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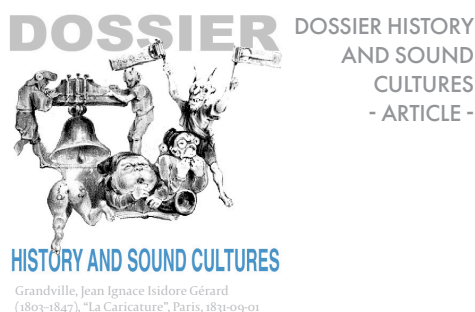
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VOICES OF CHILEAN FOLKLORE: RECORD PRODUCTION AND SOUNDS OF THE PEOPLE (1950-1986)¹

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Abstract

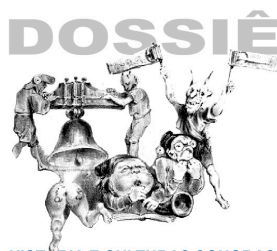
This article analyzes the representation of Chilean “folk” voices in the Smithsonian Institution’s U.S. catalog, and specifically its Folkways, Monitor, and Paredon labels. Each, in its own way, sought to record and disseminate the sounds of the peoples of the world, whether for educational, solidarity, or proselytizing purposes. This article examines the discursive strategies carried out to profile “authentic” voices, questioning the lax treatment of the information collected and its relationship with the recorded sounds. Therefore, I seek to make visible the participation of ethnomusicology professionals in the production of musical images for North American and international audiences. Likewise, this article emphasizes the political uses the producers hoped to give to the albums within the context of progressive transformations with a popular intention.

Keywords

World music – Sound recording – Folklore – Chile – Independent labels.

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HISTÓRIA E CULTURAS SONORAS

Grandville, Jean Ignace Isidore Gérard
(1803-1847), "La Caricature", Paris, 1831-09-01

DOSSIÊ HISTÓRIA
E CULTURAS
SONORAS
- ARTIGO -

VOZES DO FOLCLORE CHILENO: PRODUÇÃO DISCOGRÁFICA E SONS DO POVO (1950-1986)

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Resumo

Este artigo analisa a representação das vozes “populares” chilenas no catálogo americano do Smithsonian Institution, especificamente em seus selos Folkways, Monitor e Paredon. Cada um, à sua maneira, procurou registrar e divulgar os sons dos povos do mundo, seja para fins educacionais, solidários ou de proselitismo. Por um lado, interrogamos as estratégias discursivas utilizadas para traçar o perfil das vozes “autênticas”, questionando o tratamento negligente das informações coletadas e sua relação com os sons gravados. Procura-se também tornar visível a participação dos profissionais da etnomusicologia na produção de imagens musicais para o público norte-americano e internacional. Enfatiza-se, por fim, os usos políticos dados pelos produtores aos discos em um contexto de transformações progressistas com uma vocação popular.

Palavras-chave

Música do mundo – Gravação de som – Folclore – Chile – Selos independentes.

Introduction

Before singer-songwriter Rolando Alarcón traveled in 1971 as part of a Chilean delegation to California, his voice had been broadcast through the Folkways Records label on an album entitled *Traditional Chilean Songs* released in 1960 – an album which, to this day, remains relatively unknown to Chilean audiences. Alarcón, who was at the time director of the *proyección folclórica*³ group Cuncumén, took a few months' break from the group to travel to the United States, with an invitation from the Pan-American Union to record. According to a note in *Ecran* magazine cited in his biography, he had also taken advantage of the trip to participate in radio programs on local radio stations WQXR and WRUL, in addition to singing a duet with the U.S. artist Yolanda Ternel (VALLADARES; VILCHES, 2009, p. 53). This invitation from the Pan-American Union should be thought of in the framework of institutional relations involving North American and Latin American cultural workers, who had been creating and maintaining certain ideas about folklore since at least 1930. Along with Corinne Pernet (2007, p. 134), I understand that dichotomous thinking – that which reads such relations simply in terms of center and periphery or exploiters and victims – is insufficient and prevents us from taking into account the participation of local individuals in the dissemination of their cultural expressions. In this sense, this article critically examines the production of albums such as Rolando Alarcón's, without dismissing the Chilean musician's objectives in this, his first artistic trip to the United States.

As Alarcón's biographers comment, the presentation of *Traditional Chilean Songs* "shows the Alarcón's and Cuncumén's ideological-aesthetic concept with respect to Chilean music, recovering its more subtle and melancholic profile over more stylized or festive style that used to dominate in the so-called *música típica*"⁴ (VALLADARES; VILCHES, 2009, p. 53). In this way, he positions it as an alternative to the folkloric music that *huaso*⁵ bands mainly disseminated through the radio and records.

The bilingual booklet that accompanies this album includes a description of the musician, as well as short notes on each of the songs, which are presented as heritage of the 19th century, with notable Spanish influence, but also with a signa-

³ *Proyección folclórica* designates music groups that perform versions, often stylized and arranged, of songs and instrumental pieces collected through folk research.

⁴ "evidencia el concepto ideológico-estético de Alarcón y del Cuncumén con respecto a la música chilena, rescatando su perfil más sutil y melancólico que el gallardo y fiestero que solía mandar en la llamada música 'típica'"

⁵ *Huaso* refers to a rural Chilean, typically understood as an idealized figure that represents the national popular subject.

ture sound quality of this region of South America. Thus, this album (like others that I will comment on later) allows us to explore not only translational strategies for communicative purposes, but also the different meanings that can be traced depending on the audiences towards which the albums are directed, according to the languages in which the discourse is presented.

For example, to explain the *velorio de angelito* – a rural ceremony in which a vigil is held for a dead infant, honoring their life through the intonation of *versos a lo divino* and other traditional songs (SEPÚLVEDA, 2009, p. 50) – the English translation refers to the singers as “peasant troubadours.” If, according to the custom, those who participated in the funeral were called “*poetas populares*” (folk poets) or, more recently, “*cantores*” (singers), what would have been the effect of designating them with a category associated with the European medieval songwriting and singing tradition? In the context of folkloric studies, this has been a topic of concern, given the common idea that both concepts – *troubadours* and *folk song* – would have been historically related. For example, Tabor (1929) discusses this relation in the 1920s, and Mellers (1967) takes it into account again to understand Bob Dylan’s modern folk performance in the 1960s, reaffirming, according to Haines (2004), some of the stereotypes surrounding the figure of the medieval musician: “passionate and populist”, a bearer of an urgent message.

Through using the concept “troubadour” to describe Alarcón’s interpretation of the peasant song, one observes intentions to attribute a feeling of a song contingent on a popular religious ritual, where the portrayal of the singer who records the verses seems to be confused with those people who practice such musical traditions in their original context. This overlapping of individuals – in this case, of the interpreter and the person being interpreted – refers to a phenomenon seen in folk music: sometimes the frames of reference according to which the performance is evaluated tend to overlap, failing to distinguish between folklore as a source and folkloric representation (JORDÁN, 2014). It is likely that the use of this term to describe something sung by Alarcón did not bother audiences or intellectuals, since, just as in the case studied by Mellers (1967), thinkers in Latin America quickly adopted the word “troubadour” to refer to the new political songs, both in the better-known case of the *Nueva Trova Cubana* and in the case of the *Nueva Canción Chilena* itself, in which Osvaldo Rodríguez (1988) argued for a troubadour origin of the Chilean movement.

This first recording of Rolando Alarcón as a soloist presents him with a smooth voice, which he keeps in a middle register and with a constant vibrato. He also uses portamento to reach some notes, as a way to emphasize them. In the booklet (TRADITIONAL..., 1960), a note about a *tonada* stands out: described in Spanish, “with small inflections in the singer’s voice, in the style of the popular *campesino* sing-

ers”⁶. In the book’s translation into English, the inflections are instead attributed to the style of the songs and not the singers: “in the style of popular folk songs”. Thus, once again, the categories overlap, making Alarcón’s interpretation equivalent to the existence and expression of the song itself. The book also emphasizes the “intention” and the “rhythm” of the *cueca*, which is considered the primary model for Chilean folk music.

Finally, curiously, the English translation of the booklet’s contents, which I assume was originally written in Spanish, omits the introduction of Alarcón as a “musicologist and folklorist”, leaving him only as a “folklorist”. It was probably less interesting for the North American audience to learn about Alarcón’s dimensions as a researcher, since the disc contains numerous allusions to “authentic” singing, a supposed authenticity associated with the song and the performer (*authentic folk song* and *authentic folk singer*), a characterization that was common for traditional and folk music productions of the time.

These translation differences, which may seem mere details, account for the role and purposes of the international phonographic dissemination of music that was being “entextualized” as Chilean folklore, that is, extracted from its contexts of use to be disseminated as independent and repeatable songs.⁷ As Ana María Ochoa (2006) points out, it is fundamental to observe the processes by which music outside the Western canon is inscribed (in written and sound forms) and then recontextualized and circulated. In this case, when captured as recorded song, not only are the melody, chords, and form fixed, but rather the performative gestures are interpreted as part of the text. Entextualized as such, the songs become part – as in the case studied in this article – of the repertoire of the music of the peoples of the world.

In what contexts did Alarcón’s recording function within the company that was to disseminate it in North America? How is it in dialogue with other recordings of that time that also presented popular musicians and musics from Chile on an international stage? What discourses about persons and peoples can be traced in the

⁶ “con pequeñas inflexiones en voz del cantor, al estilo de los cantores populares campesinos”.

⁷ The theory of entextualization has been developed in ethnomusicology from research in linguistic anthropology on spoken discourse, according to which fragments of discourse are separated from their context of origin to circulate independently and be recontextualized. The concept of entextualization focuses on the fixity of discourse, so that it becomes susceptible to being repeated, recreated or copied (BAUMAN; BRIGGS, 1990, p. 73). It is mainly used to refer to the processes of transcription of oral expressions that, when written down, are separated from their original context and become, usually, musical “repertoire”; although recently it has also been applied to theorizing about musical improvisation (SCHUILLING, 2022). Likewise, the use of the concept has expanded to account for similar processes existing in the phonographic record. Unlike the concept of recontextualization, entextualization refers to a previous step, if you will, that allows part of an expression to become musical text.

descriptions of their sounds and, particularly, of their voices? How do researchers and activists participate in this process?

From the conceptual framework Ochoa (2006) proposes, this and other Chilean recordings produced in the United States between the 1950s and 1980s allow us to identify various dynamics of musical and cultural categorization, as well as to reconstruct discourses that revitalize the link between sound and locality. Assuming that the configuration of folk-inspired practices – such as musics that participate in staged representation, the recording industry, and other institutional instances – is not forged within national borders, but also in international spaces and productions, I am interested in taking into account how the discography published in the United States by a specific group of labels interested in the musics of the peoples of the world portrays Chilean voices and music. This inquiry is in conversation with the recent work of Simón Palominos (2022), who has examined the phonographic productions released in Europe that included Chilean voices within the framework of the promotion of world music, as well as with works by Javier Rodríguez (2015, 2018, 2022) that make visible cultural representations – often exoticist ones – in the circulation of Chilean music produced in that continent.

The starting point of this article was Folkways Records and its legacy, which today is organized under the name Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, and whose collection brings together the production of seven labels committed to “supporting cultural diversity and increased understanding among peoples through the documentation, preservation, and dissemination of sound” (MISSION..., c2023). Of the entire collection, I focus on three labels: Folkways (1948-1987), Monitor (1956-1999), and Paredon (1969-1985). Each of them released a considerable number of Latin American music recordings. The first, as part of its director’s interest in disseminating the music of the peoples and, especially, of minorities within the United States; the second, with an emphasis on “socially conscious” music, as well as the third, with a special interest in Latin American social and revolutionary struggles (SHEEHY, 2002).

The music of the peoples of the world

Folkways Records was a label founded in New York by Moses Asch in 1948 and was active until 1986. Moses Asch was a radio-trained recording technician who first had the label Asch Records, devoted to Jewish music during the 1930s, and then, in the 1940s, the label Disc Records, which in addition to Jewish folk music produced jazz and educational recordings. Asch has been described as a person of progressive tendencies, although he did not define himself as an activist, coming from an intellectual Ashkenazi family and with considerable contact with the communist world. The values attached to Folkways Records are the promotion of equality and dignity

among all peoples, conceiving itself as a space for those “who would ‘stand against’ those who ‘stand against’ people” (ASCH, 2013, p. 120-121). This, in the context of the persecution and censorship present under McCarthyism, had supposedly led to, for example, a folk group like The Weavers to leave the mainstream popular music scene to being labeled communist by the FBI in 1951 (ABENDROTH, 2019, p. 23).

With a diverse and eclectic catalog, Folkways Records developed itself within the context of official promotion of strong anti-communism and the appearance of a social consensus against progressivism. Despite this, the label’s project aimed to produce recordings of music and spoken word that could counterbalance the conservative educational trend and contribute to education in history and social studies, following the mission of “documenting fundamental aspects of the people’s culture” (DONALDSON, 2015, p. 63). Mariana Oliveira Arantes has explored this relationship of the folk catalog with progressive political discourses (ARANTES, 2013) and, more specifically, the impact of its production on the struggle for civil rights in the United States (ARANTES, 2015). In terms of the label’s internal dynamics, some note that it was a small enterprise, with barely a handful of employees. Following an *ethos* forged around cultural relativism, Asch’s son commented that its director was interested in collaborative projects, recognizing the agency of artists, collectors, musicians, and producers (ASCH, 2013, p. 116).

Chilean song in the folkways catalog

Shortly before Rolando Alarcón’s recording, Folkways had released its first album dedicated to Chilean music. *Songs of Chile* by Martina and Maria Diaz (1957) is a recording in which two sisters, aged 19 and 21, sing in two voices, in parallel thirds, with a vocal technique that suggests some training in the lyrical tradition. The repertoire is close to what academic literature understands as *música típica*, folkloric repertoires that had found mass audiences through the stylization of the interpretations of *tonadas* and traditional dances, with a strong nationalist stamp. The radio and recording impulse of folklore artists, beginning in the 1920s, pursued the aim of “providing Chile with its own music, which, without losing its attributes of authenticity, could also occupy the new spaces of the modernity inaugurated by the music industry”⁸ (GONZÁLEZ; ROLLE, 2005, p. 375). By the time of the recording of the Diaz sisters, sister duos such as Violeta and Hilda Parra or the Hermanas Loyola were already well known in Chile.

⁸ “dotar a Chile de una música propia, que, sin perder sus atributos de autenticidad, pudiera ocupar también los nuevos espacios de la modernidad inaugurados por la industria musical”.

These young women, who were in Boston for a university exchange, came from the Chilean upper class, having studied at the well-known private school Santiago College. Nonetheless, the description of their performances underscores the rural localities that claim to be “heard” through the songs. For the song “Cerro adventro (Dawn),”⁹ the liner notes (SONGS..., 1957) state, “We can hear clearly the shouts of the cowmen who take the cattle to pasture”. “La India (The Indian Maiden),”¹⁰ on the other hand, is presented as “an Indian lament, sung by an Indian woman, who, as she is walking by the river, is complaining about who burned her house and robbed her animals,” and they add: “Part of this song is sung in Mapuche, an Indian dialect”. Nothing is said about the relationship of these singers with the repertoire they present, which can be understood under the assumption that it is a kind of folkloric projection, different from what would be a field recording. It is worth noting that field recordings were located, within the Folkways catalog, as part of a different collection. This form of folklorized presentation of the “local” was the one chosen by the label for projects such as the compilation *Toward World Understanding with Song*.

This album, which accompanied an educational book of songs for children (NYE; NYE; NYE, 1969), was intended to help educators and parents teach world understanding to elementary school children. It included one of the songs recorded by these sisters, “My White Horse”.¹¹

Other sound recordings that Folkways published were treated differently. As pointed out in this article, the label has been characterized by being encyclopedic and didactic, seeking to cover different peoples of the world and make educational material available. In 1951, the company released the first volume of a five-disc series entitled *Music of the World's Peoples*, produced by composer Henry Cowell. The second volume, published in 1956, contained a track labeled “Chile: Festival Dance.”¹²

⁹ Audio 1. “Cerro adventro (Dawn)”. Side A, Track 4. In: DIAZ, Martina; DIAZ, Maria Eugenia. *Songs of Chile*. New York: Folkways Records, 1957. FW 8817. Available at: <https://folkways.si.edu/martina-and-maria-eugenia-diaz/cerro-adventro-dawn/latin-world/music/track/smithsonian>. Accessed on: May 30, 2023.

¹⁰ Audio 2. “La India (The Indian Maiden)”. Side B, Track 3. In: DIAZ, Martina; DIAZ, Maria Eugenia. *Songs of Chile*. New York: Folkways Records, 1957. FW 8817. Available at: <https://folkways.si.edu/martina-and-maria-eugenia-diaz/la-india-the-indian-maiden/latin-world/music/track/smithsonian>. Accessed on: May 30, 2023.

¹¹ Audio 3. “My White Horse”, by Martina and Maria Eugenia Diaz. Side A, Track 2. In: TOWARD WORLD Understanding with Song: Vol. 2. New York: Folkways Records, [1966]. FD 5720. Available at: <https://folkways.si.edu/martina-and-maria-eugenia-diaz/my-white-horse/islamica-world/music/track/smithsonian>. Accessed on: May 30, 2023.

¹² Audio 4. “Chile: Festival Dance”. Side A, Track 3. In: MUSIC of the World's People's: Vol. 2. New York: Folkways Records, 1952. FE 4505. Available at: <https://folkways.si.edu/chile-festival-dance/central-asia-islamica-world/music/track/smithsonian>. Accessed on: May 30, 2023.

CHILE: In the high north Chilean Andes, in a small coal-mining town, there is a *fiesta* which starts after church with a religious processional. Later the crowd dances in the open; Indian drummers play together fast and furiously, with much syncopation bandied about between them. They accompany a fiddler who plays a simple Spanish-style dance melody over and over in accompaniment to a woman who sings the same fragment of tune ad infinitum – it is E, E, C#, C#, D, D, B; with slides from E to C#, and from D to B, in about the tempo of a samba (Brazil is just across the mountains). This recording is a patch out of the dance in full swing (COWELL, 1956, p. 4).

The “Indian” drummers who play fast and furiously, a woman who repeatedly intones a simple melody, all in the context of a popular religious celebration. These traits recall the common traits of exoticism, such as that which emphasizes simplicity and which is considered in studies on musical orientalism as a degrading cliché of the represented object (CLAYTON; ZON, 2007). We do not know in what town, on what date, or for what festival it was recorded, but it seems that those who produced the record did not care about being precise, since Cowell dares to say that “Brazil is just on the other side of the mountains”, erasing two entire countries from the map, or assuming that South American cultures would be homogeneous enough to foreign ears to put up with geographical generalities and fantasies.

The introduction, signed by Cowell himself, expresses a series of conventional ideas about musics of the world: that they are learned by ear, that their melodies are mostly traditional (rather than new compositions). He also emphasizes the presence of elements of the European written tradition (the use of certain chords and Byzantine modes) in different parts of the world. In addition to recognizing a remarkable similarity between ancient melodies of diverse origins, Cowell (1956) observes that it is in the ways of playing and singing that the particularities of each culture are expressed. “Styles of performance differ widely among different peoples. Ways of singing that please one people may disturb others (the average Chinese has as much trouble understanding our singing as we do his), but there is often much resemblance in actual musical material.” And then he continues: “It is necessary to hear people sing and play their own music to gain its real feeling”.

Much of Cowell’s discourse reveals the influence of evolutionist thinking, according to which musical styles are related to stages of cultural development in a progressive history.¹³ For the introduction to the five volumes, Cowell is clear: the materials could be organized by race, style, history, or geography, but instead of

¹³ This ideology is not only evident in the comparative musicology research of the early 20th century, but, as Rachel Mundy (2014) has discussed, it has permeated progressive discourses during the second half of the century, when the questioning of racism and its dire consequences impacted an eradication of these discourses within music studies. But as Mundy warns, the fact that they are no longer named

that, a sampling of widely contrasting musics, from many “cultural levels” and from many parts of the world, is presented. In this sense, it is understandable that the sound fragment representing Chile contains an expression that is notoriously different from those of other places, contributing to create the illusion of a wide range of exotic samples. Thus, for example, the album opens with a Cuban *son* attributed to the Sexteto Nacional; it later contains a Sioux courting melody played on a solo flute; and, later on, a piece from the Western Congo played on xylophones and voice.¹⁴

Among other aspects, traces of an exoticist conception are expressed in the seemingly indulgent inclusion of diverse “cultural levels” brought together. Indeed, describing musical exoticism in the colonizing context, Ronald Radano and Philip Bohlman (2000, p.16) note that “the music in spaces of otherness seemed both remarkable because of its primordial foreignness which identified the site of an original cultural and unremarkable because of its ‘primitiveness’ which precluded its value as a cultural form”. This paradoxical validation is also manifested in the exaltation of the most foreign aspects of Western culture, to the point of implausible exaggeration.

In fact, it is not only the exoticist treatment that is striking about the Ethnic Folkways Library series, to which the albums that Cowell edited belong, but also the careless treatment given to the sound recordings to which misleading descriptions are attributed. Thus, two years after the release of the volume produced by Cowell, Folkways released in 1958 the album entitled *Dances of the World's Peoples Vol. 3, Caribbean and South America*, belonging to a series edited by Ronnie and Stu Lipner. In this volume was included the same recording “Festival Dance,”¹⁵ corresponding, basically, to the recording of a responsorial collective chant, with drums, in binary meter and background noise. It is exactly the same recording, but this time it is accompanied by a different liner note.

This note talks about the *cueca* and gives instructions on how to dance it, but contextualizes it by saying that “the percussionists accompany the violinist, who plays a simple melody in Spanish style over and over again, and a woman who sings the same fragment”. For any knowledgeable in these musics, it is evident that the fragment does not correspond openly to a *cueca*, first of all, because of the metrical difference. The *cueca* is a musical genre that was systematized during the 20th cen-

does not mean that they have disappeared or that they cease to inform the theoretical categories with which the world's musical practices are studied and promoted.

¹⁴ These pieces correspond to tracks 1, 5, and 13 of the album, respectively, and are entitled: “Cuba: Sutileza Son”, “Sioux: Courting Melody”, and “Western Congo: Xylophones”.

¹⁵ Audio 5. “Festival Dance”. Side A, Track 6. In: DANCES of the World's Peoples, Vol. 3: Caribbean and South America. New York: Folkways Records, 1958. FD 6503. Available at: <https://folkways.si.edu/festival-dance/caribbean-world/music/track/smithsonian>. Accessed on: May 30, 2023.

tury, establishing its meter that alternates 6/8 and 3/4, as well as a form composed of a precise number of measures (between 48 and 56), strict melodic repetitions, and a short duration (LOYOLA; CÁDIZ, 2010). By the time the disc was released, there were already studies on this genre by Pablo Garrido (1943) in Chile and Carlos Vega (1947) from Argentina, but above all, commercial recordings of *cueca* had been circulating for almost three decades. It would therefore seem unlikely that an apparently improvised responsorial chant with open form and binary meter would have been considered a *cueca* at that time. But the tone of the description that accompanied the track leads us to consider that the numerous characterizations of the *zamacueca* (ancestor of the *cueca*) as a monotonous and repetitive song may conform and eventually align to untrained ears with what is proposed in the liner note. These descriptions, coming mostly from travelers' observation of the *zamacueca* in the Peruvian city of Lima, characterized the music by the monotony of its "air", "song", and "tempo". As discussed at length in another research (JORDÁN, 2016), the pejorative connotation of these descriptions says more about the position of alterity in listening to the music of Others than about the specific melodic-rhythmic quality of the *zamacueca*. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to suppose that the dissemination of these kinds of ideas may have interfered with the acceptance of the "Festival Dance" recording as a satisfactory example of *cueca*.

However, the booklet adds a clarification: "It should be noted, that this '*Cueca*' does not follow the form of the National Dance. It is rather an Indian version taken from it, and adapted to their own needs. Acknowledgment is made to Mr. Raefael (sic) Armendosa, of Chile, for the background material given to us on this dance". Quoting a Chilean, Mr. Armendosa, it provides an explanation for the strangeness of this supposed *cueca*: it is an Indigenous version, "adapted to their needs". Beyond the doubts about the accuracy of his explanations, I am interested in emphasizing how the discourse once again uses the label "Indian", this time to locate this sound recording that would not otherwise fit the expected categories.

When looking at Folkways' discographic production for other regions, references to Chilean musical practices were found, for example, in an album dedicated to Peru. In the album *Traditional Music of Peru*, Chile is mentioned in the introduction written by Samuel Marti as one of the countries, along with Bolivia and Ecuador, where these Andean Indigenous musics are cultivated. However, the oral sources mentioned come from Cuzco and Puno. The suborganization of the catalog is striking, since these recordings belong to the specific series Ethnic Folkways Library, one of the first series founded within the label, under the direction of Harold Courlander. This editor and anthropologist spent time frequenting academic conventions and conversing with university professors in order to have their field recordings published in his catalog, which was characterized by including comprehensive

booklets with supplementary information (PLACE, 2019, p.122-123). With this profile, the Ethnic Folkways Library developed a close link to ethnomusicological research.

According to the image that Moses Asch's son presented some years ago about his father and his record company, the construction of his catalog was guided by the interest of recording and disseminating projects that covered voices that would otherwise go unheard. When asked whether his company could be questioned in terms of cultural appropriation, he argues that, in the cases of the Ethnic Series, Asch relied on the ethics of the collectors who presented the material already gathered, assuming that there was an interest on the part of the musicians in disseminating their recordings (ASCH, 2013, p. 121). With regard to the commented excerpts, it is crucial to underline the relevance of the perspective of such agents in legitimizing the discographic and discursive practices associated with them. Since this work has not been able to elucidate who participated as collectors in the selection of the music presented as representative of "Chile", it is an aspect that deserves to be developed in future research.

Monitor records: folkloric performances

Before the "world music" category expanded internationally during the 1980s, the recording industries were already producing recordings of local music from different parts of the world. Initially, the category of "foreign music" marketed by the first majors was aimed at an American and foreign audience and it was characterized by including melodies and repertoires from some European countries (mainly) arranged in formats familiar to the American ear, such as music hall and military brass bands. A second category was that of "ethnic music", which was originally disseminated in the context of the massive waves of migration to the United States, seeking to produce records with a "national" connotation for the new residents. In this sense, it is important to highlight how much impact the folklore paradigm (OCHOA, 2003) had on the first diffusion of foreign and local music. Likewise, the early excursions of scouts sent to different parts of the globe to collect local music were intended to penetrate the markets of each country, targeting their own audiences first (OSPINA, 2021). Nevertheless, these productions generally followed a common mission: to create records that would be marketable both in their places of origin and in the United States. To this end, the productions operated as what William Howland Kenney calls a "cultural filtration", since they aimed to release recordings capable of reflecting particular cultures without losing their appeal to other sectors of the population (KENNEY, 1999, p. 69). This was achieved, for the category of "foreign music", through the interpretations of foreign melodies in standardized formats for North American taste. Then, for "ethnic music", this practice

implied different strategies of “Americanization” aimed at delivering recordings that could cultivate the senses of nostalgia and ethnic pride, while facilitating the adjustment of the immigrant population and their children to the U.S. culture.

Despite the historical presence of foreign music in the U.S. recording industry since its inception, much of the production in the early decades of the 20th century was focused on representing and catering to the diverse immigrant communities that settled in the United States in the period. As David Brackett (2016, p. 50) argues, these productions were guided by a homological vision between music and society, which assumed that a certain ethnic identity should coincide between the musical object and the listening community. Thus, the perception of a gap to be filled with respect to access to different and perhaps more distant cultures was, as said earlier, one of the drivers for the creation of Folkways Records, without this being the only case. From a progressive agenda, interested in the political movements embodied by peoples across the globe, Monitor Records was a record company also based in New York in 1956, which presented itself precisely under the slogan “Music of the World”. Of course, before its catalog became a repository of music connected with Third World politics, this label produced some records that tried to bring the U.S. public closer to foreign sounds, focusing initially on classical music from the Soviet bloc, then including other niche music within the written tradition and, later on, popular music of different origins.

Let’s start with an example. Far from particularizing cultures according to their different geographies and populations, the series of records of Latin American countries that Monitor released in 1961 shockingly records the same artist singing the music representing Argentina, Chile, and Mexico. The album *Chile* presents twelve apparently traditional songs interpreted by María Luisa Buchino and her Llameros, with a cover of the *altiplano* that suggests their belonging to some Andean community (see Image 1).

Image 1
Album cover of *Chile* (Monitor Records, 1961, MFS 342)



Source: Image obtained from Smithsonian Institution website (2022).

Paradoxically, the description of the disc, signed by the American ethnomusicologist Henrietta Yurchenco, synthesizes in only a couple of paragraphs multiple prejudices and misinformation about music in Chile. Not only does she maintain that the only important Indigenous group is the Araucanians (*Mapuche*), but she also assures that they have no impact on national music, arguing instead for a culture of notable European descent, which she describes with mentions of a variety of salon dances. She also reproduces racial-ethnic stereotypes from other South American countries. Let's look at an excerpt:

The folk music of Chile is based principally on European models. The music of the Auracanian indians, the only important Chilean indigenous group, has had no influence on the folklore of the nation as a whole. The *cueca*, the national dance, for instance, is a courtship dance similar to those of southern Spain, replete with castanets and encouraging cries from the spectators. However, Chilean folk music does not ape its European originals. The peasants and the *gauchos* sing and dance without regard for the rules and regulations respected in Buenos Aires or Santiago. There is a Mexican proverb which says: "Plant a sweet Spanish pepper in [sic] our earth, and a hot one will grow." Certainly, it applies here. The smooth and elegant dances of the Old

World were transformed into vigorous and stimulating creations in the mountains and pampas of South America (MARIA LUISA BUCHINO AND HER LLAMEROS, 1961b).

It is worth noting Yurchenco's evident exoticist tone, when she celebrates with a hint of irony the vigor and stimulating nature of the disrespectful interpretations of the South Americans. She seems to celebrate the excess of this Chilean music that "does not ape its European originals". Of the singer, whose voice and performance style are heard on the disc, she does not utter a word, relegating her to the status of mere representative of a cultural community, without subjectivity or biography of her own.¹⁶ This lack of attention to the individual is characteristic of orientalist (and exoticist by extension) discourses, where peoples are represented in collective terms and their generalities (MABILAT, 2008). However, another fact further complicates the scope of what this disc presents. Two other vinyl records of the label, dedicated respectively to Argentina and Mexico, present the same singer, the one from Argentina with the same ensemble "Sus Llameros" (without providing information about the musicians that make up the group) and the one from Mexico with "Las Aguillillas", interpreting well-known songs of the Latin American repertoire disseminated by the recording, radio, and film industries, without specifically focusing on Mexican national songs. In the booklet from the album *Argentina*, also published in 1961, the participation of Henrietta Yurchenco is repeated, who elaborates definitions of dances and historical narrations with uncertain factual basis.¹⁷ This sloppy treatment does not necessarily reveal a lack of expertise on the part of those producing the disc, but rather allows us to interpret that the target audience probably did not demand fidelity or acuity in their cultural consumption of recordings of these South American groups. In addition, these discs, which concentrate on representing the three countries through a selection of songs, account for the entextualization processes that mediate the configuration of representative repertoires of the nations and, simultaneously, of the region, which is personified by Buchino's voice. In the manner of the foreign music of the beginning of the century, the international repertoires are filtered under an acceptable model of folkloric in-

¹⁶ María Luisa "Luisita" Buchino was an Argentine singer, born in Tucumán (DONOZO, 2006, p. 103). Along with her, Los Llameros was formed by her husband Carlos Cacho Mansilla and Alejandro Mansilla. As performers of Andean repertoire, they were present in Bolivia in 1954 (RÍOS, 2020, p. 134). During the 1960's she was in New York, where she recorded for Monitor Records the three albums previously mentioned.

¹⁷ In 1973, an article on Argentine folk music was published in the *Music Educators Journal*, mentioning the low quality of this recording because it was a mono recording. It also regrets the sole participation of María Luisa Buchino in the interpretation of all the dances, implying that this diversity of folk music deserved to be listened to by its different creators (ROSSI, 1973, p. 53).

terpretation, embodied by this singer and her trio. The representation of the countries is expressed through the songs and not through the way they are sung.

The authorship of Henrietta Yurchenco, considered one of the pioneers of field recordings among Indigenous people in Mexico (RUIZ 2009), is particularly noteworthy. Amanda Minks (2021) has discussed the work of this American ethnomusicologist in the development of folklore research supported by Mexican national institutions, highlighting her contribution as a link with U.S. spaces and bearer of phonographic technologies that transformed the relationship with field record processes. As for her work in commercial record production, reviews of other albums on which Yurchenco is featured value her contribution to the learning of students of Latin American music, particularly through the Asch Mankind Series of Folkways Records.

For example, in 1972, Henrietta Yurchenco produced a record of Latin American children's songs, for which she reportedly made the recordings *in situ*. She also provided the album with descriptions of the games, transcriptions, and translations of the lyrics. A review on this work also appraises other discs in the series, including one produced by Yurchenco and her team, this time of music of the Tarasco Indigenous community in Mexico and whose notes seem satisfactory despite the too-small size of the print (PORTER, 1972, p. 406). The general appreciation of these records points out that "The Asch Mankind Series continues its worthy contribution to the recording of primitive and old high cultures" (PORTER, 1972, p. 405), noting that these recordings raise the level of criticism to another plane, since they usually featured some specialist in the culture, whether ethnomusicologist or anthropologist. The same author reviewed later recordings where Yurchenco participated, as a disc that disseminates the poetic-musical form of the *décima* in Latin America, observing: "The accompanying notes contain a fair amount of information, texts are fully reproduced with a translation, and there is even some notation of rhythms" (PORTER, 1974, p. 390).

Taking into account the example of these reviews, disseminated in academic journals that could enjoy the legitimacy in the diffusion of knowledge, it is worth asking about the impact of the circulation of misconceptions about South American and Chilean music by a specialist in music from the north of the continent. In this sense, beyond highlighting the particular case, it is important to review the participation of ethnomusicologists in record productions of international scope, especially when they present portrayals of distant peoples, whose culture bearers did not usually have access to the productions.

Political music, from folklore to propaganda

Beyond these first albums performed by María Luisa Buchino, Monitor Records developed an interest in Latin American music through popular music projects, such as the diffusion in the 1970s of music previously recorded by the Ecuadorian group Jatari!!. This was promoted as an ensemble that interpreted music from different countries of the continent (including Chile), using the pan-Andean aesthetics developed in France since mid-century (RÍOS, 2008) and promoted as well by Violeta Parra and her children (RODRÍGUEZ, 2018).

The label also welcomed new projects that arose in the context of political migration. Thus, it highlights the inclusion in its catalog of the two albums by Grupo Raíz, formed by Chilean exiles in California who participated in the cultural center La Peña, a center founded in San Francisco by U.S. citizens and Latino immigrants in solidarity with Chile after the coup d'état (PAGE, 2019).

The first album of Grupo Raíz, entitled *Amaneceres* (1981), introduces the Latin Americanist aesthetic through a cover with a colorful mural in which musicians and workers come together in front of an Andean imaginary, posing with their instruments, men dressed in ponchos with varied patterns (Mapuche, Andean) and women with dresses embroidered with Mesoamerican Indigenous patterns (see Image 2). The selection is composed of mostly Chilean songs, although it includes pieces from Cuba, Venezuela, and Uruguay, corresponding to the *Nueva Canción Latinoamericana* repertoire. In the style of the record production observed in different exile localities where musical groups insert themselves into community networks, this album includes a declaration of the principles of Grupo Raíz, which reads: "The goals of the group are twofold: to make known the music and culture of the Latin American people, and to give support through their music to the resistance movement in Chile and to liberation movements in Latin America and throughout the world" (GRUPO RAÍZ, 1981).

Image 2

Cover of the album *Amaneceres* (Monitor Records, 1981, MFS812)



Source: Image obtained from Smithsonian Institution website (2022).

The envelope containing the disc includes a detailed identification of the musical instruments used, a practice that coincides with other exile groups based in Europe (CAMPOS; JORDÁN; RODRÍGUEZ, 2022). The names of the six performers are not mentioned, although credits are given for the photographer (Héctor González) and the sound engineer (Michael Cogan). The brief notes accompanying the song titles concentrate on describing the themes of the songs, their geographic-cultural origin, also giving space to present and justify the creative decisions made by the group. In “Tema de la quebrada de San Lorenzo (Theme from Valley of San Lorenzo)”,¹⁸ it is noted that this instrumental panpipe piece was originally heard by members of the group in a *fiesta* in San Lorenzo de Pica and that the musicians add “a new dimension in its interpretation with the addition of string instruments”, revealing both the origin of the listening and their artistic proposal expressed in the arrange-

¹⁸ Audio 6. “Tema de la Quebrada de San Lorenzo (Theme from Valley of San Lorenzo)”. Side B. Track 3. In: GRUPO RAÍZ. *Grupo Raíz: Amaneceres*. New York: Monitor Records, 1981. MON00812. Available at: <https://folkways.si.edu/grupo-raiz/tema-de-la-quebrada-de-san-lorenzo-theme-from-valley-of-san-lorenzo/latin-world/music/track/smithsonian>. Accessed on: May 30, 2023.

ment. Likewise, it is argued that their composition of the *huayno* “Amaneceres (The Daybreak)”¹⁹ “reflects the hope of something new... necessarily different and better than the oppression and injustice under which a great part of the world now lives”.

Grupo Raíz’s second album maintains a similar format in the layout, changing the colors and presenting this time a portrait of the musicians with an urban background and wearing casual clothes (see Image 3). Again, the back cover is employed to list the multiple instruments used, including, this time, the names of the members of the group: Rafael Manríquez, Enrique Cruz, Fernando Feña, Héctor Salgado, Lichi Fuentes, and Ellen Moore.

Image 3

Cover of the album *Por América del Centro* (Monitor Records, 1984, MFS 818)



Source: Image obtained from Smithsonian Institution website (2022).

The brief text signed by the group carries a message of hope and gratitude to those who would have sung with them “a hymn of solidarity, of joined hands, of fraternal embrace, of shared daily efforts in this great work of solidarity”, and, in

¹⁹ Audio 7. “Amaneceres (The Daybreak)”. Side B, Track 5. In: GRUPO RAÍZ. *Grupo Raíz: Amaneceres*. New York: Monitor Records, 1981. MON00812. Available at: <https://folkways.si.edu/grupo-raiz/amaneceres-the-day-break/latin-world/music/track/smithsonian>. Accessed on: May 30, 2023.

particular, to Pete Seeger and Holly Near. Both recordings place the artists as owners of their recording, positioning their ideas so that they directly reach the public. As with Monitor's other albums, the lyrics and other important texts are printed in a bilingual (Spanish/English) format. The rest of the information, such as the descriptions of each song, is presented exclusively in English and, in terms of content, concentrates on the stories and landscapes described, as well as information about the compositions.

Probably aiming at a similar public, Monitor's catalog also printed records from the catalog of DICAP, acronym for *Discoteca del cantar popular*, which had been a record label established in Chile since 1968 and whose catalog was oriented to music committed to the political transformations promoted by progressive and revolutionary forces (SCHMIEDECKE, 2014). The records most widely released by DICAP were those corresponding to the *Nueva Canción Chilena*; after the 1973 coup d'état, DICAP was dissolved in the national territory to reorganize itself in exile. Specifically, it reprinted some records clandestinely taken out of Chile and also released new productions in countries such as France and Italy, allying itself in those territories with local labels such as Pathé Marconi and I Dischi dello Zodiaco. In Spain, they were released through Movieplay, and, in Germany, through Pläne. This multiplication of labels allied to DICAP was crucial to disseminating Chilean music internationally, a purpose even more important in the context of solidarity campaigns with the people of Chile in their resistance against the dictatorship. The interconnected phonographic production between different localities was a relevant phenomenon for the development of the cultural life of the exiled people and for the artistic development of musicians in exile (CAMPOS; JORDÁN; RODRÍGUEZ, 2022).

In the United States, it was precisely the company Monitor Records that echoed the abundant production of the *Nueva Canción* groups living outside Chile. Among the DICAP recordings that Monitor printed, we can count six records by Inti-Illimani, one by Quilapayún, and four by Víctor Jara, including vinyl and cassette production. In addition, two recordings of the French-based group Illapu were released in North America.

This "Music of the World" catalog of Monitor Records, unlike the ethnographic and "traditionalist" emphasis exhibited in Folkways, promotes a multicultural gaze that celebrates the aestheticization of musical proposals and presents them as signs of intercultural understanding and triggers of solidarity. In Timothy Taylor's words, multiculturalism stemming from globalization is presented as new versions of old concepts of difference, but with a greater emphasis on merchandise and musical consumption (TAYLOR, 2007, p. 123). Despite the participatory appearance of openness to new and diverse expressions in the scene, multiculturalism does not question cultural hierarchy. This is why recent voices have pointed out that, with-

out a racial critique in its midst, multiculturalism tends to reaffirm Western supremacy (BERY, 2014). What is crucial in the case of the *Nueva Canción Chilena* and international marketing strategies is that they rely on networks of political solidarity (CAMPOS; JORDÁN; RODRÍGUEZ, 2022), but at the same time aim at the taste of audiences interested in exotic cultures, even while accepting their modernity.

An example of Inti-Illimani illustrates this idea. The back covers of the albums *Inti-Illimani 3* (1975) and *Inti-Illimani 4 – La Alborada Vendrá* (1978) comment on the group's second North American tour and particularly their performance at Avery Fischer Hall in New York in March 1976, when critic John S. Wilson wrote for the *New York Times* a note in which he positively described the performance. He did so in terms of the melodic-rhythmic charisma of the flutes, the strumming of the guitars and mandolins (he is probably referring to *charangos* and *tiples*), the depth and firmness of the Argentine *bombo*, and the blending of six voices into beautiful melodic lines. A verbatim transcription of the newspaper review was used on the back cover: "This beautiful singing and playing plus a political statement for freedom and justice for all... is what Inti-Illimani's performances are all about". In addition, the liner notes of *Inti-Illimani 4 – La Alborada Vendrá* propose that the success of their 1974 and 1976 tours would explain why the tickets were already sold out for their performances in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Washington, D. C., Boston, and New York.

Image 4 Back cover of *Inti-Illimani 4* (Monitor Records, MFS794, 1981)



Source: Photograph taken by the author at the Audio Library of the Ibero-American Institute in Berlin (2020).

It is interesting to recognize the promotional language in which aesthetic effectiveness (no longer associated with any cultural authenticity) is combined with an appeal to the general public. Likewise, the different records of the Chileans are promoted within the liner notes of each vinyl, as part of an international cultural scene to which the potential buyers of Monitor Records have access, perhaps as a credential of political rectitude. The last page includes advertisements and photos of other records in the series. On some of the copies, in addition to the usual paper with Spanish and English lyrics, there is also a promotional advertisement called “Memo from Monitor” that promotes as a set the different Chilean and Latin American recordings that are in its catalog, under the title “Latin-American Series”. As can be seen in Image 5, this Memo promotes an album by Uruguayan Daniel Viglietti, one by Chilean Víctor Jara, one by Quilapayún and three by Inti-Illimani. They also announce that “all the discs have texts in English and Spanish”, except for one.

Image 5
 Memo From Monitor (Monitor Records, MFS794, 1981)



Source: Photograph taken by the author at the Audio Library of the Ibero-American Institute in Berlin (2020).

The last label whose production I am interested in discussing is Paredon Records, whose first compilation album was released in 1970. This label was established in Oakland, California, as a reference for music associated with the revolutionary movements of the third world. It was co-founded by Barbara Dane (activist and jazz musician) and her partner Irwin Silber (journalist and co-founder of the folk music magazine *Sing Out!*), after their participation in the Havana Protest Song meeting in 1967. Its stated purpose was to bring sounds of relevant contemporary struggles to U.S. audiences. As Ashley Black has discussed, Barbara Dane did important political work by developing “personal bonds of solidarity”. She, as well as other Americans who opposed the official politics of their country, was interested in folk music, based on popular traditions, whose lyrics referred to ordinary people and often spoke against capitalism. For that social group, “folk music expressed an inherent sense of nostalgia for an idealized past and thus provided an outlet for those paralyzed by the injustices of the present” (BLACK, 2018, p. 119). The author argues that networks of solidarity operated on subtle levels such as cultivating empathy and friendship, as well as engaging in transformative action, levels in which folk music helped by sharing a common sensibility for listening to the “other”. Recognizing a linguistic barrier in the relationships between North and South America, musicians shifted attention from lyrics to sound quality, where the presence of traditional instruments and the use of simple melodies are valued (BLACK, 2018, p. 120). But even more important was the very act of making and sharing music, according to the same author.

Paredon Records’ catalog comprises 50 productions, with musics from Latin America, Greece, Vietnam, and Palestine, among others, as well as a diversity of U.S. records identified with ethnic minorities. The catalog includes prominent female voices, including Argentine Suni Paz. While the diversity of represented subjects offers a view of the “world” and its struggles, an important part of the project aimed to challenge notions of American culture by responding to its apparent social conformity. In this sense, it is a far cry from the ideological agenda that underpinned the production of ethnic music records 50 years earlier.

The label’s inaugural album brings together discourses and songs from the aforementioned Havana protest song meeting in 1967. Among the tracks, there are three belonging to the *Nueva Canción Chilena*: “Coplas del Pajarito (The Little Bird’s Complaint)”²⁰ by Rolando Alarcón, “Me gustan los estudiantes (I Love the Stu-

²⁰ Audio 8. “Coplas del pajarito (The Little Bird’s Complaint)”, performed by Rolando Alarcón. Side A, Track 8. In: *CANCIÓN PROTESTA: Protest Song of Latin America*. New York: Paredon Records, 1967. PAR 1001.

dents)”²¹ by Ángel Parra, and “Porque los pobres no tienen (Because the Poor Have Nothing)”²² by Isabel Parra. This selection is remarkable because it conforms to a format of a singer with the accompaniment of a plucked and strummed string instrument, with a simple arrangement that emphasizes the recitation of a text, either with political content or descriptions of *campesino* culture. All three cases tailor to the figure of the singer-songwriter, which fits the concept of protest song and brings to the forefront the affective closeness that artists and audiences perceive between this figure and that of the troubadour. This emphasis is valuable for examining how these recordings dialogue (or do not) with others being produced in the same decades on a label such as Folkways where, as we have already seen, Chilean “ethnic” recordings are included in a separate series.

Paredon also included in its catalog the emblematic *Cantata Popular Santa María de Iquique* in 1974, presenting Quilapayún as an exile group that played with instruments banned by the dictatorship. This edition corresponds to a reprint of the original recorded by Jota-Jota in 1970, before the dictatorship started and the Andean instruments acquired a connotation of opposition to the regime. In this way, the discourse included in Paredon’s production adds to the previous recording a contingent sense that corresponds to the time of the dictatorship and not to its origin. In 1975, Paredon released a record linked to the *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria* (MIR) and the struggle against the regime, featuring the names of the group Karaxú and the singer-songwriters Patricio Manns and Ángel Parra. Its content, however, corresponds to a reprint of the Karaxú album released the previous year in France by the Expression Spontanée label, which includes compositions by Manns, but not the song by Parra, which appears barely transcribed in the booklet. This discrepancy in the information can be explained as a commercial hook, since both singer-songwriters enjoyed greater international popularity than the group.

Both productions contain booklets written in English, with descriptions of the political situation in Chile, including addresses and references to where to get more information about it.

Available at: <https://folkways.si.edu/rolando-alarcon/coplas-del-pajarito-the-little-birds-complaint/latin-struggle-protest-world/music/track/smithsonian>. Accessed on: May 30, 2023.

²¹ Audio 9. “Me gustan los estudiantes (I Love the Students)”, performed by Ángel Parra. Side A, Track 9. In: CANCIÓN PROTESTA: Protest Song of Latin America. New York: Paredon Records, 1967. PAR 1001. Available at: <https://folkways.si.edu/angel-parra/me-gustan-los-estudiantes-i-love-the-students/latin-struggle-protest-world/music/track/smithsonian>. Accessed on: May 30, 2023.

²² Audio 10. “Porque los pobres no tienen (Because the Poor Have Nothing)”, performed by Isabel Parra. Side A, Track 10. In: CANCIÓN PROTESTA: Protest Song of Latin America. New York: Paredon Records, 1967. PAR 1001. Available at: <https://folkways.si.edu/isabel-parra/porque-los-pobres-no-tienen-because-the-poor-have-nothing/latin-struggle-protest-world/music/track/smithsonian>. Accessed on: May 30, 2023.

In the case of Quilapayún, the general text that accompanies the recording is written in English, in addition to translations of the lyrics of the songs, accompanied by the original text in Spanish. The translations were done by Laura Engler Pérez. The booklets of these albums emphasize the story told within the songs and the political context in which the productions circulate, completely avoiding the task of explaining the artists and commenting on their creations. This invisibility, and apparent deafness, seems to be justified by the “urgency” of the causes it purports to support. The *Cantata* disc explicitly states that the royalties collected belong to Quilapayún, while in the case of the MIR disc, information about the collection of money is omitted. Considering that it was a record associated with a revolutionary political party, it is reasonable to think, although no document proves it, that the sales contributed to the organization of armed resistance, as happened with the sale of the same recording (although under different titles) distributed in France and Canada (JORDÁN, 2011).

Unlike the discourses observed in the production of Monitor, which was also reprinting records of the *Nueva Canción Chilena* in exile and targeting audiences sensitized to the “Chilean cause”, Paredon’s records were not at all interested in emphasizing instrumental diversity or commenting on the arrangements and artistic decisions. Both labels did coincide in their translation strategies, which involved the incorporation of English lyrics to accompany the listening of those who did not speak Spanish, but were interested in understanding the heart of their stories, demands, and struggles.

It is worth placing the releases of this set of recordings of Chilean music from the United States within the framework of two distinct fields. On the one hand, it is interesting to note the parallelism between the diffusion of “committed” Chilean music in international scenes and what was being produced phonographically in Chile during the same decades. Although a deep look exceeds the purposes of this article, it is intriguing that, for example, some musicians of the *Nueva Canción Chilena* were exploring the resources of studio recording, e.g., the creative possibilities of sampling and montage in the early 1970s (OSORIO; FIGUEROA, 2018). Thus, record production distanced itself from the search for “folkloric” authenticity and fully placed itself in the language of popular and academic music that was experimenting in search of new forms of expression. In European exile, some of the studio recording practices also showed interest in the exploration of sound technologies (CAMPOS; JORDÁN; RODRÍGUEZ, 2022), including recordings of musicians such as Inti-Illimani, which would later be reissued in North America. However, the visibilization of this modernizing dimension does not seem to have been a priority for the transnational publicity and circulation of these incipient works during the 1980s, when world music was already being commercially promoted.

It is pausing to consider the relationship between the musics of the Chilean exile and the category of world music. In a recent article, sociologist Simón Palominos (2022) proposed consecutive points of contact between the internationalization of Chilean popular music and the development of the world music category, which, in his conceptualization, predates the mere commercial label of the 1980s and 1990s. According to Palominos, the term *world music* had been used in ethnomusicology since early in the 20th century, but had been reformulated for academic use – ethnomusicological and pedagogical – in the 1960s, aiming at “a holistic vision of the diversity of musical practices on the planet” (PALOMINOS, 2022, p. 46). This is, precisely, the meaning that seems to emerge from Monitor’s slogan “Music of the World” and offers a first connection for this study.

While I consider that this lax view of the term *world music* by Palominos weakens its theoretical specificity – usually characterized by the hybridization and commercialization of local music in cosmopolitan codes – it does offer a useful opening to examine the recording and dissemination of “local music” to be commercialized across the globe during the second half of the 20th century through transnational practices. In fact, in his study on the emergence of the category of Andean music in France, which precedes and strongly informs the development of the *Nueva Canción*, Fernando Ríos (2008) pointed out 15 years ago the relevance of examining the parallelism between the deployment of this Latin American musics in Europe and the commercialization of African musics under the concept of *world beat*, observing that both categories shared a certain politicization of the ethnic identities they represented and the search for a modern and cosmopolitan project.

In fact, it should be noted that the international circulation of politicized Chilean music (the *Nueva Canción* and other exile music) during the dictatorship coincides temporally with the clearer emergence of the commercial category of *world music*, which is usually dated from 1980 onwards. This category has been described as a commercial label deployed in a context characterized by the fragmentation of the Soviet bloc, the resurgence of various ethnic groups, the consolidation of the global media system, and the growing problems of multiculturalism and polyethnicity (GUILBAULT, 1993). However, as Fernando Ríos (2008) points out, many Latin American musicians were already producing, from the Western center in the 1950s, music apparently folkloric but constructed from a modern-cosmopolitan consciousness, counting among their objectives to reach audiences outside their national cultures.

In the cases reviewed in this article, the promotional difference between Monitor’s and Paredon’s records is prominent, despite the fact that the repertoires and artists they broadcast coincided notably. On the one hand, Monitor uses a celebratory language that highlights the quality of the new creations, moving away from

the traditionalist models that sought authenticity in ethnic recordings and in the dissemination of more conventional folklore. Palominos (2022) has also proposed that groups such as Inti-Illimani approached the *ethos* of world music by integrating musical aspects of Italian music in their new compositions, adopting a hybrid air and trying to insert themselves in a multicultural context. On the other hand, Paredon aimed at a politicized audience, oriented towards international solidarity, omitting any aestheticizing rhetoric in their productions. In that sense, the world music label was further away from these records, not so much because of their sonic differences, but because of their strategies and audiences to which they were probably aimed at and where they eventually circulated.

Ethnomusicological representations in recordings

The close relationship between the development of sound recording and ethnomusicology has been extensively discussed and documented. As Kay Kaufman Shelemay (1991) showed decades ago, this relationship is not limited to the use of technology in fieldwork, but rather it involves a connection with the phonographic industry throughout the 20th century. Thus, she reviews how different recording formats are used in ethnography: cylinders, 78 rpm records, long-playing vinyl records (LP), and cassettes. According to the author, transformations in the industry affect ethnomusicological work in terms of practices and uses that are given to the recording. Shelemay (1991) provides two very suggestive examples for our case study. On the one hand, she explains how the economic crisis of 1929 motivated a virtual abandonment of “ethnic” music from the catalogs of the major companies, as they concentrated primarily on the cultivation of mass audiences. At the same time, the author points out an increasingly clear interest on the part of ethnomusicological institutions in the preservation of the musical practices that were being recorded, proposing the idea that they should avoid the interruption of their traditions that could be caused by the recording machines. On the other hand, the massification of the LP in the 1950s, which allowed the recording of longer segments of music, prompted researchers doing fieldwork to adapt their experiences to accommodate to the format, leading to the rapid emergence of “a new genre of scholarly ethnic recordings intended for a market beyond the ethnic community” (SHELEMAY, 1991, p. 283).

Although I have not investigated in detail the specific reception of recordings dealing with Chilean music, I suspect that some of the collections now housed at the Smithsonian Institution were of potential importance for ethnomusicological research. In particular, the Folkways Records catalog has been identified as a relevant source for Alan Lomax’s analyses, since in the mid-20th century commercial phonographic material covering diverse and extensive areas of the “world” was

scarce. Recall that the iconic *Cantometrics* project emerges, to some extent, as an ideological response in Lomax's interaction with the world of recording technology (SHELEMAY, 1991, p. 284). In this case, we know that Lomax arranged with Moses Asch to explore the unpublished Folkways archive in New York (WOOD, 2018, p. 405). Not only did he explore the catalog in search of African American "tribal voices", but he also noted and made brief observations about the Mexican and Venezuelan recordings, for example. About the Venezuelan record, conducted by folklorist Juan Liscano and supervised by Charles Seeger, Lomax values its *in situ* recording. But above all, Lomax says:

[T]hese records offer the most convincing evidence that it is cultural exchange and competition, not isolation and purity, which are essential to the vitality of folk and primitive music. This is precisely the reason that this hemisphere has produced so many new and vital musical forms in recent centuries. Here the many peoples met, and swapped songs in an atmosphere of peace and relative democracy (LOMAX, 2003, p. 114).

Likewise, Lomax himself, together with his collaborator, the ethnomusicologist Victor Grauer, prepared a collection of recordings to be published by Folkways Records in the mid-1960s, but it seems that the project did not prosper because the written introduction was never finished (AVERILL, 2003, p. 236). With this background, it is necessary to ask how the sound recordings preserved and disseminated by Folkways and its successors have served or can serve the ethnomusicological research of remote spaces and what kind of differentiation strategies – i.e., genres, subjects, themes – operate in the circulation and understanding of the musical practices they present.

Regarding the participation of researchers in the production of records, it is important to note that the elaboration of representational discourses by ethnomusicologists has been a constitutive dimension of the discipline. As Philip Bohlman (1991) pointed out decades ago, it is precisely the exercise of *cultural critique* that materializes in ethnomusicological writing. With the aim of bringing the music of other cultures closer to one's own, multiple rhetorical modes are employed, ultimately reflecting "the changing ways in which the music of the Other is engaged and appropriated" (BOHLMAN, 1991, p. 143). In this sense, the elaboration of explanatory discourses to reach and sensitize audiences has been part of ethnomusicological work and, in particular, of those who collaborated in the production of "ethnic" recordings for the phonographic market.

In the case of Monitor, I have noted the participation of Henrietta Yurchenco, who promoted a stereotypical view of South American music through her presentation of the records performed by María Luisa Buchino. The relationship of this specific discourse and the Indigenous research practices that Yurchenco carried out

regarding other regions of Latin America (MINKS, 2021) merits a deeper review that may help to recognize the impact of ethnomusicological networks in labels such as Monitor. For its part, the Paredon label corresponds to a punctual initiative motivated by political activism, in which the elaboration of written discourses is reduced to propaganda and little importance is given to sonorous-performative specificities.

Concluding remarks

This article has investigated the strategies used to include Chilean “folkloric” music in productions intended for an international audience, preferably North American, between the 1950s and 1980s. It opens with a reflection on the circulation of *other* voices of the world (PEREIRA, 2012) before the installation of a *distributed listening* associated with *world music* (KASSABIAN, 2008). As we have seen, not only traces of the exoticism attributed to the phonographic records of comparative musicology are identified, but also features of commercial exchange and the exploitation of international circuits, of greater or lesser scale.

The visibilization of these productions and their examination as a whole from the transversal review of the labels’ catalogs allow for a more complex history of the internationalization of Chilean folkloric music, which has focused on European circulation and transatlantic relations. Thus, at the same time that Violeta Parra’s first trip to Europe was taking place, whose recording for the French label Le Chant du Monde in 1956 is considered by Simón Palominos (2022) as a foundational milestone of the contact between Chilean folk music and world music (in the loose sense he gives it), what seems also to be an inaugural record of Chilean music was being recorded in the United States for a record label with an educational vocation and which sought the understanding of the peoples of the world through song.

But, as this oblique look at the Chilean discography in Folkways, Monitor and Paredon shows, the phonographic production of musics of the peoples of the world obeyed heterogeneous logics, combining didactic, investigative, political, and, of course, commercial objectives. Therefore, thinking about the sound images they produced and released implies questioning the conceptual frameworks on which they are based, as well as exploring the tensions that are inevitably generated in the encounter between cultures, institutions, and peoples.

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Sound Script

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