “the structures of particular experiences can be derived from the structures of corresponding discourses” (see also Tseng 2004), the ethnoscientific underpinnings of Becker and Becker’s insight become apparent.

Also, Steven Feld (1990a [1982], 1990b, 1991 [1982], 1994a [1988], 1994b, 1996, 2000, 2005), in his “richly textured study” (Rice 1994, 320, n. 2) of the ritualized vocal expressions of the Kaluli people of Papua New Guinea, paid careful and extended attention to linguistic metaphors, their ecological relation to the sounds of the Kaluli natural environment, and their resonance with cultural habits and cosmology: he proposed that, altogether, these relations constitute a crossmodal homology (Feld 1994a [1988], 131), that is, “an iconicity of style, rather than a formal homology of sonic (musical, verbal, and natural), visual, and choreographic structures” (Feld 1994a [1988], 113).

Vocality, as sonorous domain of the phenomenal world and as sonic display enmeshed in embodied metaphors, whether natural or naturalized, constituting “iconicities of style” which channel human action and experience into certain pathways, is therefore a powerful and useful entry point to observe in ethnographic ways how musical meanings are articulated in particular sociocultural settings. Significantly, Feld’s is but an ethnomusicological insight of the cognitive process called “cross-domain mapping” which has been shown to be pervasive in human understanding, as emphasized by musicologist Lawrence Zbikowski (1997, 200). It is

through this that we point to a foundational dynamics of knowing and relating to the world, which is why Vernon A. Howard (1996) underscored how most of the musicological theories of iconicity fail to grasp the fact that iconism is a natural tendency of the mind to coagulate ideas in a certain way rather than an arbitrary imposition on our part.

Yet, as communications scholar Anthony Wilden (1986) pointed out, iconicity is paradoxical because it consists of discretifying (“separating elements of”) natural and social environmental continua—or *analog* relations to use Gregory Bateson’s terminology (Pitarch Alfonso 2004c)—into apprehensible categories; that is, into *digital* relationships, in Bateson’s terms. For this very same reason, iconicity is a dynamic process bound to perpetual oscillation (Wilden 1986), and as such it is a resourceful well of classificatory possibilities instrumental in order to cope creatively and therefore meaningfully with the phenomenal world, to cope with life.

The icon ... concerns the relationship among signifying forms in the frame of their logic-real level of classification and in the logic-imaginary perspective of their classificability ... [Its underlying] classificatory logic transposes the material as form and function to the infinible (infinite and infinitesimal). This doesn’t mean to deny what is commonly considered the objective reality, but it means to deny its inanalyzability [sic] as material and as limit to the symbolic-signifying relationships. Objects exist, but are fractal. (Ajello 1995, 78-9)

The consideration of all these contributions affords us an understanding of why phenomena based on iconicity, such as vocal and musical styles, are so powerful and may become the object of oscillation, transaction, or contestation. All these insights open up useful avenues for the ethnographic exploration of change and conflict with regard to vocal styles as iconic signs of embodied identities, that is, of dynamic social relationships, beyond a static identification of specific, formal homologies across

domains. Styles, and therefore the subjective selves they iconically point to and identify, are not things, but dynamic boundaries between the ontological materiality of the phenomenal world and its epistemological transposition as form and function. This realization is of great consequence.

If Feld explored the phenomenon of musical (vocal) iconicity within a society living in a markedly natural environment where sounds are paramount—since they reveal what cannot be seen in the intricacies of the rainforest, the exploration of iconicities of vocal and singing styles in urban societies beyond the particular way pointed out by Becker and Becker (1981) becomes equally significant. As anthropologist Michael Herzfeld (2005 [1997], 26-33 and 93-110) emphasized, strategies of essentialism based on iconicity are used by nation-states and other different groups as effective ways of creating self-evidence to frame collective experiences and interactions and to lead them into particular directions. Iconicity is central in these cases “because it backgrounds its own operation ... [it becomes] the perfect instrument for performative non-performance” (Herzfeld 2005, 32) or naturalization of ideas: the institutionalization of laws, bureaucracies, ways of social interaction, etc., follow the iconic principle. To put it in another way, through the creation or co-optation of what Berger and Luckmann (1966, 142) called “structures of plausibility”—among which vocal/musical practices are the most efficacious ones—and taking advantage of their iconicity, social life can be shaped or reshaped into particular configurations (see Chapter 1, section 1.4.).

The potentialities of iconicity as basic dynamics of signification and understanding are further confirmed by semiotician Lúcia Santaella’s (1996)

distinction of as many as six degrees of iconicity, from *pure icons*—or inner possibilities of nascent feeling and thought, as Peirce himself made clear—to external iconic signs or *hypoicons*. Whereas Santaella focused on the former, because they are rarely addressed in semiotics, it is now useful to focus on the latter, so as to delve further into the diverse basic articulations of meaning which processes of iconism may afford in society. As semiotician Göran Sonesson pertinently remarked,

[i]n most cases, when reference is made to icons in semiotics, what is actually meant is what Peirce termed *hypo-icons*, that is, signs which involve iconicity but also, to a great extent, indexical and/or “symbolic” (that is, conventional, or perhaps more generally, rule-like) properties. There are supposed to be three kinds of hypo-icons: *images*, in which case the similarity between expression and content is one of “simple qualities”; *diagrams*, where the similarity is one of “analogous relations in their parts”; and *metaphors*, in which the relations of similarity are brought to an even further degree of mediation. (Sonesson 1998; see also 1999)¹⁴

For Sonesson (2001), the point of these distinctions resides in the fact that there are two rather different basic kinds of iconic relations which he terms (1) *primary iconicity*, based on a simple resemblance of forms—that is, what Peirce called *images* or Ajello (1995, 78) “transposition of the material as form,” and (2) *secondary iconicity*, based on a more complex and conventional resemblance of relationships—namely, what Peirce distinguished as *diagrams* and *metaphors*, or Ajello (1995, 78) as “transposition of the material as function.” We may distinguish, thus, on the one hand,

¹⁴ In Charles S. Peirce’s own words: “Hypoicons may be roughly divided according to the mode of Firstness [i.e., of qualities of feeling, or mere appearances] of which they partake. Those which partake of simple qualities, or First Firstnesses, are images; those which represent the relations, mainly dyadic, or so regarded, of the parts of one thing by analogous relations in their own parts, are diagrams; those which represent the representative character of a representamen [or concrete subject that represents] by representing a parallelism in something else, are *metaphors*” (cited in Bergman and Paavola 2003). Although Peirce did not clarify further here the notion of *metaphor* as hypoicon, Olga Fischer and Max Nänny (1999, xxii-xxiii) understood coherently *metaphor* as a “semantic iconicity” and *diagram* as a “structural iconicity” (see De Cuyper 2008, 75). While “metaphorical representations ... are formally indistinguishable from literal, ‘diagrammatic’ representations,” as highlighted by Antony Jappy [2001]), in a metaphor it is not only the form or structure but also conventional meaning which are used to establish the parallelism, as Ludovic De Cuyper (2008, 75) made clear: consider, for instance: “the mountain foot.” Not only this differentiates them, also “a metaphor involves an iconic ground between two objects [e.g., the mountain base and a foot], rather than between a representamen and an object” as a diagram does (De Cuyper, *ibid.*).

primary iconicity, in which ... the perception of a similarity is one of the reasons for postulating a sign relation ... [and], on the other hand, ... secondary iconicity, where knowledge about the sign relation is necessary for the similarity to be perceived. However, ... secondary iconicity is itself of two rather different kinds, which we ... call specifying and semiotizing iconicity. [italics in the original] (Sonesson 2001)¹⁵

As Sonesson explained, in the secondary type, the sign relation or semiotic function must precede the iconicity and determines it, simply because various properties may be relevant: without conventionally knowing which ones apply, the iconicity cannot be perceived. This kind of secondary iconicity appears, in fact, in two different subtypes: on the one hand, (1) *secondary specifying iconicity* happens when the iconic foundation is of so a generic character that it may correspond to a large class of contents and we need to specify which ones correlate—a characteristic example would be Arnheim's *doodles*, the minimalist, often undecidable designs made out of simple lines of which one only sees the resemblance to a phenomenal object once the relation has been explicitly pointed out by the designer, an oscillation sometimes existing between two possible understandings; on the other hand, (2) *secondary semiotizing iconicity* is at work when the iconic foundation or resemblance is used to separate an object or subject and establish an identity—understood in the sense of belonging to a class of objects/subjects: we need to make the attribution of iconic meaning by conventionally framing or positioning them in a prominent context where the resemblance and class identity can be perceived, that is, we semiotize that

¹⁵ The distinction between primary and secondary iconicity corresponds to the distinction between transparent and translucent icons introduced by researchers into the sign languages of the deaf, and which Trevor Pateman (1986, 380) extended as useful notions to describe aesthetic phenomena: "it corresponds, for example, to the distinction Peter Kivy draws between *picturing* and *representation* in music. ... [An iconic] sign is considered *transparent* 'to the extent that [th]a[t] sign's meaning can be understood by a [nonsigner] from its form alone' ... [T]he second group of *iconic* signs [are] *translucent*: 'that is, nonsigners essentially agree on the basis for the relation between the sign and its meaning' ... [that is, t]he[se] signs are conventional but not arbitrary." In any event, Sonesson's terminology is preferable to Pateman's and Kivy's, as long as it echoes Pierce's basic sign relations in his general theory of signs.

object/subject. For instance, a car which while in the street is only a member of the category of cars, but when showcased in a shop window or in an exhibition it becomes the iconic sign of a car brand.

From a musical standpoint, Sonesson's distinctions of types of iconicity can be found, first, in the imitation in form and content of the phenomenal sounds of nature or society by the human voice or musical instruments (primary iconicity), such as when a bird call is replicated or evoked; and on the other hand, in the cross-modal homologies between musical (vocal) sounds and other domains of human experience as analyzed by ethnomusicologists in the 1970s-1980s and discussed above, which are perceived embeddedly or explicitly both by natives and by analysts as meaningful diagrammatic or metaphoric actions or sound behaviors (secondary iconicity).

Specifying and semiotizing secondary vocal iconicities also seem pertinent notions to analyze the dynamics of particular musical (vocal) phenomena. For instance, let us consider Theodore Levine with Valentina Süzükei's (2006, 90) observation about how the distinction between two subtypes of the Tuvan iconic overtone singing *kargyraa*, which is meant to describe or sketch natural landscapes or soundscapes, depends on the listener's previous knowledge of the landscape itself and on the specification by the performer. As Valentina pointed out: "To you or me, steppe *kargyraa* and taiga *kargyraa* might sound identical ... If you haven't lived in a particular locale, you won't be able to make the association between sound and place." In fact the iconicity will not be perceived by the listener unless he or she is informed about, and is familiar with, the landscape at stake and can thus attribute meaning and distinctive identity to each performance. This is but a case in point of

secondary specifying iconicity: like in a doodle, the iconic relation is only perceived if specified by him or her who performs. On the other hand, an example of musical (vocal) secondary semiotizing iconicity would be the not uncommon case in which a singer raised to a prominent position because of his or her vocal qualities and talents becomes the icon of a whole genre or even of a culture; for instance, the late Umm Kulthūm (1904-1975) “the voice of Egypt” (Danielson 1997). In these cases, beyond the common use of the term icon in colloquial language, it will be worth exploring how the success of a singer is largely dependent on the iconic relation of his or her vocal or musical style to the values of the social setting in which he or she prevails.

To conclude with the semiotic theoretical insights which describe dynamics of signification relevant to an ethnographic inquiry into iconicities of style for the study of vocality, I would like to make one reflection on a significant point. It has been claimed that primary iconicity is less present in music than in the visual arts (Osmond-Smith 1972), and that it is secondary iconicity that is very common instead. This might well be the case in the Western classical tradition and other art or folk musics. However, let us merely consider a few examples of songs or vocal performances and musics such as Inuit throat games *kattajja'ik* and imitation of animal voices (Trott 2000), Tuvan overtone singing and mimesis of natural or animal sounds (Levine with Süzükei 2006, 125-58), Kaluli ritual drumming and bird calls (Feld 1991 [1982]), Japanese shakuhachi playing and echoing of natural noises or voices of animals (Signell 1981), or Australian *yiraki* (“didjeridoo”) performances and mimicking of animal voices (Stubington 1979). The list could certainly be expanded, but what comes out of such extensive evidence is that in the musics of

those societies which highly value their natural environments, independent of social stratification and hierarchical complexity, primary iconicity with cosmological associations is highly recurrent. Often an iconic primary vocal or musical image will be repeatedly invoked in performance because it is linked to secondary iconic (diagrammatic or metaphorical) relations which are the experiential pathways through which social and cultural life flows or conflicts in each particular case.

There may be, no doubt, other semiotic insights which bear implications for the ethnographic study of vocality. However, at this point of my theoretical and methodological reflection on vocality, iconicity of style, and musical anthropology of the voice, a consideration regarding the most significant turns in contemporary ethnography seems to be useful in order to discern other coherent avenues for anthropological research into the human voice as capable of articulating social meanings in musical performance.

Anthropologist Thomas Csordas (2002, 3) cogently summarized the fundamental shifts about the nature of ethnography in anthropological theory that occurred in the 1980s, bringing about new and more suitable research possibilities: (1) the critique of culture in terms of coherence, pattern, and holism from the standpoint of an awareness of the importance of margins, borders, and boundaries in cultural life; (2) the move from the interpretation of meaning to the critique of power as the central figure animating social life; and (3) the shift in emphasis from abstract symbolic action to embodied and bodily experience as necessary to understand the whole range of human experience in its phenomenal scope (see Pitarch Alfonso 2005b). If we take

into account these fundamental shifts, it will be rather easy for an ethnomusicologist interested in vocality to comprehend that:

(1) first, a musical anthropology of the voice should not remain solely concerned with the static identification of coherent patterns across domains of musical and human experience; rather it should also inquire into how those iconic patterns arose historically, something that in complex societies implies an exploration of how a singing style or type of vocality arose from the margins or boundaries of society into the forefront of hegemonic culture so as to articulate particular meanings and identities, or otherwise, an exploration of why it remained marginal (the dynamism of styles has already been emphasized as a significant research question from a semiotic standpoint);

(2) second, a musical anthropology of the voice should scrutinize how the articulations of meaning at work in a particular social setting and moment are dependent on historical configurations of power between centers and peripheries, between hegemonic and regional cultures, or for that matter between coexisting vocal genres;

(3) and last but not least, a musical anthropology of the voice should explore (a) how those articulations of meaning are embodied and displayed through corporeal attitudes and gestures which allow for or support the production of vocal sounds in their signifying materiality, and in this connection, (b) how the very liminality of the voice as embodied, “material” sound (see below subsection 6.2.2.) allows for transcendence across dimensions of inner and outer experience in experiential terms

which have nothing to do with the romantic ideologies concerning the transcendence of the singing voice and pure music.

6.2. Central Issues in the Anthropology of the Voice

It is now necessary to point out several core issues which the anthropological inquiry into the meanings of vocality would overlook only at the risk of missing its object's specificity and complexity. There seem to be at least two sets of core issues which a musical anthropology of the voice would need to engage with in order to account for the phenomenal experiences of singing and related vocalizations across cultures: on the one hand, (1) issues of identity, gender, and authority, as well as, in this connection, the configuration of *sonic histories and geographies*; on the other hand, (2) issues of *acoustemology*, *interpellation*, and transcendence. In the following two sections, 6.2.1. and 6.2.2., I address theoretically these two sets of issues as a springboard for later framing and delimiting my own ethnographic approach to the *cant valencià d'estil*.

The consideration of these core concerns in no way precludes other available possibilities for research: let us think, for instance, of the *acousmatic* or disembodied voice rendered familiar to everybody in the era of the mechanical reproduction of sound (Chion 1998; Engh 1997; Dolar 2006, 60-71), but which poses particular questions. However, inquiry into the issues I underscore here provides a basis for a coherent exploration of the sociocultural and existential meanings articulated through the voice in (musical) performance.

6.2.1. Identity, gender, and authority, and the articulation of sonic histories and geographies through the performing voice

As Michele Lomuto (2003, 374) observed, “music, disclosing itself according to the order of the icon, seduces us and brings the whole communicative context into play . . . , starting with our identity.” What Steven Feld (2002)—unaware of Bologna’s precedent—called “the anthropology of the voice” in a course lecture and later “vocal anthropology” in a collaborative paper (Feld, Fox, Porcello, and Samuels 2004) relies basically on the exploration of issues of identity and authority in relation to the voice. For Feld, vocal anthropological research would ideally focus on uncovering iconic or indexical processes between vocal sounds and social constructions of personae in particular socio-cultural contexts:

Voice is the embodied locus of spoken and sung performance, the site where language and music have received closest ethnographic scrutiny. But voice has a more familiar articulation in contemporary anthropology, having also become a metaphor for difference, a key representational trope for identity, power, conflict, social position, and agency. Vocality, in this light, is a social practice that is everywhere locally understood as an implicit index of authority, evidence, and experiential truth. How do we connect these two senses of voice—the embodied performing voice and the “voice” of agency and difference? (Feld 2002; see also Feld and Fox 2001, 155-6; and Feld, Fox, Porcello, and Samuels 2004, 341).

Feld, Fox, Porcello, and Samuels (2004, 340) call for ethnographic attention to the ways in which music and language are phenomenally intertwined and socially dialogic, to the “micropolitics of emplaced, embodied, and voiced identity in particular local lifeworlds.” Because the “[v]oice is among the body’s first mechanisms of difference” (2004, 341) it “authorizes identities as identities authorize voice. Voice is evidence, embodied as experiential authority” (Feld 2000, 184). In this sense, a significant research example is John Potter’s (1998) monograph *Vocal*

Authority: Singing Style and Ideology, which explores how the modern, romantic style of Western classical singing rose to its current hegemonic position as expression and affirmation of bourgeois elites' social control and supremacy. See also John Napier's (2007) study of the distribution of authority in the performance of North Indian vocal music.

Yet getting back to Feld's (2002) formulation on voice and identity as cited at length, we should be aware that it does not underscore that the vocal or musical "construction of 'social personae' differs from the construction of ... voices in linguistic narrative[s]" (Tolbert 2001, 454), whether they are spoken and enmeshed in social interaction or projected into written discourses. In fact, the sensuous materiality of the performing voice indexes the phenomenal presence of a "trained and responsive body" (Downey 2002, 490), overflowing and disrupting with its live concreteness the "reasoned" voices of language. Put differently, and more simply, musical (vocal) meanings and identities arise from and are primarily conditioned by doing rather than by saying; by the corporeal rather than by the linguistic, which is secondary. This calls for an exploration of collective embodied identities. While we cannot engage now in a wide discussion on identities (see further reflections in Chapter 7, section 7.1.), I would like to recall here a significant idea which anthropologist Anthony P. Cohen emphasized:

[P]eople become aware of their culture [i.e., of their collective identity] when they stand at its boundaries: when they encounter other cultures, or when they become aware of other ways of doing things ... The norm is [thus] the boundary (Cohen 2004 [1985], 69).

If ritual occupies “a prominent place in the repertoire of symbolic devices through which community boundaries are affirmed and reinforced” (Cohen 2004 [1985], 50), it is no less true that singing and vocality occupy a conspicuous position in community rituals at large. An anthropology of the voice will explore to great advantage how vocal performances iconically display the community’s boundaries and values, contributing to articulating its identity.

A relevant phenomenon to be explored is the expression of gendered identities through the singing voice. Not by chance, this was the first issue on vocal style and sociality raised and particularly emphasized by Alan Lomax (1956b; 1968, 204-10; 1975) out of his fieldwork experience in Spain and Italy (see also section 5.1.1). Nevertheless, some of his straightforward attributions of social meaning (Grauer 2005) and generalizations must prevent us from adopting universalist constructions of meaning in vocal practices and must invite intensive, situated ethnographic inquiry. There has been a growing literature since the 1990s on gendered vocalities, starting with Dunn and Jones’s (1994) edited set of approaches to female vocality in western culture and Jane C. Sugarman’s (1997) ethnomusicological exploration of gendered vocal constructions of identities through Prespa Albanian wedding songs. As of the 1990s, a series of studies on western classical singing¹⁶ or on traditional or popular musics¹⁷ has also pursued situated understandings of gendered vocalities in specific sociocultural settings. In this connection, the study of ritual laments has yielded

¹⁶ See Poizat (1992); Koestenbaum (1993); Blackmer and Smith (1995); Dame (1994); Leonardi and Pope (1996); Barbier (1996); Wood (1998, 2000); Cusick (2000); Peucker (2005); Ashley (2009).

¹⁷ See Frith (1996); Hisama (1999); Abbas (2002); Du Perron (2002); Labajo (2003); Miller (2003); Griffin (2004); Uzendoski, Hertica and Tapuy (2005); Hill (2006); Noonan (2006); Goldin-Perschbacher (2007); Halberstam (2007); Leppert (2008); Sundar (2008).

significant studies on vocality and female identities (Tolbert 1988, 1990a, b, 1991, 1994; Seremitakis 1990, 1991).

There is a significant issue related to vocal identities which calls for particular ethnographic attention. In his lecture on vocal anthropology, Feld (2002) emphasized the need to explore the articulation of “sound worlds” from the standpoint of the voice. Specifically addressing this issue, he had previously made clear (Feld 2000) that the purpose of such an exploration is to question

how sound locates abilities, histories, habits and practices, how sound figures in bodily ways of knowing and being in the world ... [from the assumption that particular] sound worlds are entities both distinct and cumulative, built up from the interaction of diverse communities, diverse acoustic environments, diverse languages and musics. In short, the idea of sound worlds is that social formations are indexed in sonic histories and sonic geographies (Feld 2000, 173-4)

As a matter of fact, sonic (musical, vocal) identities are contextually and dialectically articulated in historical settings and moments, and therefore may be mapped temporally and spatially in contrasting sonic histories and geographies of music and song by means of which people know about and interact with their particular environments, be they rainforests, rural areas, or modern urban settings. “Sound worlds as embodied histories ... [are defined by] the way local difference embodies history in sound” (Feld 2000, 198). Singing styles and repertoires as icons or indexes of social formations and relationships live alongside and develop in interaction with other vocal styles. Altogether they embody particular geographies in sound recognizable by the inhabitants of a particular social environment. Yet, the need to understand how (vocal) sound figures in bodily ways of knowing and being in the world preconized by Feld leads us to the second set of central issues in the anthropology of the voice.

6.2.2. Acoustemology, interpellation, transcendence and the voice

Sound penetrates the body, and “in perceiving, our whole body vibrates in unison with the stimulus..., hearing is, like all sense perception, a way of seizing reality with all our body, including our bones and viscera” (Gonzalez-Crussi 1989, 45 cited in Feld 2005, 184). In this connection, Feld (1994b, 1996, 2005) proposed the term *acoustemology*, that is, “acoustic epistemology,” to account for sonic, bodily knowing as a special modality of human knowing and being in the world, which is largely based on vocal (re)sounding. In fact, “sound, hearing, and voice mark a special bodily nexus for sensation and emotion ..., hearing and voicing link the felt sensations of sound and balance to those of physical and emotional presence” (Feld 2005, 184). In this light,

[a]coustemology ... studies ... the potential of acoustic knowing, of sounding as a condition of and for knowing, of sonic presence and awareness as potent shaping forces in how people make sense of experiences. ... Acoustemology means an exploration of sonic sensibilities, specifically of ways in which sound is central ... to experiential truth. This seems particularly relevant to understanding the interplay of sound and felt balance in the sense and sensuality of emplacement, of making place. ... Acoustemology means that as a sensual space-time, the experience of place potentially can always be grounded in an acoustic dimension. (Feld 2005, 185)

Vocality and singing are central in relating to and making sense of the environment and the lifeworld, as Feld’s studies on the Kaluli show outstandingly. To use his own words: as “life takes place,” so do sounds, which emerge “from and are perceptually centered in place, not to mention sung with, to, and about places” (Feld 1994b, 11). An anthropology of the voice can contribute significant understandings by exploring this cluster of issues in different societies.

Also, it is of consequence for an anthropology of the voice to explore the power of musical (sound) *interpellation* (see Pelinski 2000; and also Pitarch Alfonso 2003). Sounds, and particularly vocal sounds, may have a strong power of interpellation because of the mere splendor of their materiality, inducing in the hearer a touching experience which captures him or her. Sound interpellation is based on

the bodily ... unconscious moment ... linked to the desire that characterizes musical experience in a performance... [a] privileged moment ... in which, with no [reflective] negotiation or discursive evaluation, we perceive *in statu nascendi* the ... formation of a sentiment of identity.¹⁸ (Pelinski 2000, 173)

This sentiment is a pre-reflective identification. In fact, timbral qualities—among other (vocal) sound qualities—are perceptively processed before we pay conscious attention to them (Fales 2002), and thus readily lend themselves to the phenomenon of interpellation.

However, these pre-reflective experiences are not exempt from being partially filtered by the categories that culture imposes on the hearing act (Pelinski 2000, 174). Therefore, an anthropology of the voice should systematically explore vocal sound interpellations as meaningful *synchronicities* in the Jungian psychological sense (see Main 2004) or as *epiphanies*, either in the sense given to this phenomenon by Charles Taylor (1989, 419-94) from a philosophical, aesthetic view, or in the sense elaborated by Norman K. Denzin (2001, 34-9 and 143-5; 2003, 34-7) from an ethnographic, symbolic-interactionist standpoint. We must recognize those transcendental moments—perhaps “untalkables” of music (Hood 1982 [1971], 307-10; 1993)—by

¹⁸ el momento corporal ... inconsciente ... ligado al deseo que caracteriza la experiencia musical en una ejecución ... [un] momento privilegiado ... en el que, sin necesidad de negociación [reflexiva] alguna, ni de evaluaciones discursivas, percibimos *in statu nascendi*, la formación ... de un sentimiento de identidad.

which vocal or instrumental sounds interpellate and “suspend... [the hearers] in webs of significance” (Geertz 2000 [1973], 5), moving them into participation and social action. Yet how can we approach them?

Carl G. Jung conceived of synchronistic experiences as spontaneous meaningful coincidences linked by an acausal parallelism or connecting principle, that is, as simultaneous occurrences of a certain psychic state with one or more external events which appear as meaningful parallels to the momentary subjective state of the perceiver (Main 2004, 12). For Jung, synchronicities have particularly strong connections with the archetype or primordial image of the self—that is, the center of the whole psyche epitomizing balance and occupying a middle position between the inner and the external world, between all opposites—because these characteristic experiences promote the process of integration that leads to the realization of the self (Main 2004, 19). Thus, from an ethnographic standpoint, taking into account that synchronicities are almost invariably archetypal, the most suitable process in analyzing them, as Jung proposed, is *amplification*, that is to say, “seeking wider cultural, historical, and mythological parallels of the images/events” involved in particular synchronicities (Main 2004, 22).

Synchronistic experiences are, in fact, symbolic. Symbol, in the embodied sense Victor Turner gave to it, is “the best possible description or formulation for a relatively unknown fact ..., a living thing pregnant with meaning ... [which] compels [the perceiver’s] unconscious participation and has a life-giving and life-enhancing effect” on him or her (Jung 1921, paragraphs 814-9; cited in Main 2004, 22). When a splendid (vocal) sound in a performance interpellates us, we are affected in such a

way that we are moved to participation: we experience in that moment a life-giving effect and self-orientation which compels us toward pursuing certain paths of social action.¹⁹

Ramón Pelinski (2000, 174) referred to these experiences as *musical epiphanies*, pointing out that they belong to “the inscrutable plot of chance” and that they are experiences “the sense of which we cannot apprehend through transparent intellectual schemes” (2000, 173-4), since they can occur in a myriad ways. In this connection, literature scholar Ulrich Gumbrecht (2004, 98), opposing “effects of presence” to “effects of meaning,” denied epiphanies any meaning: they would be merely moments of intensity.²⁰ However, as Roderic Main (2004, 34) observed, among the alternative ways of understanding coincidences, or chance, Jung’s theory of synchronicities is distinctive—and I should like to add pregnant with possibilities—for three principal qualities “any one or two of which might be found in alternative theories but all of which seem to be found in developed form only in Jung’s” (Main 2004, 34). As a matter of fact, his theory, first, is grounded in empirical considerations; second, provides a sophisticated account of the involved psychological dynamics; and third, is open to the possibility of there being involved a transpersonal or spiritual dimension.

¹⁹ I myself remember how the splendorous sound of the *dolçaina* interpellated me at age nine (1972) during a street festival in my own village, fascinating my whole self: nine years later, when the first opportunity came out, I started learning to play this Valencian instrument *par excellence*, and this has oriented my whole life toward music and the understanding of musical experiences. It is not by chance, then, that I came across ethnomusicology as a disciplinary field oriented by this pursuit.

²⁰ In Gumbrecht’s (2004, 116) contention, “there is nothing edifying in such moments, no message, nothing that we could really learn from them ... what we feel is probably not more than a specifically high level in the functioning of some of our general cognitive, emotional and perhaps even physical faculties.” These moments are for him just “objects of experience—*aesthetic or not*—that attract and push us to the state of being lost in focused intensity.” For Gumbrecht (2004, 116), at most they constitute an “*aesthetic experience [which] can prevent us from completely losing a feeling or a remembrance of the physical dimension in our lives ... , of being in the world of things.*”

The contrast between the attribution and non-attribution of spiritual meaningfulness to musical epiphanies is clearly echoed in the distinction between *epiphanies of being* and *framing* or *auto-telic epiphanies* made by philosopher Charles Taylor (1989) in relation to works of art. Expanding on James Joyce's notion of epiphany (see Nichols 1987), Taylor distinguished two ways in which a work—or, say, a vocal performance—can bring about an epiphanic experience:

(1) in the first way, an epiphany of being, the work or performance is felt as portraying something (unspoilt nature, human emotion) in such a way as to show some greater spiritual reality or significance shining through it: thus, the aim of the work or performance is not just to portray but to transfigure through representation, to render the object “translucent,” so the epiphany can only be brought about through the work or performance, which remains a symbol in the Romantic sense of this term;²¹

(2) in the second way, the framing or auto-telic epiphany, the work or performance remains the locus of revelation and something of ultimate significance for the perceiver, but it is also utterly self-contained and self-sufficient, seen as detached from all relation to what is beyond it, and yet, paradoxically, retaining the epiphanic quality, as in several conceptions of art from the Symbolists on (Taylor 1989, 420 and 487). However that might be, for Taylor (1989, 425) “epiphany is our achieving contact with something, where this contact either fosters and/or itself constitutes a

²¹ From this standpoint a work of art, or for that matter, a (vocal) sound performance, is seen “as the locus of a manifestation which brings us into presence of something which is otherwise inaccessible, and which is of the highest moral or spiritual significance; a manifestation, moreover, which also defines or completes something, even as it reveals” (Taylor 1989, 419).

spiritually significant fulfillment or wholeness.” To my understanding, this applies perfectly to sound interpellation.

Similarly drawing on James Joyce’s epiphanies, but building on Victor Turner’s (1986) ideas of drama and liminality, Norman K. Denzin (2001, 38-9) elaborated somewhat differently this notion for ethnographic purposes, conceiving of epiphanies as “ruptures in the structure of daily life . . . , [as] ritually structured liminal experiences connected to the moments of breach, crisis, redress, and reintegration or schism.” In this sense, only the “reintegration” moments pointing toward wholeness bear similarity to Jung’s synchronicities and Taylor’s epiphanies. For Denzin (2001, 143), the notion becomes wider and somewhat different: “*epiphanies* . . . describe those interactional moments that leave positive and negative marks on people’s lives . . . , [o]ften experienced as personal troubles that later become public issues . . . [but also can be] experienced in positive terms.” They are “existential crises,” “critical biographical experiences,” “experiential turning-point moments” which connect people with culture, history and social structure, and in this sense, they are sought after by the interpretive interactionist as ways of apprehending biographically important developments (Denzin 2003, 34). Denzin (2003, 145) distinguished four main types of epiphanies: *major*, *cumulative*, *illuminative* or *minor*, and *relieved*, which can be usefully applied to addressing how (vocal) sound interpellations may affect us as turning-point moments which connect to culture and society.²²

²² These four main types of epiphanies are characterized by Denzin (2003, 145) in the following way: (1) *major* (“those moments that are major and touch every part of the fabric of a person’s life . . . [t]heir effects are immediate and long-term”), (2) *cumulative* (“eruptions, or reactions to events that have been going on for a long period of time”), (3) *illuminative* or *minor* (“events that are minor yet symbolically representative of major problematic moments in a relationship”), and (4) *relieved* (“episodes whose effects are immediate, but to which the individuals involved attach meanings only later, in retrospection and in the reliving of the events”). As he

To conclude with the cluster of interrelated issues addressed in this section, if we consider that (vocal) sound interpellations, synchronicities, or epiphanies stem from the mediation of the “materiality” of the voice and its symbolic perception in meaningful, touching moments that move us into participation and higher self-integration or experiencing of wholeness, another significant issue for an anthropology of the voice to investigate becomes that of vocality and transcendence. How is the voice related to this liminal phenomenon?

Raymond Herbert Stetson (1988, 58), during his pioneering research into motor phonetics in the 1920s (see Maconie [2003]), made the scientific, experimental discovery that vocal sound or “[s]peech is rather a set of [living] movements made audible than a set of sounds produced by movements.” This fascinating and widely disregarded fact becomes telling evidence that the voice as sound is not just a by-product of the living body, but a living movement, life itself made audible. In this sense, the human voice is movement going back and forth between the living body and the environment apprehended through resonating, felt consciousness. The voice is but a boundary between human inner and outer experience, between matter and consciousness, and it transcends dimensions of existence: it is fundamentally liminal.

In this light, an anthropology of the voice should not forget to explore how the embodied voice, as “the [external energetic] manifestation of the excitation of living matter, in pain and pleasure, ... an excitation which is life itself” (Rosolato 1974, 76), relates to the inner voice of consciousness, the physically “transcendent voice”

explains, these four types may build upon another: “a given event may, at different phases in a person’s or relationship’s life, be first major, then minor, and then later relieved. A cumulative epiphany will of course erupt into a major event in a person’s life” (*Ibid.*).

(Wade 1998; 1999) which researchers in the field of prenatal and perinatal psychology have unequivocally documented throughout the last three decades, thereby calling into question conventional theories of consciousness.²³

It is not by chance that the phenomenon of thinking has been conceived of as “inner sound” (Wilfart 1994). Nor is it a mere coincidence that the sound of the voice is considered in many cultures a living energy. As such, it is widely used for prayer—think of *mantras* (Coward and Goa 2004)—as well as for bodily or spiritual healing which aids liminal passages or transitions through elaborate sung or vocalized performances, of which shamanistic rites and ritual funerary laments are paradigmatic examples. In the latter, often entrusted to women, authority/power, gender, and spiritual transcendence are closely interrelated, as Carolina Robertson (1989, 230-8) reminded us. We can thus posit that “intermediacy ... [is, in fact,] one of the paramount features of the voice” (Dolar 2006, 13), “[o]ne could ... say that the voice is ... both the surplus of the body ... and ... the spirituality of the corporeal” (Dolar 2001, 71).

The anthropological study of vocality and transcendence should avoid, however, one-sided, rationalistic accounts, which will necessarily miss the significance of the embodied, vital experiences of people. Likewise, it should stay away from the still-

²³ Thomas Verny with John Kelly (1981), David B. Cheek (1986), David B. Chamberlain (1998), Jenny Wade (1998; 1999), Wendy A. McCarty (2004; 2006), and Tara Maria A. Blasco Jauregui (2006), among others working at the Santa Barbara Graduate Institute, California, have found extensive evidence that consciousness in the pre-nate exists even before the brain is fully developed and the senses are fully operating, that is to say, before the brain is technically able to produce it. In the light of these discoveries, the belief that attributes consciousness exclusively to the development of the brain is up for a revision (Blasco Jauregui 2006, 9). As Jenny Wade (1998; 1999) observed out of evidence from her research, two sources of consciousness are present before and during birth: (1) a somatic source the functioning of which seems to be bound to the physical body and to evolve slowly as the central nervous system evolves, and (2) a fully mature source of consciousness the functioning of which appears to be more or less independent of a cellular substrate as currently understood, that is, what she calls the “transcendent voice.”

widespread “nineteenth-century romantic notions of musical transcendence” (Tolbert 2001, 458) which entangle the anthropological investigation of the phenomenological experiences of singing and performing vocally.

6.3. Ethno-Inclusivity, Transdisciplinarity, and the Materiality of Communication in the Study of Vocal Performances

Because of the complex phenomenology of its object, an anthropology of the voice seems a hopeless task without a transdisciplinary endeavor. It is quite clear that it should avoid both a simple, multidisciplinary conglomeration of disparate approaches to the study of the voice on the one hand, and one-sided or abstract standpoints on the other. In order to reflect further on the adequacy of studying vocal performances from the anthropological perspective I have proposed, let us examine three recent academic projects which consider the study of the voice as a phenomenon worthy of thorough attention and research.

Almost simultaneously with Feld’s (2002) and Feld, Fox, Porcello, and Samuels’s (2004) proposals for developing a vocal anthropology, Richard Middleton (2003) envisaged a collaborative research program at the Voice Research Center, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, England, intended to address

all aspects of the voice and vocality [my emphasis], from Biological sciences (voices emanate from bodies); Medical sciences (voices go wrong); Neurosciences (voice activities relate to brain activities); Linguistics and Speech (voices often carry language); Music (voices carry singing and other symptoms of vocality); Cultural Theory and History (voices stand for, represent, mark the locations and movements of subjects, personae, social agents); Psychoanalysis (voices register the flows of desire, frustration, repression, etc.); and the Social Sciences (voices are marked by social variables and functions).

There are two significant points to be made in relation to this project: first, it echoes Feld's (2002) formulation in some respects ("voices stand for, represent, mark the locations and movements of subjects, personae, social agents") (see section 6.2.1.); second, Middleton's program only implies an anthropological orientation in mentioning the social sciences, but does not overtly mention it. I think that an explicit anthropological orientation is necessary for the study of vocality if we are to discover its many local, situated meanings in both Western and non-Western societies.

Let us go one step forward. Nicholas Till's (2005) project "The Voice in Modernity" at the University of Sussex, England, suggests as relevant research topics

physiologies of the voice; traces, theories and representations of the voice in pre-modernity; voices and vocality in non-Western cultures; the voice and subjectivity: psychoanalytical approaches from Charcot and Freud ("the talking cure") to Wolfsohn and Lacan; voice and power; metaphors of voice ("the composer's voice"... "*le corps parlant*"); amplified voices; reproduced voices; the erotics of the voice; gendered voices; collective voices; suppressed, silenced and disciplined voices. (Till 2005)

In fact, a step forward has been taken here. In this proposal, vocality in pre-modern and non-Western cultures is explicitly considered. Moreover, several of the main central issues that I have emphasized as relevant for an anthropological study of the voice appear, although without particular emphasis: voice and subjectivity [= identity?], voice and power [or authority], gendered voices. An emphasis on psychoanalysis, erotics, and suppressed voices does not really seem critical in order to address vocal performances in a truly wide range of cultures worldwide.

A final example, coming from theatrical research and linked to Alfred Wolfsohn's (2007) experiences and theories, is Enrique Pardo's (2005) proposal for addressing "Six Original Myths," or broad themes as an organizing principle for

thinking about and investigating “Myths of the Voice,” at the “12th Myth and Theatre Festival 2005” held in France. This proposal makes up for missing issues in Middleton’s and Till’s investigation programs, but, perhaps because of its situatedness in a highly specific context, i.e., Western contemporary theater studies, it is not ethno-inclusive enough. Pardo’s program seeks to explore “Pagan Mythologies of the Voice,” “Christian Mythologies of the Voice,” “Soul Mythologies of the Voice,” “Shamanic Mythologies of the Voice,” “Modernist Mythologies of the Voice,” and “Post-modern Mythologies of the Voice.”²⁴

Out of these six mythologies of the voice contemplated by Pardo, only the shamanic ones are non-Western; the rest show a historical, non-ethnographic approach. However, there is much more to be considered about vocality in the world. In an appropriate anthropological approach to voice, how could we ignore such topics as Hindu mythologies of the voice, Jewish mythologies of the voice, Muslim mythologies of the voice, Amerindian mythologies of the voice, etc., covering, for coherence, all continents and traditions?

²⁴ Pardo (2005) explains the contents of his research program in more detail as follows:

1. *Pagan Mythologies of the Voice*—with especial emphasis on the poetics of mantics and the questions: “where does the voice come from?” and “who does the voice belong to?”
2. *Christian Mythologies of the Voice*—the closing of the pagan oracles and the notions of truth, self and individuality.
3. *Soul Mythologies of the Voice*—addressing the much used definition: “the voice is the muscle of the soul”, and the differentiation of “soul” and “spirit.” Another, more ‘orphyic’ definition is: “the voice is the mirror of the soul.”
4. *Shamanic Mythologies of the Voice*—including the relationship between imagination and healing (the question of therapy.)
5. *Modernist Mythologies of the Voice*—from Nietzsche’s singer-dancer and the importance of the myth of Orpheus in late German Romanticism and early modernism, to an artist like Marcel Duchamp whose disenchanted gestures are contemporary of Wolfsohn’s philosophy of singing.
6. *Post-modern Mythologies of the Voice*—the status of the voice in contemporary post-modern philosophy, in particular after the late Jacques Derrida’s book “La Voix et le Phénomène” (translated into English as “Speech and Phenomena”.)

Beyond the above-mentioned research agendas coming from cultural studies, opera studies, and theater scholarship respectively, a transdisciplinary-oriented and ethno-inclusive musical anthropology of the voice offers an exciting wealth of possibilities for research. In ethnomusicology and closely related musical scholarship, we already find nowadays (1) general or specific classifications and descriptions of vocal techniques, styles, and genres addressing a variety of cultures;²⁵ beyond this descriptive and historical strand, (2) culture-specific essays on vocality exploring issues of iconicity, identity, gender, and authority;²⁶ and finally, (3) studies delving further into cosmological, inner, or transcendent issues in human experiences of singing or performing vocally.²⁷

On the methodological side, the condition of possibility for further development of an anthropology of the voice resides in the integration of insights from other humanistic and scientific disciplinary fields, such as (1) phenomenology and philosophy in general;²⁸ (2) linguistic and literary studies;²⁹ (3) communications and

²⁵ See Herzog (1930, 1936); Erickson (1969); Komiyama (1980); Johnson (1984); Gabrielson and Johnson (1985); Chandola (1988); Poedjosoedarmo (1988); Niles (1989); Takamtsu (1991); Hai (1991); Magrini (1993); Rowell (1996); Zemp (1996); Dyer (2000); Moon (2001); Araújo and Fuks (2001); Araújo, Amaral, Fuks, and Ferreira Pinto (2003); Burns (2005); Megumi Nishimura, Camargo, Ferro Cordeiro, and Rebelo Pinho (2006); Henrich, Kiek, Smith, and Wolfe (2007); Grauer (2009).

²⁶ See Seeger (1979, 2004 [1987]); *Voix* (1991); Rose (1994); Frith (1996); Fox (1996, 2004); Goffre (1997); Sugarman (1997); Kaufman Shelemay (1998); Potter (1998); Averill (1999, 2002); Krims (2000); Middleton (2000); Loncke (2001); Charles-Dominique and Cler (2002); Léothaud and Lortat-Jacob (2002); O'connell (2002); Tarasti (2002); Keyes (2002); Dutheil (2004); Deniot (2006); Jarman-Ivens (2006); Woods (2009).

²⁷ See Calame-Griaule (1985, 1986, 1993); Travassos (1985); Tolbert (1988, 1990a, b, 1991, 1994); Waugh (1989); Feld (1984, 1990a [1982], 1990b, 1991 [1982], 1994a [1988], 1994b, 1996); Revel and Rey-Hulman (1993); Lortat-Jacob (1993, 1996a, b, 1997, 1998); Mitchell (1994); Tomlinson (1995, 1999b, 2007); Barbier (1996); Herbst (1997); Lassiter (1998); Pasqualino (1998, 2002); Willoughby (2000, 2002); Biddle (2003); Demeuldre (2004); Coward and Goa (2004); Beeman (2005).

²⁸ See Agamben (1976); Ihde (1976, 1986, 2009); Dyczkowski (1987); Appelbaum (1990); Beck (1993); Dolar (1996, 2006); Dessons (1997; Trotman 2000); Cavarero (2005); Cohen-Lévinas (2006 [1987]).

²⁹ See Ong (1977, 1981 [1967], 1982); Bologna (1981, 1990; 1992; 2005); Zumthor (1983, 1984, 1987); Auriol (1993); Dunn and Jones (1994); Pittam (1994); Salazar (1995, 2006, 2009); Connor (2000, 2001); Badir and Parret (2001); Cohen (Ralph) (2001); Parret (2002); Cassin and Cohen-Levinas (2008).

semiotic studies;³⁰ (4) psychology and vocology;³¹ and last but not least, (5) anthropology and musicology,³² just to cite several relevant contributions from these different disciplinary fields which afford possibilities for integration.

I would like to suggest that the recent interdisciplinary attention to vocality and, in general, to the dimension of sound in human environmental and inner experiences as a category for ethnographic research (see, for instance, Schafer 1977, Bull and Back 2003, Erlman 2004, Feld and Brenneis 2004, Smith 2004), marks the disclosure of a new, blossoming paradigm, whose foundational implications for a heightened understanding of musical processes and cultures will undoubtedly be highly rewarding as it becomes clearer and progressively develops. Veit Erlman (2004, 2) observed, in this respect, that

in ethnomusicology and musicology ... a new thinking seems to be taking hold, one that is increasingly drawing attention away from readings ... of ... meanings that are the result of inscriptions ... and focusing it on the *materiality* of musical communication, issues of *sensuality*, and the like. [emphasis added].

While the term materiality comprehends the turn away from both inscribed meaning and effect and toward meaningful events and presence, it must be understood as a living materiality modelled on the human body, rather than the dead materiality of inanimate physical objects. In fact, we are dealing with the materiality of a medium of communication as embodied expression (Angus 2005).

³⁰ See Truax (1984); Archer (1993); Engh (1997); van Leeuwen (1999); McComb Kinbrough (2002).

³¹ See Rosolato (1974); Anzieu (1989); Lecourt (1990); Newham (1992, 1997); Poizat (1991, 1992, 1998, 2001); Titze (1994); Deniot, Dutheil, and Vrait (2000); Bailleux (2001); Wolfsohn (2007).

³² See Tedlock (1983); Mâche and Poché (1985); Burrows (1989, 1990); Clayton (2008); Neiva de Matos, Travassos, and Teixeira de Medeiros (2008).

The application to a vocal tradition of all the issues that I have raised in my theorization in this chapter would require a considerable amount of space and time, as well as an expansion of the theoretical points vis-à-vis the particular ethnographic cases explored. Different settings will require particular consideration of salient phenomena and related issues. Different research interests, according to personal and contextualized experiences or opportunities, will lead to specific explorations of certain issues. Any theoretical reflection must remain open-ended if it is to become useful in understanding different realities.

In the next chapter, I focus on iconicity of style and performance of collective identities in the *cant valencià* from a diachronic perspective in connection with social change and the symbolic articulation of existential, cultural, and political boundaries in modern Spain, in contrast with the *cante flamenco* and the *jota parada* or *de estilo*. I explore how those meaningful articulations are displayed in *cant valencià* through vocalicity and through corporeal attitudes which afford or back the production of vocal sounds in their signifying materiality. I also succinctly address issues of vocalicity and interpellation and transcendence, offering a sample of significant phenomena in the maintenance and transmission of the *cant valencià* tradition.

Chapter 7: Vocality and the Performance of Identities in the

Cant Valencià d'Estil

"[M]usic is socially meaningful not entirely but largely because it provides means by which people recognise identities and places, and the boundaries that separate them."

(Martin Stokes 1997 [1994], 5)

In the light of what was discussed in Chapters 1 through 6, and building on further reflections concerning performance of identities and music, in this final chapter I address vocality and its sustaining corporeality as they iconically relate to the performance of a distinctive Valencian identity in the *cant valencià*, specially in the *cant d'estil* songs or larger part of its repertory. I also address the performance of personal identities of the *cantadors d'estil*, exploring how interpellation and transcendence are significantly involved in maintaining and transmitting the *cant valencià*.

In section 7.1., expanding on what was discussed in Chapter 6, subsection 6.2.1., about identities and vocality, I address certain critical methodological issues in the study of identities and performance: I focus on the three basic types of approaches to expressive culture which have been current in Western societies since the Enlightenment—national, radical, and existential—as well as on the most significant moments of contemporary organic structural social crises or of radical situational change from which those approaches derive, since together they constitute a pertinent

diachronic framework for understanding musical or vocal performance of identities in the *cant valencià* and related Spanish monodic expressive song traditions.

In section 7.2., building on what was addressed in Chapters 2 through 5 and ethnographic evidence, I discuss the existential basis of vocality or singing style in the *cant valencià*, and as a brief means of comparison, the Aragonese *jota parada* or *de estilo* and the *cante jondo* or core of the *cante flamenco*, showing that how people sing depends on embodied practices and attitudes which iconically display the cultural and existential experiences and values of a tradition.

In section 7.3., I address vocality and the iconic performance of collective identities in the *cant valencià* within the diachronic framework created by moments of radical situational change in Europe since the eighteenth century, always keeping an eye on the *cante flamenco* and the Aragonese *jota parada* or *de estilo*. I examine how all these song traditions “entered modernity” (García Canclini 1995) precisely during the period of national bourgeois revolutions (1780s-1850s) thanks to the historical phenomenon of the *aficionados* (Val. *aficionats*), who in a dialectical relation with the specialized singers have maintained these song traditions for over two centuries. I also examine how their vocalities experienced a radical expansion—in the etymological sense—during the period of development of mass culture (1860s-1930s) and how the vocality of the *cant valencià* relates to and at the same time is in contrast with the vocalities of the other main monodic expressive song traditions of Spain, iconically displaying the liminal position of historical Valencian identity.

In section 7.4., within the diachronic framework of the the modern construction of the Spanish nation-state, I analyze how the *cant valencià* participated in the process of redefining Spanish national identity during the first decades of the twentieth century through strategies of essentialism based on iconicity, which used the four main monodic expressive song traditions of the country as regional embodiments of such national identity, weaving a sonic history and geography of song and dance.

In section 7.5., I explore issues of interpellation and transcendence in the *cant valencià*, showing how they are involved in the formation of personal identities of the *cantadors d'estil* and in the maintenance of the *cant valencià*. Finally, in section 7.6., for an emic perspective, I discuss how several among these singers see the outcome of my approach to vocality in their song tradition and what their research interests are.

7.1. Some Preliminary Critical Methodological Reflections on Studying the Performance of Identities in Relation to Music or Vocality

In order to address the performance of collective identities in the *cant valencià d'estil* in relation to vocality, it is necessary to first make some reflections on the performance of identities and music (subsection 7.1.1.), as well as on how this issue relates to the three basic contemporary approaches to the study of expressive culture since the Enlightenment, deriving from the three respective moments of radical situational change in Europe (see subsection 7.1.2.).

7.1.1. Identities, performance, and music

In a recent survey of articles with the word identity or identities in their titles published between 1982 and 2006 in the journal *Ethnomusicology* (“Reflections on music and identity in *Ethnomusicology*”), Timothy Rice (2007, 19-20) points out that not only this theme was absent in Merriam’s (1964) seminal book defining the new phase of the discipline, but also in Nettl’s (1983) and Myers (1992) summations of the field (see also Krader 1987, 15 who first noticed it). This observation notwithstanding, “the relationship between musical performance and identity formation has been a prominent theme in ethnomusicology over the past two decades,” as Thomas Turino (2008, 94) has emphasized. Ethnomusicological interest about identities grew precisely when new approaches “endeavoured to be more broadly responsive to the culture and politics of modernity and the post-colonial world” (Bohlman 2001), thus expanding the field’s methodological horizons.

In spite of this methodological expansion, the authors of the different articles that Rice (2007, 20) surveyed, neither define identity as a category for ethnographic research nor, with a very few exceptions, cite more general work on identity in the social sciences and humanities, nor even in the field of ethnomusicology itself. Undertaking now a general discussion on identities is beyond the scope of my research, yet in this subsection, I briefly provide a working definition of identity and consider relevant ethnomusicological work about appropriate ways of ethnographically approaching the study of vocality and the performance of identities in the *cant valencià*.

1) *Defining (musical, vocal) identities in ethnographic terms:*

I agree with Christopher Waterman (1990, 10) “that identity, considered ethnographically, must always be mixed, relational, and inventive.” Also, in basic connection with Lomax, who “propose[d] that the science of musical ethnography be based on the study of musical style or musical habits of mankind” (1955-1956, 48), I understand identities, whether individual or collective, as dynamic, relational clusters of habits capable of stability over time but also capable of change in order to cope with the challenges of social life. As Thomas Turino (2008, 94-5) emphasized, it is useful to consider self, identity, and musical culture within a global framework based on the focal concept of habits because “habits are both relatively stable and also dynamic and changeable” (2008, 95): they can show sedimented identities, but they can also show “ongoing dialectical interactions between individuals and their social and physical surroundings realized through observable practices” (2008, 94-5).¹

The vocality pertaining to a song tradition consists, in fact, of shared habits acquired through socialization in community celebrations and rituals, through education in family and other group settings, or through institutionalized instruction (During 1994, 116). “Our bodies and the social environment operate in dialectical ways throughout a lifetime to shape habits of thought and practice” (Turino 2008, 100), and “[s]ome markers of group identity ... may be such old habits that they operate low in focal awareness most of the time” (2008, 106):

People are ... constantly being identified by others because of attributes and deep-seated habits operating out of their own focal awareness but clearly noticeable to others. ... Social identities are based on some kind of iconicity—the foregrounding or recognition of similar habits or features that

¹ I do not have sufficient space here to further discuss the notion of habit, or *habitus* as sociologists and anthropologists such as Marcel Mauss (1934) and Pierre Bourdieu (1977) referred to it using the medieval Scholastic Latin term. For a cogent criticism of this notion see Crossley (2001).

allow individuals to group themselves and to group others. While the substance of resemblance is inherent in the entities identified, iconicity is not natural or presocial. (Turino 2008, 102)

As Anthony P. Cohen emphasized (see Chapter 6, subsection 6.2.1.), people become aware of their culture, of their collective identity, when they stand at its boundaries, that is, when they encounter other cultures, or when they become aware of other ways of doing things. In this sense, the boundary becomes the norm of both culture and identity (2004 [1985], 69), and it will be useful to explore how vocal performances iconically display a community's boundaries and values and thereby contribute to articulating the collective identity of its members.

The need to explore the theme of music and identity from the standpoint of iconicity is also emphasized by Rice (2007). Yet Rice addresses group identity and musical performance by theorizing a dichotomy between essentialist and constructivist views which overlooks the dynamism of both iconic processes and identities:

The essentialist position understands identity in terms of durable qualities and characteristics of the group that are thought to exist from time immemorial. Music's relationship to these stable identities is usually understood in terms of processes of reflection, symbolization, homology, and expression.

The constructivist position, on the other hand, holds that identities are always constructed from the cultural resources available at any given moment. Rather than durable and stable, identities are contingent, fragile, unstable, and changeable. The issue in this view of identity becomes whether, to what extent, and how music making and music listening participates in the construction of various forms of emerging and changing social identities.² (Rice 2007, 24)

Rice underscores how hard it is for constructivists' arguments not to fall back on essentialist ones: "it is surprising to see how often they fall back into a discussion in which the social identity already exists, and music's role is primarily to symbolize, or

² For clarity, I have inserted a break into the original paragraph. See also Rice's (2010) restatement of his arguments on identities and music and the responses to him in *Ethnomusicology* 52, no. 2 (2010): 326-44.

reflect, or give performative life to a pre-existing identity” (Rice 2007, 25). This may well be the case, but in the final analysis, he fails to acknowledge that the processes of reflection, symbolization, homology, and expression, independent of their more or less appropriate use as analytical categories by ethnomusicologists, are as dynamic as the processes of construction and change. In this connection, the notion of iconicity as I discussed it in Chapter 6, subsection 6.1.2., implies the possibilities of both stability and change, and can therefore help us towards a more dynamic understanding of musical and singing styles in relation to identity.³

2) *Approaching the performance of identities in music and vocality:*

As for relevant ethnomusicological work about how to approach the performance of identities in music or vocality, some basic insights come from Alejandro L. Madrid’s transdisciplinary theorization on performance studies and music and from Anthony Seeger’s reflections on the performance of identities and music.

³ Asking what the particular contributions of music to discussions of social identity have been, Rice identifies in his surveyed literature four basic positions (2007, 34-6) which are essentially more or less successful reformulations of his essentialist (1) and constructivist (2, 3) dichotomy, plus a restatement of Turino’s (1999) theoretical plea for addressing iconicity as keynote in the study of identity formation (4). I rephrase his four identified positions as follows:

(1) the structures of music may constitute an iconic or indexical representation which gives symbolic shape to a pre-existing or emergent identity, for instance, music’s temporality can be an icon of multiple formal properties, may index a multiplicity of identities as Turino (1989) showed;

(2) “musical performance provides the opportunity for communities sharing an identity to see themselves in action and to imagine others who might share the same style of performance,” which is basically the temporal logic of a social identity as Becker and Becker (1981) first emphasized (see Chapter 6, subsection 6.1.2.), or also a restatement of the iconicity of music;

(3) to an emerging identity, music may contribute its feel or affective quality, its emotional resonance, its palpability, rather than acting as a reflection of a well-established identity—this is one of the special constructivist claims about what music can do: performances “externalize ... values and give them palpable form” (Waterman 1990, 376); and finally,

(4) music’s iconicity or structural similarity to other aspects of culture and shared behaviors, and music’s ability to index common experiences of a community and one’s shared social experience with that community, gives to an identity a positive valence, an emotionally satisfying sense that it is “natural,” which is Turino’s (1999) way of restating Herzfeld’s (2005 [1997]) ideas on strategies of essentialism (see Chapter 6, subsection 6.1.2.).

Alejandro L. Madrid (2009) has recently examined the emergence of the field of performance studies in the 1980s-1990s from linguistics, anthropology, and theater scholarship, as well as the bearing of its founding notion of *performativity* on the study of music and social processes in ethnomusicology and close disciplinary fields. Performativity, a notion originally posited by linguist and philosopher John L. Austin (1962), implies that some utterances do not describe anything and are not true or false, rather they are part of the doing of an action for some purpose.

The fact that performance studies is founded on the notion of “performativity” as a quality of discourse allows performance scholars to . . . focus on a wide variety of phenomena [analyzing them as socially purposeful performances], from activities that explicitly involve performance—such as music, dance, theater, and ritual—to the construction of identities, the enunciative use of language, political activism, or the use of the body in everyday life. (Madrid 2009)

As Madrid emphasizes, a performance studies-based approach to the study of music asks what music does, or what music allows people to do in society, or how music can help us understand larger social processes, as opposed to how these processes help us understand music (Madrid 2009). This methodological reversal is useful in understanding the performance of identities in music. In fact, it is but a restatement of Anthony Seeger’s claim for a *musical anthropology* approach as distinct from the classical *anthropology of music* approach first theorized by Alan P. Merriam (1964). More than twenty years earlier than Madrid, Seeger had already pleaded for “a study of society from the perspective of musical performance, rather than simply the application of anthropological methods and concerns to music” (2004 [1987], xiii).

Thus, Anthony Seeger (1992) himself contributed one of the first critical reflections on how to ethnographically address the performance of identities in

relation to music and society, calling for attention to five common misconceptions about how music and identity are related to each other. Avoiding these misconceptions can thus give rise to ethnographic understandings which are consistent with the multiplicity of musical processes and the realities of the world.

The five misconceptions identified by Seeger are the following:

(1) *Every social or ethnic group only performs its own music in an unchanging way:*

yet in fact this is not so, because often the members of a community learn other groups' songs and perform a heterogeneity of musics as a way of obtaining power, legitimacy, or other things.

(2) *A group's identification with a single form of music necessarily endures over time*

in such a way that each ethnic group, without exception, has its own typical style: this was Lomax's (1964) assumption, however a group can use certain musical forms or styles intentionally for specific purposes in certain times and contexts; in fact, while musical styles may endure over time, they will not necessarily always be performed by the same group and may be appropriated by others.

(3) *People merge or change musical traditions on the basis of the similarity of*

stylistic features alone: this was Merriam's (1964, 315-6) assumption, yet merging or changing styles depends on a number of different factors and motivations that we can only understand as part of wider social and political processes that require more comprehensive analysis.

(4) *The relationship between musics or musical styles can be analyzed independently*

of socio-political contexts and historical processes: in fact, the reverse is true.

(5) *The role of researchers and institutions is of little consequence in creating identities*: contrary to this assumption, virtually everything we know about music and ethnicity or identity is the result of institutional and personal research.⁴

The implications of Madrid's and Seeger's reflections for the study of identities from the standpoint of musical or vocal performance in the wide sense of this term are clear. Our questions will become: (1) how do people use music or vocality to maintain or to create their identities in a specific context? and (2) how does musical or vocal performance help us understand larger social and historical processes? Madrid (2009) observes that "performance studies and its central questions can be tackled from a variety of methodological angles, from historical archival research to ethnography, autobiographical testimony, literary theory, and even music analysis" whenever they directly help to elicit larger contextual and historical connections.

7.1.2. Approaches to expressive culture since the Enlightenment; the performance of national, radical, and existential identities; and radical situational change

An important additional reflection on studying the performance of identities in relation to music and vocality in Europe comes from the consideration of Henry Glassie's (1995 [1989]) and Richard Middleton's (1985) insights. One can see quite obviously (see below) that these insights are limited to developments in Western

⁴ Compare these five points with the criticisms leveled against Lomax's Cantometrics project by several authors (see Chapter 6, subsection 6.1.1.): (1) each culture has several musical styles rather than a single one; (2) musical styles are context-specific rather than culture-specific; (3) the attribution of meanings is only possible with intensive fieldwork rather than from an etic analysis of a few scattered examples of each culture; (4) the interpretation of the stylistic features and roles available in performance depends on a set of situated social opportunities and historical circumstances which grant them their meanings rather than being universal.

Europe and the United States and are not intended to be universals, but based on my ethnographic research, I understand that the modern performance of identities in the *cant valencià* is clearly related to the socio-historical approaches to expressive culture and the moments of social radical situational change that Glassie and Middleton respectively described in their works.

1) *Approaches to expressive culture since the Enlightenment:*

Glassie, one of the major scholars in the field of folklore, in the course of trying to define what folk art is, realized that this question had been approached from three different standpoints, which are basically expressions of particular historical periods: (1) a *national* approach which predominated between 1740 and 1860, (2) a *radical* approach which prevailed between 1860 and 1965, and finally, (3) an *existential* approach which holds sway today (Glassie 1995 [1989], 24-34).

My insight is that these three mindsets can be used to understand the most significant types of performance of collective identities distinctive to the modern period in Europe, overlapping with the performance of ethnic identities. I first summarize Glassie's characterizations of each approach and then discuss his own specification of their ethnographic implications (1995 [1989], 24-36, 88-9):

(1) *Performing national identities* (1740-1860): from the Enlightenment to the second third of the nineteenth century, traditional expressive culture was predominantly defined as the individual's expression of the national tradition. A people shaped their destiny and created a national identity through the reformulation of their heritage. The nationalistic approach, Glassie observed, responds to external threats, often a colonial

threat coming from another people. The focal point was art as a medium, as things collected and recreated with a political purpose. In their nationalistic approach, folklorists made artists into political heroes.

(2) *Performing radical identities* (1860-1965): from the second third of the nineteenth century, when the effects of the Industrial Revolution had spread throughout Western Europe and North America, up until the second third of the twentieth century, traditional expressive culture was predominantly envisioned as being rooted in rural settings—and hence as *radical* in its etymological sense, that is, as communal, spiritual, conservative, local, and participatory. This was in contrast to the new, overwhelming and increasingly homogenizing powers of the nation-state, industrial labor, capitalism, and impersonal systems of management. The radical identities of people resisting the obliteration of the cooperative, voluntary urge of the common people and their local allegiances which foster individual involvement in the community are in this approach therefore seen as a positive projection from a negative evaluation of modernity. Thus, traditional practices are threatened from within, the radical approach responds by countering with a tradition imagined to consist of things or actions that simultaneously exhibit the traits of temporal continuity and formal variability. Looking for a scientific approach, in the second part of this period, tradition ceased being seen as a people's willing construction of culture, and variability ceased being a sign of freedom. The focal point was art as a function for the purpose of an abstract continuity. In their radical approach, folklorists made artists into people with creative and communal spirits, applauding those who remained at one

with their tradition; then, again looking for a scientific approach, these were turned into tools with which an abstract tradition created its own continuity.

(3) *Performing existential identities* (1965-today): the second third of the twentieth century witnessed the rise of the philosophy of existentialism, with its down-to-earth commitments. This led to an existential approach to expressive culture which called for attention to real individuals in real situations, focusing on the idea of responsible freedom lying at the heart of the radical approach. Expressive culture was conceived of as a kind of action, as artistic communication in small groups, with the term artistic pointing to the relocation of the impulses to continuity and variability within the intentional consciousness of an actor.

Glassie pointed out that, in ethnographic terms, the value of these three approaches to expressive culture lies in their ability to orient research toward different problems and understandings (1995 [1989], 34-5):

(1) The *national* approach leads us to stress a specific work or performance as an emblem of the community's identity. The artists who shape that identity have been able to refine the old style of the community into works or performances that signal to the world the distinct nobility of their community, works or performances that then attract younger artists in whose hands the collective concept continues to flourish.

(2) The *radical* approach leads us to link the contemporary work or performance to a long tradition which served as the forerunner to modern works or performances. The traditional style of the community has been shaped into sub-styles, allowing artists to find space within them for personal expressive needs. As a result, the work or

performance exhibits both great historical continuity and the variable genius of real individuals.

(3) The *existential* approach leads us to observe the artists as they reshape their heritage in their works or performances, answering inner artistic urges and making connections to the world that embraces them, establishing communication with their past and with other people in their present.

2) Moments of social radical situational change:

Even if Glassie sees the above-mentioned three approaches as “subsumed by the master philosophy of romanticism” (1995 [1989], 24), I think there is greater significance to see them as ways of coping with the new social realities sprung up in relation to what Richard Middleton (1985, 10), using Gramsci’s (1971, 175-85) distinction between two types or levels of social structure (i.e., situation and conjuncture), identified as the three moments of radical situational change in Western modern history affecting society and musics.⁵ Middleton insightfully realized that these moments of radical situational change or crises at the level of the organic structure of society—seemingly to be found in all the developed Western countries, even if the dating differs—reveal most clearly the processes of formation of musical-ideological fields (Middleton 1985, 10-3). I understand that they are also related to the processes of formation or re-definition of collective (musical) identities:

⁵ “‘Situation’ refers to the deepest, the organic structures of a social formation; movement there is fundamental and relatively permanent, the result of crisis. ‘Conjuncture’ refers to more immediate, ephemeral characteristics, linked to the organic structures, but changing at once more rapidly and less significantly, as the forces in conflict within a situation struggle to work out their contradictions” (Middleton, 1985, 9-10).

(1) The first moment is that of the *bourgeois revolutions* (1780s-1850s) marked, as Middleton puts it, by complex and overt class struggle within cultural fields, by the permeation of the market system throughout almost all musical activities, and by the development and eventual predominance of new musical types associated with the new ruling class. Old and new elements were articulated into a variety of patterns and meanings, presided over by nationalistic orientations. Purely mechanical production and distribution methods of this period are epitomized by music printing.

(2) The second moment is that of the development of *mass culture* (1870s-1930s) characterized by the development of monopoly-capitalist relations, by the modes of what has been called social imperialism, and by a simplification of class struggle into a dichotomous model: power bloc versus popular classes. Nation-states remain important, but as one pole of a tension counter-balanced by a growing internationalization of culture, particularly associated with an emerging American hegemony. The electro-mechanical mode typical of mass culture took over from the purely mechanical production of the bourgeois period.

(3) The third moment begins after World War II with the new social-historical phase of *welfare capitalism* (1960s-...) and is characterized by an expansive ideology of liberal tolerance. Such official permissiveness was seen to be justified: rebellion was largely incorporated into the hegemonic system. The dichotomous model applicable to the moment of mass culture, while not destroyed, was noticeably fragmented through the development of an assortment of quickly changing, often would-be subversive styles and subcultures. Electronic systems took over from the electro-mechanical mode typical of mass culture.

It is apparent that the three approaches to expressive culture identified by Glassie are in articulate relationship to these three critical moments of deep situational change, that is, they are dynamically linked to them. The three mindsets—national, radical, and existential—that took hold in Western societies as a consequence of the most important organic social crises of the modern period as outlined by Middleton are historically dated, yet over time they began to overlap, as the earlier ones continued to be present when the new ones appeared. The existential approach amplified an attitude of freedom and connection to the world in its past and present dimensions which was still a course of action in the radical approach.⁶

There is no doubt about the relevance of these three mindsets or attitudes in understanding the performance of identities through vocality and the iconicity of style in Western societies. In fact, Middleton observed that the theories of homology put forward by some ethnomusicologists and British cultural theorists (see Chambers 1982, 31-2; Willis 1978, 189-203; Hebdige 1979, 133ff.) which suggest the existence of structural resonances or homologies between the different elements making up the culture, consciousness, and social position of a particular group (Middleton 1985, 7) “is at the level of the ‘situation’ that ... may be thought to operate” (1985, 10), rather than at the level of the conjuncture.

Middleton’s argument is fundamentally a way of acknowledging that those crossmodal homologies or iconicities of style that characterize music’s (or vocality’s)

⁶ Independent of the fact that folklorists and other scholars saw the radical attitude as conservative and opposed to mass culture, the social realities show that the artists—such as those of the main monodic expressive song traditions of Spain—demonstrated both a communal rootedness and a creative thrust that connected them to the mass society of their time, thereby anticipating the existential attitude.

iconicity are to be thought of as dynamic—that is, connected to moments of change, rather than as purely static processes. This was also my point while discussing both iconicity in Chapter 6, subsection 6.1.2. and Rice’s static, dichotomous view of essentialist and constructivist approaches to musical identity in subsection 7.1.1.

The theoretical considerations regarding identities, performance, and music which I have made in section 7.1. are applied in sections 7.2. and 7.3. I address first the existential ground of vocal style and the iconic performance of identities.

7.2. The Existential Ground of Vocal Style: Embodied Vocality, Iconicity, and Ethnic Identities in the *Cant d’Estil*, the *Cante Jondo*, and the *Jota Parada*

Taking into account the historical observations presented in Chapters 2 through 5 as well as ethnographic evidence and the understanding of identities as clusters of habits, in this subsection I describe the vocality of the *cant valencià*, as well as briefly, by way of comparison, the contrasting ones of the Aragonese *jota parada* or *de estilo* and of the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante jondo*, the core of the *cante flamenco*.

The basic assumption for my description of vocality is based in the “materiality” of musical communication, which occurs through vocal and bodily habits and gestures. I pay attention to bodily attitudes in performance which iconically display the existential basis of a singing style or vocality and the cultural values specific to each expressive song tradition. Paul Connerton remarked that

bodily practices . . . [have great] importance and persistence as mnemonic systems. Every group, then, will entrust to bodily automatisms the values and categories which they are most anxious to

conserve. They will know how well the past can be kept in mind by a habitual memory sedimented in the body. (Connerton 1989, 102)

In this connection, anthropologist Thomas Csordas emphasized that focusing on embodied practices goes well beyond the materiality of the body:

If embodiment is an existential condition in which the body is the subjective source or intersubjective ground of experience, then studies under the rubric of embodiment are not “about” the body per se. Instead they are about culture and experience insofar as these can be understood from the standpoint of bodily being-in-the-world. (Csordas 1999, 143)

In fact, the body, rather than merely a biological ground of culture, as John Blacking (1977 and 1992) argued, may be shown to be its existential ground, and thus may be considered equally religious, linguistic, historical, cognitive, emotional, artistic (Csordas 2002, 4), or musical.

A particular kind of vocality is not simply a natural or biological way of singing or performing vocally: it springs forth from a trained, responsible body which has acquired performance habits over the years.

7.2.1. The existential basis of vocality and iconicity in the *cant d'estil*

In Chapter 2, subsection 2.2.2., I showed that the roots of the *cant d'estil* are in peasant open-air work songs called *cant a l'aire* or *cançons a l'aire*. The *cant d'estil* in serenades has been traditionally sung in the streets and at the front door of farms in the countryside. Di Virgilio (1999), studying Abbruzzese *canti all'aria*, pointed out that the impact of space “on musical performance is clearly perceivable in terms of acoustic results, as this space/environment influences the timbre and the vocal style.”

1) *Highly-projected voice—standing up in erect posture and raising the face:*

The intensity or volume and the clear and highly-projected voice with which open-air songs, and therefore the *cant d'estil* songs, are performed is in fact a direct consequence of the open-air space, but also of the bodily postures and attitudes with which certain peasant works such as plowing and threshing were performed. It is significant that singing in the open air while plowing or threshing required an upright posture with the face raised favoring the serenity and control necessary for driving the horses in these tasks. The same is true for the *cant d'estil*. As we can see in Fig. 16, one common habit of the best singers in different artistic generations of *cantadors d'estil* is to stand up in an erect posture and raise the face up so that the voice is not hampered by any obstacle and can come out intense, high, and clear.



Fig. 16

Raising the face to let the voice out intense and clear: *Evaristo* (Paris, Palais de la Mutualité, 1937),
el Requeni (Valencia, moment of recreation during a *cantà*, 1956),
Victorieta (Carpesa, Valencia, *cantà* in the streets, 2007), all of them singing *l'u i dos*.
Respectively from: Julio Portet's personal archive, Valencia; Consol Requeni's personal archive,
Valencia; Carles Pitarch's fieldwork research, photo by Juan Pablo Monteagudo

Historical evidence shows that the *cant valencià* vocality has constantly had this intense, high, and clear quality. We have seen that in the mid-nineteenth century Sanmartín y Aguirre (1869, 331) observed that “the ... *cantaor* makes his silvery voice heard,” that is, his high and clear voice, while the picture shows him with the face raised (see Fig. 11 in Chapter 3, subsection 3.2.1.). A century later, Lomax (1952-1953), describing *el Xiquet de Benaguasil*'s vocal style, confirms that “like many traditional Valencian singers, his high white tone has kept his voice alive and clear to this advanced age” (see Chapter 5, subsection 5.1.1.).

Lomax contended that the vocal style in “[t]he South, including Andalusia, Murcia, Valencia and parts of Castile, is Eurasian, with strident high-pitched monody among the folk and a high, pure controlled tone among professionals both delivered from a tense throat” (Lomax 1959, 939) and he was right as regards the *cant valencià*. However, when he added “with an expression of agony on the face,” he had Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco* in mind, certainly not the Valencian song, as the pictures can verify. (Some *cantadors d'estil* show great facial tension out of an extra effort to sing loudly when their vocal faculties are not outstanding).

2) *Nasality—facilitating high intensities without exposing the vocal chords:*

Also, a certain degree of nasality, which varies among singers, enriches the harmonics of their voices facilitating high intensities without exposing their vocal chords, as Léothaud and Lortat-Jacob (2002, 12) perceptively observed for Mediterranean folk vocalities in general (see Chapter 5, subsection 5.2.3.). The *cantadora d'estil Victorieta* graphically pointed at her nose during an interview when

trying to show me how the voice is projected in the *cant valencià*, and made hers come out loud and clearly resonating. Yet unlike in the *cante flamenco* which in its high register is sung in falsetto and its nasality resonates in the posterior part of the oral cavity, in the *cant valencià* the typical nasality resonates in the anterior part. This is characteristic of old peasant open-air work songs in Valencia and also in northern Andalusia (see the CD accompanying Hurtado Torres and Hurtado Torres 2002, which contains recordings from the provinces of Jaén and Cordoba).

3) *Chest voice in the high register—placing the arms to the sides or behind the body, or leaning on somebody's shoulder, to expand the chest:*

If the bodily habit of standing up in erect posture and raising the face to sing the *cant valencià* is an automatism which affords the singers a higher volume and clarity of voice, this, along with placing their arms and hands to the sides of their bodies, or even behind them, allows for an expansion of their chests. This is significant, because their high-pitched voices are never falsetto, but always chest voices, and all these old agrarian habits help in projecting the voice to high ranges. Some old *aficionats* of the *cant valencià* like *Pep el Blec* of Xirivella let me know during our conversations that a *cantador d'estil* like *el Muquero* (1875-1954), used to bring a crook with him, such as a shepherd might have, which he placed behind him while singing, holding it with both hands and leaning on it. This favored balance and chest expansion. Another distinctive habit which has the same outcome is leaning on somebody's shoulder, usually that of an appreciated friend (see Fig. 17): the *cantadors d'estil* show how serenity and control preside over their elegant renditions, even if their projected voice requires a strong throat and inner tension.



Fig. 17

Leaning on somebody's shoulder to expand the chest, showing serenity and friendship: *el Xiquet de Mislata* (Mislata, Homage to this singer in the street where he was born, 1988), *Milio del Puig* (Valencia, *cant valencià* recital at Vicente Blasco Ibáñez Museum, 2009), Respectively from: Joan Blasco's personal archive, Valencia; Emili Luis's personal archive, el Puig, Valencia

4) *Flexibility and melismaticity of the vocal lines—momentarily closing the eyes to express inner feelings:*

In the *cant valencià* the singer sings with a highly-projected voice, yet he or she is also attentive to inner feelings, especially in the melismatic, cadential passages of the *cant d'estil* songs. In fact, for just a few seconds, at certain times the *cantadors d'estil* have the old habit of momentarily closing their eyes. This is not something that one can easily notice in the joyful atmosphere of a *cantà*, but pictures over time do depict it with amazing continuity (see Fig. 18). If one thinks about it, the *llauradors* (“farmers”) who sang while plowing the fields in the fertile lowlands, in solitude all

day long behind the horse and holding the plow, expressed in those moments their inner feelings. *El Xiquet de Mislata* referred to it very clearly:

[I]n the end, the *cant valencià* is delicate like the footsteps on the soft ground [imprinted] by the horse, [an animal] resigned to work like none other. Our songs of *l'horta* are more about feeling than about despotic urges ... When the first furrow of the land was plowed, a rhythm of life was born, different, [full] of expression and feelings: the man of the fertile lowlands had created the *cant valencià*.⁷ (Marzal Barberà 2009, 91)



Fig. 18

Closing the eyes a few seconds while *modulating* the voice and feeling:

el Xiquet de Benaguasil (Paris, Palais de la Mutualité, 1937),

el Torrentí (El Vedat, Torrent, Valencia, convivial meal after a *cantà*, 1959),

Victorieta (Carpesa, Valencia, *cantà* in the streets, 2007).

Respectively from: Julio Portet's personal archive, Valencia; Josep Royo's personal archive, Torrent; Carles Pitarch's fieldwork research, photo by Juan Pablo Monteagudo

⁷ [E]n el seu fons, el cant valencià és *carinyós* com la xafada del cavall en la terra mollta, resignat per al treball com ningú. Les nostres cançons de l'horta tenen més de sentiment que de despotisme ... Quan el primer solc de la terra fon llaurat, nasqué un ritme de vida, diferent, d'expressió i de sentiments: l'home de l'horta havia creat el cant valencià.

The vocal style of the *cant d'estil* songs and of the *cant valencià* in general is existentially grounded in peasant life. It iconically shows through its vocal traits and their associated bodily postures and gestures the open-air tasks in which the *cant d'estil* or *cant a l'aire* was originally performed. Unconsciously but significantly, the *cantadors d'estil* have preserved these vocal traits and their associated postures and gestures as habits or bodily automatisms preserving the values and categories of the old Valencian farmers in the fertile lowlands: intensity and flexibility, balance to remain serene and in control while performing tasks which require this attitude. As Connerton has it, “the past can be kept in mind by a habitual memory sedimented in the body” (1989, 102).

Because of its thrust and nerve or intensity, the *cant d'estil* is extrovert and optimistic like the Aragonese *jota*: both were originally peasant open-air work songs (see below subsection 7.2.2.). Yet because of its flexibility and melismaticity, it is attentive to inner feeling like the *cante flamenco*, even if in a different way: the *cant d'estil* has nothing to do with the “long, high-pitched wails of despair” which Lomax (1959, 940) deemed to be the open-air work songs of southern and central Spain in general, from an etic standpoint doubtless influenced by his impressions of the *cante jondo*. Moreover, the characteristic Valencian vocality iconically displays the liminal position of the *cant de l'horta*. Even if such a kind of Valencian vocality is present in other peasant open-air work songs like those of northern Andalusia, it has become the hallmark of the *cant valencià* and not of the *cante jondo*: the *cant valencià* brought it into modern urban spaces as an icon of Valencian historical identity, while the *cante*

jondo vocality is iconically based on the historically-based pain and despair of the Andalusian Gypsies (see below subsection 7.2.2.).

7.2.1.1. The emic viewpoint about the *cant valencià* vocality: *Veü valenta, tindre poder, modular, and tindre estil*

1) *Veü valenta* (“brave voice”):

The voice of the *cant valencià*, according to the *cantadors d’estil* themselves, is “*valenta i dolça al mateix temps*” (“brave and sweet-sounding at the same time”), as *Victorieta* defined it during an interview. *Valent* or *valenta* (the masculine or feminine forms, respectively, of “brave”) is one of the most common adjectives with which the *aficionats* celebrate a good performance, meaning that the singer’s voice has the appropriate thrust and intensity. “[T]he voice of the *cantador* with bravery begins the stanza,” Ruiz de Lihory (1903, 152) observed. As is common with native concepts, *valent(a)* has another related meaning: the singer is also “brave” when he or she masters the form of the song and performs the right *requints* or melismatic motifs. Knowledgeable *cantadors d’estil* and *aficionats* all agree that somebody can be a “brave” singer even if he or she does not sing with a high vocal intensity—for instance, *el Xiquet de Bétera* or *el Xiquet de Mislata*—yet the *veü valenta* is expected.

This *veü valenta* is nothing more than the highly projected voice which the singer achieves standing up in erect posture and raising the face as well as using the nasality that facilitates intensity without exposing the vocal chords. Knowledgeable *cantadors d’estil* that I interviewed, like *Victorieta*, are aware that the bodily erect

posture is indispensable, but they were not conscious about the fact that they raise their face (about this, see also section 7.6.).

2) *Tindre poder* (“to have staying power”):

Tindre poder is to be able to sing with staying power the long notes and melismatic passages required in the *cant d’estil*. For instance, as *Victorieta* said, “*el Xiquet de Paterna* had power,” that is, his voice was powerful, able to sing with ease the *requints* and sustained cadential notes in the high register. This native concept is somehow linked to being *valent(a)* in singing, but while *veu valenta* stresses the power of sound intensity, *tindre poder* stresses stamina, endurance, and the power of sustaining the notes and performing the *requints* easily with chest voice in the high register, something that is facilitated by placing the arms to the sides or behind the body, or sometimes leaning on somebody’s shoulder, to expand the chest. Of course, the voice is more powerful in young age, yet older singers also may show this *poder*.

3) *Modular la veu* (“to modulate the voice”):

Victorieta did not forget to draw attention to the fact that the voice in the *cant valencià* is also *dolça* (“sweet-sounding”). The voice in the *cant d’estil* springs forth from the body, rising and falling in each musical phrase with seeming ease, flowing intensely in soft undulations, without halts or breaks. This is what the *cantadors d’estil* call *modular la veu* (“to modulate the voice”), a concept of modulation which of course is different in meaning from the one used in Western classical music. Someone who is not able to modulate his or her voice cannot be a good *cantador d’estil*. It is a matter of fact that there are singers that modulated or modulate faster

(*Evaristo, el Xiquet de Mislata*, etc.) and others that modulated or modulate more slowly (*el Xiquet de Bétera, el Sardineta*, etc.), as Enric de Rubela, an old *aficionat* from Xirivella, let me know during an interview. Yet what actually matters is that the good singers sing with a smooth transition between pitches, what Alan Lomax called a “more liquid vocal quality” referring to a trait that for him characterizes the singing styles of northern Spain, but which is also a prominent feature of the *cant valencià* (see Chapter 5, subsection 5.1.1., point (11)). This is in fact the flexibility of the vocal lines during the melismatic passages in which the singer concentrates in inner feelings by momentarily closing the eyes during a few seconds.

4) *Tindre estil* (“to have style”):

Finally, in the *cantadors d’estil*’ and *aficionats*’ vocabulary, *tindre estil* globally refers to singing with the appropriate vocality, mastering the song forms with their ornamentations and optional melodic styles *cant pla* and *cant requintat*. All this is not possible without the bodily attitudes which render the *cant valencià* vocality.

7.2.2. Some quick observations about the existential basis of vocality and iconicity in the *jota parada* or *de estilo* and the *cante jondo*

In Chapter 1, section 1.4., I emphasized that by the mid-nineteenth century both the Aragonese *jota* and the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco* had become icons of the contrasting poles of the social, cultural, and existential lifestyles of northern and southern Spain. From a vocal point of view, they embodied respectively, on the one hand, the ethos of the brave Aragonese and other northern peoples, and on the other,

the ethos of the relaxed Andalusian and the peoples of the adjoining southern territories.

The vocal style of the Aragonese *jota*, originally a song of peasant people (farmers and shepherds) who sang in the open air or in the streets, is characterized by the same strong projection of the voice that we find in the *cant valencià*. Yet if the modal, non-metric, ornamented melodies of the *cant d'estil* rendered with vocal flexibility and expression of inner feelings give it an Oriental-like character as musical folklorists emphasized (see Chapter 4, section 4.2.), the strongly projected voice of the *joteros* who sing mainly syllabic, metric, and always tonal vocal lines, with its limited end-of-phrase triplet ornaments gives to the Aragonese *jota* a character of *rasmia* (“drive, resoluteness”) or even stubbornness, iconically showing those traits typically attributed to the Aragonese people. *Rasmia* is in fact the term used by the *cantadores de jota* themselves to refer to the most appreciated quality of their singing style.⁸ Moreover, the basic principle of vocal emission “*con el pecho y la boca, pero sin la nariz*” (“with the chest and the mouth, but without the nose”) shows that nasality is not welcome in *jota* performance (Sageloly 2005, 86).

The vocal style of the *cante flamenco*, indulging in the expression of pain, suffering, and strong romantic passions is highly conditioned by its core repertory of the *cante jondo* from lower Andalusia (Seville and Cadiz). Its existential ground is to be found in the deep suffering of the Gypsies during their general imprisonment in

⁸ Personal information (2008) by Carolina Ibor Monesma, former *jota* singer. Elite writers attributed to the *jota* nobility, frankness, rudeness, absence of mawkishness, obstinacy or stubbornness, and even violence warranted or excused as inherent in courage (Roma (1995). This is what *el Xiquet de Mislata* referred to as “despotic urges” (Marzal Barberà 2009, 91).

1749, a well-orchestrated and massive military raid by the Spanish monarch Ferdinand VI, which affected over 10,000 people (Zoido Naranjo 1999). About 80% of the Spanish Gypsies were living in lower Andalusia (1999, 207). The men were set to hard labor in four remote military prisons or mines, the women and children were exploited in different factories, and many families were dramatically broken up (1999, 148-9). Sixteen years later, in 1765, there were still prisoners who had endured the worst hardships (1999, 192). “The pain and sorrow expressed in the song or the dance of the Gypsies did not exist before ... the eighteenth century. ... Nevertheless, from the time in which the prison loomed over them, we find some lyrics that explicitly recall those events” (Zoido Naranjo 1999, 196).

One of the first descriptions of the *cante jondo* vocality, made one century later by the Spanish poet Gustavo Adolfo Becquer in an article devoted to “The Fair of Seville” in 1869, the famous and well-attended festival still celebrated in April each year, emphasizes the expression of deep pain, sorrow, and lament:

Only there, in the distance, can one hear the slow and measured noise of the *palmas* [“hand clapping”] and a wailing and sorrowful voice that intones sad songs or the *seguidillas* of *el Fillo* [a famous Gypsy singer of the second third of the nineteenth century]. It is a group of flamenco [i.e., Andalusian-Gypsy] people of pure race singing the *jondo* [repertory] without guitar accompaniment, serious and in ecstasy, like priests of an abolished worship meeting in the silence of the night in order to remember past glories and to sing, crying like the Jews *super fluminem Babiloniae*.⁹ (cited in Zoido Naranjo 1999, 334)

Becquer’s description is quite eloquent, except that the Gypsies did not remember past glories, but past strong sufferings instead.

⁹ Solo allá, lejos, se oye el ruido lento y compasado de las palmas y una voz quejumbrosa y doliente que entona coplas tristes o las seguidillas del Fillo. Es un grupo de gente flamenca y de pura raza cañí que canta lo jondo sin acompañamiento de guitarra, graves y extasiados, como sacerdotes de un culto abolido, que se reúnen en el silencio de la noche a recordar las glorias de otros días y a cantar llorando, como los judíos *super fluminem Babiloniae*.

Also, half a century later, the regenerationist republican writer Eugenio Noel (1881-1936) described the tormented *jondo* vocality in different passages. He was the main anti-*flamenquismo* advocate of the early twentieth century, but at the same time, as Mitchell (1994, 176) aptly put it, was endowed with a great knowledge “of flamenco’s low-life milieu and cathartic performance styles”:

[T]he *bulerías* ... to be sung, need a special voice quality, an exceptional membrane ... in the throat ..., modulations ... and tones produced or accompanied by ... a quaver that chills ...; without trampling on all the existing rules for the voice and its emission [in lyric singing], one of those short, brusque songs mixture ... of feelings ..., which end up charming ... all those ... who listen to them, cannot be linked to one another.¹⁰ (Noel 1916, cited in Cobo 1992, 91)

Sometimes it is necessary to sing as if one had the hiccups. At other times one has to bite the phrase, chew it, and swallow it well so that those feelings understand that we hate them. The fermatas are linked together ad infinitum; and huge raw cries ... are followed by cries soft as ... soliloquies. (Noel 1916, 273; cited and translated in Mitchell 1994, 176)

In fact, the original *jondo* performance is an iconic expression of suffering repeated until exhaustion. This evident expression of pain is precisely what attracted fans of the *cante jondo* such as the Valencian journalist Fernando Lluçh (1932) and many others.

7.3. Iconicity of Style and Performance of National, Radical, and Existential Identities in the *cant valencià*

As discussed in subsection 7.1.2., Middleton (1985, 7-10) argues that the existence of structural resonances or homologies among the different elements that make up the culture, consciousness, and social position of a particular group is at the level of radical situational changes that may be thought to operate; this implies that

¹⁰ [L]as bulerías ... [p]ara cantarlas se necesita una calidad de voz especial, una excepcional membrana ... en la garganta ..., modulaciones ... y tonos producidos o acompañados por ... un garganteo que espeluzna ...; sin patear cuantas reglas existen para la voz y su emisión [en el canto lírico], no se puede encadenar una a otra aquellas coplas cortas, bruscas, mezcla ... de sentimientos ... que concluyen por sugestionar ... a cuantos ... escuchan. (I have omitted in this passage all the derogatory terms used by the anti-flamenquist Noel)

the crossmodal homologies that characterize music's or vocality's iconicity are to be thought of as dynamic rather than as static processes, capable both of stability and development in moments of radical situational change.

If one observes in a diachronic way how monodic expressive song traditions such as the *cant valencià*, the Aragonese *jota parada* or *de estilo*, and the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco* stylistically developed in the modern period, one will realize that their stylistic developments are in relationship to the three critical moments of deep situational change in modern Europe: the age of bourgeois revolutions (1780s-1850s), the period of development of mass culture (1870s-1930s), and the phase of welfare capitalism (1960s-...); one will also realize that their stylistic developments were due to national, radical, and existential attitudes of their singers. This is what I address in the following subsections.

7.3.1. Enshrining vocality, entering modernity: the phenomenon of the *aficionados* and the Spanish monodic expressive song traditions in the age of national revolutions

I showed in subsection 7.2. that the singing styles of the *cant valencià d'estil*, the Aragonese *jota parada* or *de estilo*, and the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco*, are existentially and iconically rooted in old singing practices, yet the emphasis on style as well as on the the singers' individuality and their personal styles is a social phenomenon which characteristically developed in the age of the bourgeois revolutions (1780s-1850s), that is, the age in which nationalism and romanticism flourished in Europe and America with a focus on the individual.

I already emphasized in Chapter 1, section 1.1., that the main monodic expressive song traditions of Spain are “in accord with the personalism and celebrity orientation of modern western Europe” (Fernandez 1986, 125). However, this phenomenon was only made possible by the counterpart phenomenon of the aficionados (Val. *aficionats*), that is, the followers who, in dialectical relationship with the singers, are responsible for the maintenance of the specific singing styles defining each ethnic or territorial collectivity.

We do not know who the *cantadors d'estil* were in the early moments of the age of bourgeois revolutions and creation of nation-states, yet they doubtless existed, since the aficionados (Val. *aficionats*) who sustained them can be directly or indirectly documented in Valencia already at that time. It will be useful to pay attention first to Andalusia and Aragon in order to show the broad significance of this phenomenon. In fact, the development of the aficionados groups is the hallmark that shows how the *cant valencià* and the other main Spanish monodic expressive song traditions entered modernity. The respective communities of aficionados enshrined the vocalities of each tradition in the urban world during the last third of the eighteenth century, although the socio-political prominence of these song traditions only came later.

The historiographer of modern Andalusian popular culture Antonio Zoido Naranjo, in his already-cited monograph that explores the eighteenth-century origins of the nineteenth and early twentieth-century *flamenguismo* (see Chapter 1, section 1.4.), called for attention to the fact that the phenomenon of the *afición* already existed in Seville and Cadiz during the second half of the eighteenth century (Zoido Naranjo 1999, 256-86). The social sphere of the *flamenco* aficionados originally consisted of

wealthy young men, *señoritos* with anti-Enlightenment traditionalist inclinations, fond of dressing like Gypsies, imitating their language in fake Gypsy poems and stanzas, carrying on a bohemian lifestyle, cohabitating with *cómicas* (“comedy actresses”), doing bull-spearing or bullfighting, and organizing singing and dancing private parties served in the musical and choreic part by Gypsies. In sum, we can already find during the second half of the eighteenth century all “the forms of diversion that the ... *afición* shares today with the [cante] flamenco” (Zoido Naranjo 1999, 257) were interconnected. It was then that

[a] new world began to arise ... the *afición* ... In this way, between the *cante*, the *toque*, and the dance called flamencos, [on the one hand,] and the people which, without performing them, like[ed] them, [on the other hand], ... a particular symbiosis would exist that in many occasions [would] near the limit of Hegelian dialectics. We can say that, in all probability, the musical expressions of this genre would not be today as they are, if in this core group, larger or smaller, of *aficionados* and of interpreters or performers there had not persisted the inclination toward such expressions, and if the tastes or preferences or the critiques and rejections coming from one or another side had not evolved homogeneously.¹¹ (Zoido Naranjo 1999, 285-6)

I would say that singers and aficionados evolved convergently rather than homogeneously, yet Zoido Naranjo’s point is clear. In dialectical relation to the *cante flamenco* performers the aficionados were instrumental in maintaining and developing this singing style.

The same was true for the Aragonese *jota parada*, later called *de estilo*. An account of a *jota* serenade celebrated in 1838 provides evidence that the Aragonese *afición* also existed in the second half of the eighteenth century. The French artillery

¹¹ [c]omenzaba a surgir un mundo nuevo ... la *afición* ... Por este camino, entre el cante, el toque y el baile llamados flamencos, [por un lado,] y aquellas personas a las que, sin interpretarlos, les gusta[ban, por otro lado], existiría ... una extraña simbiosis que en muchas ocasiones roza[ría] el límite de la dialéctica hegeliana. Podríamos decir que, probablemente, las expresiones musicales de este género no serían hoy como son, si en ese núcleo, mayor o menor, de *aficionados* y de intérpretes o ejecutantes no se hubiera conservado la inclinación por ellas y si los gustos o preferencias o las críticas y rechazos de una y otra parte no hubieran ido evolucionando homogéneamente.

colonel—and later diplomat—Maxime Raybaud wrote under the pen name of Gustave d’Alaux several chronicles of the European wars in which he had participated between the 1820s and 1840s. He happened to be in Saragossa during the *Cincomarzada*, a failed attempt by the carlist general Ramón Cabrera to conquer the city on March 5, 1838 during the first Spanish civil war of the nineteenth century: the First Carlist War (1833-1840). There, in the days prior to the attack, Raybaud witnessed the traditional *rondallas* singing the Aragonese *jota* at night in the streets. The French colonel tells a story about these *rondallas* which attests to the fact that the phenomenon of the *aficionados* was already common in Aragon in the second half of the eighteenth century, although in terms different from those characteristic of the *cante flamenco afición*; that is, it existed in a more plebeian version:

One evening when the embalmed warmth of a night of July had detained me later than usual in my balcony, I saw a *rondalla* passing by, probably the last *rondalla*. ... Suddenly an increasing rustle of guitars and bandurrias rose in the direction of the Marketplace. ... The serenade approached ... [singing] the Aragonese national air, the *jota aragonesa* ... [After the song, t]he interlude of guitars and bandurrias resumed; but, from the first measures, the musicians stopped disconcerted: ... another [*jota*] air [was being sung] about two hundred feet from there, towards *las Botigas [H]ondas* Street ... The others!—the musicians repeated furiously with a torrent of dreadful curses. The second troupe continued their air imperturbed, the first troupe resumed theirs, and they [both] moved against the other strumming the guitars in a different tone. At the moment they met, each troupe claimed to hold the street, and they pulled out their knives, a simple rivalry of philharmonic societies.

All the districts of Saragossa had from time immemorial up to the present their troupes of *aficionados* [my emphasis] as divided among them as the Capulets and Montagues of the Italian Middle Ages, and their sense of honor consisted in preventing one another from exercising the guitar [on the streets]. This is what the *rondallas* were about. I speak in the past, because, from the next day [after those past rivalries], the authority issued an order which banned in the future any sort of *rondalla*. The authority was conditioned, it is word of mouth, by the false rumor that they had used firearms, an innovation which became very dangerous for the simple spectators. I may assert that this rumor was a slander [according to what I witnessed]. In truth, some of these men were armed with blunderbusses, which were unlikely to have any repercussions among the spectators; but they used only their knives.¹² (d’Alaux 1846, 593-5)

¹² For clarity, I have split the original passage into two paragraphs:

Un soir que la tiédeur embaumée d’une nuit de juillet m’avait retenu plus tard que d’ordinaire à mon balcon, je vis passer une *rondalla*, probablement la dernière *rondalla*. ... Tout à coup un murmure croissant de guitares et de

Raybaud's reference to the past rivalries among the troupes of *aficionados* (Fr. *amateurs*) and the prohibition against the use of firearms inside the towns and villages should be placed in relation to different Royal Decrees issued in the 1760s-1770s.¹³ This allows us to date back the phenomenon of the Aragonese *jota aficionados* to approximately the same time as that of the *cante flamenco* ones.

However, coming to our point, also in the *cant valencià* tradition we have evidence that the phenomenon of the *aficionats* was well-ensconced by the 1850s, as we can learn from the first *costumbrista* description of a private *cantà*, published in 1859, which explicitly mentions them:

During the holidays at night time, and whenever there is some festival in the district, the young Valencian woman is honored as if she were the highest princess. Her fiancé brings together two or three of his closest friends, each one armed with his corresponding blunderbuss, and provided with a squalid and secular guitar of five courses, with the first string missing, as well as with the inseparable *guitarró*, they go to our heroine's *barraca* at the small hours of the night. A couple of blunderbuss shots in the air announce to the young woman the nightly visit of his sweetheart. Our protagonist does not tremble at it, because she knows that such slight insinuation is the prelude of the serenade which is going to take place that night at the door of her palace in honor of her coveted beauty.

Finally, one of them begins strumming the grimy strings of the instruments, and intones the serenading song called among the *aficionados* [my emphasis] *el uno y doce* [sic, *l'u i dotze*]; the others, alternating, sing quatrains allusive to the occasion, which they improvise there, extolling the beauties and charms of the young woman, who enclosed in her small *estudi* ["bedroom"] next

mandores s'éleva dans la direction de la place du Marché. ... La sérénade approchait. ... [chantant] l'air national des Aragonais, la *jota aragonesa* ... L'intermède des guitares et des mandores reprit; mais, dès les premières mesures, les musiciens s'arrêtèrent déconcertés: ... un autre air à deux cents pas de là, du côté de la rue de *las Botigas [H]ondas* ... Les autres! répétèrent les concertants furieux à travers un déluge d'épouvantables jurons. La seconde troupe continuait imperturbablement son air, la première reprit le sien, et elles s'avancèrent l'une contre l'autre en raclant de la guitare sur des tons différents. Au moment de la rencontre, chaque troupe émit la prétention de tenir la rue, et on tira les couteaux, simple rivalité de sociétés philharmoniques.

Tous les quartiers de Saragosse avaient, de temps immémorial, à cette époque, leurs troupes d'amateurs, aussi divisées entre elles que les Capulets et les Montaigus du Moyen-Âge italien, et dont le point d'honneur consistait à s'interdire l'une à l'autre l'exercice de la guitare. C'est en cela que consistaient les *rondallas*. Je parle au passé, car, dès le lendemain, l'autorité fit placarder un ordre qui proscrivait à l'avenir toute espèce de *rondalla*. L'autorité fut influencée, dit-on, par le faux bruit qu'on s'était servi d'armes à feu, innovation qui fût devenue très dangereuse pour les simples spectateurs. Je puis affirmer que ce bruit était une calomnie. A la vérité, plusieurs de ces messieurs étaient armés de tromblons, ce qui ne tire pas à conséquence dans le pays; mais on ne se servit que du couteau.

¹³ A royal decree issued in 1771 by Charles III established "that nobody is allowed to shoot with harquebus or shotgun loaded with ammunition or without it, even if it is only with gunpowder, inside the villages" (Vañó 1876, 603).

to that of her parents, feels her heart beating with happiness on having listened to the gentle compliments that are addressed to her from outside, and meanwhile the fiancé pays homage to her with some blunderbuss shots through the microscopic window of her bedroom, the bullets sticking in the wood, and blackening the white walls of the *barraca* with the blunderbuss shots or with rockets that he occasionally shoots in order to give more animation and brilliance to the celebration.

In this way, they continue honoring the fiancée until the wee hours of the morning, and sometimes up until the first hints of daybreak force them to put an end to their nightly amusement.¹⁴ (Zapater y Ugeda 1859, 391-3)

Notice that, according to this description, the Valencian *aficionats* (Sp. *aficionados* as mentioned in the text) are a well-known category of people knowledgeable about the tradition, who can perfectly identify each type of song: a “serenading song called among the *aficionados el uno y doce* [sic].” But when did the *aficionats* phenomenon began in Valencia? This piece of evidence from 1859 can be complemented by putting it in relationship to a passage in which the official chronicler of Valencia, the historiographer, writer, medicine doctor, and well-known figure of the *Renaixença*, Lluís Cebrian Mezquita (1851-1934) refers to a heightened interest in guitar serenades among the Valencian population during the last part of the eighteenth century:

¹⁴ Los días festivos por la noche, y siempre que hay alguna fiesta en el partido, la valenciana es obsequiada como puede serlo la mas alta princesa. El novio reúne [a] dos o tres de sus amigos más adictos, cada uno de ellos se arma de su correspondiente trabuco, y provistos de una escualida y secular guitarra de cinco órdenes y además sin prima, y del inseparable *guitarró*, se dirigen a la barraca de nuestra heroína a las altas horas de la noche. Un par de trabucazos disparados al aire anuncian á la joven la nocturna visita de su amado. No se estremece nuestra protagonista, porque sabe que aquella leve insinuación es el preludio de la serenata que ha de tener lugar aquella noche al pie de su palacio en honor de su codiciada belleza.

Comienza por fin uno de ellos a rascar las mugrientas cuerdas de los instrumentos, entonando la rondeña denominada entre los aficionados del *uno y doce*; los demás cantan alternativamente cuartetos alusivos al objeto [sic], que improvisan allí, ensalzando las bellezas y encantos de la joven, que encerrada en su reducido *estudi*, junto al de los padres, siente latir su corazón de alegría al escuchar los dulces piropos que se le prodigan a la parte de afuera, y entre tanto el novio le envía algún disparo de trabuco por la microscópica ventana de su dormitorio, dejando clavadas las balas en la madera y tiznando las blancas paredes de la barraca con losfogonazos o con cohetes que dispara de vez en cuando con el fin de dar mayor animación y realze [sic] a la fiesta.

De este modo prosiguen obsequiando a la novia hasta las primeras horas de la madrugada, y a veces hasta [que] los primeros pasos del alba les obligan a poner fin a su esparcimiento nocturno.

In the last years of the eighteenth century and the entire first half of the nineteenth century, the stringed instruments became very popular—the guitar, the *guitarró*, the *octavilla*, the *citra*, etc.—and the young men got used to serenades, which in our villages were called *rondes* [“roundabouts”].¹⁵ (Cebrian Mezquita 1925)

Although there is evidence that serenading with guitars in Valencian villages was already common in the sixteenth century and was called *guitarrejar*,¹⁶ Cebrian Mezquita refers to a period when, coinciding with the social and agricultural recovery of the second half of the eighteenth century (1760s-1780s, see Chapter 2, subsection 2.1.4), this practice of serenading with *cant d'estil* songs increased to a remarkable degree and the contemporary phenomenon of the *aficionats* came into life, similar to those of Andalusia and Aragon. The Valencian *aficionats* were of a plebeian type, like the Aragonese *aficionados*, and if the Andalusian *afición* was originally made up of wealthy young men or *señoritos*, which still exist at present, in the end the *aficionados* of the *cante flamenco* would become more varied so as to include a predominantly lowbrow population during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the protagonists of the rejected *flamenquismo* (see Chapter 1, section 1.4.).

Here, it is worth reproducing Ortega y Gasset's (1962, 148) characterization of the significant figure of the *aficionado* in Spanish folk cultures, a figure which was clearly born in parallel in Andalusia, Aragon, and Valencia during the second half of the eighteenth century and which later was to achieve a strong social prominence when these song traditions came to the forefront of socio-political life:

¹⁵ En los últimos años del siglo XVIII y toda la primera mitad del XIX, se popularizaron mucho los instrumentos de cuerda—la guitarra, el *guitarró*, las octavillas, la cítara, etc.—y se acostumbraron los mozos a las rondallas, que en nuestros pueblos se llamaron *rondes*.

¹⁶ Personal communication by Héctor Garrido (2006), local historian and *dolçainer* of Vallada, Valencia.

The aficionado, as such, indulges himself by keeping the object to which he is devoted always present, uncovering every detail of its past and present forms. Thus, he always begins with the reality that stimulates his devotion and proceeds to, let us say, caress it lingeringly with his attention. Now then: to speak seriously of something is not that; it is a much graver, more dramatic task, an almost cruel one.¹⁷ (Ortega y Gasset 1962, 148)

In 1925, Garcia Albarracín (1925, 21) would refer to the *aficionats* as “the Valencian religious [devotees] of the *albaes* and of *el u y el dos*” (see Chapter 3, subsection 3.2.3.). Also Manuel Marzal Barberà *el Xiquet de Mislata* (2009, 92-3) devoted a specific section of his *Materials per a una antologia del cant valencià* to the “Conditions for a good *aficionat* of the *cant valencià*.” In it, he describes this indispensable figure as somebody who is knowledgeable about the song tradition and judges the quality of the *cantadors d’estil*’ renditions, somebody who gets passionate when he talks about a good rendition, who suffers when he perceives unauthentic or insincere interpretations, who therefore treasures the magisterial performances of the singers of old, who may walk the whole night following a *cantà* just to hear one of those, in the past, less-performed *estils* or melodic models such as *l’u* or *l’u i dotze* which give him goose bumps while experiencing the strong emotional “flavor” of the old-time Valencian fertile lowlands. In fact,

in order to become a *cantador d’estil* one has to pass the “degree” that represents the favorable judgement of the *aficionats*, because by tradition they are the judges of that popular court which assesses the “good and bad” renditions by the singers. ... About the good *aficionats* of the *cant valencià* it would be possible to make a very interesting analysis. For instance, since they are remarkable examples, there would be much to say about *el Blanco de Borbotó*, *el Jòneg de Bétera* and some others that, following one *cantà* after another, set the conditions for the maintenance of our *estils*.¹⁸ (Marzal Barberà 2009, 92-3)

¹⁷ Translation by Timothy Mitchell (1994, 7).

¹⁸ per a ser *cantador d’estil* s’ha de passar la “licenciatura” que representa el juí favorable dels aficionats, ja que per tradició són ells els jutges d’eixe tribunal popular que dona “faltes i bones” a la interpretació dels que canten. ... Dels bons aficionats al cant valencià se podria fer una anàlisi molt interessant. Ara com ara, s’hauria de parlar prou, per ser exemples notables, *del Blanco de Borbotó*, *del Jòneg de Bétera* i d’alguns altres que de *cantà* en *cantà* van assentant les condicions per al manteniment dels nostres estils.”

As we have seen, these social phenomena of the *aficionados* or *aficionats* of the main monodic expressive song traditions of Spain were not isolated, rather they all were created responding to a moment of radical situational change during the second half of the eighteenth century in which the philosophy of the Enlightenment brought about modernity, and in which nationalism and individualism were emphasized, and even more so during the romantic phase that followed.

Yet the *aficionados* or *aficionats* clung to traditional values, cherishing and helping to enshrine the vocal styles of their respective song traditions. Uncovering every detail of their past and present forms, caressing them lingeringly with their attention, getting all worked up while talking about good renditions, suffering while perceiving unauthentic or insincere ones, they made that these singing traditions “entered modernity” by paying homage to charismatic singers in the age of nations and bourgeois revolutions. It is not a coincidence that the Aragonese *jota* and the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante* rose to national prominence precisely during this period (see Chapter 1, sections 1.3. and 1.4.).

This phenomenon of the *aficionados* or *aficionats* would become crucial for later iconic-stylistic developments in the age of mass cultures. As Charles Keil perceptively pointed out,

the presence of style indicates a strong community, an intense sociability that has been given shape through time, an assertion of control over collective feelings so powerful that any expressive innovator in the community will necessarily put his or her content into that shaping continuum and no other (Keil 1985, 122).

This is exactly what would happen at the turn of the twentieth century, when the great *cantador d'estil Evaristo*, by taking a radical attitude, brought the *cant valencià* to a new dimension creating or systematizing the so-called *cant requintat*.

7.3.2. Vocality, iconicity of style, and performance of radical identities: developing the *cant requintat* in the age of mass culture

The second moment of radical situational change in modern Europe is that of the creation of national mass cultures (1870s-1930s). The Valencian historians Ferran Archilés and Manuel Martí have emphasized that this happened in Spain during the last decades of the nineteenth century with the significant contribution of mass spectacles such as bullfighting, the *zarzuela* (comic folk opera), and others (see Archilés and Martí 2004, 272-5; Archilés 2007, 142). Of course, the main monodic expressive song traditions of the country contributed greatly to it.

It was in this period that the first three known generations of *cantadors d'estil* flourished. In fact, as mentioned in Chapter 3, section 3.2., three burgeoning generations of great *cantadors d'estil* were active over this period: (1) that of *Maravilla* and *Carabina* (ca. 1870-1920), (2) that of *Evaristo* and *el Muquero* (ca. 1900-1950), and (3) that of *el Xiquet de Bétera* and *la Blanqueta* (ca. 1920-1970). *El Xiquet de Mislata*, who learned the *cant valencià* in childhood with *Evaristo*, explains in this way how the *cant requintat* was created in this period:

Indeed, to *l'u i el dos*, *l'u, l'u i el dotze* and the *albaes*, the singers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century introduced new ways of ornamenting the plain melodies, along with a higher melodic development, tessitura, and range, and [this] would eventually become what is known as *cant requintat*. At the beginning, this new way [of singing] resulted in an alteration that

created an understandable controversy between the supporters of the *cant pla* and the fans of the new trend. The fact is that many singers, having a high-pitched voice—sometimes extraordinarily so, formed a mixture of *cant pla* and *requintaes* that altogether sounded like hell ...

The controversy went on until *Evaristo* found a complete balance to this new, more developed way of ornamenting *cantant per l'aire de dalt* (“singing in the higher air”), and [thus] it became accepted by the *aficionats* and connoisseurs as the ultimate dimension of the *cant de l'horta* of Valencia, the reason why *Evaristo* remained in the annals of Valencian song as the first undisputed Master of the *cant valencià* ..., because he created a new style of interpretation ...: without losing balance and sense, he created a *requintat* [melodic] style that has forever remained one of the most precious gems of the *cant [valencià]*; what it lost in simplicity it gained in breadth and elegance.¹⁹ (Marzal Barberà 2009, 94-5)

El Xiquet de Mislata is quite explicit about the time frame and the way in which the *cant requintat* was developed. Manuel Palau, writing in 1924, was also explicit about the fact that in the early 1920s this new melodic style was already dominant: “the almost general way [of singing] adopted today, that is to say, a very ornamented expansion of the simple primitive form” (Palau 1925, 23).

This stylistic change in Valencian vocality was successful for two basic reasons: on the one hand, (1) because *Evaristo* (1874-1951) and those who followed him were able to understand the new demands of a more elaborate way of singing in a society in which mass culture was developing and greater expectations were being placed on the interpreters; in this connection, the *cantador d'estil* Rafael Pascual Nàcher *Rafelet Tot-heu-saps* (1894-1971), who from 1911 at age seventeen was a disciple of *Evaristo*, used to tell his grandson Rafelet (whom I interviewed in 2008) how several

¹⁹ En efecte, tant a *l'u i el dos* com a *l'u*, lo mateix que a *l'u i el dotze* i a *les albaes* els anaren introduint els cantadors de finals del segle XIX i primeries del segle XX noves maneres d'adornament de les melodies planes junt a un major desenrotllament, tesitura més aguda i major àmbit melòdic, i que finalment es convertiren en allò que es coneix com a *cant requintat*. Al principi estes noves maneres donaren lloc a una alteració que creà una polèmica molt natural entre els mantenidors del *cant pla* i els admiradors de les noves tendències. La veritat fon que molts cantadors, gojant d'una veu aguda— moltes vegades extraordinàriament atiplada—, formaven una barreja entre el *cant pla* i les *requintaes* que tot plegat sonava a “dimoni” ...

La polèmica va durar fins que *Evaristo* a esta nova manera d'ornamentar més desenrotllada *cantant per l'aire de dalt* li trobà el seu equilibri complet, i quedà acceptada des d'aleshores per aficionats i entesos com a la dimensió última del cant de l'horta valenciana, motiu que donà peu a que *Evaristo* quedara als annals de la cançó valenciana com el primer “Mestre” indiscutit del cant valencià. ... [P]erquè ell fon el creador d'un nou estil interpretatiu ... sense perdre la mesura i sentit, creà un estil *requintat* que ha quedat per a sempre com a una de les joies més preciades del cant; lo que restà en senzillesa guanyà en amplitud i galania.

thousands of people gathered in Campanar, a small village near Valencia on the other bank of the Túria river, in order to listen to the local *cantà*: the crowds covered the rural trails around the village, eager to listen to *Evaristo* and the other great singers of that time. This had been happening from the 1880s when *Evaristo*'s masters *Maravilla* (ca. 1850-ca. 1922) and *Carabina* (1849-1914) excited the masses in the *cantaes* as García Albarracín (1925) reminded us: “*Maravilla* and *Carbina* ... personalities of popular sublimity ..., the favorite idols of traditional song.” (1925, 15) (see Chapter 3, subsection 3.2.3.)

On the other hand, the new stylistic development in the *cant valencià* vocality was successful (2) because *Evaristo* and his disciples were fully aware that it only would have been accepted if it remained faithful to the stylistic roots of their singing tradition. As we saw in subsection 7.2.1., this historical vocality was characterized by intensity and flexibility, by the balance to remain serene and in control. Thus, on the one hand, as far as intensity is concerned, although the *cant requintat* required a higher vocal register as well as sustained cadential notes, the highly projected chest voice was to be kept intact without falsetto: now, performing would require exceptional vocal aptitudes on the part of the singers; on the other hand, as far as flexibility and balance are concerned, even if the *cant requintat* was far more ornamented than the older *cant pla*, this ornamentation was to be kept at bay by imposing on it a fair limit that emphasized serenity and control, that is, the elegance of the older *cant pla*.

I already referred to the explicit principles for ornamentation in the new *cant requintat* (see Chapter 5, subsection 5.2.1., point (1), (a)), principles which doubtless

must be attributed to the deep understanding of the tradition shown by *Evaristo*, and which are expressed in an adage that the *cantadors d'estil* still use today: “*un requint aragonés, dos requints valencià, tres requints flamenco*,” that is, “one melisma or melismatic motif, Aragonese [*jota*]; two of them, Valencian [*cant d'estil*]; three of them, *flamenco*”).

Ornamentation could not be overloaded as it was in the *cante flamenco*, because the *cant d'estil* vocality had no existential basis for iconically showing the obsessive repetition that comes out of desperate expression of pain and sorrow characteristic of the *cante jondo*. Also, ornamentation could not be as restrained as in the Aragonese *jota parada* or *de estilo*, because the *cant d'estil* vocality, based on non-metric, flexible vocal lines, allowed for more developed ornaments, which as a matter of fact already existed in the ornamental formulas of the last *terços* or musical phrases of certain *cant a l'aire* songs: those of the Spanish southern *fandango* form.

All the above-mentioned more demanding and elaborate vocal patterns that, without renouncing its distinctive stylistic past, brought the *cant valencià* to a new dimension show how the *cantadors d'estil* were conditioned in their creativity by the radical attitude that Glassie identified in folk artists during this period (1860s-1965). In fact, they responded to the new moment of mass culture development by accepting the necessity of developing and rendering their vocality more complex, and by doing so they resonated iconically with the new more complex society in a moment of radical situational change. Yet at the same time, they remained rooted in their rural past, which was communal, spiritual, local, and participatory, in opposition to the new overwhelming and increasingly homogenizing powers of the nation-state, industrial

labor, capitalism, and impersonal systems of management. The *cantadors d'estil* countered with a tradition that simultaneously exhibited traits of temporal continuity and formal variability as signs of freedom: two melodic styles equally rooted in the historical *cant valencià* vocality became available to them for personal expression. Moreover, they were able to perform, through the vocality of their song tradition, their collective Valencian identity.

Their creativity not only allowed them to cope with the challenge of the organic structural social change of that time by developing a vocality iconically resonant with it, but also to perform through the more developed vocality their distinctive historical Valencian identity: the more elaborate vocal patterns of the *cant requintat* iconically situated the *cant valencià* between the other two most important Spanish monodic expressive song traditions, showing the middle or liminal position of the Valencian people and their expressive culture, as the *cantadors d'estil*' explicit adage for ornamentation points to. The creation or systematization of the *cant requintat* by the *cantador d'estil Evaristo* can be thought of as a paradigm of integrating the old and new as well as an example of balance and in-betweenness showing how vocal performances may iconically display the community's boundaries and values, contributing to articulating its identity (see Chapter 6, subsection 6.2.1.).

The creation of the *cant requintat* must be put in relation to the cultural context of singing in Spain during the period of development of mass culture: the affirmation of more flowery styles of singing was common to the main monodic expressive song traditions during the last third of the nineteenth century. Their singers, taking a radical stance, creatively expanded the possibilities of their respective arts.

As to the *cante flamenco*, Hipólito Rossy (1966) distinguished “what is closer to the old genre ... the so-called *cantar por bajo* [“singing low”]” (1966, 104) from the *cantar por alto* or “singing high” (1966, 225) (cf. *cantar per l’aire de dalt* in the *cant valencià*) which was developed precisely during this period. This new way of singing, which also gave birth to a controversy among the aficionados of the *cante flamenco*, is known today as *marchenismo*, since during the first half of the twentieth century one of the most outstanding exponents of this widely ornamented way of singing in a higher register and with falsetto voice was José Tejada Marín *Pepe Marchena* (1903-1975). However, from the last third of the nineteenth century other great *cantaores* such as Silverio Franconetti *el rey de los cantaores* (1834-1889) and Antonio Chacón *el Papa flamenco* (1869-1929) had cultivated this way of singing the *cante flamenco*.

Authors like Gamboa (2005, 434-7 and 511) or Hurtado Torres and Hurtado Torres (2009, 39, 103, and 160) contend that the *cante flamenco* itself, as the flowery vocal style that we know it to be today, emerged in the mid-nineteenth century in competition with classical lyric singing, when the *cantaores* became professional and both the *cante flamenco* and Italian opera were presented hand in hand in the theaters of lower Andalusia and Madrid. This may have been a contributing factor, but I do not think that it was a determining one in view of the fact that iconic resonance with the radical situational change in course was at work. In any event, to think that the *cante flamenco* or the *cante jondo* was born at that time (1850s-1860s) is the same kind of misinterpretation made by Torrent i Centelles (2001) and Ayats Abeyà (2007) concerning the *cant valencià*: both the older *cant pla* in Valencia and the older *cantar por bajo* in Andalusia existed from long ago and had distinctive vocal styles.

As to the Aragonese *jota parada* or *de estilo*, a more ornamented style sung in a higher register, with trills, cadential *tresilleo* (“triplet ornaments”), and in some cases sustained notes, it was developed by the *joteros* almost at the same time as the *cant requintat* and the *cantar por alto* took ground in Valencia and Andalusia. Already by the 1890s it was called *estilo libre* (“free style”) in contrast to the older, more simple, semi-ornamented *estilo puro* (“pure style”) (see Manzano Alonso 1995, 374). It has been etically identified as *estilo meslimático* (“melismatic style”) by the Castilian musical folklorist Manzano Alonso (1995, 376-9), who put it in relation to the professionalization of the Aragonese *cantadores de jota*, and deemed it to be the only kind of *jota* to be properly Aragonese, that is, created in Aragon, in contrast both to the semi-ornamented style of *jota* present in all eastern Spain and to the other more archaic, syllabic variety of *jota* from the north-west. However, to think, as he does, that previously the Aragonese *jota* had no specificity is at variance with the basic dynamics of vocal stylistic development over the modern period in the different monodic expressive song traditions of Spain.²⁰

7.3.3. Vocality, iconicity of style, and the performance of existential identities:

expanding the *cant requintat*'s expressivity in the age of welfare capitalism

Beginning in the 1960s, Glassie (1995 [1989]) posited the predominance of an existential approach to expressive culture which focuses on the idea of responsible

²⁰ Interestingly enough, the Aragonese *jota parada* likely took the name of *jota de estilo* at the beginning of the period of development of mass culture in the 1860s-1870s under the influence of the *cant d'estil*. As mentioned in Chapter 1, section 1.1., note 5, the singer Vicent Soler from Valencia established himself in Saragossa in 1858 and organized *rondallas* (“serenades”) following the old Aragonese tradition, but seemingly contributing certain elements of Valencian vocality such as melodies in minor mode to the *jota* today known in Aragon as *la mora* (“the Moorish”) (Galán Bergua 1966, 127). He may well have been the inspirer of the new name for the repertory.

freedom lying at the heart of the radical approach (see subsection 7.1.2.). Thus, expressive culture began to be conceived of as a kind of action, as artistic communication in groups with the intentional consciousness of an artist. This more conscious freedom is linked, as I argued, to the phase of welfare capitalism in which an expansive ideology of liberal tolerance dominated (Middleton 1985).

Owing to inner rural migration and immigration from Andalusia, Castile-La Mancha, and Aragon as well as to further industrialization and tourism, Valencian society experienced in the 1950s-1960s a strong process of urbanization and economic development which overcame the disasters of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and the shortage of supplies during its aftermath (see Chapter 2, subsection 2.1.4.). The civil war had had strong consequences for the *cant valencià*, as mentioned in Chapter 3, subsection 3.2.5: many old singers died or retired and younger ones did not make their debut. Yet the singers from the third and fourth known artistic generations of *cantadors d'estil* which remained, as well as the great women *cantadores d'estil* which came out of the School of *Cant Valencià* created in 1956 by Manuel Marzal Barberà *el Xiquet de Mislata* (Pitarch Alfonso 2009, 31-2) were faced with the new moment of radical situational change that allowed for more personal—not public—freedom, iconically shown in the expressive expansion of the *cant valencià* vocality.

Showing the *poder* of their voices (see subsection 7.2.1.1.), old singers such as *el Xiquet de Benaguasil* (1885-1961), *el Xiquet de Bétera* (1893-1983), *el Sardinet* (1908-1993), and Pepico *el Xiquet de Mislata* (1922-2000)—younger brother of Manuel—or new ones such as *Marineta* (1937), *Victorieta* (1942), and *Carme de Castellar* (1943), disciples of *el Xiquet de Mislata*, or such as *el Xiquet del Carme*

(1937), the head with *Victorieta* of the fifth known artistic generation, developed a more reposed, even more elegant and expressive way of singing the *cant d'estil*, as well as a new way of singing the *albaes* with increasing rhythmic elasticity, both of which became the hallmarks of this song tradition during the second half of the twentieth century. Paraphrasing Glassie (1995 [1989]), these artists reshaped their heritage in their performances, both answering inner artistic urges and making connections to the world that embraced them, establishing communication with their past and with other people in their present, who responded enthusiastically.

The iconicity of style, once more, proved to be a dynamic principle at work in a moment of radical situational change. More detailed ethnographic analysis of this period would require further investigation. For the moment, I would only like to underscore that parallel developments can be traced in the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco* and the Aragonese *jota parada* or *de estilo*, confirming that the iconic developments experienced by the *cant valencià* were actually connected to larger processes of radical situational change.

As to the *cante flamenco*, a similar development occurred in Andalusia, as the *cantaor* Luis Torres Cádiz *Joselero de Morón* (1910-1985) explained in 1983 during an interview:

Formerly everybody sang more shortly, and instead today everybody sings longer. Today's *cantes [flamencos]* not only are longer but more majestic. Today one adds more repose to the *cante*.²¹ (see Herrera Rodas 1983, 17).

²¹ Antiguamente se cantaba más corto, que hoy se canta más largo. Los cantes de hoy no sólo son más largos sino más majestuosos. Hoy se echa más reposo al cante.

As to the Aragonese *jota parada* or *de estilo*, also the *cantadores de jota* participated of this iconic resonance:

Probably one of the most notable extant differences between the way of singing of the old and modern *joteros* is the one that regards the pace or tempo with which the tunes were or are sung. Before they were relatively fast. Now, from quite a few years ago, and in general, are rather slow.²² (Galán Bergua 1966, 133)

Moreover, they iconically showed personal freedom by means of a specific vocal resource, i.e., making

a retention of the sound (and of the measure, where it is notated with a fermata [or a long pause]) on a high note so as to make clear enough the quality of the voice and the power of the lungs, as it is customary among professional singers.²³ (Manzano Alonso 1995, 376)

Yet this vocal resource was not always used with elegance and already in the mid-1960s it gave rise to plain rejection on the part of *jota* experts who saw it as an excess of the modern age (Galán Bergua 1966, 135-6): “the long pause is, in any event, detestable” (1966, 136).

7.4. Iconicity, Strategies of Essentialism, and Sonic Histories and Geographies: The *Cant Valencià* in the *Fiesta de las Regiones* (1916-1936) and the Performance of Spanish National Identity

In subsection 6.1.2., I showed the possibility of exploring in urban societies strategies of essentialism based on iconicity of style, strategies which are commonly

²² Quizá una de las más notables diferencias existentes entre el modo de cantar de los joteros antiguos y modernos sea la que se refiere al ritmo o tiempo con que se llevan las tonadas. Antes resultaban relativamente movidas. Ahora, desde hace no pocos años, y términos generales, pecan de lentas.

²³ una retención del sonido (y del compás, en el que se señala con un calderón) sobre una nota aguda, para dejar bien clara la calidad de la voz y la potencia del pulmón, como es costumbre entre los cantantes profesionales.

used by nation-states and other groups as effective ways of creating self-evidence to frame collective experiences and interactions (Herzfeld 2005 [1997], 26-33 and 93-110). I also emphasized in subsection 6.2.1. the possibility of exploring from the standpoint of vocality the articulation of “sound worlds” as entities both distinct and cumulative, built up from the interaction of diverse communities, languages, and musics in order to figure out how social formations are indexed in sonic histories and sonic geographies (Feld 2000, 173-4).

In this section I address these issues, taking into account the diachronic framework of the modern construction of Spanish national identity in the post-1898 period. I analyze how by following strategies of essentialism the *cant valencià* and the other three main monodic expressive song traditions of the country were presented by different urban elites as iconic embodiments of Spanish national identity in public spectacles showcasing a composite sonic history and geography of regional songs and dances.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, section 1.5., from the mid-1910s through the mid-1930s the *cant valencià d'estil* and its equivalent monodic expressive song traditions were presented to massive audiences all over Spain in a song and dance spectacle called *Fiesta de las Regiones* (“Festival of the Regions”) organized by the Aragonese *jota* singer and spectacle manager of Saragossa Miguel Asso Vitallé (1886-1936), whose role, today widely unknown, was crucial throughout two decades (1916-1936) for the integration of these dynamic peripheral song traditions into the country’s mass culture. Through this spectacle, the *cant valencià* achieved prominence all over Spain.

Yet why was the *Fiesta de las Regiones* so successful, reaching out to hundreds of thousands of people? Both the socio-political context in which this spectacle was born—that is, the upsurge of Spanish nationalism after the loss of the last American colonies in 1898 (which triggered *regeneracionismo*, see below)—and strategies of essentialism based on iconicity of vocal and dancing styles, utilized to show a new composite diverse and more acceptable image of Spain, are key elements in understanding such extraordinary success.

Authors such as José Álvarez Junco (2001; 2002), alleging that the precarious economic and infrastructural resources of the state during the nineteenth-century would have prevented an effective Spanish nationalization and favored the emergence of peripheral nationalisms (Basque and Catalan), advanced the hypothesis of the *weak nationalization* of Spain in that century. However, as historians Ferran Archilés and Manuel Martí have shown (Archilés 2004; 2007; Archilés and Martí 2002; 2004; 2005), the modern construction of the Spanish nation-state and of Spanish national identity during the nineteenth century was effectively achieved through processes not directly linked to statal action, such as *region-building* (Núñez Seixas 1996; 2001) or the construction of regional identities embedded in the national one reinforcing it in a fundamental way from different geographical areas of the state and also, from the last decades of the nineteenth century, through *banal nationalism* (Billig 1995) or creation of national mass cultures through shared forms of socialization and entertainment.

Historical and political developments such as the loss of the last Spanish colonies in America and Asia (1898) (Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines) provoked an outburst of Spanish nationalism which would be largely incomprehensible if the

nineteenth-century process of nationalization had truly been weak. The crisis of 1898 neither provoked the collapse of the nation-state nor put in crisis the system of alternative governments shifting between the Conservative and the Liberal Party, established since the beginning of the Bourbon Restoration (1874): it did, however, shake Spanish national consciousness and created the need to redefine the way to deal with and represent national identity (Archilés 2007, 130). This brought to the forefront of political discourses the need for national regeneration, as pleaded by the *regeneracionismo* movement promoted by the Aragonese politician, lawyer, economist, and historian Joaquín Costa (1846-1911).

After the colonial losses, not only had the image of Spain been internationally damaged, but also peripheral nationalisms had risen up, such as the Catalan one which achieved electoral success in 1907; this made the internal need to affirm national identity even more urgent. Thus, historian Eduardo Rodríguez Bernal reminds us that in 1908,

in a Spain conscious of her internal crisis, which had prevented her from retaining her last colonies of America and which was starting to hear voices crying out for the autonomy of some of her regions, Seville was herself preparing to lead an event that would guarantee at the symbolic level the unit that was seemingly problematic (Rodríguez Bernal 1981, p. 52)

In Seville, in fact, the urban conservative and catholic elite organized in the spring of 1908 a festival of *Glorificación de la Bandera* (“Glorification of the [Spanish] Flag”) to commemorate the centennial of the War of Independence (1808), especially the uprising on May 2 in Madrid led by the Sevillian Luis Daoíz (1767-1808) and the Cantabrian Pedro Velarde (1779-1808) against the Napoleonic army. In this festival, whose title was changed to *España en Sevilla* (“Spain in Seville”) at the request of the

city's mayor, the Liberal José Carmona Ramos (Rodríguez Bernal 1981, 52), the Spanish nation-state was to be represented by its regional songs, musics, and dances.²⁴

All the basic elements that would shape the *Fiesta de las Regiones* or *Fiesta Española* organized by Miguel Asso Vitallé in 1916 as a successful mass spectacle were already present in Seville in 1908: not only the preliminary parade with a military band preceding the groups of traditional interpreters and the subsequent exhibition on stage of regional songs and dances iconically representing the nation-state, but also the nationalistic Spanish ideology assumed and implicitly spread by the Aragonese spectacle manager, and even some of the interpreters who he would regularly hire (Pitarch Alfonso 2010).

If on the one hand, the successful festival *España en Sevilla* (1908) served as a model for Asso Vitallé in designing his *Fiesta de las Regiones*, on the other hand, the *Fiesta a la Jota* or *Fiesta de la Jota* created by the Aragonese *jota* singer and master Santiago Lapuente (1855-1933) also served as a model for Asso Vitallé's regional spectacle. Initiated in 1894 in Madrid on the suggestion and with the active participation of Lapuente ([1914]; 1967 [1927]), the *Fiesta de la Jota*, consisting of Aragonese *jota* singing and dancing interspersed with classical or fashionable pieces interpreted by the *rondalla* or stringed instrumental ensemble, was presented thereafter in many theaters, cinemas, and halls of Spain and America (see Lapuente

²⁴ The festival had a clear character of national Spanish reaffirmation, of glorification to the flag as symbol of the national unit, and of "answer to the Catalan radicalism" (Moreno 1992, 68) widely present in the political life of the time after the electoral victory in Catalonia in 1907 of the *Solidaritat Catalana*, a coalition of Catalanist parties led by the monarchic and conservative *Lliga Regionalista* of Francesc Cambó i Batlle (1876-1947), which from its foundation in 1901 was supporting the Catalan autonomy within the Spanish state.

[1914]; 1967 [1927]), and its title inspired Asso Vitallé's choice of *Fiesta de las Regiones* as the name for his spectacle.

Moreover, judging by the invariable incorporation into the *Fiesta de las Regiones* of a *quadro de cants i balls populars valencians*, Asso Vitallé also drew on the festivals of regional songs and dances that from 1891 were presented in the July Fair of Valencia with the participation of the best *cantadors d'estil* of the time, beginning with Josep Garcia *Maravilla* (c.1850-c.1922) and Vicent Bernabeu *Carabina* (1849-1914) (see Chapter 1, section 1.5. and Chapter 3, subsection 3.2.3.). Also, when these singers retired in the first decade of the twentieth century, their best disciples carried on, such as the extraordinary Evaristo Payà Cabanes *Evaristo* (1874-1951) and Josep Rubió Antolí *el Torneret* (1884-1940) already in 1910, or a bit later José Quiles Alcaide *el Xiquet de Pedralba* (1889-1940) and Miquel Marco Sanchis *el Ceguet de Marjalenes* (1888-1940) (see Pitarch Alfonso 2010). Except for *el Torneret*, they all would participate in the *Fiesta de las Regiones* or *Fiesta Española* for two decades.

Asso Vitallé's multitudinous spectacles were celebrated in the bullrings and theaters of the principal Spanish cities, likely many more than those cited in both his advertising brochure *Cuadros Regionales* ([1924]) and the several announcement posters to which I have had access. Even though the *Fiesta de las Regiones* was not presented in Valencia, because the municipal authorities had already been organizing their own festivals of regional Valencian dances annually since 1891, then accompanied by an Aragonese *cuadro*, Asso Vitallé's *Fiesta* was still showcased with

great success in Aragon, Castile-León, Madrid, Extremadura, Galicia, Asturias, and the Basque Country, as far as I have been able to ascertain (Pitarch Alfonso 2010).

Taking advantage of the intellectual and political atmosphere of the heightened nationalist and regenerationist sentiments of his time, which emphasized communal and spiritual values, Asso Vitallé presented in a practical and effective way “the Spanish soul translated into *baturro* [i.e., “Aragonese rustic”], *jotas*, Valencian [songs and] dances, and Asturian airs” (*Cuadros Regionales* [1924], 1), as well as into Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco*. Contemplating and listening to these elegant and colorful spectacles it was possible to experience in an embodied way the presence of the Spanish soul (or national identity) that the intellectuals of that critical period were trying to re-define. In fact, in a contemporary review titled *Alma española* (“Spanish soul”) (1903-1904), great writers tried to describe the regional souls and describe how these were interwoven with the national one. Asso Vitallé iconically showed the Spanish soul through the juxtaposition of the most dynamic monodic expressive song traditions which during the nineteenth century had played a significant role in the articulation of peripheral, territorial identities, as much as, in the case of the Aragonese *jota* and the *cante flamenco*, in the articulation of a modern national identity (see Chapter 1, section 1.4.).

This juxtaposition iconically offered a complex and captivating image of a transcendent, patriotic, national unity, which was easily perceived by the attendees, as journalistic accounts of the *Fiesta de las Regiones* collected by Asso Vitallé in his advertising brochure of 1924 show:

(From *Aragón taurino*, Saragossa, May 25, 1919).

Cuadros regionales

One of the most eminent events of the program organized by the May Festival Commission in this capital has doubtless been the presentation of the “Regional Groups,” among which those of Asturias, Andalusia, Valencia, and Aragon were presented. ...

The spectacle is really pleasant and colorful. The Commission had a luminous idea making our spirit happy with these “*Cuadros Regionales*” as well as awakening our fibers with the vigorous, invigorating, and patriotic echoes of regional music[s]. ...

The artistic director and manager of the “Groups,” Mr. Miguel Asso, who is the best interpreter of the Aragonese song, has achieved what nobody did in Spain, since at the cost of great sacrifices, great effort, and an iron tenacity, has been able to organize these notable artistic groups, selecting the best of the best of the regions and with them he has toured triumphantly the entire Spain, making the typical songs and dances known.²⁵ (*Cuadros Regionales* [1924], 4)

These “vigorous, invigorating, and patriotic echoes of regional music[s],” that is, of the Aragonese *jota parada* or *de estilo*, the *cant valencià*, the Asturian *tonada* or *asturianada*, and the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco*, thanks to Asso Vitallé reached out directly to hundreds of thousands of people during the first third of the twentieth century and the first years of the second one, fulfilling with their iconic, essentializing power a nationalizing function that did not depend directly on the state. As a Galician journalist who contemplated the *Fiesta de las Regiones* in 1924 said, Asso Vitallé presented in his spectacles “music that excites the crowds in ways and through the most authentic motives inspired by nature” (*Cuadros Regionales* [1924], 6). The strategies of naturalization or essentialism (Herzfeld 2005 [1997], 32) based on the iconicity of the songs and dances that Asso Vitallé was showing with the support of

²⁵ (De “Aragón Taurino” Zaragoza, 25 de Mayo [de] 1919).

Cuadros regionales

Uno de los números más salientes del programa organizado por la Comisión de Festejos para las fiestas de Mayo en esta capital ha sido, sin duda alguna, la presentación de los “Grupos Regionales”, en donde figuraban Asturias, Andalucía, Valencia y Aragón. ...

El espectáculo es, efectivamente, ameno y vistoso. La Comisión tuvo una idea luminosa al alegrar nuestro espíritu con esos “Cuadros Regionales” y despertar nuestras fibras con los ecos vigorosos, tonificantes y patrióticos de la música regional. ...

El director artístico y organizador de los “Grupos”, D. Miguel Asso, que es el mejor intérprete de las canciones aragonesas, ha conseguido lo que nadie en España, pues a costa de grandes sacrificios, muchos desvelos y una tenacidad férrea, ha podido organizar estas notables agrupaciones artísticas, entresacando lo mejor de lo mejor de las regiones y con ellas ha recorrido triunfalmente toda España, dando a conocer las canciones y bailes típicos.

urban elites are indispensable to any successful structure of plausibility aimed at creating a durable identity (see Chapter 1, section 1.4.).

Yet the song traditions regularly presented in the *Fiesta de las Regiones*, with their distinctive vocalities, not only became vocal and choreic icons of the Spanish soul, they articulated the complex social and historical realities of the Spanish nation-state, showing different sonic (vocal, musical) identities and thus mapping spatially the sonic history and geography of the country. By this means large crowds imagined and experienced in an embodied way their national community. These dynamic and bright singing styles developed ornamentally in resonance with the age of mass culture (see subsection 7.3.2.) and their associate choreic repertoires became icons and indexes of coexisting social formations and their political relationships. The *cant valencià* contributed in this way to perform Spanish national identity in that period. (See Pitarch Alfonso 2010 for further details).

7.5. Interpellation, Transcendence, and Identities in the *Cant Valencià*

In this section, I briefly explore issues of interpellation and transcendence in the *cant valencià*, showing how they are involved in the formation of personal identities of the *cantadors d'estil* and in the transmission of this singing tradition. A more extensive treatment is called for, yet my purpose here is only to exemplify some of the relevant issues that I identified in the study of vocality.

7.5.1. Vocality and musical interpellation in the *cant valencià*: awakening personal identities, becoming a *cantador/a d'estil*

In subsection 6.2.2., I discussed sound interpellations, synchronicities, or epiphanies as stemming from the mediation of the “materiality” of (vocal, musical) sound and its symbolic embodied perception in meaningful, touching moments that we experience with special intensity and that move us sooner or later into participation and higher self-integration or an experiencing of wholeness. It is not easy to document these moments, since they often happen in childhood and people usually do not talk about them or do not feel inclined to share experiences about them, except in an atmosphere of trust after long acquaintance. Yet sometimes, above all in old age and looking back, some musicians and singers talk or write about such moments or share them with relatives or friends if questioned about their first musical experiences.

For instance, in section 4.2.1., we saw how composer and musicologist Manuel Palau Boix (1893-1967) had in his childhood an epiphanic encounter with the tradition of the *cant valencià* that he narrated only during a lecture in 1965:

[O]ne day ([when] I was absorbed in studying) a strong merriment which was approaching surprised me; it was the “music of the *quintos*.” A clarinet, a trumpet, a trombone, castanets, “ferrets,” “guitarró,” and two guitars were providing the raw ground, like in one of Goya’s etchings, on which the “versaor” was improvising the stanzas for the fandango-like music of “el U,” “el U i dos,” “el U i dotze”. The voices of the “cantaors” were plaiting garlands and arabesques of unforeseeable lines on the air, while an implacable rhythm of noble dance was being colored by the ultraviolet fluttering of the “guitarró,” by the categorical cadence of the wind instruments, and the lordly harmony of both guitars ... That gust of youth passed facing its destiny; the night came, but I couldn’t get to sleep. What did those musics, those songs, have which could make me tremble so deeply? (Seguí 1997, 33)

Those songs that made him tremble so deeply around 1903 when he was still a child later led him to participate in the *cantaes* as a guitar player for the *cant d'estil* when he became a young man, as Maria Teresa Oller Benlloch, his student at the Conservatory of Valencia and her assistant at the *Instituto de Musicología y Folklore* in the 1950s, let me know. This is an example of musical epiphany which compelled someone to integration and participation. However, I would like to bring up here a more significant case that is directly related to the singing voice in the *cant valencià*: that of Manuel Marzal Barberà *el Xiquet de Mislata* (1918-1993).

Manuel, or Nel·let as he was affectively called, from his earliest childhood showed passion for music and singing, as his son Manuel Marzal Álvaro told me in 2007. With an alert and sensitive spirit, already at age four or five the child remained entranced while listening to the local community band passing by, or even more so while the *quintos*, returned safe and sound to the village from the military service, performed the *cantaes* during the local patron-saint festival of Mislata dedicated to the Virgin of the Angels in late August.

Writing in the early 1980s about himself for his planned *Antologia del cant valencià* (see Marzal Barberà 2009), *el Xiquet de Mislata* explained how his experience as a small child full of fantasy and sensitive to the Mediterranean atmosphere that can be intensely perceived during summer traditional festivals in Valencia influenced his character as a future man involved in folk traditions:

The Mediterranean breeze which caressed my childish smooth skin would settle in the depth of my soul a way of seeing real things, full of fantasy, that would become the basis of the character of a folk man.²⁶ (Marzal Barberà 2009, 233-4)

That little boy had an opportunity to hear the greatest *cantadors d'estil* of the 1920s, an extraordinary time for the *cant valencià*, in which the great *Evaristo* and *el Muquero* sang in the *cantaes* along with a distinguished group of contemporary singers such as *el Moll*, *la Sabatereta*, *l'Ambrosiet*, *el Roget de Patraix*, *el Cabiscol*, *Galima*, *el Torneret*, *el Civilet*, *el Xiquet de Benaguasil*, *la Xata de Godella*, *el Ceguet de Marjalenes*, *el Xiquet de Xirivella*, *el Xiquet de Pedralba*, *el Ruc del Puig*, and a handful of other younger ones who were just beginning at that time such as *el Xiquet de Bétera*, *Soledat la Cantaora*, *la Blanqueta*, *Rafelet Tot-heu-saps*, *el Xiquet de Manises*, *el Xiquet de Paterna*, *el Requeni*, *el Torrentí* o *el Xiquet de Vinalesa*.

That sensitive child, full of fantasy or inner life, while listening to the Valencian songs on these notable singers' lips, above all *Evaristo*'s, felt inside himself the musical interpellation of the singing voice. This phenomenon allows us an understanding of how Nel·let was so early entranced by and developed a passion for the *cant valencià*. The splendor of the “materiality” of the singing voice, necessarily mediated by the forms of a cultural tradition, was able to cross the physical boundaries and become a multidimensional experience in the young listener even before he was self-aware.

That *el Xiquet de Mislata* was fully aware of this in his old age is quite clear if we read his reflection, out of his own experience, about what singing is:

²⁶ La brisa mediterrània que m'adobava la pell tendrosa d'infant assentaria al fons de la meua ànima una versió plena de fantasia de la manera de vore les coses reals, que hauria de ser la base del caràcter d'un home del poble.

Singing is the musical activity of the voice, a resonance that marks the individual's personality, which being transferred into expressive forms, makes expand his feelings and his culture, acquired through popular customs, becoming a kind of emblematic hallmark that comes to be part of a peoples' folklore.²⁷ (Marzal Barberà 2009, 97)

Such resonance, that marks a personality and expands an individual's feelings connecting him or her to a specific culture and shaping an identity mediated by the symbolic expressive forms of a collectivity, is but the musical interpellation of the singing voice, which pre-reflectively appeals to one's feelings and drives one to participation and integration into a tradition. That is why, already at age eight or nine, as his son confirms, whenever Nel·let had the opportunity to attend the *cantaes* in which the great *Evaristo* sang, he did so, always attentive to hear his master's charming voice projected into the open air with the unmistakable *requintat* sounds of *l'u i el dos*, *l'u i el dotze*, *l'u*, and the *albaes*. As soon as Nel·let arrived to a *cantà*, the singers used to recognize him: "Look, the child [*xiquet*] is already here." Then *Evaristo* would encourage him to sing one song at an appropriate moment.

It is significant that many *cantadors d'estil* of old took as artistic names *el Xiquet de* ("The Child of") plus a village or neighborhood specification: this points to the fact that they were touched by the singing voice at an early age and became singers early in their lives as soon as they found an opportunity. This is true for *Evaristo* (1874-1951) himself, as *el Xiquet de Mislata* reminds us (see Marzal Barberà 2009, 174): at age ten, supported by his masters *Carabina* and *Maravilla*, *Evaristo* made his debut in two of the most important *cantaes* in the city of Valencia under the artistic

²⁷ El cant és l'ocupació musical de la veu, ressonància que marca la pròpia personalitat, que, al ser transferida en formes expressives, fa expansius els sentiments i la cultura adquirides de la costum popular, esdevenint com un segell emblemàtic que passa a formar part del folklore mateix d'un poble.

name of *el Xiquet de Quart*—in reference to the neighborhood in which he lived, near the emblematic medieval gate of the city popularly known as *Torres de Quart*.

Conscious of his own experience, *Evaristo* would later support in his mature age the children cherishing to become specialized singers like him:

One can say ... that he had no night off when the season of the *cantaes* arrived, thus he was always accompanied by a bunch of [young] *aficionado* singers hanging around [eager] to learn from the master and hoping to be allowed to sing a song next to the great singers; something to which *Evaristo* willingly agreed, giving way to the new generations, allowing them to sing at certain moments of the *cantà* when there were less obligations. From that bunch of children, stood out those who over time would become the singers continuing the authenticity of our styles: *Rafelet Tot-heu-saps, el Torrentí, la Xiqueta del Túria, els Xiquets de Mislata*.²⁸ (Marzal Barberà 2009, 175-6)

It was through *el Xiquet de Mislata*'s son that I came to know his epiphanic entrancement with music and the singing voice when he was four or five years old. It would have been nice to have direct evidence narrated by *els Xiquets* themselves who over time became *cantadors d'estil*. Yet the fact that their early pre-reflective vocal interpellations were common is confirmed by singers of the fifth known artistic generation such as Victòria Sousa Genovés *Victorieta* (1942) and Maria José Ruiz Garcia *Marisé de Montolivet* (1954) who shared these experiences.

In fact, *Victorieta* let me know during an interview in 2007:

When I was four, I had already listened to the *cantaes* a lot. I had an uncle who was *majoral* of the festival dedicated to the Virgin of the Helpless [patron saint of Valencia] in Quart Street outside the city, where the so-called *Cantà de l'Horta* was celebrated. This uncle used to ask my father to come and play the guitar accompanying the *majorals* of that festival, who at that time all knew how to sing *cant d'estil*—*l'u i dos*, in *cant pla* style, very nice—and spent the evenings dining, singing and having good time. My father always took me with him, because at that time

²⁸ Se pot dir ... que no tenia nit lliure quan entraven en l'època de les *cantaes*, per lo que sempre portava una garbera d'aficionats a cantar, al seu entorn, per a dependre del mestre i a l'espera de soltar-ne alguna al costat d'aquells cantadors "de bandera"; a lo que Evaristo accedia content, donant pas a noves generacions, deixant-los alternar en alguns moments de la *cantà* de manco compromís. D'aquella colla de xiquets destacaven els que, passat el temps, serien cantadors continuadors de les pureses dels nostres estils: *Rafelet Tot-heu-saps, el Torrentí, la Xiqueta del Túria, els Xiquets de Mislata*,

[the mid-1940s during the civil war's aftermath] food was scarce and there, there was always something for me to eat. So, I used to become absorbed listening to the *majorals* as they sang answering one another. I don't remember the lines of verse, but I always have had a good ear and those songs still remain etched in my memory. Yet I did not began learning to sing with *el Xiquet de Mislata* until I was sixteen.²⁹ (*Victorieta*, personal communication, 2007)

For her part, *Marisé de Montolivet*, who also studied with *el Xiquet de Mislata* during the last three years of his life, said this when I interviewed with her in 2007:

I was a small girl and in the Falla [of Montolivet, i.e., the association organizing the famous bonfire spring festival of Valencia in this neighborhood] they made *albaes*. I remember a singer, a big woman all dressed in black with white hair; and besides she was very bold. I was a midget and was standing in front of her. Wherever she stopped in order to sing, I put myself standing up in front of her, staring at her [raising my face]. And she was saying: "For fuck's sake, this small girl!" and pushed me aside. Yet as she arrived to another place, I [again and again] put myself standing up in front of her, staring at her. The fact is that I already liked to listen to the *cant valencià*. I'm not sure if I was six years old.³⁰ (*Marisé de Montolivet*, personal communication, 2007)

It is rather clear that the young *Marisé de Montolivet* could not ignore the intense interpellation of *la Blanqueta's* powerful voice. As her master *el Xiquet de Mislata* confirmed when she told him this early experience while learning *cant valencià*, that impressive woman with white hair was in fact the great *cantadora d'estil* Vicenta Noguera Escrich *la Blanqueta* (1894-1971), head of the third known artistic generation of cantadors d'estil along with Joan Casanoves Cases *el Xiquet de Bétera* (1893-1983).

²⁹ Quan jo tenia quatre anys ja tenia les *cantaes* molt sentidess. Jo tenia un tio que era *majoral* de la festa de la Mare de Déu dels Desamparats del Carrer de Quart de Fora, a on feien la *Cantà de l'Horta*. I este tio meu li solia demanar a mon pare que anara a tocar acompanyant els *majorals* de la festa a la guitarra, que en aquells temps tots sabien cantar cant d'estil—*l'u i dos*, un cant pla, molt bonico—i es pasaven les *vespraes* menjant, cantant i passant-s'ho bé. Mon pare sempre em duia *en ell*, perquè en aquells temps hi havia poc per a menjar i jo sempre podia menjar allí alguna cosa. Aixina, jo em quedava embovada escoltant als *majorals* que cantaven contestant-se els uns als altres. Jo no me'n recorde de les paraules, però sempre he tingut un bon oït i aquelles cançons encara les tinc gravades en la memòria. Però jo no escomençai a deprendre a cantar *en el Xiquet de Mislata* fins als setze anys.

³⁰ Jo era xicoteta i varen fer *albaes* en la Falla [de Montolivet]. I jo me'n recorde d'una cantadora, una dona grandota que anava tota de negre i el monyo blanc, i ademés era aixina ella molt arriscada. Jo, que era un retaco, me ficava davant d'ella. Allà a on se parava ella a cantar, jo davant d'ella aixina mirant-la [alçant els ulls]. I ella feia: "Collons, la xiqueta!" I m'apartava. Però és que aplegava a un atre lloc, i jo davant d'ella i mirant-la aixina. I és que a mi ja m'agrada sentir el cant valencià. No sé si jo tenia sis anys.

7.5.2. Transcendence in the *cant valencià*: singing to dead people in the *cantaes* and the *cantadors d'estil*' existential commitment to singing until death

The *cant valencià* has traditionally had a cheerful character either of celebration or of irony, the *albaes* even more so than the *cant d'estil*, as emphasized by different authors over time (see Chapters 3 and 4). However, this is only one part of it. *El Xiquet de Mislata* underscored that expression of feelings is its hallmark (see subsection 7.2.1., point 4)). In the *cant valencià*, singing about the moments of life which mark boundaries has been a constant practice, and among these, of course death is present. I would like to emphasize this aspect, which rather than being secondary and trivial, I think underpins the cheerfulness which has more apparently called the attention of those who approached it so far.

The *Cantà del Beat* in Valencia is one of the oldest living *cantaes* of the city, celebrated in early July by the inhabitants of Cañete Street, behind the *Torres de Quart* and dedicated to their patron saint the Lay Brother Gaspar de Bono. One of the most unexpected aspects I found while attending this in 2006 and 2007 was precisely that at different points during this *guitarra* the retinue of musicians, singers, and *versador* stopped in some of the small plazas of this neighborhood and, by indication of the *llister* who led the retinue wherever somebody had to “be sung to,” one of the four hired *cantadors d'estil*, standing and rising her face, dedicated a song to nobody physically present there as one might have expected. Those songs were dedicated instead to those deceased, who were in life members of La Peña “El Clau,” the association which annually organizes the Cañete Street patron-saint festival and the *cantà*. I learned that the relatives of these former members continued to pay each year

for the corresponding membership fees, which entitle each associate to get his or her own song during the *Cantà del Beat*, so that they were able to get their songs in the afterlife.

However surprising this was to me, I also found the same practice when I attended in 2007 one of the oldest extant *cantaes* of *albaes* in the city of Valencia: that of the *Altar de Sant Vicent del Tossal*. In springtime, the festival of the patron saint of Valencia, Saint Vincent Ferrer, is celebrated in the old downtown by several associations called *altars* (“altars”), because they build, at different points in the streets, ornamented altars with a stage where children perform theatrical plays representing the miracles of this medieval Valencian saint. One of the most important traditions of these *altars* is also the celebration of *albaes* for several nights. The *Altar del Tossal*, built by the seventeenth century, is one of the oldest ones. Having seen the practice of dedicating *albaes* to deceased members of the *altar*, I interviewed with the *llister*, a man in his sixties, and I learned from him that he had always known this practice and that it also was in use in the time of his parents and grandparents.

In el Puig, in *l’Horta de Valencia* district, and in Bétera, in *el Camp del Túria* district, where two of the most important *cantaes* of *albaes* are celebrated on August 15 each year, I again found songs dedicated to dead people, as well as in Faura, in *el Camp de Morvedre* district. In el Puig, these songs are usually dedicated during the *Cantà* of Saint Peter Nolasco in January to people who had been old *versadors* and singers. In Bétera, songs are dedicated each year to *el Xiquet de Bétera* (1893-1983) since his death. In Faura it was a young man, recently deceased, who got his song,

their relatives bursting into tears. In sum, wherever old *cantaes* persist, the practice of singing to dead people is traditional.

It seems unthinkable that sending messages to the dead would be possible if not through singing. In this practice is implied more than simply remembering them to the living, since in the *Cantà del Beat* the relatives who had paid for the song were not listening to it. The voice acts as a boundary between living matter and consciousness, between human outer and inner experience, transcending dimensions of existence: it is fundamentally liminal. We can say that intermediacy is, in fact, one of the paramount features of the voice (Dolar 2006, 13) in the *cant valencià*.

We must not forget that the *cant valencià* is mainly linked to religious patron-saint festivals, and that the first thing which is done in a *cantà* is to sing to the patron saints at the door of the village church or wherever they have their altars in town neighborhoods or streets (see the Introduction, section A Valencian Cantà: Listening to the Voice). In all these festivals there is a spiritual or religious dimension that is the backbone which maintains the tradition of singing. Significantly, many *cantaes* from the 1980s, instead of beginning at the church doorsteps, begin inside the church as in el Puig and Bétera, or are even entirely celebrated inside the church, as in the Sant Isidre neighborhood in the city of Valencia, or in the village of Agost, in *el Camp d'Alacant* district, as far as I have been able to witness. In this context one can better understand the dedication of what we could call transcendent songs.

Perhaps a highly determinant issue in the maintenance of the *cant valencià* tradition related to transcendence is the commitment of the old *cantadors d'estil* to

singing until death. This existential attitude, like interpellation at the beginning of their lives, has shaped their personal identities in a traditional way in many cases, helping them overcome the difficulties that their tradition has undergone from the 1930s. Here, I would like to bring up three representative instances of such existential attitude in three singers of the second, third, and fourth known artistic generations (*l'Ambrosiet*, *la Blanqueta*, and *el Xiquet de Mislata*) and reflect on its significance.

Vicent Soriano Serneguet *l'Ambrosiet* (1880-1946) was from Burjassot, in *l'Horta de Valencia* district. Like his older brother Antoni Soriano Serneguet *el Moll* (1875-1955), he became one of the main cantadors d'estil of the generation of *Evaristo* and *el Muquero*. *El Xiquet de Mislata*, who sang with him several times in the 1930s and 1940s, remembers his commitment to singing until his last breath:

The hapless *Ambrosiet* died as a result of a *cantà* in Bétera. It was a *nit d'albaes* in which the singers *el Xiquet de Bétera*, *el Xiquet de Mislata* and *l'Ambrosiet* took part [as a team]. The entire village was on the streets and they sang for hours and hours. The people gave no importance to the feebleness of Vicent's voice, because of his old age—since he was already sixty five years old—yet his team-mates realized that the voice of *l'Ambrosiet* was the voice “of blood,” that its dullness was that of the end, and they did not [want to] let him sing. Yet he ... would not retire from the team until the end of that *nit d'albaes*, which would be the last one for *l'Ambrosiet*.³¹ (Marzal Barberà 2009, 185)

Even when his forces and his voice began to fail, *l'Ambrosiet* made an extra effort to sing, which would carry him to the grave after several months.

³¹ El des[d]itjat [sic] *Ambrosiet* morí a conseqüència d'una *cantà* en Bétera. Era en una *nit d'albaes* en què prenién part [formant la colla] els cantadors *el Xiquet de Bétera*, *el Xiquet de Mislata* i *l'Ambrosiet*. Tot el poble estava al carrer, se cantaren hores i més hores. El personal no li donava importància a la mollor de la veu de Vicent per causa de l'edat—puix que ja tenia seixanta-cinc anys—, però els companys de colla se n'adonaren que la veu de *l'Ambrosiet* era veu “de sang”, que la seua era la foscor de la fi, i no el deixaren cantar. Mes ell ... no se retiraria de la colla fins fer remat a aquella *nit d'albaes*, que seria l'última per a *l'Ambrosiet*.

The same effort would have been made by *la Blanqueta* (1894-1971) had she found herself in the middle of a *cantà*, to judge from her preoccupation in the last moments of her life. It is also *el Xiquet de Mislata* who writes about this:

So that one day, March 14, 1971, that voice which had given so much glory to the *cant valencià* became quiet for ever. She was seventy-seven years old. *La Blanqueta* would no longer sing again. Her daughter tells us: “She spent that day crying, because she was not able to sing the *Albaes* of the *Junta Central Fallera* [the organism overseeing the organization of the bonfire spring festival in the city of Valencia]; [a *cantà* of *albaes*] which she had been singing for so many years.” And those tears quieted for ever the voice and life of Vicenta Escrich Noguera.³² (Marzal Barberà 2009, 206)

As her daughter wrote in a note to *el Xiquet de Mislata*, *la Blanqueta* was not doing well (see Marzal Barberà 2009, 206, n. 244), yet her only thought was sorrow because she was not going to be able to sing in that important *cantà* like in every other year.

The last instance regards *el Xiquet de Mislata* (1918-1993) himself. His passion for singing did not cease even during the harsh medical condition which affected his last moments of life (see Pitarch Alfonso 2009, 37-8). His last *cantà* was a *nit d'albaes* for the *Junta Local Fallera* of Mislata in October 1992. Even though he was feeling sick, he decided anyway to go and do his job as *versador* and singer. He was vomiting at different times during the *cantà*, yet he decided to resist with determination up to the end, arriving to the *Falla Felip Bellver-Pare Llançol*. There, *Marisé de Montolivet*, who was singing the *albaes* with him, realizing how badly his master was after the effort, wanted to bring him immediately to a hospital, but he did not consent to it in any way. He was diagnosed with cancer in the following week, operated on, and given at most six months to live. But his only thought was of

³² Fins que un dia, el dia 14 de març de l'any 1971 s'apagà per a sempre aquella veu que tanta glòria havia donat al cant valencià. Tenia 77 anys. Ja no cantaria més *la Blanqueta*. Nos conta la filla: “Eixe dia se'l passà plorant, perquè no podia cantar les *Albaes de la Junta Central Fallera* que tants anys havia cantat.” I aquelles llàgrimes apagaren per a sempre la veu i la vida de Vicenta Noguera Escrich.

returning to the *cantaes*, and he even vigorously sang *l'u i dotze*, his last public song, during a homage paid to him in early January 1993. Two weeks later he died still thinking that he would soon return to his cherished *cantaes*.

These examples show a pattern which certainly cannot be said to be universal among the *cantadors d'estil*—degrees of participation in a tradition vary—but which seems to have been common, according to ethnographic evidence.

El Xiquet de Mislata sang in the *cantaes* for more than sixty years. How many thousands of songs he or the other singers sang over their artistic lives is difficult to calculate, but overwhelming if one thinks about it. What could lead somebody to never exhaust his or her desire to sing, even when faced with illness or death? I think that in these repeated and impactful instances of the *cantadors d'estil* considered here it was a transcendent experience of singing tending toward totality which made them take such existential attitudes, yet as we know totality cannot be easily reached in corporeal form. As the German philosopher and aesthetician Martin Seel put it,

The existential totality lived by holist aesthetes is not presentable at all. It seems to belong to the unity of (modern) life, and seems not to be representable, not even through works of art [read: art performances]. Certainly, the representations of unity (Einheitsvorstellungen) are as important to the fulfilment of human life as the relationship of representations (Darstellungen) of such a unity. Yet the unity of this life does not vanish into any of the representations of such a unity (Einheitsdarstellungen). It is actually embedded within the process of participation in and the relationship to the ways of creation of unity, and not within the definitive achievement of unity, and certainly not within the obtention of a representation of this unity.³³ (Seel 1998).

³³ Car la totalité existentielle, que les holistes esthéticiens visent, n'est absolument pas présentable. Il semble appartenir à l'unité de la vie (moderne) de ne pas être représentable, pas même à travers les œuvres de l'art. Certes les représentations d'unité (Einheitsvorstellungen) sont aussi importantes à l'accomplissement de la vie humaine que le rapport de représentations (Darstellungen) d'une telle unité. Mais l'unité de cette vie ne disparaît dans aucune de ces représentations d'unité (Einheitsvorstellungen) ou représentations d'une telle unité (Einheitsdarstellungen). Elle se tient plutôt dans le procès d'une participation et d'un rapport aux formes de création d'unité, et non pas dans le gain définitif d'une unité, et certainement pas dans l'obtention d'une représentation de cette unité.

In sum, the unity or totality of life pursued consciously or unconsciously by these *cantadors d'estil* does not vanish into any of its representations or embodiments in specific song performances; it is actually embedded within the process of participation in ceaseless singing until death, as a way of creating unity. The singing voice in the *cant valencià* thus shows its transcendent intermediacy or liminality.

7.6. The *cantadors d'estil*' emic standpoint about my research on vocality in their singing tradition; their research interests

In this final section I briefly discuss how some *cantadors d'estil*, representing emic perspectives and with whom I have a closer relationship, see my approach to their singing tradition from the standpoint of vocality and what kind of study they would like to see from someone writing about their tradition. Basically, I have had two opportunities so far to share some aspects of my research on vocality in the *cant valencià* with *cantadors d'estil* and with other people this year: two lectures that I gave respectively in Torrent—one of the main towns in *l'Horta de València* district around the capital—and one in the city of Valencia.

The aspects that I presented in the first one were of a historical and descriptive nature: the origins of the *cant valencià* repertory, the basic traits of the *cant valencià* vocality, and a survey of the most important *cantadors d'estil* of the five known artistic generations. The issues that I addressed in the second one were of a historical and theoretical nature: the different artistic generations and creativity in the *cant valencià* tradition focusing on the relationship between the moments of radical

situational change in modern western Europe and the iconic developments of the *cant valencià* vocality.

In the first lecture, I explained how the *cant valencià* vocality and embodied habits that allow it, as discussed in section 7.2., are existentially and iconically based on the open-air peasant tasks during which the *cant a l'aire* was originally sung. At the end of this lecture, *Victorieta*, who is teaching the *cant valencià* at the *Universitat Popular de València*, a Valencian adult education center, and who is by far one of the most knowledgeable singers, approached me and said: “I liked very much what you said. I think this has been one of your best lectures ever.” I had related the sedimented, bodily attitudes of the best *cantadors d'estil* to the *veu valenta i dolça al mateix temps* (the “brave and sweet-sounding voice at the same time”) that she had described to me in previous interviews, so she was delighted that I had been able to show and explain what she had described to me with a metaphorical expression based on traditional vocabulary.

She was not consciously aware of such gestures as raising the face or closing the eyes for a few seconds, but she has always taught in her classes that without adopting an erect posture it is impossible to sing the *cant valencià* well. Also, she really liked the fact that I emphasized how important the expression of feelings in the *cant valencià* is. Faced with the pictorial evidence, she added that the rapid moment in which a singer closes his or her eyes corresponds to a moment of concentration on the cadential *requints*, the performance of which requires both the externalization of feelings and inner control.

Questioned later, on another occasion, about what kind of study she would like to see from someone writing about the *cant valencià*, she said without hesitation:

I think that somebody should study the forms of the the *cant*, the great difficulty that it entails, how the *requints* are performed, how the *estils* [i.e., the melodic models] are varied. It is something extraordinary, a virtuoso singing, and today many people listen to it, but are not able to appreciate it like the old *aficionats*. This is a song that is very difficult to do well and this should be known and divulged.³⁴ (*Victorieta*, personal communication 2010)

I tried to emphasize this while dealing with the issue of different artistic generations and creativity in the *cant valencià* tradition in my second above-mentioned conference. However, focusing on the relationship between the moments of radical situational change in modern Europe and the corresponding developments of the *cant valencià* vocality, I also underscored that in the older *cant pla*, the singing style, maintained by the *aficionats* from the second half of the eighteenth century until the development of the *cant requintat*, was also of paramount importance and that it was even more difficult to sing well and captivate the listener using a restricted amount of vocal-melodic resources such as those available in the *cant pla*. *Victorieta* agreed with this, and also with the idea that in the 1960s the *cant requintat*, created or systematized at the turn of the twentieth century by *Evaristo*, underwent an expressive expansion: “there were singers that even crossed the line of two *requints* repeating them excessively. These things should be studied carefully,” she said.

However, it is a matter of fact that *cant valencià* performers and aficionados tend to be interested in history more than in the theoretical issues that I focus on. To a great extent this is understandable for two reasons. On the one hand, unlike in the

³⁴ Jo crec que s’haurien d’estudiar les formes del cant, la gran dificultat que té, com es fan els *requints*, com varien els estils. És una cosa extraordinària, un cant virtuosista, i hui molta gent l’escolta, però no sap apreciar-lo com els aficionats d’abans. És un cant que té molta dificultat per a fer-se bé i això hauria de conèixer-se i saber-se.

cases of the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco* and the Aragonese *jota parada* or *de estilo*, the *cant valencià* has suffered from a consistent lack of intellectual and scholarly attention over most of the twentieth century, resulting in a scarcity of publications and documentation of its most basic historical aspects, which today many singers and aficionados are seeking; although singers such as *Victorieta* (1942) and *el Xiquet del Carme* (1937), heads of the fifth known artistic generation, have come to know many of the *cantadors d'estil* of the previous three generations by listening to or participating in the *cantaes* since the 1940s-1950s, many others have had not such a wide background and for them acquiring historical knowledge at a time in which the old singers have disappeared seems important.

This is why in 1978, *el Xiquet de Mislata* began gathering memories and information to write an *Antologia del cant valencià* (“Anthology of the *cant valencià*”), which I recently completed and published, after a critical editing process that lasted for fifteen years (see Pitarch Alfonso 2009):

[T]he main purpose of this *Anthology* [*—el Xiquet de Mislata* wrote—] is to acknowledge the merits of the personalities who gave glory to the *cant valencià*, voices that today are on the edge of the most ungrateful oblivion, owing to the indifference pointed out many times of the Valencian intellectuals, who have not addressed this subject in depth from the objective standpoint of reality.³⁵ (Marzal Barberà 2009, 83)

On the other hand, the second reason why the *cantadors d'estil* are interested in history seems to be that there is an objective need for generational renewal and this is only possible from a good foundation of traditional knowledge, to be backed by

³⁵ [E]l motiu principal d'esta *Antologia* és el reconèixer els mèrits d'uns personatges que donaren glòria al cant valencià, veus que hui es troben a les vores del més desagratit oblidament, a causa del meninfotisme tantes voltes ressenyat de la intel·lectualitat valenciana, que no ha cultivat en profunditat la matèria des del punt objectiu de la realitat.

scholarly research and institutional support. Emili Luis Porta *Milio del Puig* (1945), a good *cantador d'estil* who is currently teaching at the municipal school of *cant valencià* of his native village in *l'Horta de València* district, said when I asked him about what should be studied in the *cant valencià* tradition:

If I put myself at the level of the street, I think people want to know where we come from. There are many things that my students don't know and today people in general are in need of knowing: When did the *cant valencià* begin? Where does the *cant d'estil* come from? Where do the *albaes* come from? What are the origins? Without going back millennia, there is a need to know something real, something of everyday life. It should be simple to know these things, and also to be able to differentiate the *estils* [i.e., the melodic models]. We are going through a difficult situation: there is no interest in our roots. We must bring out what we are talking about: when the *cant* began, who the first known singers were, what the different *estils* are. If you don't know the origins, the rest becomes superficial: one can listen to a song and not understand anything, how or why it is performed. There is no way of engaging the young if there is not a good knowledge of the tradition. You cannot build the roof if you don't make a good foundation. People are in need of it.³⁶ (*Milio del Puig*, personal communication 2010)

For her part, *Marisé de Montolivet*, who is teaching in Bétera, in *el Camp del Túria* district, in a school of *cant valencià* created by a cultural association of young *dolçaina* players, said when I questioned her:

I think that people are interested in where the *cant valencià* comes from. One person says that it comes from the Arabs, somebody else says that it comes from the Greeks. And I, too, would like to know this. You listen to Fermín Pardo [the Valencian dance folklorist (see Chapter 4, subsection 4.1.2.)] and judging by what he is saying it seems that the *cant valencià* is from last year [said with irony], and that cannot be so, because I was born in 1954, and when I was a small girl it was long ago that it was sung. We need to know where it comes from. And we also need to know where we are going. A well-organized school should be opened with the support of the *Generalitat* [i.e., the Valencian Autonomous Government]. The public institutions are not doing anything for what is our own song.³⁷ (*Marisé de Montolivet*, personal communication 2010)

³⁶ Si jo me fique a nivell del carrer, jo crec que a la gent li interessa saber d'a on venim. Els meus alumnes desconeixen molt i la gent en general hui està necessitada de coneiximents: d'a on arranca el cant valencià?, d'a on ve el cant d'estil?, d'a on vénen les *albaes*?, quins són els orígens? Sense remotar-se a mil·lenis, ahí hi ha la necessitat de saber una cosa real, una cosa quotidiana. Hauria de ser una cosa tan simple saber estes coses, i també el saber diferenciar els estils. Estem travessant una situació difícil: no hi ha interès en les nostres arrels. S'ha de fer aflorar lo que estem parlant: d'a on arranca el cant, quins són els primers cantadors que es coneixen, quins són els estils. Si no sabem els orígens, lo demás queda superficial: U pot sentir una cançó i no entendre res, com i perquè es canta. No hi ha manera de motivar als jòvens sense conèixer bé la tradició. No podem construir la teulada si no fem un fonament bo. La gent està necessitada d'això.

³⁷ Jo pense que a la gent li interessa d'a on ve el cant valencià. U diu que si és dels àrabs, un altre diu que si és dels grecs. I a mi també m'agradaria saber-ho. Sents a Fermín Pardo i per lo que diu pareix que el cant valencià siga de

As becomes apparent from these emic viewpoints, one way of helping the community is to put historical research, ethnography, and theory to their service, backing and institutionally legitimizing through verified knowledge this significant tradition over which the shadow of the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939 and the paltry official support are looming, preventing an adequate pace of generational renewal that can guarantee its future in the twenty-first century. To a great extent, my doctoral research has been oriented by this need of understanding an unrepresented past and making sense of an often misrepresented present.

l'any passat. I això no pot ser, perquè jo sóc de l'any 1954 i quan jo era xicoteta ja feia molt que se cantava. Falta saber d'a on ve. I falta saber també a on anem. Que se faça una escola com Déu mana apoiada per la Generalitat. Les institucions no fan res per lo nostre.

Conclusion

In this dissertation, I have explored the *cant valencià* or *cant valencià d'estil*, approaching it historically, theoretically, and ethnographically from the standpoint of vocality and the performance of identities.

Historically, I have shown and discussed what its origins, musical repertory, territorial extent, musical occasions, interpreters, social significance, and type of vocality are, drawing on and discussing what antiquarian historians and musicians, professional and amateur journalists, dance and musical folklorists, and more recently (ethno)musicologists have said about it over the past one hundred and fifty years out of occasional or intensive contact, often emphasizing the paramount significance of vocality in this song tradition (Chapters 2, 3, 4. 5.).

Theoretically, (1) I have examined how the notion of vocal or singing style has been addressed in ethnomusicology (Chapter 6, subsection 6.1.1); (2) I have transdisciplinarily pinned down the notions of vocality and iconicity of style as foundational for the development of a musical anthropology of the voice, drawing on ethnomusicological theory, anthropology, folklore, semiotics, and other social or humanistic disciplines (Chapter 6, subsection 6.1.2), in order to not only meaningfully address the *cant valencià* but also, as a starting point, to explore the world's song traditions at large, proposing ways of approaching these central notions and issues in ethnographic terms; (3) I have identified two sets of issues central to this endeavor: (a)

identity, gender, authority, and sonic histories and geographies; (b) acoustemology, interpellation, and transcendence, without precluding the study of other possibilities and issues (Chapter 6, section 6.2.). Likewise, drawing on ethnomusicological theory and performance studies, (4) I have addressed the notion of identity and its relationship to iconicity, discussing how to approach in ethnographic terms the musical or vocal performance of identities by analyzing what it accomplishes and how it points to larger social issues (Chapter 7, section 7.1.).

Ethnographically, drawing on intensive field research in Valencia spanning two decades, I have shown (1) how the *cant valencià* vocality is existentially based on and iconically linked to its rural and ethnic origins, contrasting with the vocalities of the two main Spanish monodic expressive song traditions: the Aragonese *jota parada* or *de estilo* and the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco* (Chapter 7, section 7.2.); (2) how the *cant valencià* entered modernity in the age of national bourgeois revolutions and how its specialized singers, performing radical and existential identities, iconically developed its vocality creating and expanding the *cant requintat* respectively in the ages of mass culture and welfare capitalism in response to these moments of social radical situational change in modern western Europe (Chapter 7, section 7.3.); (3) how the larger socio-political and cultural context of the creation of the modern Spanish nation-state and of Spanish national identity during the nineteenth century contributed to enshrine the Aragonese *jota parada* or *de estilo* and the Andalusian-Gypsy *cante flamenco* as structures of plausibility or vocal icons of the nation-state which the *cant valencià* specialized singers had to deal with (Chapter 1), but in contrast to which they affirmed their Valencian collective identity by iconically performing it through a

distinctive vocality (Chapter 7, section 7.3.); (4) how after the colonial and spiritual crisis of 1898 which triggered *regeneracionismo*, the *cant valencià* participated in the re-definition of Spanish national identity through iconic strategies of essentialism, configuring a history and geography of songs and dances (Chapter 7, section 7.4.); finally, (5) how interpellation and transcendence as central issues of vocality participate in the articulation and performance of the personal identities of the *cantadors d'estil* and therefore in the transmission and maintenance of their song tradition (Chapter 7, section 7.5.).

These three strands of my research are intertwined in such a way that each one has guided my steps in the development of the other two, becoming not a mere complement but instead the condition of possibility for the others to be developed. In dialectical relationship, they have allowed me an emically-informed, etic understanding of the *cant valencià* and of its vocality in relation to the performance of identities in the modern period. If as I have argued following Christopher Waterman (1990) and Thomas Turino (2008) and shown through my research, identities are relationally and dynamically-acquired clusters of embodied habits, sedimented but changeable, of which the members of a community are not always aware but whose exploration reveals their significance, then an emically-informed, etic approach is key to accounting for the ways in which collective or personal identities are iconically performed through vocality or music.

The notion of vocality as developed and applied in my research expands the scope of vocal or singing style by including larger bodily-dependent traits of the human voice as salient means of production of social meanings, acknowledges its

pre-eminent position in the hierarchy of musical values from evidence that the qualities of vocal sounds iconically shape our sonorous perceptions and identifications and thereby become paramount for communication and social understanding, and opens up new possibilities for research which I have developed only in part considering a specific tradition. In my dissertation, I have explored the signification of vocality in the *cant valencià*, addressing some issues and producing some basic insights, yet I see this endeavor as a starting point toward further understanding the many questions and challenges that a great singing tradition like this one poses to the engaged participant and the careful observer.

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