

CONTEMPORARY TRENDS IN FOLKLORE RESEARCH

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TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO FOLKLORE SCHOLARSHIP IN LATIN AMERICA WAS the result of the efforts of a handful of professionals and the contributions of a body of devoted amateurs, who operated independently and in isolation from one another. Today the changing picture of Latin American folklore research makes a review of the field highly appropriate. Outwardly there has been an increasing frequency and variety of publication, but more significant is a basic concern with a definition of folklore that will satisfy Latin American scholars. Accompanying this concern with a philosophy of folklore scholarship is an increasing emphasis upon methodology and the organization of folklore studies. Financial support for folklore investigation is more likely to be forthcoming now than a generation ago, although unfortunately there are exceptions.

The amateurs are still on the scene and probably will continue to be, as in the United States, where they have long supported and complemented the professional folklorist in investigating and providing material in such fields as the legend, local history, popular medicine, belief, and the folk song. In Latin America, their role is in diminishing importance with the emergence of carefully trained folklorists, scholars who are aware of the techniques employed by European and North American investigators, yet strive to maintain a Latin American identity.

The transition toward a professional approach has in general been a relatively smooth one. Established folklorists have facilitated the process by providing a number of carefully prepared manuals and guides that contain detailed, explicit instructions regarding procedures for collecting, organizing, and archiving material. The authors of the guides wisely have limited themselves to those steps involved in presenting collectanea and have generally avoided anything beyond a minimal concern with folklore theory. Usually such manuals are geared to the folklore of an individual country, including even the minor items of its tradition, so that the users will not overlook any significant features, as, for example, in Renato Almeida, *Manual de coleta folclórica* (1965), Isabel Aretz, *Manual de folklore venezolano* (1957), Efraín Morote Best, "Guía para la recolección de material folklórico" (1951), and Paulo de Carvalho-Neto, *La investigación folklórica: fases y técnicas*, (1962). The item of Carvalho-Neto, although not limited to work by individual folklorists, is devoted primarily to field investigation by teams. In a highly

readable book, Augusto Raúl Cortázar outlines an intelligent field technique and illustrates it with pertinent reminiscences from collecting experiences in northwestern Argentina (1964). A comparable guide for folklorists in the United States dates only from 1964 (Goldstein, 1964) and a comparison of the two points up the contrasting cultural background of the areas concerned. Whereas those sections that deal with the gathering and processing of folklore material show relatively little disagreement, there are significant divergences in those activities that center upon the human relationship between the field collector and the informant.

Those manuals already mentioned are of value primarily for the investigator who undertakes a field project. A different type of guide is envisioned in Paulo de Carvalho-Neto, "Guía de folklore comparado" (1965b), who hopes to facilitate comparative studies in Hispanic and Latin American folklore. His device is a standard form for reporting folklore items or phenomena, which he refers to as "hechos folklóricos," including all genres of folklore with the exception of the folktale, for which established classification systems already exist. Carvalho is concerned with published materials only, not the reporting of materials in manuscripts or archives, that can be consulted by the researcher. He illustrates the process by citing forty-four "hechos folklóricos" that include songs, verses, popular medicine, games, and tongue twisters. Folklorists are invited to report other folklore items with a citation of the source in each case. Carvalho's proposal has two clear implications. The first, expressed in his article, is to lay the basis for a guide to Latin American folklore, a work or a series of volumes that will treat themes recurrent in the tradition of the area and thus provide comparative data that make possible a geographical and perhaps an historical dimension to what would otherwise be a local study fixed in time and place. The other implication is a reflection of a problem that often confronts the Latin American folklorist who would undertake a comparative study, i.e., the paucity of suitable reference works. Certainly the problem is by no means peculiar to Latin America, although Carvalho's intent is to serve investigators in that area. If there is widespread response to his plea, the "Guía de folklore comparado" may eventually realize both these aims.

There has been no dearth of general studies prepared in the main by professional folklorists for the purposes of expounding folklore theory and delimiting the boundaries of the subject matter. In the best recent listing of such works (Carvalho-Neto: 1965: 169–171) one notes more than forty, contributed principally by Argentine and Brazilian authors. They represent a variety of points of view but there is a fairly clear division between anthropologists on one hand and humanists on the other. One of the most frequently debated issues has had to do with the boundaries of folklore, as to whether or not folklorists should concern themselves with the cultures of indigenous

groups of America in addition to the transplanted European cultures, or limit themselves strictly to the latter. The prevailing attitude has been to include indigenous material, as Carvalho maintains (1965: 118). Whether or not to include consideration of material culture in folklore has likewise been a subject of discussion, but the preference has been not to restrict the investigator to materials present in oral tradition only. José María Arguedas, a disinterested Peruvian folklorist, remarks (Merino de Zela: ix) that Ralph S. Boggs, the foremost North American scholar devoted to the study of Latin American folklore, and most Latin Americans themselves "consideran la cultura total como campo de estudio del folklore."

Folklorists have long enjoyed excellent bibliographical guides to Latin American publications. Ralph S. Boggs produced two pioneering works, one for all Latin America (1940) and another (1939) devoted exclusively to the folklore of Mexico, both of which are remarkably thorough for the time when they were published. These bibliographies have not been replaced but abundant Latin American material is contained in the annual folklore bibliography published in the March number of the *Southern Folklore Quarterly* since 1938. National bibliographies began to appear elsewhere in Latin America in the 1940's. Cortázar's pioneering volume for Argentina became available in 1942. Pereira Salas prepared a basic guide for Chile (1952) and the pace has since accelerated. Those published since 1960 are extremely usable and are arranged according to the accepted divisions of folklore in the larger bibliographies, or according to individual themes.

The bibliographies and their introductions afford another insight into the present state of Latin American folklore, its problems and the variety of scholars and writers who are active in the subject. Typical of the situation that the compiler faces is that expressed by José María Arguedas in his initial remarks to the *Bibliografía del folklore peruano* (Merino de Zela: 1960: ix):

Intentar una bibliografía del folklore presenta dificultades muy particulares, siendo la mayor de todas el hecho de que no se ha delimitado el campo de estudio de esta ciencia ni siquiera ni con la muy relativa convención que existe respecto a las otras ciencias sociales.

Arguedas nevertheless is able to establish workable ground rules for the organization of the bibliography. He does this despite the disparate quality and the extreme thematic variety of the items included and their wide dispersion in journals and periodicals. He presents in synthesis the two groups of folklorists who are represented in the volume. First are the folklorists, anthropologists, ethnohistorians, and sociologists, such as Hermilio Valdizán, Ángel Maldonado, Federico Schwab, Luis E. Valcárcel, Uriel García, Jorge C. Muelle, and John Rowe, the last named an eminent North American who taught for a

time in the Universidad Nacional del Cuzco. They have undertaken systematic research in folklore and have at the same time trained students in the principal universities of the country. Arguedas then goes on to the second group (Merino de Zela: ix):

Excepto la obra de estos profesores y la de sus alumnos en las Universidades del Cuzco y Lima, y la del médico, doctor Arturo Jiménez Borja, nuestra bibliografía ha debido recoger informaciones de aficionados y de amantes de lo popular. Es ésta una muy cuantiosa literatura, gran parte de ella publicada en periódicos y revistas de provincias.

From these sources the compilers list 1809 items, including books, pamphlets, and articles.

Similar works from other countries index folklore material contributed by the same two types of folklorists indicated by Arguedas. Antonio Paredes Candia (1961) records and evaluates nearly two hundred items from Bolivia, a country where folklorists have not been particularly active. Similarly, two recent bibliographies from Ecuador (Guevara: 1964; Carvalho-Neto: 1964a) are symptomatic of the accelerated activity by folklorists in that country. Carvalho-Neto's compilation of 179 items served as the basis for his *Antología del folklore ecuatoriano* (1964), a carefully prepared volume that provides a sampling of Ecuadorean folklorists as well as the "amantes de lo popular" cited by José María Arguedas. The heading "folklore" includes items 1355 through 1405 in the bibliographical volume prepared for delegates to the XXXV International Congress of Americanists (1962).

Bibliographers, however, are showing increasing objectivity and discrimination as to whether to include specific items and in the comments and evaluations they make concerning such entries. This tendency is clearly noticeable in the compilations of Argentine folklore prepared by the Fondo Nacional de las Artes. These have been prepared under the supervision of Augusto Raúl Cortázar, an experienced folklorist of international stature, who has followed carefully considered guide lines. The basic bibliography of Argentine folklore (Fondo de las Artes: 1965) lists 923 items of book length in nineteen categories which are determined partly by the writer's procedure and partly by his volume's subject matter. Typical headings are folklore bibliographies, methods and techniques of research, the science of folklore, encyclopedias and dictionaries, collections of essays and articles, directories and guides, teaching of folklore, anthologies and miscellaneous collections, history of folklore, general or comprehensive works, magic and superstition, religion and worship, sociological and legal aspects of folklore, language, popular scientific belief, the folklore of industry and technology, aesthetic folklore, literary folklore, and folklore of geographic and historical content. The categories are those de-

terminated by the delegates to the Congreso Internacional de Folklore that met in Buenos Aires in December, 1960. The divisions, coupled with a careful index of authors, make the bibliography an extremely useful one. Moreover, its value as a research tool is enhanced by the discriminating comments that accompany many of the entries.

In addition to the general bibliography noted above, thematic bibliographies have begun to make their appearance in this series. The first of these, prepared by Susana Chertudi de Nardi (1963), is indicative of an awakened interest in folktale scholarship in Argentina, which will be discussed in detail later in this article. Mrs. Nardi's compilation of "El cuento folklórico y literario regional" was preceded by an article "Bibliografía del cuento folklórico de la Argentina" (1960), which she declares is the first attempt in Argentina at a work of this type. In this earlier compilation, she excludes what she calls "los relatos explicativos," which she considers more closely affiliated with the myth than the folktale and gives careful definitions of other forms of the oral narrative, including the *caso*, the *apólogo*, and the *fábula*. The items included, then, are strictly limited to the folktale. Mrs. Nardi's later bibliography (1963) has been prepared with equal care and contains three principal divisions of works: 1. works devoted strictly to folk tales (36 titles), 2. literary re-workings of folk tales (71 titles), 3. literary short stories that are set in a folk culture (78 titles). The two folklore bibliographies that have appeared in this series have set rigid standards for others that will doubtless follow.

The transition in folklore studies, of which the works cited thus far have been symptomatic, has been away from investigation of specific problems by individual folklorists and in the direction of more ambitious programs requiring the co-ordination of a number of investigators who engage in research on a relatively extensive problem. The latter type of folklore activity has two major implications, the first involving organizing and financing of such a program and the second the actual research techniques employed. These implications will be considered in the order mentioned.

In support of funds to finance their studies, folklorists have turned first to their national governments or one of their agencies. In the larger countries, government officials have not turned a deaf ear, with the result that funds have ordinarily been available to finance research, at least to a limited extent. Governmental recognition has also led to the establishment, for better or for worse, of official or semi-official organizations devoted to a variety of folklore activities. Usually official recognition exists in the form of an "Instituto," either attached to a government ministry or a university supported by it. In practically all these institutes, research is given a high priority, especially in those that are directly connected to a university administration. In some countries, as in Argentina and Chile, the idea of research figures prominently in the name

itself of the institute, as, for example, in Chile's Instituto de Investigaciones Folklóricas "Ramon A. Laval."

Other related activities also may be the institute's responsibility. One of these, of course, is the publication of the investigations of the staff and other recognized folklorists, either in a journal published by the institute or in its series of monographic publications. These vehicles are the source of the majority of serious works presently appearing in Latin America.

Teaching activities are often geared to research, particularly in the training and guidance of young folklorists. Before the establishment of the institutes, the training of new scholars was at best sporadic if not impossible. At the same time, institutes maintain contact with primary and secondary school teachers throughout the country. Through summer courses their staff aids the school teachers in the utilization of local folk material in their teaching and thus relates folklore to education. In this connection, folklore, then, is one of the devices employed in the shaping of a national consciousness. The teachers, who have knowledge of their local cultural situations, are in a position to assist field workers during their investigations *in situ* by indicating profitable themes to pursue and even suggesting local informants. Finally, the institute coordinates whatever folklore programs the government may sponsor, reports on the activities of the country's professional folklorists, and maintains contact with folklore organizations and research in other countries. As a result of this final activity, Latin American folklorists have become increasingly well known to their counterparts in Europe and North America.

At least five national institutes primarily concerned with research are active in Latin America. No organizations of this nature have been intentionally omitted in the comments that follow. They will be considered in alphabetical order by country.

Argentina: Instituto Nacional de Antropología, Julián Cáceres Freyre, director. The current institute, which was established November 7, 1960, has replaced the Instituto Nacional de Filología y Folklore, which in turn dated from 1956. Before the latter date, during the Perón administration, official folklore had been centered in the Instituto Nacional de la Tradición under the direction of the late Juan Alfonso Carrizo (1895-1957). In addition to the various aspects of the oral tradition of the country, the contemporary institute devotes considerable attention to the material culture of rural Argentina, both in its series publications and in its *Boletín*, the first number of which appeared in 1960.

Brazil: Campanha de Defesa do Folklore Brasileiro, Renato Almeida, director. This organization is supported by the Ministerio da Educação e Cultura. Despite its name, the Campanha's program is similar to that of other institutes in that it supports a program of publications and co-ordinates folk-

lore activities of Brazilian scholars. The guiding body of the Campanha, composed of Brazil's foremost professional folklorists, has as one of its principal concerns the promotion of a scholarly approach in the description, analysis, and presentation of that country's varied and rich folklore.

Chile: Instituto de Investigaciones Folklóricas "Ramon A. Laval," Yolando Pino Saavedra, director. This institute operates under the Facultad de Filosofía y Educación of the Universidad de Chile. It is strongly research oriented and reflects the distinct quality of Germanic scholarship that has been apparent in Chilean folklore research since the pioneer works of Rodolfo Lenz in the late nineteenth century. This institute publishes the *Archivos del folklore chileno*.

Ecuador: Instituto del Folklore Ecuatoriano, Leonardo Tejada, executive director, and Paulo de Carvalho-Neto, adviser. Ecuador has not had the tradition of folklore scholarship present in other Latin American countries where institutes exist. Consequently this organization is of recent establishment and owes its existence to the persistence and the presence in Quito of Prof. Carvalho-Neto, cultural attaché of the Brazilian embassy there. The institute is a section of the Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana, a semi-official organization. It published the first number of its *Revista del folklore ecuatoriano* in October, 1965, receiving financial support from the Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana and the Banco Central del Ecuador.

Venezuela: Instituto de Folklore, Luis Felipe Ramón y Rivera, director. Venezuela's institute operates under the Dirección de Cultura y Bellas Artes of the Ministerio de Educación. A successor to the Servicio de Investigaciones de Folklore Nacional, the Instituto de Folklore undertakes research in a wide variety of aspects of folklore, including folk music, for which Prof. Ramón y Rivera and his wife, Isabel Aretz, are extremely well prepared. Isabel Aretz is the author of a clearly written and useful account of the organization and activities of this institute (1962). Reference will be made later to the research methods described in her short but informative article. Venezuela has been fortunate in that intelligent direction and adequate financial support have existed in combination. The first number of the *Boletín del Instituto de Folklore* appeared in September, 1953.

Two organizations that are at least nominally of international scope have their headquarters in Latin America. The first of these is the Comité Interamericano de Folklore, created by the Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia at its fourth assembly in Caracas in 1946. Composed of twenty-three folklorists from fourteen American countries, the Comité's principal activity is the publication in Lima of the journal *Folklore americano*, with Luis E. Valcárcel as director and José María Arguedas as secretary. Consequently its

main purpose is the publication of the results of folklore research. The other organization is the Comisión Permanente de Folklore, established by the Congreso Internacional de Folklore that met in Buenos Aires in 1960. The Argentine government has since extended official recognition to this Comisión, which under its president, Augusto Raúl Cortázar, and its secretary, Félix Coluccio, has been active in promoting international contacts among folklore scholars.

The picture of organized folklore research in Mexico is quite distinct from the national scene in those countries where formal institutes exist. Folklorists have received research support from a number of government dependencies, notably the Instituto Nacional Indigenista, the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, the Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, and the Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas but unfortunately folklore has usually been peripheral to other fields of research, e.g., anthropology, history, fine arts, and linguistics. As a result, folklore study as such has had relatively little continuity. Furthermore, the Instituto Nacional Indigenista, whose journal *América Indígena* occasionally publishes folklore material, has considered the oral tradition only of the indigenous element of Mexico's people, as the organization's name implies. With a few notable exceptions scholars have paid little attention to the remainder of the country's population. The principal exception, of course, has been Vicente T. Mendoza, but with his death in October, 1964, the country has been left without an outstanding folklorist. No young scholars are being trained and the future of folklore research is uncertain at best.

In Colombia the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología has given consistent recognition to folklore in its research activities and publications, particularly through the *Revista colombiana de folclor*. Although its primary concern is research in literary and philological subjects, the Instituto Caro y Cuervo has generously printed significant studies of aspects of Colombian folklore in its bulletin *Thesaurus*. These generally have dealt with problems of folk speech or the relationship between popular vocabulary and material culture, as in Luis Flórez, *Habla y cultura popular en Antioquia* (1957), one of the Caro y Cuervo's serial publications. Both research and publication of folklore have been hampered by the country's political and economic situation during the past two decades.

The state of research in Cuba since the advent of the Castro government is not completely clear, despite an official preoccupation with the sponsorship of folklore organizations. A Departamento de Folklore has been set up in the Biblioteca Nacional and in the Teatro Nacional. In addition to the publication of monographs and journals, the latter department apparently is concerned

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with the training of research personnel, as reported by a contemporary Cuban writer on a Cuban folklore theme (Alzola: 1961: 24):

En el propio Departamento se ha organizado un Seminario de estudiosos destinado a preparar futuros investigadores, y esas actividades se reflejan en un pequeño *Boletín*, que contiene además modelos e interrogatorios, que puedan ser llenados por los propios informantes.

This writer has not seen the *Boletín* referred to nor can he pass judgment on the quality of the research training imparted. Judging from those volumes presently available in the United States, the most active folklore center in Cuba is at the Universidad de las Villas in Santa Clara under the directorship of Samuel Feijoó. The volumes of that university's "Biblioteca Folklórica" contain material long since out of print or collectanea not presently available to scholars outside of Cuba.

Whereas the presence of organized centers may be indicative of serious research in a given country, no clear picture of folklore research can be gained without some consideration of procedural problems peculiar to the area and how these are handled. In this respect the folklore institutes have exerted notable influence upon methodology and have introduced innovations particularly in field techniques and the training of new scholars. Their contribution has been less significant in other aspects of methodology, but this is understandable in the light of the procedures and theories currently employed by scholars of international stature. Two approaches can be cited which are pertinent to Latin American folklore studies. The first is the comparative method, employed by the so-called Finnish school of narrative scholars. It seeks to establish authoritative texts through the collation and comparison of numerous variant forms of the same item, be it a narrative, belief, proverb, riddle, or ballad, gathered in the field in various geographic areas, cultures, or language situations. Thus the method is concerned with routes of diffusion and ultimately origins. It has been employed widely by folktale scholars in Europe and the United States. The other is a monographic treatment that seeks to present a description as nearly complete as possible of the total folklore of a community or perhaps a region. Thus the material is not restricted to a single item or even a genre of folklore. The investigator strives for as great a variety as possible and constantly seeks to show interrelationships between items from different genres. The purpose, then, is to present an integrated view of the community's tradition rather than a fractured or compartmentalized treatment.

A comparative study customarily involves what Latin American folklorists term a *trabajo de gabinete*, one done in a library or in one's office which is well stocked with the necessary reference works and published materials pertaining to the subject. It requires for its successful preparation a research library,

an establishment that requires for its original stocking and continued maintenance and operation a considerable investment and expenditure. Simply for economic reasons, few Latin American investigators have such a library at their disposal. Nevertheless, they recognize the validity of the comparative approach, especially when Latin American material is closely related to Old World traditional patterns. One recalls Carvalho-Neto's "Guía de folklore comparado" mentioned above (1965b), which is a device aimed at facilitating precisely this type of study. The method, particularly in folktale scholarship, is gaining momentum, as demonstrated by recent Argentine (Chertudi: 1960, 1964) and Chilean (Pino Saavedra: 1960–1963) publications of tale collections with appropriate scholarly apparatus.

Despite a variety of problems and obstacles, field collecting and a straightforward presentation of material against its geographic and cultural background is probably more easily accomplished than a *trabajo de gabinete*. The process can be carried through with considerable personal satisfaction and a feeling of reward by a single investigator. The field worker in such circumstances frequently has the advantage of an intimate knowledge of the community he is investigating. He is not necessarily a folklorist with professional training, and thus may profit by the various manuals prepared for the guidance of the solitary collector, exhorting him to refrain from literary adornment of his material, to present his texts respecting throughout the informant's idiosyncracies of syntax and vocabulary, and to note carefully the cultural and personal framework in which an item occurs, with special attention to the role of the individual informant. Material gathered and presented by this process can be utilized later by the folklorist in the preparation of his *trabajo de gabinete*.

Individual field work and research will continue, yet with the development of the national research centers one research technique has come into frequent use, made possible by improved economic support and by the presence in a single organization of a multiple number of trained folklorists who can focus simultaneously upon various aspects of the same problem. This is the *trabajo de equipo* or the team approach, which is clearly appropriate for investigating a community's folklore in that the actual field work is divided among the various team members. It permits a member of the team to prepare for a specific type of investigation by devoting himself to that aspect of folk culture with which he is most familiar and thus perform his duties with a greater degree of proficiency and concentration. It is then the task of the director of the team to co-ordinate the efforts of the individual field workers and call attention to possible interrelationships between genres. The preparation of the monographic study normally is also the responsibility of the director. The approach not only saves time spent in the field but results in a broader view of the

traditional culture of the community than if a single investigator were engaged in the task. Folklorists and linguists in Europe and now Latin America have profitably employed the procedure, but it has not taken hold in the United States.

The functioning of this type of investigation is demonstrated by the Venezuelan Instituto de Folklore, whose effective team has been composed of Luis Felipe Ramón y Rivera as director, Miguel Cardona (since deceased), Abilio Reyes, Gustavo Luis Carrera, Pilar Almoína de Carrera, and Isabel Aretz. The last named investigator (1962: 1) provides detailed information:

Whenever possible, these six specialists work as a team on field trips. The Institute places at their disposal a Jeep station wagon, and light, modern equipment of all kinds: tape recorders which operate on batteries or outside electrical sources, motion picture and still cameras for either black-and-white or color photography, folding aluminum cots, cooking equipment, and other equipment for trips to out-of-the-way places.

The Venezuelan team clearly has an advantage over most such groups in that its director Luis Felipe Ramón y Rivera and his wife, Isabel Aretz, are accomplished ethnomusicologists. In the community or regional type of investigation where a team is at work, an ethnomusicologist is practically a necessity and the folklorist who is trained along these lines has additional tools at his disposal as clearly demonstrated in the Mexican study *Folklore de San Pedro Piedra Gorda* (Mendoza: 1952), which admirably relates the folk music of the community to other aspects of its oral tradition.

Field workers under the direction of Paulo de Carvalho-Neto have employed the team technique in the investigation of popular fiestas in highland Ecuador towns. The introduction to *Folklore de Licán y Sicalpa* (Instituto Ecuatoriano de Folklore: 1962: 7–9) outlines the organization of the procedure, from the preliminary steps of consulting background bibliographical works and setting up a suitable questionnaire, through the actual contacts with informants in Licán and Sicalpa, and the final preparation and publication of the materials obtained. Team members were assigned to the following activities: general background description, filling in the questionnaire on specific features of the fiesta (five members), preparation of drawings of visual aspects, taking of photographs, and the making of sound recordings. Another member prepared the musical notation and technical description of the music recorded in the field and Jorge Enrique Adoum was given the task of editing the materials for publication. Subsequent publications are based on essentially the same procedure. Carvalho-Neto's "Folklore de Imbabura" (1965a), devoted largely to a description of the festivities of St. John's day in the town of Otavalo, is the work of a team of seven, which, however, has produced a more

finished product than the *Folklore de Licán y Sicalpa*. Certainly the quality and value of a team effort are enhanced by the added field experience of each participating member and in each succeeding publication Ecuadorean folklorists show the cumulative effects of this experience.

Obviously one of the benefits of the technique is that it provides training for younger folklorists under the direction of an established scholar. This is recognized in the introduction to *Renca: folklore puntano* (Instituto Nacional de Filología y Folklore: 1958: 7–8), a study of a community situated in the Argentine province of San Luis by a team of five on the basis of short visits on two occasions in 1956:

Tuvo dos fines: uno docente y otro científico. Se procuró ahondar en el conocimiento de la vida popular tradicional de las provincias argentinas, ejercitar a los participantes en la práctica, sobre el terreno, de los métodos y técnicas de la investigación folklórica y, al mismo tiempo, documentar el folklore regional mediante la anotación directa, las grabaciones fonoelectricas, la fotografía y la cinematografía.

The training of team personnel is not restricted simply to folklore material pertinent to the team project. All three accounts noted above include references to the use of supplementary photographic and sound recording devices. Motion pictures are of inestimable value in any investigation of folk dances and fiestas and magnetic tape recordings have such a variety of uses that the field collector can no longer afford to do without them. They are indispensable to the ethnomusicologist and to the field worker in the oral narrative, where they are much more revealing of an informant's storytelling style than the laborious process of manuscript notation in use until recently. Training in the use of these devices is a *sine qua non* of the serious folklore researcher in Latin America and their utilization will not only make folklore material available in greater abundance but will also exert a noticeable effect on the quality and style of that material.

It is appropriate to cite at this point two major works that illustrate the type of folklore study that can be achieved through the combination of experienced investigators who focus on the same problem. Both works are regional in scope and both involve the treatment of a variety of genres. The studies are Vicente T. Mendoza and Virginia Rodríguez Rivera, *El folklore de San Pedro Piedra Gorda* (Mendoza: 1952), and Luis Felipe Ramón y Rivera and Isabel Aretz, *Folklore tachireense* (Ramón y Rivera and Aretz: 1961–1963). They are in each case the product of a special type of team, composed of a husband and wife. Such teams are by no means rare among Latin American folklorists. One can mention also Ricardo L. J. Nardi and Susana Chertudi de Nardi in Argentina and Manuel F. Zárate and Dora Pérez de Zárate in Panama.

The *Folklore de San Pedro Piedra Gorda* presents the voluminous tradi-

tional material of a small community of the Mexican state of Zacatecas. Almost all the data were provided by members of a single family, former residents of San Pedro in the 1890's, which at that time was an hacienda. The Mendozas treat all the type of folklore present in San Pedro: music, children's games, dances, folk drama, folk narrative, legends, customs and fiestas, belief, food and drink, popular medicine, folk speech, proverbs, and riddles. Whereas many folklorists are able to provide only the words of ballads, folk songs, children's games, and folk drama, among other such forms, this volume presents abundant musical examples for these and other folklore items, so that nearly half of the volume's five hundred pages is devoted to texts accompanied by musical notation. Those sections dealing with the oral narrative, particularly the traditional folktale, are weak when compared with other genres, a state that can be attributed in large part to the reliance upon a limited number of informants and to the generally languishing state of folktale studies in Mexico. The real contribution of the volume, however, is the depiction of the folk tradition of a Mexican community in the 1890's, complete with background data provided by the informants to place this material in perspective. Mexico has produced no other folklore study comparable to this. One dealing with the contemporary folklore of a community would be extremely welcome.

Employing up-to-date recording devices and the techniques of the Instituto de Folklore, Luis Felipe Ramón y Rivera and Isabel Aretz have put together a comprehensive picture of the folklore of the state of Táchira, located in extreme western Venezuela. As did the Mendozas, the authors include carefully transcribed and edited texts. Their material is considerably more extensive, however, than that from Zacatecas and more comparative devices are used to place it within the general structure of Hispanic and Latin American tradition. All genres of folklore are represented: music (both instrumental and vocal), folk verse (including six hundred four-line *coplas* and nearly forty ballad-like *corridos*), belief and folk medicine, food and drink, custom (with attention to significant ritual events of both children and adults), folk theater (which shows little vigor), an extensive section on children's games, and a thorough treatment of the material culture of the state. Although Ramón y Rivera and his accomplished wife are expert musicologists, there is no overbalance in that direction. They have overlooked little and have not dwelt upon any particular subject at the expense of another. In all, they have achieved an enviable balance. At a number of points the technique of the investigator is apparent. Popular definitions and explanations are expressed in the words of the informants themselves and occasionally a complete dialogue between the field worker and the informant is reproduced, revealing the course of questioning that the investigator has pursued. The extent and variety of the folk material from Táchira have in no way led to a superficial treatment. The length of the

work (three volumes that total over 1,300 pages) allows a handling of the area's folklore with penetration and in ample dimensions.

Although community and regional studies are badly needed and they present an attractive challenge to the folklorist, relatively few scholars possess the professional preparation, the resources, or even the time to undertake one. The bulk of folklore research is accomplished within the boundaries of one of the generally recognized genres: general folklore, prose narrative (which comprises the myth, legend, and folktale), folk verse (with established subdivisions of ballad, *copla*, and popular regional forms), folk music, dance, game, custom and festival, drama, food and drink, belief (including popular medicine), folk speech, proverb, riddle, and material culture. These subdivisions have not been equally attractive to scholars. The oral narrative, folk verse, drama, the proverb, folk speech, and to some extent the riddle have drawn the attention of scholars with a literary or philological orientation, who constitute the majority of folklorists operating in Latin America. Musicologists, who treat folk music and its relation to folk verse and drama, and folklorists with training in anthropology, working in nearly all branches of the field, are contributing increasingly, but the volume of their scholarship still does not approach that of those who are concerned with problems of oral literature or folk speech. Their orientations, however, add refreshing variety to the total picture.

Certain patterns are apparent in the scholarship relating to oral literature, whether in verse or the narrative. To some extent the patterns are determined by the peculiar qualities of Hispanic or Portuguese tradition. Elsewhere they represent the development of conventional research techniques and in recent years the introduction of procedures from outside the usual channels of Hispanic or Latin American scholarship. I shall examine these with the idea of presenting a synthesis of a number of aspects of current scholarship and its trends. This aim will explain any absence of reference to certain individual works, in view of the impossibility of noting them all.

The abundance of forms expressed in verse in the folklore of Latin America early drew the attention of collectors, not a few of whom were rank amateurs. Until the 1940's folklorists gave priority to the verse form itself, even in those cases when it was exclusively sung and not recited. Hence the numerous and extensive collections of verses with no hint as to the nature of the music sung by the informants or their instrumental accompaniment. Since the 1940's, with increasing frequency studies have presented not only the text but its musical notation, reflecting the contribution of musicologists in Argentina, Chile, Mexico, and Venezuela.

The obligatory starting point for any consideration of folk poetry in Hispanic America is Merle E. Simmons, *A Bibliography of the "Romance" and Re-*

lated Forms in Spanish America (1963). The bibliography is concerned first with the forms of the medieval Spanish *romance* or ballad genre that reached the New World during the colonial period and still survives there. This end of the bibliography is definitely a closed end. The other, that of the "related forms," is not, and includes almost any kind of folk verse that can be considered a relative or a descendent of that peninsular Spanish genre. The result is a comprehensive listing of 2,108 items, many of them with descriptive or evaluating comments to guide the user. It does not, unfortunately, contain any references to Brazil. A careful bibliography dealing with the varied and abundant folk verse of that country would supplement admirably Simmons' work.

As far as the traditional Spanish *romance* is concerned, the pattern of scholarship has not been determined entirely in America. Rather, it has been affected by peninsular Spanish scholars who have sought in America examples of ballads current in medieval Spain. The foremost of these has been Ramón Menéndez Pidal, who, although a nonagenarian, is still active in ballad criticism. An early impetus to scholarship in Latin America was the visit in the first decade of this century of Menéndez Pidal to Argentina, Chile, Peru, Colombia, and other countries of Spanish America for the purpose of cementing cultural relations between Spain and her former American colonies. A product of his contacts with ballad collectors was his article "Los romances tradicionales en América" (1906), but it also inspired a series of books and monographs by Latin American scholars (Vicuña Cifuentes: 1912, Poncet y Cárdenas: 1914, Chacón y Calvo: 1914, among others). The problems facing collectors of ballads of this type have not changed greatly since this first cycle of studies. It has been a question of locating and recording variants, then determining peninsular Spanish origins and noting their diffusion in America. When compared with the variety of *romance* material available in Spain, the number of ballad themes that came to America was quite limited. The boundaries of the province of *romance* scholarship are somewhat narrow, as revealed by the better national collections in this genre (Henríquez Ureña and Wolfe: 1925, Cadilla de Martínez: 1933, Garrido: 1946, Romero: 1952, Espinosa: 1953, Navarrete: 1963).

Latin American folklorists have been attracted more by the New World descendents of the *romance* and other verse and music forms that have thrived on this side of the Atlantic. The more significant of these have been the *corrido*, cultivated in Mexico and Venezuela, the *galerón*, in the popular tradition of Colombia and Venezuela, and the *cielito* and related forms in Argentina. A considerable body of scholarship has centered around these verse types. In Mexico the whole subject hinges upon Vicente T. Mendoza, *El romance español y el corrido mexicano* (1939), which came relatively early in Men-

doza's career. His later works, *El corrido mexicano; antología* (1954) and *Lírica narrativa de México, el corrido* (1964) further refine his methodology and represent probably the highest level of Mexican folklore scholarship.

Héctor Pérez Martínez, *Trayectoria del corrido* (1935), and Daniel Castañeda, *El corrido mexicano, su técnica literaria y musical* (1943), treat the *corrido* primarily from the same historical and descriptive approach employed by Mendoza. Folklorists will observe with interest future scholarship relating to the *corrido*, in view of the decline which the genre has suffered since approximately 1940 and the death of Prof. Mendoza in October, 1964.

Venezuelan scholars have examined the role of the *corrido* and the *galerón* in relation to the total picture of folk music of that country. Juan Liscano discusses the forms of popular poetry present there in *Folklore y cultura; ensayos* (1950: 25–60), with particular attention to the *corrido*. The *galerón*, together with the *corrido*, have received careful attention from Luis Felipe Ramón y Rivera (1953). In Argentina the picture is complex. The *romance* has given rise to the *cielito* and a variety of forms. Isabel Aretz (1946), Juan Alfonso Carrizo (1937), Juan Draghi Lucero (1938), and Carlos Vega (1936), especially the latter, have traced the development of Argentine popular verse forms.

The volume of publication but not necessarily the quality of research has been tremendous in the realm of the *copla* and the *décima*. Both are of Spanish peninsular origin, the *copla* truly popular but not the *décima*, which is a learned form that has come into the domain of the populace in America. In regard to the *copla*, the problem is simply one of volume. Diligent collectors in America have collected and published thousands of these four-line verses that express an extreme variety of sentiments, usually in aphoristic form. The activities of Colombian folklorists, many of whom are well-intentioned amateurs, will illustrate the situation. In *El cancionero de Antioquia* (1935), José Antonio Restrepo includes 1,049 *coplas*; José Antonio León Rey an even 5,000 in *Espíritu de mi oriente* (1951–1953), Joaquín R. Medina and José Vargas Tamayo 4,488 more in their *Cantas del Valle de Tenza* (1949), and Father Lucas de Batet has collected some 2,000 more, most of which are unpublished (Iguada: 1940). These works far from exhaust the list of compilations and Colombia is but one of several countries where such collections have been assembled. During the tenure of Juan Alfonso Carrizo as director of Argentina's Instituto Nacional de la Tradición, thousands of *coplas* were collected and stored in card files. The venerable Stith Thompson, dean of North American folklorists, was consequently tempted to label the organization the "Instituto de la Copla" (1961: 392–393). Probably *copla* scholarship, despite its appeal to poetically inclined folklorists, will advance little until someone devises a workable system

of classification. The relatively short and rigid form of the *copla* should lend itself well to storing and sorting by computer, a device yet little used for such purposes.

The ten-line *décima*, used to express a variety of sentiments as well as to narrate historical events in verse, has wide popular acceptance in Latin America, especially in the Caribbean countries. There are extensive collections of texts from Argentina (as in the voluminous *cancioneros* of the Argentine provinces put together by Juan Alfonso Carrizo), Cuba, Venezuela, and Chile, where Rodolfo Lenz initiated collection and analysis of the form as early as the late nineteenth century (1919). Considerable remains to be done, however, with the large text collections, particularly in the nature of comparative studies. The best scholarship in this theme again is the product of Vicente T. Mendoza, who has given a thorough historical and geographical account of this verse form in Mexico (1947), which he followed with a carefully selected anthology and a sound introductory study (1957). A conscientiously prepared collection of *décima* texts and a thorough treatment of their background comes from Panama, a small country whose folklore scholarship has been creditable in recent decades. Practically all the 344 texts reproduced (Zárate: 1952) were taken directly from informants in rural areas. Although the *décima* is usually sung to music, all too frequently folklorists have presented few data concerning its musical characteristics. Here the musicologist can come to the rescue with a careful presentation of these features, as in Raquel Barros and Manuel Danne-mann, "La poesía folklórica de Melipilla" (1958), a town of the province of Santiago, Chile.

All too often, the goal of those who have collected and studied folk poetry has been to present the greatest possible number of items, almost to the exclusion of other purposes. The aim seemingly was to publish collectanea. Classification and serious analysis have come later and this latter process is not yet completed. Often the collections have been the work of amateurs intent upon highlighting regional differences in folk poetry. In many cases they were not equipped to undertake careful analysis leading to any such conclusions nor did they have at hand sufficient materials for a task of that scope. Professional folklorists and the staffs of the various folklore institutes have undertaken comparative investigations that point up similarities and make evident the diffusion of individual items, in addition to possible regional differences. The latter procedure fortunately dominates current scholarship in this genre.

Folk poetry, because of its use as an expression of peculiarly Hispanic philosophy and wit in an extremely condensed and rigid form, has not easily lent itself to the methodology of serious scholarship as practiced outside Latin America and Spain. In the folk narrative, the form, although significant, is not as crucial a feature and the techniques developed by European and North

American scholars have been employed in Latin America with highly satisfactory results. In this connection I shall be concerned with developments in the American countries principally within the past decade, a period which has seen a fast developing combination of the availability of extensive texts with the use of improved techniques of description, classification, and analysis. This observation applies particularly to the folktale in those countries where Spanish is spoken. The situation elsewhere will also be a subject of discussion in the lines that follow.

The chronology and availability of standard reference works is intimately related to the current favorable complexion of folktale research in Latin America. The appearance of Ralph S. Boggs, *Index of Spanish Folktales* (1930) marked the first application of the comparative method, first employed by northern European folklorists, to Hispanic material. The volume employs the system of tale type classification first developed by Antti Aarne and later refined by Stith Thompson (1928). Latin American scholars did not hesitate to use Boggs' useful reference tool, usually in conjunction with Aurelio M. Espinosa's standard collection of peninsular Spanish folktales (1923–1926), whose editions have contained abundant notes. In the years that followed, three folklorists used these tools in preparing respectable collections of folktales from Latin America (Andrade: 1930, J. M. Espinosa: 1937, Wheeler, 1943) but all three appeared in the United States as volumes in the memoir series of the American Folklore Society. Consequently their circulation in Latin America was extremely limited and they exerted little or no influence on scholarship there. Andrade's extensive volume of tales from the Dominican Republic was scarcely known in that country until 1948, when a second edition was published locally. Some scholarship, however, sought to relate Latin American oral tradition with that of the Old World. An early study of María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, short in length but carefully documented in regard to literary items (1941), eruditely points out the persistence in America of folk tales that occur also in the literature of Greece, Rome, and Spain.

Since 1957 the scene relating to folklore research has undergone a drastic change. Latin America has now entered the current of international scholarship, partly as the result of outside research interest in the region's culture but more importantly because of the tremendous improvement in communication among the world's folklore scholars. This combination of factors has been to the particular advantage of younger folklorists in widely separated areas.

The first tale type index based upon extensive Latin American material appeared in 1957 (Hansen). Although this tool did not attempt to cover the entire area, being restricted to the Spanish-speaking countries of South America and the West Indies, it was pertinent to the material of those countries where substantial tale collections were in preparation and it came under the eyes of

critical scholars who controlled completely the bibliography of their respective areas. Thus the tool itself was put to the test and refined in the process.

The first installments of two scholarly investigations that are clearly landmarks in Latin American folklore appeared almost simultaneously in 1960 (Chertudi de Nardi, Pino Saavedra). Each shows clearly the characteristics that distinguish folklore research in its respective country (Argentina or Chile) but at the same time reveals the personal stamp of the scholar and his utilization of research tools that relate the material to the broader framework of international scholarship.

In her Argentine collection Susana Chertudi publishes the texts of one hundred tales, each of which is classified on the basis of Aarne-Thompson (cited above), with references to parallel versions from other Argentine sources, Spain (the comparisons not restricted necessarily to Espinosa's work), and Spanish America. In each case an appropriate summary of the world-wide diffusion of the tale is provided. She has pursued the same technique in a more recent volume that contains one hundred more texts (1964). This second series of texts complements the initial volume in that the tales are from sections of the country that previously were scarcely represented or not at all. Furthermore, one notes for the first time the inclusion of texts recorded on magnetic tape (tales 62, 66, 68, 69), a process which she acknowledges (p. 14). She is also aware of the differences between the narrative style of older texts transcribed directly by field workers and those recorded by mechanical means. Of the latter she comments (p. 10): ". . . lo que no puede negarse es que tales versiones son auténticas."

In addition to an extensive archive collection of tales gathered by folklorists during field expeditions, Argentine scholars have at their disposal some 2,000 narrative texts that were collected by primary schoolteachers in the country in the early 1920's. For years this body of tales received relatively little attention from folklorists but since 1958 they have been the object of systematic study (Chertudi de Nardi: 1964: 11). When the task of analysis is completed, the collection will provide abundant information concerning tale types and motifs, despite its extremely limited utility for the study of narrative style (Chertudi de Nardi: 1959: 274). A sampling of thirty-six texts appeared in *Juan Soldao, cuentos folklóricos de la Argentina* (Chertudi de Nardi: 1962), with brief indications of tale types from Aarne-Thompson, Boggs, and Hansen. More volumes of the *Cuentos folklóricos de la Argentina* have been promised. Certainly there is abundant material and the critical machinery employed operates smoothly.

Yolando Pino Saavedra's *Cuentos folklóricos de Chile* employ a similar critical apparatus with considerable reliance upon Germanic folktale scholarship in addition to the standard tools indicated for the Argentine volumes

above. There is one fundamental feature of contrast between these two national collections. Pino Saavedra is completely responsible for the tales he publishes, from the actual contact with the informant in the field, to the transcription and editing of the text, and the classification of the tales and the preparation of the critical notes and summaries for each of the 270 tales that he has published. He provides an insight into the narrative ability and style of his informants and not the least interesting aspect of his contribution is an account of his first encounter with story tellers in the area of Paihuano (I, 15–16). Pino's *comentarios*, which relate each tale to its counterpart in the folk tradition of Europe and the other American countries, are extensive and can be used profitably not only by other Latin American but also North American and European scholars. His combination of accurate texts and comparative apparatus makes for a balanced work that can be used as a model by any investigator of the folktale. An indication of Pino Saavedra's acceptance internationally is the publication of thirty-eight of his Chilean tales in a German edition (1964).

Nearly all countries of Latin America have been active in the realm of the folktale since the appearance of Hansen's volume, although the activity need not necessarily be attributed to its arrival on the scene. Collections from countries that were scarcely represented in his index have since appeared, so that the amount of material available has increased considerably. Several of these are worth mentioning. In Ecuador investigators of the Instituto Ecuatoriano de Folklore have collected fifty-two tales from oral tradition which have been published with an indication of the informant and the tale type for each (Carvalho-Neto: 1966). Practically the only Cuban material available to Hansen was a manuscript collection of 125 tales compiled by Herminio Portell Vilá which unfortunately is still unpublished. Samuel Feijoó of the Universidad Central de las Villas has since prepared a two-volume edition of *Cuentos populares cubanos* (Feijoó: 1960–1962), consisting of standard folk tales and short anecdotes but without critical apparatus of any kind. Occasionally he reports the name of the informant and the place where the text was collected but nothing about the collecting methodology, the situation in which the story was gathered, or the function of the tale in local oral tradition. Feijoó presents related legend material in *Mitos y leyendas en Las Villas* (1965).

For Venezuela, Luis Felipe Ramón y Rivera and Isabel Aretz include twenty-five texts of standard folk tales plus seven riddle tales in their *Folklore tachirenses* (1961–1963: I, 205–306). There is no indication of tale types but the texts are authentic and carefully oriented to the popular culture of the area. Folktale texts from Colombia have never been abundant nor carefully prepared. Hansen found it necessary to include the literary reworkings of folk materials by Tomás Carrasquilla, a regional author from Antioquia who portrayed rural and small-town customs. Abundant folktale material, in addition to songs,

proverbs, and riddles, is contained in Agustín Jaramillo Londoño, *Testamento del paisa* (1961). Unfortunately the compiler gives no indication of the informants or the geographical source of the items other than that they are from the department of Antioquia, although they appear to be from oral tradition. Much more useful are the texts from the Pacific coast of Colombia gathered by Rogelio Velázquez (1960) while he was a staff member of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología. One wishes for a greater number of reliable texts from Colombia, a country of immense folklore wealth whose resources have been explored but haphazardly.

Collections from the territory between New Mexico and Panama await the attention of a serious folktale scholar who will classify and analyze an already impressive body of folktales. There are lacunae, of course, particularly but there are sufficient materials even from that area to provide adequate representation. As a sample, one may note Mario Riera Pinilla, *Cuentos folklóricos de Panamá* (1956), a volume of sixty-nine tales transcribed directly from informants. The abundant Mexican and New Mexican material gathered and published by José Manuel Espinosa, Juan B. Rael, and Howard T. Wheeler still does not figure in a regional tale type index.

Brazil is likewise ready for the preparation of such a research tool. The earlier collections of Sylvio Romero (1954) and Lindolfo Gomes (1965) have been supplemented by Luis da Câmara Cascudo, *Contos tradicionais do Brasil* (1946), a body of texts with useful cross references. Câmara Cascudo also has prepared a model legend study, *Lendas brasileiras* (1945). Unfortunately this volume, published by a group of bibliophiles in Rio de Janeiro, is expensive and not readily available to most scholars. In other countries of Latin America research in the field of legends is plagued by disorganization and a tendency, except among those strictly professional, to present "literary" texts. The use of recording equipment can be an effective remedy for the latter malady, as demonstrated by Luis Felipe Ramón y Rivera and Isabel Aretz (1961–1963: I, 180–193).

The folk theater, despite its absence or lack of vigor in wide areas of America, continues to be a subject of research. The majority of the items, however, treat the genre as it is performed in Mexico and Guatemala, countries where it demonstrates some persistence. Juan B. Rael of Stanford University has long sought to establish the routes by which popular Christmas plays, known locally as *pastorelas* or *coloquios de pastores*, reached the communities of northern Mexico and the Hispanic southwest of the United States. Transmission has been by oral means, supplemented by manuscripts of the texts in sub-standard orthography prepared by the plays' directors to aid their memory. Rael has sought these out assiduously and has consulted a greater number of texts than any previous scholar who has treated this subject. His conclusions

point up the importance of Zacatecas and Durango as key cities in the transmission of many types and the relative insignificance of Querétaro in the movement of versions from the center of Mexico to points west and north. Rael's volume will be of inestimable value to future students of the *coloquios* because of its profuse reproductions of texts, yet the genre has attracted few scholars in the past decade and the course of future investigation of folk drama in Mexico is certainly in the realm of conjecture.

The Rabinal drama and co-existent forms in Guatemala continue to receive attention. René Acuña has been active in this area. He has published an anonymous "Ystoria de moros de Dabid y Amón" (Acuña: 1965) of 1,279 lines from Rabinal, with an introduction and background notes. A series of "bailes" published in *Guatemala Indígena*, largely from the collection of Dr. Lise Paret-Limardo de Vela, has increased the number of available texts from this country. The predominance of themes relating to Christians and Moors and the Twelve Peers of France is evident in the texts themselves, although they appear with a total absence of scholarly apparatus ("Baile . . .": 1962, "Original . . .": 1963, "Original . . .": 1963a). It is doubtful that up-to-date details concerning their performance are available since the texts date as far back as 1911. Panamanian folklorists continue to fill in the picture of the folk drama in their country. Beatriz Miranda de Cabal provides historical background for two types of *danzas* together with a clear report on their current status in five communities of rural Chiriquí province (1964). She includes fragments of texts and promises more. With his customary accent upon methodology, Carvalho-Neto applies his recommended procedure of study to the folk theater in Ecuador (1965c). The genre is sickly there and only seven dramatic forms have been discovered in the whole country and a number of these are not performed with dialogue.

Riddle scholarship had an early beginning in Latin America in Robert Lehmann-Nitsche, *Adivinanzas rioplatenses* (1911), a monumental work notable for its system of classification in which each true riddle is considered to be a comparison. It served as the foundation for Archer Taylor, *English Riddles from Oral Tradition* (1951), the outstanding comparative work on the riddle in English, but has not always influenced subsequent riddle scholarship in Spanish America and Brazil, although the writer of these lines found it basic for his handling of Panamanian riddles (Robe, 1963). The pace of new publications is slow. The most recent significant activity has been in Colombia, where regional collections have appeared contributed by a field worker of the Instituto Caro y Cuervo (Beutler: 1960, 1961, 1963).

Proverb scholarship in Latin America has consisted largely of listings along national or regional lines. Each country is represented by one or more collections, but compilers of local and regional vocabularies have customarily included proverbs and proverbial sayings in their dictionaries. However, they

have not always distinguished between truly folk sayings and erudite expressions, nor have proverb collectors consistently listed their items alphabetically by key word so that folklorists can utilize the material presented. Standard comparative works on the proverb are yet to come. In the related field of folk speech Latin America has a long tradition of scholarship and the subject is of such extent that it merits a study apart.

Belief, which is frequently labelled *supersticiones*, has long interested folklorists. Again, they have treated the subject along regional lines, as Daniel Granada, *Supersticiones del Río de la Plata* (1896), and M. Rigoberto Paredes, *Mitos, supersticiones y supervivencias de Bolivia* (1920). A sound, modern study is Isabel Kelly, *Folk Practices in North Mexico* (1965). The most careful and thorough treatment of folk medicine in an area of Latin America remains Hermilio Valdizán and Ángel Maldonado, *La medicina popular peruana* (1922). Rafael Jijena Sánchez and Bruno Jacovella have outlined a methodology for studying belief (1939), but comparative studies are yet to be undertaken.

Folk food and drink have not been a consistent theme of research, especially of a monographic nature. A work that may well become a model for future folkloristic treatment is Virginia Rodríguez Rivera, *La comida en el México antiguo y moderno* (1965), a work that demonstrates the possibilities of research on this theme. The historical angle is strong, ranging from the varied fare of the contact period, amply documented from contemporary chronicles, to regional Mexican diet of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. She has made substantial use of accounts from oral tradition, gathered throughout the years of her career as a folklorist, and has admirably pointed up the role of food in the total picture of Mexican folklore.

Latin Americans have become increasingly aware of the need for providing research tools for the study of their folklore. This need has led to the preparation of a number of fairly extensive works that present a rounded view of a country's tradition without sacrificing depth. Argentina's professional folklorists have prepared a careful survey of each of the genres of folklore there in the form of a collection of monographs by genres (*Folklore argentino*: 1959), concerning folklore in verse, in prose, customs, fiestas, superstition, folk medicine, dress, transportation, and toponyms. Each contribution is the result of research by an established national authority.

Another concern has been the compilation of one-volume reference works, the most useful of which are those that come under the heading of *diccionarios*. Easy to consult, they list alphabetically and define folk items, themes, events, practices, and other objects, usually with abundant illustrations. The "dictionary" is not the type of work that can easily be undertaken by an outsider, but the task can be accomplished if undertaken with skill and diligence.

For this reason, most of these works have been compiled by a native of the country concerned. The earliest of these was Carlos Camino Calderón, *Diccionario folklórico del Perú* (1945), which was soon followed by Félix Coluccio, *Diccionario folklórico argentino* (1948). A work of this type is in preparation involving Bolivia and parts have been published (Costas Arguedas: 1963–1964).

Brazilians, however, to date have been the most successful in preparing this kind of tool. Luis da Câmara Cascudo has provided an outstanding volume for Brazil (1954), which has seen a second edition. Paulo de Carvalho-Neto (1964b) has done the same for Ecuador in his *Diccionario del folklóre ecuatoriano*. The editing and organization of this work were directed by an outsider, who wisely utilized the contributions of knowledgeable Ecuadoreans. The two works of Câmara Cascudo and Carvalho-Neto are extensive and attractively presented in large format. The entries are not brief. Rather, the volumes actually contain surveys or short monographs on regional themes, biographies of worthy folklorists, definitions of terms, and a quantity of background information that serves as a setting for the folk event or object. As such they probably should be called "encyclopedias" rather than "dictionaries." To anyone undertaking a comparative study on a theme of Latin American folklore, the consultation of these volumes is indispensable.

Ordinarily these reference works have involved the folklore of an individual country. Félix Coluccio, however, has undertaken one that plans to include the folklore of all Hispanic America (1954). Only one volume of 3,394 items has so far appeared and it includes only the letters A through D. Obviously a work of this magnitude will involve the efforts of a number of scholars and extend over a considerable period of time. It could well be the product of the individual national dictionaries and its compilation will be facilitated somewhat as more of these are available.

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