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Department of Hispanic Studies
University of Sheffield

Harmony in Discord:
An Analysis of Catalan Folk Song

Simon Furey

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

ABSTRACT

Traditional folk song is a reflection of the society that creates it. In the Catalan case it reflects not only Catalan society but also those of Valencia and the Balearic Islands, for whom forms of the Catalan language are native. This present thesis investigates the corpus of folk song in Catalan and puts it into the context of the nation states that encompass it, i.e. France and Spain.

The great era of European folk-song collection was between the mid-19th century and the First World War. The early part of this period coincides with the Catalan Renaixença: the revival of interest in Catalan language and culture. However, in the Catalan case, extensive song collection continued through the cultural periods of Modernisme and Noucentisme and up until the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. Much was documented in the publications of the Obra del cançoner popular de Catalunya, but even that great unfinished work has had no critical appraisal to date. A second theme of this thesis is therefore to begin such an appraisal, and put the work into the context of all of the major Catalan folk-song collections, which contain thousands of songs collected in both France and Spain.

All the songs considered here are to be found in books, journals and recordings published between 1852 and 2001. The subject matter and song types are described and categorised, ranging from ballads and love songs to drinking songs and Christmas carols. The songs of the Països Catalans are compared with the music and songs of other traditions to identify influences and possible sources of specific material. With reference to work currently (c. 2001) taking place in Catalonia, the focus of this thesis ranges from the descriptive to the interpretative and analytical. The analyses consider words and music taken together, with performance too where possible.

Because the song corpus is large but not well known, this thesis may be used as a high-level reference source to find the material. A computer-based indexing system (a database) has been developed as part of this project with the ambition of eventually providing a single, unified and more detailed reference source for all of the songs, centred on the field work of the still incomplete Obra del cançoner popular de Catalunya. The thesis is accompanied by a CD-ROM (PC only) containing the database as it currently stands. An additional database is also provided on the CD-ROM: a much-needed index of the contents of the Romancerillo Catalán of Manuel Milà i Fontanals. The databases are tools for continuing research and indicators of significant directions that future work might follow.

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Folk song is buried deep in the cultural consciousness of a people. Because of its historical roots, it helps people to identify not only who they are but also how they feel about themselves. The investigation of folk song by an outsider to the culture concerned carries both risk and joy. The risk is that true understanding of the songs and their contexts will be affected by the notorious "observer's paradox". On the other hand I have found the people I have approached during my research so eager to make me understand how they feel about their songs I have been overwhelmed by their openness and welcome. So much for the "cold" reputation of the Catalans! Indeed, apart from gaining a much greater understanding of Catalan folk song, the chief benefit I have gained from my research is the number of good friends I have made. I owe them all a debt of gratitude which I do not hope to repay, so I humbly dedicate this work to them.

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I am grateful for having had the run of a number of libraries with material almost unobtainable elsewhere. Apart from the Centre de Documentació mentioned earlier, I must mention the library of the

University of Barcelona, where I was able to study the writings of Milà i Fontanals while seated beneath the great man's portrait, and the library of the Generalitat de Catalunya. To these I would add the university libraries of London and Cambridge, plus the British Library. Here I would like to thank Barry Taylor and Geoff West of the BL Spanish section for their help and encouragement.

It may seem odd to acknowledge booksellers here, but thanks are due. Catalan cançoners from before the Civil War are not easy to get hold of at the best of times, even in Catalonia and even then in libraries; in England the problem would be insurmountable were it not for the Internet. Josep Costa of Costa Llibreter in Vic and Francesc Rogès of Rogès Llibres in Mataró have consistently turned up works that I thought unobtainable except perhaps in Barcelona. What I have paid for the books is easily outweighed by what I have saved on air fares and hotel bills. In this case, our friendship has the added dimension of Catalan commercial nous to reinforce it.

As a part-time mature researcher I am aware that my work must have seemed interminable to my supervisors. I am grateful to Nicholas Round and Alan Yates for their patient help, encouragement, enthusiasm and invaluable criticism. I also appreciate their sufferance not only of the time I have taken but also of the brashness of a person whose attitudes have been moulded more by commerce and industry than by academia. I have tried to listen; the results are here. If they fail to meet the standards Alan and Nick set me, then I alone am to blame.

Finally, I acknowledge the constant support of my wife Wendy, her help in playing any number of the tunes on her flute, and for her proof reading.

DECLARATION

The section on Musical Dislocation was presented at the 1999 International Ballad Conference in Aberdeen. The section on the manifestations of English in Catalan folk song was published in an edited form in Estudos de Literatura Oral, No. 8 (Faro: University of the Algarve, 2000).

No portion of the work referred to in this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or institute of learning.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CEC	Centre Excursionista de Catalunya
JOCS	Journal of Catalan Studies
OCPC	Obra del cançoner popular de Catalunya
CPCPTC	Centre de Promoció de la Cultura Popular i Tradicional Catalana

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Subject Matter

In spite of its history (or indeed, perhaps, because of it), Catalonia retains and promotes its own identity as something distinct from those of France and Spain. Nowhere is this more evident than in the use of its own language, Catalan. Identity is related to culture and tradition, and language is not the only means of its expression; any art form may be pressed into its service, be it literature, music, painting, theatre or whatever. A notable feature of Catalonia is its use of a folk song (Els segadors) as its national anthem and a folk dance (the sardana) as one of its more conspicuous forms of popular recreation. It is Catalan traditional song that provides the subject matter of this thesis.

One of the aims of my research has been to see how and to what extent a distinctive identity is reflected in the enormous corpus of folk songs in the Catalan language. Can the songs be seen simply as variants of French, Provençal or Castilian songs? Should they be seen in such a light? Do they represent a transitional stage in a continuum between French and Castilian, thus:

French <-> Provençal <-> Catalan <-> Castilian

- or are they quite distinct? Though there has been controversy on this point in the past (arguably more for political than for linguistic reasons), Catalan is now regarded uncontroversially as a language in its own right, and a member of the Romance language family. Is there not a case, then, for treating Catalan folk song as a sibling tradition, clearly related to those of the surrounding regions but with its own quite separate character?

The above questions assume, of course, that we treat traditions in the Catalan language as a single entity. Clearly they are not, since there are distinct cultural, dialect and historical differences between Catalonia itself, Valencia and the Balearic Islands, to say nothing of the Roussillon, Andorra and Sardinia. The question is thus somewhat more complex, since we also need to determine the degree of overlap between the various Catalan language song traditions. Here I use the word "tradition" in relation to region rather than genre.

Quite apart from examining the Catalan folk song corpus in its context, there is very good reason to examine the corpus itself for what it contains, since it is little known outside its native lands apart from a relatively small number of famous songs such as El noi de la Mare, Rossinyol and El comte Arnau. In fact, Catalan folk song

collection has been extensive. The field research work for the Obra del cançoner popular de Catalunya (OCPC), begun in the 1920s and brought to an untimely end by the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, collected many thousands of songs, most of which to this day remain unpublished. Even the published volumes of the OCPC are not readily available (especially the earlier ones) and no comprehensive analysis of their content has appeared in print before. The largest published collection of Catalan songs (over 5,000) is contained in the Cançoner of Joan Amades's three-volume Folklore de Catalunya. Unfortunately, the work of Amades is suspect, especially with regard to his major work Costumari català because of the number of errors in it.¹ This means that some form of qualification is necessary to establish the fidelity of the Cançoner to its sources. What I have therefore begun is a review and analysis of the published corpus of Catalan folk songs, and the results are presented here.

Clearly, within the context of a postgraduate research project, I have had to impose certain limits on my work. I have therefore restricted my primary sources to existing printed works published in France and Spain from the middle of the last century up to the present day, plus commercially available recordings. I have discussed the corpus with leading Catalan folklorists, but I have conducted no field research of my own. I am aware of not having covered songs that might have arisen during the Spanish Civil War and the years of exile that followed it. However, where I have discovered references to work done in this area I have included them in the bibliography. I am also aware of concentrating less on Valencian material than I would have wished; although I have included a considerable amount of it, my coverage is less comprehensive than that of the Catalan and Balearic material. Nevertheless, I believe that there is sufficient information here to give the reader a firm understanding of how and where Valencian songs fit into the total picture of the traditional music of the Països Catalans.

1.2 Definition and Approach

My approach to folk song is to consider words, music, performance and social context. By "folk song" I mean a kind of song, generally anonymous in origin, transmitted orally and sung to entertain an audience. I make no judgements as to whether particular song genres can be considered as folk songs other than that they conform with the above criteria. Thus I completely disagree with Julien Tiersot, who

¹ See below, p. 27.

considered that, for example, "La chanson à boire n'est pas un genre de chanson populaire".² Nor do I agree with the traditionalist view influential in the works of Ramón Menéndez Pidal that folk song must necessarily be anonymous.³ Folk music is a living continuum, picking up and dropping songs and melodies as time passes. Proximity in time and the increased literacy brought about by improved education over the last century mean that the authors and composers of more recent compositions are more likely to be known, since there is less need to rely on a good memory. Yet traditional singers and musicians may not care to distinguish between anonymous folk songs and melodies and those with known composers, provided that they fit within the living tradition.⁴ What is important in my view is for transmission to take place from one person to another through performance. No two people sing the same song in exactly the same way, and indeed the performance of any one singer or instrumentalist is likely to change with time, place, mood and audience. Thus performance maintains the necessary conditions for variation within a living tradition.⁵ I should distinguish here between live and recorded performance. Ideally, live performance should be the source of oral transmission; however, recorded performance (and particularly video recording) should not be dismissed. Although not specifically related to song, the beneficial effect of video recording has already been noted in relation to passing on the way lines are spoken in the traditional Catalan Holy Week passion play in Verges.⁶

² Julien Tiersot, Histoire de la chanson populaire en France (Paris: Heugel, 1889) p. 216.

³ C. Colin Smith, Spanish Ballads (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1964), pp. 8-9.

⁴ Niall McKinnon, The British Folk Scene: Musical Performance and Social Identity (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1993), p. 31. See also Miguel Ángel Picó Pascual, ed., Cocentaina, Cuadernos de música folklórica valenciana (tercera época), 2 (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, Diputació Provincial de Valencia, 1999), p. 15.

⁵ A. L. Lloyd, Folk Song in England (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1967, repr. London: Panther Arts, 1969), pp. 68-69. See also Historia de la música española, ed. by Pablo López de Osaba (Madrid: Alianza, 1983-), VII: Josep Crivillé i Bargalló, El folklore musical, 2nd edn, (1997), p. 39.

⁶ Jordi Roca i Rovira, The Verges Procession, tr. from the Catalan original by Simon Furey (Marlborough: FEP, 1997), p. 43.

I do not exclude written forms of transmission, for example the broadside, but I do insist that in the chain from original composer to the latest-known singer there must be some link or links made purely by oral transmission.

I should emphasise that I do not regard my definition of folk song as perfect, since such definition seems to be impossible;⁷ nevertheless, it serves my purpose and I believe it to be sufficiently uncontentious.

Thus it will be seen that I have approached Catalan folk song not from the point of view of earlier French or Spanish folklorists but with a British and much more recent perspective. This has a number of advantages and one potential difficulty. The first advantage is that a British viewpoint can be a disinterested one, permitting a relatively objective categorisation of the Catalan material, without subjective identification with community connotations. The second advantage is being able to make ready use of the large amount of folk-song scholarship written in English in the UK, Ireland and the USA. A third advantage is the fact that the British Isles are home to a number of non-English folk-song traditions, which have been and continue to be the subjects of considerable research. The effects of linguistic and cultural pressures on the Celtic language traditions are well-documented, for example by Frank Howes⁸ and Sean O'Boyle⁹ and I have attempted to apply the lessons of this research where appropriate to the Catalan case. The potential difficulty is that since Catalan folk song is not my native tradition, I may stand accused of insensitivity to some of the nuances of the material; I accept the challenge.

Finally, a note of warning on Catalan orthography used in this thesis: it is not consistent. The reader needs to be aware of the fact that the normalisation of Catalan orthography is a relatively recent (early 20th. century) event, thus many of the older works I have cited do not use modern Catalan spelling. This is especially true in the case of authors' names, which are made even more problematic because they sometimes appear in Castilian orthography or (even worse) are misspelled as the result of a vain attempt to shoehorn them into some

⁷ Philip V. Bohlman, The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), Introduction, p. xviii.

⁸ Frank Howes, Folk Music of Britain and Beyond (London: Methuen, 1969), ch. 9.

⁹ Seán O Boyle, The Irish Song Tradition (Dublin: Dalton, 1976), part 1, passim.

preconceived idea of what they "should" be. To illustrate the point, the 19th century anthologist Francesch Pelay Briz i Fernàndez (to use the original historical form) will be found cited variously in the literature as F P Briz, F Pelagi Briz, Pelay Briz, Pelay y Briz, Francesc Pelai Briz and Francisco Pelayo Briz. This list is not exhaustive. Within my text I have therefore standardised on the orthography most commonly found in present-day Catalan cançoners and analyses, referring to the General Enciclopèdia Catalana when in doubt. For the footnote references and bibliography, however, I have used the name forms as they appear on the published works themselves, so that readers may be able to locate the books in libraries and indexes. The links between my text and footnotes should prevent confusion.

PART I: SOURCES

2 HISTORY OF CATALAN COLLECTION AND RESEARCH

2.1 Milà i Fontanals and the 19th-Century Revival

Catalan folk-song study is normally taken to have begun with Pau Piferrer, a writer who died at the untimely age of 30 in 1848. His importance lies not in his publications on the subject but his influence on two later workers: Manuel Milà i Fontanals and Marià Aguiló.¹⁰

Manuel Milà i Fontanals (1818-1884) was the first to publish a scholarly work on the subject of Catalan folk song. His life coincides with the Renaixença: the re-emergence and fostering of Catalan culture as a distinct entity, a form of romantic nationalism. The law student son of a Penedès farmer, Milà became professor of general and Spanish literature at Barcelona University in 1847. Both intellectually and physically he seems to have been a giant to his contemporaries.¹¹ His work on folk song underpinned his efforts to revive Catalan identity. He became the first president of the re-invented Jocs Florals in 1859.¹² One reason for his election was that in 1853 he published a seminal work, Observaciones sobre la poesía popular,¹³ which inspired other early workers, notably Francesc Pelai Briz i Fernández¹⁴ and Marià Aguiló i Fuster.¹⁵ This book, which contained the words of some seventy songs, was the precursor to Milà's great work, the Romancerillo catalán,¹⁶ the second and definitive edition of which finally appeared nearly thirty years later, in 1882.¹⁷ The first edition had in fact been an appendix to Observaciones and was clearly known by name at an early date, since Pelai Briz refers to it in volume I of his own Cansons de la terra published in 1866.

¹⁰ Manuel Jorba, L'obra crítica i erudita de Manuel Milà i Fontanals (Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat, 1989), pp. 87-90.

¹¹ Robert Hughes, Barcelona (New York: Vintage, 1993), pp. 245-250.

¹² Hughes, pp. 301-305.

¹³ Manuel Milá y Fontanals, Observaciones sobre la poesía popular, con muestras de romances catalanes inéditos (Barcelona: Verdaguer, 1853).

¹⁴ Francesch Pelay Briz, Cansons de la terra, 5 vols (Barcelona: Verdaguer, 1866-77), I, preface.

¹⁵ Marián Aguiló i Fuster, Romancer popular de la terra catalana (Barcelona: Verdaguer, 1893), introduction, p. xxii.

¹⁶ Manuel Milá y Fontanals, Romancerillo catalán, 2nd edn (Barcelona: Verdaguer, 1882, repr. Alta Fulla, 1999).

¹⁷ Manuel Milà i Fontanals, Romancer català, ed. by Joan Antoni Paloma (Barcelona: Ed. 62, 1980), p. 10.

A central theme of Observaciones is the treatment of Catalan folk songs and ballads as independent entities and not just as versions of the considerable corpus of Castilian romances. Milà developed this perspective by highlighting the different rhyming schemes and syllable counts of Catalan folk poetry. This stress on distinctiveness had far-reaching effects on his contemporaries. In particular, they sought to establish the original texts of ballads through collection and comparative analysis of variants. The hope seems to have been to establish specifically Catalan origins for some of the songs collected.

As its name suggests, the Romancerillo catalán is largely concerned with narrative ballads. It contains the words of 586 different songs (often with numerous additional variants) collected in the field primarily from Barcelona and Girona and their surrounding areas, plus some from the Balearic Islands, Valencia and the Roussillon. However, Milà appears to have been more of an editor than a collector; indeed, Jaume Massot i Torrents suggested that the sheer physical bulk of the man limited his first-hand field work, forcing him to wait patiently for the contributions of others.¹⁸ Milà acknowledges the help he received in his introduction to the Romancerillo, but gives no details there. He was, however, a scrupulous worker, and his notes were summarised and published posthumously in 1926 as volume I fascicle 1 of Materials of the Obra del cançoner popular de Catalunya. These show the debt he owed to the work of more than a score of researchers. Out of the total of 586 songs, 319 have their collectors identified, the most important of whom appears to have been Celestí Pujol i Camps, who collected 155 songs from the Girona area. It is also clear from his notes just how methodical Milà was, as regards the words. One can draw a parallel with Baring Gould in England, in that although he "cleaned up" the songs for publication, he kept the original words which were preserved after his death. As a result, many of the songs have been restored to their original form in the Romancer català, edited by Joan Antoni Paloma and published in 1980.

The great pity with Milà i Fontanals is that he does not seem to have taken similar pains with the music; only 46 tunes are given, and these seem to have been a fairly late addition, probably following the

¹⁸ Jaume Massó i Torrents, 'Manuel Milà i Fontanals', in the Obra del cançoner popular de Catalunya: Materials, ed. by Francesc Pujol and others (Barcelona: Fundació C Rabell i Cibils, 1926-1929; Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat, 1993-), I:2 (1928), p.10.

publication of the Pelai Briz collection. There is a parallel here with Francis J Child's The English and Scottish Popular Ballads,¹⁹ also published in 1882, in which a few tunes were added to the final volume. This shows that a major flaw in nineteenth century collecting - its literary bias - was by no means limited to English-language songs.

The absence of the melodies in Milà's work did not escape the notice of his contemporaries. Pelai Briz produced his five-volume Cansons de la terra between 1866 and 1877. This contains words, music and notes for 174 songs. Volume I contains not only the music but also piano accompaniments arranged by Càndid Candi. Volume II is a joint effort with Josep Saltó. The notes include links and parallels with songs from elsewhere, particularly Provence. Many of the songs it contains also appear in the Romancerillo, but in different versions. Although many of the songs are narrative ballads, the work contains a variety of other genres, including love songs, seasonal songs and religious songs. As Gaston Paris noted at the time,²⁰ by providing different versions from those of Milà, by providing comparative analyses with traditions in other languages and by providing the music, Cansons de la terra represented a landmark in Catalan folk-song scholarship.

Nevertheless, the influence of Milà was still conspicuous and not always beneficial. Pelai Briz included in his original text of volume I a version of El comte Arnau collected by Milà. On receiving the draft, the latter advised that certain verses be omitted, since they introduced an anachronism. Specifically, it had been established that the real Comte Arnau had lived in the 14th century. In the offending verses, the count advises his wife to send one of the daughters to the convent of St John. However, this was three centuries before the founding of that order of nuns!²¹ Such scruples would be regarded as misguided by present-day folklorists but were clearly important to the scholars of Milà's day, concerned as they were to establish a historical basis for the songs.

¹⁹ Francis James Child, The English and Scottish Popular Ballads, 5 vols (Cambridge, MA: Houghton, Mifflin, 1884-98, repr. New York: Dover, 1965).

²⁰ Gaston Paris, Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature, 1868, no. 12, reprinted/translated in Pelai Briz, III, pp. 269-274.

²¹ Pelai Briz, I, p. 268.

Pau Bertran i Bros published his Cançons i follies populars²² in 1885. It contained the words, music and notes for 40 songs, together with - for the first time - some 200 one-verse songs, called follies or corrantes in Catalan, or coplas in Castilian. This type of song forms a very significant part of the Catalan repertory, and this was the first time their existence had been recognised in a published work by folklorists; up until then the main emphasis had been on narrative ballads. Included with the follies were 30 tunes for them.

Working during the same period as all of the aforementioned was Marià Aguiló (1825-1897). The librarian at Barcelona University and an enthusiastic field researcher (he is thought to have been the first collector to specialise in Catalan material²³), he spent many years walking in the Pyrenees and in his native Majorca collecting songs. However, like Milà i Fontanals, he was strongly affected by a commitment to pursue the holy grail of ballad origins, and in spite of (or perhaps because of) his researches he published very little. As Joan Puntí i Collell remarks in his biographic notes,²⁴ Aguiló seems to have spent his life missing opportunities. He could have published before Milà, let alone Pelai Briz and Bertran i Bros; instead, each successive publication stole more of his thunder. He finally published his Romancer popular de la terra catalana in 1893. In it he complains of Milà's haste in publishing his Romancerillo. He also apologises for omitting the music, likening his tuneless songs to stuffed birds in a museum. His work contains only 33 songs plus a few variants, collected in Catalonia and the Balearics. Unfortunately, he edited them not just to clean them up, but to "improve" their literary quality, something which Milà did not do.²⁵ The work thus resembles a conventional book of poetry more than a collection of folk songs from a living tradition. This is consistent with Aguiló's romantic exhortation to his readers to consider his tuneless rewrites as historic ruins.²⁶ It is also

²² Pau Bertran i Bros, Cançons i follies populars (inèdites) recollides al peu de Montserrat (Barcelona: Verdager, 1885).

²³ Maria Antònia Juan i Nebot, 'La recerca del folklore musical i el desenvolupament de l'etnomusicologia a Catalunya de 1850', paper presented at the European Seminar on Ethnomusicology, Berlin, 1990, repr. Fulls de treball de Carrutxa (1991), I (Reus: Migdia, 1992), p. 10.

²⁴ Joan Puntí i Collell, 'Marian Aguiló i Fuster', in Materials, II, pp. 13-60.

²⁵ Milà, Romancer català, Introduction, p.13.

²⁶ Aguiló, Introduction, p. xxxii.

consistent with his reputation in Catalonia as a poet, and the nineteenth century literary bias I alluded to earlier.

Other significant workers in the 19th century include Francesc Alió, whose Cansons populars catalanas²⁷ was published in 1891.²⁸ His book was very different from the earlier works of Milà and Aguiló in that the songs were intended for drawing-room or concert performance rather than folklore study. His declared aim was to overcome the prejudices of society performers against singing songs in Catalan. This fitted the mood of the times, since the period approximately between 1890 and 1910 was that of Modernisme, the manifestation of Art Nouveau in Catalonia. Alió's work was praised by modernista critics at the time, which might seem odd, given their hostility to the Renaixença and the Jocs Florals, and thus by implication the work of Milà i Fontanals.²⁹ However, the key lies in the book's emphasis on performance. This was not a work harking back to some lost golden age, but an effort to get people - especially in Barcelona - to take pleasure and participate in something specifically Catalan which still belonged to the present.

2.2 The Heyday of Collection: 1900 Until the Civil War

Folk-song collection was in full swing in many parts of Europe around the turn of the century. This may be to do with the rise of nationalism in the latter half of the 19th century and what Eric Hobsbawm somewhat cynically called "mass-producing traditions"³⁰ and it certainly coincides with Modernisme in Catalonia, which increasingly engaged with Catalan nationalism.³¹ The library of the Centre de Promoció de la Cultura Popular i Tradicional Catalana in Barcelona contains some forty books of Catalan songs collected by different people between 1890 and 1910.³² Three of these were published by

²⁷ Francisco Alió, Cansons populars catalanas (Barcelona: Sindicato músical barcelonés dotésio, [n.d.]).

²⁸ The date is ascribed by Josep Crivillé in a bibliographic note to me, although a note on p. 83 of the Història de la literatura catalana, Vol VIII (Barcelona: Ariel, 1986) gives the date as 1892.

²⁹ Joan-Lluís Marfany, 'El Modernisme', Història de la literatura catalana, Vol VIII, pp. 81-82, 119.

³⁰ Eric Hobsbawm, 'Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914', in The Invention of Tradition, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm & Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 266-267.

³¹ Marfany, 'El Modernisme', pp. 95, 113.

³² Information provided in a bibliographic note from Josep Crivillé.

L'Avenç, the journal of the modernista movement. Folklorists therefore played their part in trying to re-establish a national identity for Catalonia.³³ However, while the Renaixença and the Jocs Florals belonged to an earlier romantic/ patrician literary nationalism, Modernisme reacted against this and sowed the seeds of the kind of political nationalism that Hobsbawm describes. Thus folk-song publishing served different nationalistic ends in the two periods. Alió belongs to the modernistes, as does Aureli Capmany, and they thus represent a cultural shift from the position of Milà.

Aureli Capmany i Farrés (1868-1954) produced his five-volume Cançoner popular between 1903 and 1913. This was a bound collection of 100 broadsides that were originally sold separately at between 10 and 25 cèntims a copy. Each of the broadsides comprised a picture, the words and music, and scholarly notes.³⁴ Some of the songs Capmany collected himself; others he got from other collections such as Pelai Briz. He used a range of artists for the illustrations and engaged the help of other folklorists to write the notes. It is clear that Capmany was attempting to make the songs as attractive as possible to a new audience - city dwellers who had lost their own songs but not the love of their own culture and traditions - without sacrificing scholarly integrity. The whole was done in considerable style, generally following the then-fashionable Art Nouveau manner of Modernisme. What is also clear is that Capmany chose his songs with care, and his selection includes possibly the finest melodies in the Catalan tradition.

Another important achievement of Capmany was his fully-annotated manual El ball i la dansa popular a Catalunya published in 1930. This contains full descriptions, illustrations, dance steps and music for thirteen of the main Catalan folk dances. This was one of the first instances of a Catalan folklorist covering both folk song and dance.

Capmany's work coincides with another cultural phenomenon in Catalonia: excursionisme. If the city was associated with espanyolització and modernisation, then the country was associated

³³ See, for example, Josep Massot i Muntaner, Salvador Pueyo & Oriol Martorell, Els segadors: himne nacional de Catalunya (Barcelona: Departament de Cultura de la Generalitat de Catalunya, 1987), passim, esp. pp. 44-46.

³⁴ See the example given in Figure 16 on p. 94.

with catalanitat and tradition.³⁵ City dwellers went on visits to the countryside not only for health and the landscape but also to experience the way of life of the people whom their parents and grandparents had left behind when seeking their fortune in the city. The excursionistes became keen collectors of folk songs (Joan Amades being probably the most famous example),³⁶ and the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya (CEC) published several works on the subject, the most important of which is probably the Cançoner del Calic.³⁷

Joan Prat, alias el Calic, lived in Bagà and was 76 when 135 of his songs were published in 1913. He in turn spoke with respect of the singer he had learnt much from: El Zot de Gòsol, born in 1794. Thus el Calic provides a window on history going back - in theory, at least - to the end of the 18th century. His repertoire included songs in Catalan and in Castilian. His situation in relation to the oral tradition is particularly interesting because of his attitude to Catalan folk song. As an illiterate, he had perforce learnt all his songs orally. In his day, the singing tradition was rich and creative. It was the height of bad manners to be given a song and not give one back, and it was quite normal for songs or verses of songs to be composed and improvised by the singer, to either a new or an existing tune. On one occasion he received a vestit de vellut in exchange for a song.³⁸ It is clear from the notes of the 1922 Anglès-Bohigas field trip³⁹ to Berga and the area surrounding Bagà that the OCPC was fully aware of his importance.

Because the impulse for song collecting came from Barcelona, it is important to recognise the changes that were happening in the artistic world, because not only was song collection affected, but also song publication and performance in the city. By the time that the Cançoner del Calic had been published, the Catalan artistic trend was already moving on from Modernisme to Noucentisme. As Marfany deftly puts it,

³⁵ Llorenç Prats, Dolors Llopert & Joan Prat, La cultura popular a Catalunya: estudiosos i institucions 1853-1981 (Barcelona: Serveis de Cultura Popular, 1982), p. 28.

³⁶ Lluís Calvó, 'Joan Amades i Gelats, biografia' in El món de Joan Amades (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de Cultura, 1991), p. 128.

³⁷ J Serra i Vilaró, El cançoner del Calic (Barcelona: Butlletí del C.E.C., 1913-14).

³⁸ Serra i Vilaró, p. 10.

³⁹ Materials, I:2, p. 229.

Modernisme was overtaken by modernisation.⁴⁰ Whereas Modernisme celebrated the artist unfettered by the daily grind (one might think of the gentleman poet, for example, such as Maragall⁴¹ or - in a different context - the Arts and Crafts movement in Britain) Noucentisme recognised the realities of life: artists needed to earn money and artistic work needed a professional supporting infrastructure. Proper musical research was no different in its demands.

The composer Felip Pedrell (1841-1922) produced his massive three-volume Cancionero musical popular español in 1917-1922, but this work included songs in Catalan along with songs in Galician and Castilian, as if these were all simply different flavours of Spanish folk song. The breadth of scope, however, is a measure of the deep knowledge of the man, rather than an indication of his ideology; indeed, it may be that the format of this work, published in his final years, had been dictated by considerations of marketing, or indeed of Spanish nationalism, which was in its heyday at the time.

Pedrell was also the leading light behind the Orfeó Català, an organisation of musicians who celebrated Catalan music through research, composition and performance. The Orfeó's membership is a roll-call of famous Catalan folk music collectors of the early 20th century: Higiní Anglès, Joan Llongueres, Joan Amades, Pere Bohigas, Francesc Pujol and Baltasar Samper, to mention only a few. It was the Orfeó, at the instigation of Pedrell, that began one of the great works of folk-song collection, the Obra del cançoner popular de Catalunya (OCPC). The intention and scope of this work was truly enormous: to collect the words, music and background information on every song throughout the Catalan-speaking lands, using the best available techniques. This meant scientific method, a proper supporting organisation and funding. In other words, the origins of the OCPC in practice were thoroughly noucentista, even if the motivation had originally been modernista. In the event, the amount of material collected far exceeded anyone's expectations in a very short time, and the work was brought to a halt at the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War.

It should not be assumed, however, that all Catalan folk-song research was subsumed into the OCPC during the period of its activity. Other, independent research projects were recognised and encouraged

⁴⁰ Marfany, 'El Modernisme', p. 123.

⁴¹ Marfany, 'Joan Maragall', Història de la literatura catalana, Vol VIII, p. 235.

and their results included in a general index or catalogue of song collections produced by the OCPC, known as the cèdules-fonts. One such major work was Sara Llorens's Cançoner de Pineda, published in 1931.⁴² This contains the words, music and notes for over 200 songs. As with the OCPC, the work is considerably enhanced by including photographs of singers and their surroundings at the time of collection. Another important collection produced by an OCPC researcher was the Cançoner popular religiós de Catalunya, of Francesc Baldelló, published in 1932. That same year, Francesc de B. Moll produced his Cançons populars mallorquines, containing several hundred single-verse corrandes, sadly without music.

In addition to the above, at least two other major Catalan collections were made around the same period: Folklore del Lluçanès and the Cançoner del Ripollès. These, however, have had to wait over half a century before publication, the former in 1997 and the latter in 1998. They are dealt with later in this chapter.

2.3 The Franco Years and the Role of Joan Amades

The hostility of the Franco regime to Catalan language and culture is well documented.⁴³ Yet in spite of his determination to eliminate Catalan separatism, Franco did not kill off publication of collected material by researchers who survived both the end of the OCPC project and the Civil War. True, with the exception of the Balearic Islands, the Caudillo tolerated the Catalan language only as part of the cultural past of the Spanish people, rather than the cultural present of Catalan speakers. As for Catalan folklore, he permitted it to be expressed only as a constituent part of a single Spanish culture, controlled by the state.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, some important works did appear. Josep Subirà published his Cançons populars catalanes, in the series Monografies històriques de Catalunya in 1948, and in 1951 Joan Amades produced his monumental Cançoner with the words and music of thousands of songs in his three-volume Folklore de Catalunya. Many

⁴² Sara Llorens de Serra, Cançoner de Pineda (Barcelona: Horta, 1931, repr. Alta Fulla, 1992).

⁴³ Josep Benet, Catalunya sota el règim franquista, 1st edn (rev) (Barcelona: Blume, 1978), passim, esp. pp 248-265 and 386-387. See also Francesc Ferrer i Gironès, La persecució política de la llengua catalana, (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1985), pp. 177-202.

⁴⁴ Peter Evans, 'Cultural Nationalism', in Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction, ed. by Helen Graham & Jo Labanyi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 216.

songs also appeared in his even more massive five-volume Costumari català, published between 1950 and 1956, and which explains Catalan traditions in great detail following the calendar.

Joan Amades (1890-1959) has over the years received a good deal of criticism, particularly as a result of Costumari català, which contains numerous inaccuracies of detail. A reasoned and balanced assessment of his life and achievements as well as details of all his many publications will be found in El món de Joan Amades, a work published by the Generalitat de Catalunya to accompany an exhibition in Barcelona to mark the centenary of his birth. It is worth summarising here some of the points it makes, however. Amades was born in Barcelona and after a cursory education began his career as a draper and second-hand bookseller. Despite (or more likely because of) his lack of formal qualifications he taught himself largely through a workers' cultural organisation, the Ateneu Enciclopèdic Popular, which also introduced him to excursionisme. Within this organisation he became a leading light in Catalan Esperanto circles and then it seems he began to take an interest in collecting folklore on his excursions. He collected songs, tales, riddles and customs, and amassed a huge amount of information at first hand. He was only too well aware that this folklore was disappearing quickly, and he promoted collection tirelessly at conferences and in groups that he attended. By the time the Civil War broke out he was a respected figure in cultural circles both in Catalonia and abroad. His chief assets were a prodigious memory (on which he came to rely too much) and great charm. Set against this were his appalling and failing eyesight and his lack of education. Yet he was a prolific writer. By the time war broke out he had already published over sixty books, plus numerous articles and papers on the subject of folklore. During the war he was given the task of storing away objects of value in the archaeological museum in the Poble espanyol, where he was now working, and clearly his politics did nothing to offend the Franco regime thereafter. As a result, he continued to work on and write about folklore, even after a stroke in 1947 which paralysed his right side, up until his death in 1959. Because of his kindly and amusing nature and because he wrote in such an accessible way it is fair to say that in spite of the errors in his works he did more than almost anyone to keep Catalan folklore alive and green in people's minds during the dark years of the dictatorship. This must have contributed to the healthy rebirth of post-Francoist Catalonia; after all, folklore is one of the bedrocks of any culture. By the time of his death, Joan Amades had produced some 250 books and many more papers and articles, some of which are still unpublished.

However, from the point of view of folk song, his central work remains his Cançoner, part of his Folklore de Catalunya trilogy.

Because of the suspicion attached to the quality of Amades's work, it is necessary to qualify his Cançoner. In fact, in all of his song collecting he was accompanied by Joan Tomàs, who was a qualified musician and who was responsible for all of the musical notation. Indeed, sometimes he had to collect the words and make notes too, because of problems with Amades's eyesight. The one criticism that Tomàs makes in retrospect is not about the songs themselves, but that some of the dates, places and singers are wrong - a significant failure but not, I think, a crucial one.⁴⁵ This is useful information because it allows us to use Amades's encyclopaedic collection with a certain degree of confidence.

Beginning in 1950 an important series of anthologies of Valencian songs and dances were published by the Institució Alfons el Magnànim. These books were in a series entitled Cuadernos de música folklórica valenciana and cover song and dance. I have yet to examine the first thirteen books in this series, which I know only from references in other works. The later and more recently published volumes that I have examined contain texts, music and background notes, each volume concentrating on a specific topic or place. The books are written in Castilian, hence my use of that language in citing them. Perhaps more importantly still, the Valencians pioneered the idea of a commercially available archive of their folk music, the Fonoteca de Materials, with field recordings going back to 1915. These recordings anticipate by many decades the work done on the Fonoteca de Música Tradicional Catalana in Catalonia by Josep Crivillé.

As the Franco years wore on, the iron grip of Castilian culture on the Països Catalans gradually relaxed. More books in Catalan were published and some recordings in Catalan also appeared. In 1967 Joan Manuel Serrat produced his LP record Cançons tradicionals in Catalan, with sleeve notes in the same language by Oriol Martorell, an important musicologist and son of an OCPC researcher. The notes, in the form of a short essay, remind readers - or even make them aware - of the enormous cultural legacy of the OCPC, and are a subtle yet stirring call to the author's countrymen to revive the songs as a living tradition. At about the same time, Maria del Mar Bonet began producing records of folk songs from her native Majorca. These singers

⁴⁵ Joan Tomàs, 'Publicaciones de música popular en Cataluña (revistas, libros, colecciones, discos)' in Acta Musicologica, XXXII, 1960, cited in El món de Joan Amades, pp. 183-184.

were associated with a re-emerging sense of identity that was expressed in contemporary songs written in Catalan by themselves and others such as Lluís Llach and Raimon, in a genre known as Nova Cançó.⁴⁶

2.4 Post-Franco Work: Picking Up the Pieces

Following the death of Franco in 1975 and the establishment of regional autonomy under the new constitution, more systematic work began again on traditional song. However, it has been on nothing like the pre-Franco scale, and has been dominated by the work of one man: Pare Josep Massot i Muntaner, at Montserrat Abbey. Apart from being a prolific writer on other Catalan cultural matters, he has been responsible for ensuring the publication of the following major works relating to Catalan folk song:

- Cançoner popular català of Pere Bohigas (1983), one of the OCPC field workers. Originally published in 1938, it was pulped by the Franco regime. It contains the words of 129 songs with notes plus 120 corrandes in two volumes. Sadly, there is no music.
- Cançoner musical de Mallorca of Josep Massot i Planes (1984). This major collection by the grandfather of Josep Massot i Muntaner contains the words and music for some 350 traditional songs, dances and instrumental pieces. The editorial work on the music was done by Baltasar Bibiloni, while Pare Massot provided the introduction and amplified his grandfather's notes to include collection details where possible.
- Ideari cançonístic Aguiló of Joan Punti i Collell (1993), another of the OCPC team. This is an analysis of Marià Aguiló i Fuster's approach to folk song, which languished unpublished for fifty years.
- Estudis sobre la cançó popular of Baltasar Samper (1994), yet a third member of the OCPC team. This is a collection of Samper's papers on the subject of folk song.

⁴⁶ Jordi Garcia-Soler, La nova cançó (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1976), passim, esp. pp. 101-108.

See also Llorenç Soldevila, La nova cançó (1958-1987): balanç d'una acció cultural (Argentona: L'Aixernador, 1993), passim, esp. pp. 98-101 and 283-288.

- Materials de l'obra del cançoner popular de Catalunya. So far (between 1993 and 2000), Massot has produced seven additional volumes in this series, in - perhaps confusingly - eight books, which I describe elsewhere in this thesis.

In terms of volume, the next most important researcher has been Pare Rafel Ginard Bauçà, who produced his four-volume Cançoner popular de Mallorca in 1979 after forty years of research. The first three volumes contain some 13,000 short songs of the corrantes type. Volume 4 contains over 700 longer songs, including 270 ballads. Each volume also contains a substantial essay by Francesc de Borja Moll on the subject matter. In addition, many thousands of textual variants are included. As with Moll's 1932 collection, there is no music; one can only imagine the comprehensiveness of it had the music been included.

The outstanding figure in Valencian folk-song research is Salvador Seguí Perez. Like Josep Crivillé, he is a professor of music. He followed his Cancionero musical de la provincia de Alicante of 1973 with the compendious Cancionero musical de la provincia de Valencia published in 1980. The latter contains nearly 1400 items, of which 1300 are songs with music. Sadly, Seguí provides only brief analysis, but the sources of the songs and the informants are given. One useful feature of his work is the separation of the songs into three distinct groups: those in Valencian, those in Castilian from Valencian-speaking areas and those in Castilian from Castilian-speaking areas. This is particularly valuable given the linguistic boundary that passes through Valencia, and enables the reader to see areas of commonality and distinction between the two sides of the linguistic divide. This boundary is shown in Figure 1 below. In 1990 Seguí published an equivalent Cancionero with songs from the third Valencian province, Castellón. However, at the time of writing I have been able to examine only the volume from Valencia. More investigative work is required to supplement the information given here to understand the true breadth and depth of Valencian folk-song collecting.



Figure 1 : The Països Catalans and the Linguistic Boundary

Contrasting sharply in content with the work of Ginard is the three-volume Música tradicional catalana of Josep Crivillé, published in 1981-83.⁴⁷ Crivillé concentrates particularly on the music. Volume I contains children's songs and volume II Christmas songs. Both contain extensive analysis of the music, with few notes on the words themselves. However, the brief notes often give details of when and

⁴⁷ Josep Crivillé i Bargalló, Música tradicional catalana, 3 vols (Barcelona: Clivis, 1981-83).

why a particular song was performed. Volume III contains dance tunes only, and is far bigger than the other two volumes put together. As far as I am aware, it is the biggest single collection of Catalan traditional dance music.

An important volume of material recovered from before the Civil War is Folklore del Lluçanès, the collection of Josep Maria Vilarmau i Cabanes, a landowner and local alcalde who was not only a poet, folklorist and passionate Catalanist but also a staunch Nationalist who joined Franco's Falange after the Civil War.⁴⁸ This is not as contradictory as it may seem; reactionary Catalanism had several affinities with Francoist ideologies. What he thought of the Francoist purges on Catalan culture and language would be interesting to know, but is not recorded. Folklore del Lluçanès was not published until 1997, 50 years after his death, when it was rescued by the Grup de Recerca Folklòrica d'Osona. The work contains some 150 songs with music, folk tales, dances, children's games and photographs. The evidence of the book shows that the quality of Vilarmau's collecting is comparable with the work of the OCPC, and was done at roughly the same time. His work helps us to understand how it was that others, such as Joan Amades, managed to continue their folklore research and publication during the Franco era: their work was not regarded as politically subversive. While the activity of collecting Catalan folk songs could be given a political meaning, it did not inevitably bear such a meaning, and the actual content of the songs remains substantially neutral in political terms. In turn, this explains why the later Nova Cançó singers moved away from singing traditional material to writing their own protest songs: they found none in the tradition.

The most recent major publication is the Cançoners del Ripollès, by Maria Antònia Juan and Jordi Mascarella.⁴⁹ Produced in 1998, it contains nearly 500 songs with music collected around Ripoll between 1903 and 1922 and never published before. It categorises the songs clearly and also contains a short analysis as well as details of variants and informants. This work underlines, if such underlining were necessary, the quantity of collecting carried out in the early part of the 20th century. It is part of the legacy of the important collector and scholar Rossend Serra i Pagès (1863-1929). He taught a

⁴⁸ Josep M. Vilarmau i Cabanes, Folklore del Lluçanès, ed. J. Aiats, I. Roviró & X. Roviró (Barcelona: DINSIC, 1997), p. 18.

⁴⁹ Maria Antònia Juan i Nebot & Jordi Mascarella i Rovira, Cançoners del Ripollès (Ripoll: Centre d'Estudis Comarcals del Ripollès, 1998).

generation of researchers to cover areas systematically. The Cançoner del Ripollès is the fruit of his pupils; the Cançoner de Pineda is another, as is Folklore del Lluçanès. Serra himself seems to have published little, but he left a wealth of unpublished material now held at Montserrat Abbey and catalogued by Massot in volume IV fascicle 2 of Materials. His library of books (some 3,700 items) is held in the Biblioteca de l'Arxiu Municipal de Barcelona. Serra i Pagès, the éminence grise of Catalan folk song, is worthy of a research project in his own right.

A number of smaller collections made by various folklorists have been published since 1975 and continue to appear, as research develops, in Catalonia particularly as a result of the Carrutxa project based in Reus, which has produced two significant collections: the Cançoner tradicional de Baix Camp i Montsant,⁵⁰ and the more recent Rasquera, cançons de la tradició oral.⁵¹ Meanwhile, a second set of volumes in the Cuadernos de música folklórica valenciana appeared in the 1970s and a third set in the 1990s. This last set contains children's songs from Aldaia and a collection of music and songs from Cocentaina, one of the places visited before the war by the OCPC.

Two other recent works are also worthy of special mention:

- Si tu te'n fas la lluna, by Francesc Caballé.⁵² This contains songs collected from the oral tradition in 1995 in Bagà, and convincingly demonstrates that the publication of the Cançoner del Calic and the collecting and publication done by the OCPC has by no means exhausted what is still a live and flourishing tradition, in the Bagà area at least.

- Lo molinar, by Lluís Borau and Carles Sancho. This cançoner, produced in 1996, is the second volume in a series about the folklore of the catalanoparlant Matarranya and Mequinensa regions in eastern Aragon. Apart from the intrinsic merits of the songs themselves, the work is interesting because it demonstrates that the French border is not the only modern political boundary that fails to correspond to the limits of Catalan language and culture.

⁵⁰ Gabriel Ferré, Salvador Rebés & Isabel Ruiz, Cançoner tradicional de Baix Camp i Montsant (Barcelona: Alta Fulla, 1988).

⁵¹ Salvador Palomar & Salvador Rebés, Rasquera, cançons de la tradició oral (Reus: Carrutxa, 1990).

⁵² Francesc Caballé, Si tu te'n fas la lluna (Barcelona: Columna, 1995).

In terms of secondary works, the most important publications have come from three sources:

- Josep Crivillé who produced volume 7: El folklore musical of the Historia de la música española. The second edition of this (1998) seems to approach Catalan folk song simply as a branch of Spanish folk song, probably because it is a volume of a series on Spanish music. It analyses musical structure as well as the words and genres, but because of its broad scope it cannot hope to analyse Catalan folk song in any depth.
- Salvador Rebés, who edited the proceedings of a conference held in Reus in 1990 on the subject of traditional song. This volume contains much recent thinking by Spanish (including Catalan) folklorists. Rebés is also a leading figure in the Carrutxa research group, which has produced two volumes of working papers on Catalan folk song.⁵³
- Josep Romeu i Figueras, who first attracted attention with his critique of the ballad El comte Arnau⁵⁴ in 1947. This paper was declared to be the first critical work on Catalan folk song to be published since Milà i Fontanals' Observaciones.⁵⁵ (It should be remembered that the papers of Samper and Aguiló were not published until Massot rescued them.) A professor at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, Romeu has published three significant works related to La nit de sant Joan (Midsummer's night),⁵⁶ Christmas⁵⁷ and folklore analysis.⁵⁸ The scope of all three works is greater than just folk song, and the music is not covered at all. Nevertheless, the

⁵³ Fulls de treball de Carrutxa, ed. by Salvador Rebés, 2 vols (Reus: Migdia, 1991-94).

⁵⁴ Josep Romeu i Figueras, El Comte Arnau: la formació d'un mite (Barcelona: Ayma, 1947).

⁵⁵ Josep Romeu i Figueras, Materials i estudis de folklore (Barcelona: Alta Fulla, 1993), introduction, p.5.

⁵⁶ Josep Romeu i Figueras, La nit de Sant Joan (Barcelona: Alta Fulla, 1993).

⁵⁷ Josep Romeu i Figueras, Les nadales tradicionals (Barcelona: Alta Fulla, 1996).

⁵⁸ Josep Romeu i Figueras, Materials i estudis de folklore (Barcelona: Alta Fulla, 1993).

analysis in all Romeu's work is deep and interesting, helping to put Catalan traditional song in context.

Significant secondary works by other writers include the following.

- El cançoner nadalenc català al Principat de Catalunya (1853-1951) by Carme Oriol Carazo.⁵⁹ Apart from providing a thorough analysis of Catalan Christmas carols, the author also provides useful criticism of the work of Joan Llongueres and Joan Amades.
- La cultura popular a Catalunya, by Llorenç Prats, Dolors Llopart and Joan Prat. This is essential background reading since it provides a history of folklore (including folk song) research in Catalonia between 1853 and 1981. It provides much meat to flesh out the bare bones I have outlined here.
- Singularitats de la cançó popular catalana, by Bernhard Rövenstrunck.⁶⁰ In my view Rövenstrunck, whilst no less rigorous in his approach than Crivillé, analyses Catalan folk music in a much more accessible way.

It will be very clear to the reader by now that the corpus of source material is huge, the fraction of it that has been published is small and the amount of analysis of it available so far (up to 2001) is smaller still. This corpus is augmented by an increasing amount of recorded source material available to the public, much of it produced in Valencia as the Fonoteca de Materials, currently containing 26 volumes of gramophone records, tapes and CDs, and published by the Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Ciència, part of the Generalitat Valenciana. To this collection must be added the six volumes of Catalan music produced in Barcelona by the Fonoteca de Música Tradicional Catalana in the Centre de Promoció de la Cultura Popular i Tradicional Catalana, part of the Generalitat de Catalunya, under the direction of Josep Crivillé assisted by Ramon Vilar. And this is to say nothing of the various miscellaneous recordings that have been produced over the years in all parts of the Països Catalans.

⁵⁹ Carme Oriol Carazo, El cançoner nadalenc català al Principat de Catalunya (1853-1951) (Barcelona, Abadia de Montserrat, 1995).

⁶⁰ Bernat Rövenstrunck, Singularitats de la cançó popular catalana, tr. from the German original by Josep Casanovas (Barcelona: Clivis, 1979).

2.5 Present-day Activities and Research

One of the most striking aspects of Catalan traditional song is its virtual disappearance. I deal with this particular matter elsewhere in this thesis.⁶¹ However, over the last few years there has been something of a folk revival within the Països Catalans, very much paralleling the revivals in other countries in the 1950s and 60s. Although it should be seen within a context of wider folk activity covering dance, festivals and customs throughout the region, song revival is a strong element. This performing aspect is supported by active research by a number of different groups in Reus, Barcelona, Lluçà, l'Horta, Osona and Berga. Significant initiatives at the time of writing include:

Tradicionàrius: Since 1988 this cycle of festivals has taken place over several months in various locations within the Països Catalans. Some of its material is now recorded on CD. It is associated with the Centre Artesà Tradicionàrius (CAT) that has concerts at its base in Barcelona and has regular broadcasts on TVC Channel 33. In its scope and activities CAT is an organisation somewhat larger than a British folk club and somewhat smaller than a national organisation like the English Folk Dance and Song Society.

SOLC: Associated with Tradicionàrius, but significant enough to be treated separately, this is an annual festival of song that takes place at Sobremunt. The performers include revival and traditional singers and the atmosphere is rather like that of a British folk festival. Again, some of its material is available on CD.

Caramella: this is a twice-yearly journal begun in 1999 produced by the combined efforts of Carrutxa in Reus, SOLC in the Lluçanès and Tramus in l'Horta. In format and content it closely resembles English Dance & Song, the quarterly publication of the English Folk Dance & Song Society. Each issue contains news, reviews, details of folk performers and events, research information and some critical material.

Interest in the revival and the associated research is promoted strongly on the Internet via WorldWideWeb sites and bulletin boards. Since the individual locations tend to come and go, the reader is advised to begin any Internet research using one of the global "search engines" such as Google, AltaVista or Yahoo and, using such search terms as etnocat, carrutxa, tradicionariu and departament de cultura to begin with, follow the leads that are thrown up.

⁶¹ see below, p. 178.

3 STUDIES OF THE OBRA DEL CANÇONER POPULAR DE CATALUNYA

3.1 Introduction

Like Gaudí's great church, the Sagrada Família, the OCPC is one of the great unfinished monuments to Catalan art. Originally begun in the 1920s, it consists of a series of volumes devoted to Catalan traditional song, dance and customs. It may be thought of as the result of "second generation" field work.

Because of its sheer size and unfinished nature, it is not possible to give a complete account or analysis here. I have therefore examined three particular aspects:

- the history, scope and coverage of the OCPC;
- musicology and ideology of one of its leading figures (Francesc Pujol), revealing the OCPC as a "monument of its time";
- the exemplary collector (Palmira Jaquetti) showing the OCPC as a resource of lasting value.

The OCPC grew out of an initiative of the Orfeó Català. This organisation has been roundly criticised by Joan-Lluís Marfany, who dismisses its work in collecting folk songs as the invention of tradition and the songs as "velles cançons pràcticament oblidades de tothom, recollides in extremis dels llavis d'alguna vella pagesa en alguna remota masia".⁶² He goes on to declare: "Perquè una cosa que aquestes cançons dites populars no eren és, justament, populars. Hi havia encara qui podia cantar-les per haver-les sentit a casa o al poble, però no eren pas les que la gent cantava normalment, per acompanyar la feina, o tot afeitant-se o rentant-se, o a la taverna."⁶³ He is profoundly mistaken; although folk song may have been lost in the cities and towns, traditional singing was far from dead in rural areas at the time of the Orfeó's activities. Although the Orfeó was very much part of Modernisme, and might thus be accused of lack of realism, it must be remembered that the bulk of collection was done later, when Noucentisme, which succeeded Modernisme, had already established the importance of professionalism, infrastructure and funding for the arts - points that Marfany himself makes elsewhere.⁶⁴ However, rather than produce a detailed refutation of his points, I simply produce the evidence of the OCPC and leave the reader to judge, because the results of the work of Marfany's countrymen and women provide a far more eloquent argument than I could hope to make.

⁶² Joan-Lluís Marfany, La cultura del catalanisme, 2nd edn (Barcelona: Empúries, 1996), p. 311.

⁶³ Marfany, La cultura del catalanisme, p. 312.

⁶⁴ Marfany, 'El Modernisme', p. 140.

3.2 History, Scope and Coverage

The first generation of collectors in the 19th century had concerned themselves primarily with collecting the words of folk songs. Even then, there was a strong emphasis on narrative ballads. It was assumed that these were corrupt remains of early noble poetry that had somehow remained in circulation in the hearts and minds of the peasantry. Attempts were made to re-establish and reconstruct what the original words might have been. It was often the case that if music was collected, the tunes were notated only approximately. As a result, folk song collectors were severely castigated by later commentators for alterations to the words, tunes or both.⁶⁵ Catalonia was no different in this regard.

Development of folk-song research improved dramatically in the first few years of the 20th century, and a new scientific objectivity was called for to treat both song and singer as important in their own right. The importance of the music was also stressed, no doubt aided by this time by the existence of wax-cylinder gramophone recording.

In 1921 a new initiative for the collection of folk songs was proposed by a group associated with the Orfeó Català, the foremost choral society in Catalonia, whose president was the composer Felip Pedrell. The project was typical of an increasingly scientific and analytic noucentista age and represented a new stage beyond the romantic approaches of the Renaixença.⁶⁶

The OCPC was based on methodical and thorough field research, in which fidelity to the collected source was paramount. It made use of a research manual edited by J. M. Batista i Roca,⁶⁷ who based the contents on the Handbook of Folklore published by the Folklore Society in London in 1914. Full details of music, words, singers and places were recorded. Work began in 1922, with Pedrell as head of its consultative council. Though he died that same year, the group continued its research up until the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War

⁶⁵ See, for example, Bertrand H. Bronson, The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads, 4 vols, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959-72), Vol. I, Introduction.

⁶⁶ Arthur Terry, 'Catalan Literary Modernisme and Noucentisme: from Dissidence to Order', in Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction, p. 57.

⁶⁷ Manual per a recerques d'etnografia de Catalunya, ed. J. M. Batista i Roca (Barcelona: Arxiu d'Etnografia i Folklore de Catalunya, 1922).

in 1936, after which only limited editing of the material was done, and that petered out in 1938. Following the end of the war, Franco's suppression of Catalan cultural manifestations ensured that the work never restarted.

During the period of field research, many thousands of songs were collected from all over the Catalan-speaking areas, and most of these have never been published. After the death of Franco it transpired that the collected material had survived and much was held in Montserrat Abbey. More had also escaped to Switzerland, and was returned to the Abbey. Although no further field work has been done relating to the OCPC, in recent years Josep Massot i Muntaner has painstakingly indexed the material at the Abbey and produced five (so far: 2000) further volumes of collected songs. His indexes and song collection form the latest eight books of the OCPC Materials, which, because of the enormous amount of archive material (estimated at some 20,000 songs) to be dealt with, must necessarily be unfinished.

The fruits of the OCPC, then, are a series of books, diverse in content, incomplete and inconsistent in structure, as will be seen. It consists at present of the following thirteen books, organised into eleven volumes.

Materials Volume I Fascicle 1 (1926): Observations, appendices and notes on the Romancerillo catalán of Manuel Milà i Fontanals. It includes previously unpublished notes by Milà, which clarify a number of uncertainties, including the sources of many of the songs.

Materials Volume I Fascicle 2 (1928): Field notes, monographs and chronicle. It contains:

- a tribute to Manuel Milà i Fontanals by Jaume Massot i Torrents.
- notes of the Joan Llongueres-Joan Tomàs field trip to the Olot area between 19 July and 18 September 1922. The notes include photographs and details of the area, the people and the recording conditions. Some 830 tunes (100 new) and 860 texts (over 120 new) were collected, but only 26 are given.
- notes on the Higiní Anglès-Pere Bohigas field trips to the Solsona area between 10 July and 7 August 1922 and the Berga area between 20 September and 4 October 1922. Again, the notes include photographs and details of the areas, the people and the recording conditions. 1,083 tunes and 1,255 texts were collected, but only 27 are given.
- a musical study of goigs de roser by Lluís Romeu, with 63 examples.
- a paper given by Francesc Pujol in French on the OCPC to a conference in Vienna on the history of music in between 25 and 31

March, 1927. It contains selections from the field notes, which may or may not be published elsewhere. There are 44 songs given, with incomplete texts, and one long dance tune with words.

- a tribute to Felip Pedrell by Higini Anglès.
- a chronicle of the OCPC by Joan Puntí i Collell, giving details of how the project was set up in 1921-22 and the rules to be followed by collectors. One song is given as a collected specimen.

Materials Volume II (1928): Field notes, monographs and chronicle. It contains:

- a tribute to Marià Aguiló i Fuster by Joan Puntí i Collell.
- notes of the Josep Barberà-Pere Bohigas field trip to the Alta Segarra, Cardoner and Ribera del Segre areas between 8 September and 19 October 1923. As usual, the notes include photographs and details of the area, the people and the recording conditions. A total of 628 songs were collected, but only 81 are given.
- a monograph on chromaticism, modality and tonality in Catalan folk melodies by Francesc Pujol.
- notes of the Joan Tomàs-Bartolomeu Llongueres field trip to the Girona-Olot area, between 29 August and 7 September 1923. The notes include details of the area, the people and the recording conditions but no photographs. A total of 402 songs and tunes were collected. Only 60 are given.
- a monograph on Gregorian chant elements in Catalan folk melodies by Francesc Baldelló, quoting 44 melodies from the collections of Alió, Millet, Bertran i Bros, Capmany, Gibert and Pedrell, the Cançoner del Calic and the Arxiu de l'Orfeó Català.
- a chronicle of the OCPC by Joan Puntí i Collell, giving details of how the project progressed in 1923.

Materials Volume III (1929): Field notes and chronicle. It contains:

- notes of the Joaquim and Just Sansalvador i Cortès field trip to the Concentaina⁶⁸ area of Valencia between 1 August and 5 October 1924. The notes include photographs and details of the area, the people and the recording conditions. A total of 1,676 songs and tunes were collected. Only 82 are given.
- notes of the Josep Barberà-Pere Bohigas field trip to the Calaf and Cervera areas between 23 August and 9 September 1924. The notes include photographs and details of the area, the people and the

⁶⁸ This is the spelling given in Materials. Modern orthography renders it as Cocentaina, omitting the first n.

recording conditions. A total of 316 songs and tunes were collected. Only 43 are given.

- notes of the Joan Tomàs-Bartolomeu Llongueres field trip to the Olot area, between 8 and 30 August 1924. The notes include photographs, details of the area, the people and the recording conditions. A total of 321 songs and tunes were collected. Only 66 are given.
- notes of the Baltasar Samper-Miquel Ferrà field trip to northern Majorca, between 4 August and 30 September 1924. The notes include photographs, details of the area, the people and the recording conditions. A total of 649 songs and tunes were collected. Only 82 are given.
- a chronicle of the OCPC by Joan Puntí i Collell, giving details of how the project progressed in 1924.

Materials Volume IV Fascicle 1(1993): Inventory of the archive of the OCPC safeguarded at Montserrat throughout the Franco years and prepared by Josep Massot i Muntaner. It is divided into two more or less equal parts:

- Series A: an index of the archived notes of Marià Aguiló i Fuster, comprising thousands of papers. The contents give information on Aguiló's factitious re-creation of supposed original forms of the ballads. They also reveal that he not only collected thousands of songs, but organised others to do likewise. Nor did he restrict his work to narrative ballads; he collected every kind of song, plus folk tales and customs. Massot points out that it is not the only source of Aguiló material; some is held by the Biblioteca de Catalunya and the Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona.
- Series B: an index of all the other archived material that survived in Barcelona. This includes the material and proofs of the first few volumes of Materials, field notes, some lesser-known song collections and indexes.

Materials Volume IV Fascicle 2(1994): Inventory of the archive of the OCPC safeguarded in Switzerland and prepared by Josep Massot i Muntaner. It is divided into two parts:

- Series C: an index of the main body of material of the OCPC, entitled Missions, concursos i altre material de l'obra del cançoner. As I understand it, this series is closely related to the Barcelona archive Series B described in Fascicle 1. It contains no fewer than 243 bound volumes of the collections. Only samples of the material were ever published in Materials; this is the complete source, as far as it exists, for every year up to 1935. It also

contains the source material for other collections, such as Sara Llorens's Cançoners de Pineda, as well as the cèdules-fonts. These latter were the result of a separate OCPC project to create a single source for all known Catalan folk songs systematically organised in a predefined format, one song per sheet, with words, music and details of singer, performance and collector. Every known book published up to the time of indexing and every known manuscript not part of the OCPC field collection was included, ranging from the books of Milà i Fontanals to the manuscripts and books of lesser-known collectors in the years before the OCPC began. The inventory shows that collecting was carried out in every part of the Catalan-speaking lands, including the 366 songs collected in France by Jean Poueigh. Because the songs were copied into the cèdules-fonts, the result is a treasure-trove of source material. For example, it contains over 3,000 songs, many with music, collected by Rossend Serra i Pagès and over 2,500 collected by Aguiló. Yet we know that the former published none (if we exclude the recent Cançoners del Ripollès), and the latter a mere 33.

- Series S: an index of the archived notes of Rossend Serra i Pagès. Serra died in 1929, but there is no mention in the OCPC of his work. In fact, it seems to be comparable in scope to that of Aguiló. There is an unfinished/unpublished Ideari cançonistic, similar to that of Aguiló, and a deal of folk-song analysis.

To give an idea of the magnitude of the archive, it is perhaps worth noting that each of the fascicles of volume IV is equal in size to any of the other OCPC documents, i.e. around 400 pages approximately A4 in size. Furthermore, in a preface to this volume, Massot makes the following observation:

Quan aquesta obra ja estava a punt d'aparèixer, han arribat a Montserrat noranta-una caixes més, procedents de Suïssa, que contenen cinquanta mil fitxes redactades abans de la guerra a les oficines de l'Obra del Cançoner. En un altre volum dels Materials les donarem a conèixer amb més detall.

Materials Volume V (1995): History of the OCPC and material complementary to the inventory of the archive of the OCPC, prepared by Josep Massot i Muntaner. In this volume he keeps his promise and reveals the contents of the 98 (not 91) boxes, which contain 25,000 papers, not the 50,000 he originally estimated. The volume has three parts:

- A diary of the major events throughout the life of the OCPC project.
- The proceedings of the Consultative Council of the Obra del cançoner popular de Catalunya, throughout the life of the project.
- Duplicates of the cèdules-fonts already received (Series C), including microfilms. This provides the bulk of the contents of the 98 boxes.
- A book containing an inventory of the cèdules-fonts (source index) that had come from Switzerland. It has 25,013 entries, but Massot can account for only (!) 24,938 items in the Swiss material. The rest, he says, must have been lost in the dark days following July 1936. The total number of melodies in the archive is 4,833, according to Massot.

Materials Volume VI (1996): Field notes, prepared by Josep Massot i Muntaner. It contains:

- a list of all field trips taken since 1921. These carried on every year until 1936, and most of the field notes still exist, as noted in volume IV. An unsponsored trip took place to the Vall d'Aran in 1940, but no field notes survive.
- notes of the Josep Barberà-Pere Bohigas field trip to the Vallès area on 23-28 July 1924, 9-11 August 1925 and 15-21 September 1925. The notes include photographs and details of the area, the people and the recording conditions. The total number of songs collected was 270.⁶⁹ Only 60 are given.
- notes of the Joan Tomàs field trip to Les Peces d'Albinyada in the Penedès area, on 1-2 February 1925. The notes include details of the area, the people and the recording conditions, but no photographs. The total number of songs collected was 41.⁷⁰ Only 17 are given.
- notes of the Palmira Jaquetti-Maria Carbó field trip to Seu d'Urgell, Pallars and Aràn, between 9 July and 3 September 1925. The notes include photographs, details of the area, the people and the recording conditions. The total number of songs collected appears to be 637.⁷¹ Only 85 are given.
- notes of the Joan Tomàs-Antoni Bonell field trip to the Olot area, between 3 and 28 August 1925. The notes include details of the area, the people and the recording conditions, but no photographs. A total of 350 songs and tunes were collected. Only 58 are given.

⁶⁹ Materials, IV:2, p. 438.

⁷⁰ Materials, IV:2, p. 439.

⁷¹ Materials, IV:2, p. 439.

- notes of the Baltasar Samper-Josep Casas field trip to Majorca, between 17 August and 16 September 1925. The notes include photographs, details of the area, the people, the recording conditions and the musical instruments. A total of 644 songs were collected, 236 with tunes.⁷² Only 66 are given.

Materials Volume VII (1997): Field notes, prepared by Josep Massot i Muntaner. It contains:

- notes of the Palmira Jaquetti-Maria Carbó field trip to Pallars and Conca de Tremp between 2 July and 2 September 1926. The notes include details of the area, the people and the recording conditions. A total of 1,412 songs were collected. Only 74 are given.
- notes of the Baltasar Samper-Ramon Morey field trip to Majorca, between 4 August and 8 October 1926. The notes include photographs, details of the area, the people, the recording conditions and the musical instruments. A total of 509 long songs and 1,843 short songs (corrandes) were collected. Only 80 are given of both types in total.
- notes of the Palmira Jaquetti-Maria Carbó field trip to Sant Feliu de Guixols between 1 and 9 January 1927. The notes are brief but give some details of the area, the people and the recording conditions. A total of 160 songs were collected.⁷³ Only 30 are given.
- notes of the Palmira Jaquetti-Enric d'Aoust field trip to Pallars and Ribagorça between 27 June and 31 August 1927. The notes include details of the area, the people and the recording conditions. The total number of songs collected is uncertain, but appears to be 1,600⁷⁴ and Jaquetti points out that they were all different.⁷⁵ Only 55 are given.

Materials Volume VIII (1998): Field notes, prepared by Josep Massot i Muntaner. It contains:

- notes of the Joan Just-Josep Roma field trip to the Castelló area of Valencia between 11 July and 1 September 1927. The notes include details of the area, the people and the recording conditions. The

⁷² Materials, IV:2, p. 441.

⁷³ Materials, IV:2, p. 447.

⁷⁴ Materials, IV:2, p. 448.

⁷⁵ Materials, VII, p. 357.

total number of songs collected appears to be 89,⁷⁶ of which only 80 are given.

- notes from a series of short field trips (generally one day) by Joan Amades and Joan Tomàs between 13 February and 29 May 1927 to collect songs and instrumental music in various locations all over Catalonia, but mostly not very far from Barcelona. The notes include photographs, details of the area, the people and the recording conditions. The total number of items collected is not recorded. 80 items are given, of which less than a quarter are songs.
- notes from a series of short field trips (generally one day) by Joan Amades and Joan Tomàs between 2 October 1927 and 12 May 1929 to collect purely instrumental music in various locations all over Catalonia, but again, mostly not very far from Barcelona. The notes include photographs, details of the area, the people and the recording conditions. The total number of items collected is not recorded. 70 tunes are given.
- notes of the Baltasar Samper-Ramon Morey-Andreu Ferrer field trip to Majorca and Minorca, between 31 July and 17 September 1927. The notes include photographs plus details of the area, the people, the recording conditions and the musical instruments. The total number of songs collected is given as 492 long songs with music plus a further 160 without tunes and 465 short songs. Of this total of 1117 songs only 85 are given.

Materials Volume IX (1999): Field notes, prepared by Josep Massot i Muntaner. It contains:

- notes of the Enric d'Aoust-Palmira Jaquetti field trip to Torroella de Montgrí and L'Estartit between 25 and 28 December 1927. The notes include details of the area, the people and the recording conditions. The total number of songs and tunes collected was 58.⁷⁷ Only 10 are given.
- notes of the Enric d'Aoust-Palmira Jaquetti field trip to the Pallars district between 1 July and 19 August 1928. The notes include details of the area, the people and the recording conditions. A total of 1354 songs were collected,⁷⁸ of which only 75 are given.
- notes of the Josep Roma-Joan Just field trip to the area around Tarragona between 3 July and 7 September 1928. The notes include

⁷⁶ Materials, IV:2, p. 448.

⁷⁷ Materials, IV:2, p. 451.

⁷⁸ Materials, IV:2, p. 452.

details of the area, the people and the recording conditions. The number of songs collected is noted as 383, plus another 88 without tunes. Only 48 are given.

- notes of the Joan Tomàs-Joan Amades field trip to the Alt Empordà district between 19 July and 22 August 1928. The notes include details of the area, the people and the recording conditions. There is an interesting commentary on the success of the mission and the degree to which these collectors felt that they had covered the area, and the degree to which they felt overwhelmed by the sheer quantity of material. Joan Amades reports: "Si haguéssim recollit totes les cançons que ens han estat cantades, i que tenien un valor, hauríem passat de les 1500".⁷⁹ To understand the significance of this statement, it must be realised that Tomàs had already conducted a mission to the same area the previous year with Lluís Millet, and had collected 503 songs.⁸⁰ The number of songs, tunes and street cries recorded by Tomàs and Amades in 1928 was 532. Only 82 are given in the Materials volume.

Materials Volume X (2000): Field notes, prepared by Josep Massot i Muntaner. It contains:

- notes of the Baltasar Samper-Ramon Morey field trip to Majorca, Ibiza and Formentera between 7 August and 27 September 1928. The notes include details of the area, the people and the recording conditions. The totals collected were 341 songs and 210 tunes plus a further collection of 308 pages of songs and tunes already made by Mgr. Isidor Macabich, canon of Ibiza cathedral. Only 133 are given.
- notes of the Enric d'Aoust-Palmira Jaquetti field trip to Torroella de Montgrí, Verges, Pals and l'Escala between 23 December 1928 and 2 January 1929. The notes include details of the area, the people and the recording conditions. A total of 174 songs were collected,⁸¹ but only 48 are given.

Diccionari Volume I (1936): Dance. Prepared by Francesc Pujol and Joan Amades, this was the first of three planned volumes of reference works, and resembles an encyclopaedia rather than a dictionary. The missing works are one on entremesos (which would have covered balls

⁷⁹ Materials, IX, p. 359.

⁸⁰ Materials, IV:2, p. 449. Massot has not yet (2001) published details of this mission.

⁸¹ Materials, IV:2, p. 457.

parlats, folk plays and ritual occasions like the Verges procession) and one on musical instruments and musicians.

What is immediately obvious from the above details is the sheer scale of the task, the richness of the harvest and the enormous amount of material yet to be published. On the basis that each year of collecting produced a volume, then from the evidence given in volume VI⁸² there are probably seven more volumes of the OCPC to come, covering the years from 1930 to 1936. Massot has confirmed to me that this is his estimate. Even then, assuming that similar selection criteria are employed, only perhaps one-sixth of the material collected will be published. That said, the amount of new material to be revealed may not be that great; as Joan Tomàs put it, és molt rar trobar noves cançons.⁸³ Thus if we assume that the publishers of the original volumes were discriminating in their selections, it may be that the bulk of the unpublished material from 1922 to 1926 has little real value. We may possibly apply the same judgement to the discrimination of Massot in the later volumes. Without examining the material, however, it is premature to come to any such conclusions. For instance, if material was not published simply because of repetition in different places, there are possible inferences to be drawn over the extent and possible methods of dissemination of the songs, which in turn will say something about the people and the way they communicated in past centuries. Further investigation is needed here.

It is worth noting the prodigious work rate of the collectors. On the Tomàs-Amades mission to Alt Empordà in 1929, the collectors admit to hearing over 1500 songs in a period of five weeks. This represents an average of over 40 per day to note down had they so chosen. Jaquetti and Aoust, on the other hand did try to collect everything on their 1927 mission to Pallars and Ribagorça. The mission lasted from 27 June to 31 August, but by August 16, Palmira Jaquetti complains of saturation, having by then collected 1,200 songs in 51 days, and that figure excludes the unrecorded repetitions that they might have heard six or seven times a day. This represents a sustained average recording rate of over 24 songs per day. Bearing in mind that they were largely collected in scattered villages only accessible on muleback, and that each journey required making new contacts, finding accommodation and then finding singers with material worth collecting,

⁸² Materials, VI, pp. 11-17.

⁸³ Materials, VI, p. 82.

the energy and commitment of the collectors over quite long periods is remarkable. If we can assume that the as yet unpublished material is of the same quality as that published, then the material given in the published volumes stands testament to the efficiency and quality of the methods used by the OCPC collectors.

The song collecting and indexing came to an abrupt halt in 1936 with the assassination of one of the workers, Joan Sala.⁸⁴ The diary in volume V reveals just how difficult the situation must have been.⁸⁵ Baltasar Samper, for example, was a political activist who was being hunted by the authorities. Joan Puntí was a priest and had to go into hiding. The police raided the OCPC offices and it was only the diplomatic efforts of Francesc Pujol that prevented damage being done. Clearly the situation was becoming untenable. Later that year, as the diary indicates, Pujol and his colleagues sought to save the precious archives by appealing to the Generalitat for protection. In this they were successful, and in July 1937 the President himself, Lluís Companys, signed a decree guaranteeing the safety of the OCPC documents. By October, however, the shelling and bombing of Barcelona had reached a point where such safety could no longer be guaranteed. The material was indexed and then put into two different locations in an attempt to ensure its survival. Meanwhile, efforts continued to get the first volume of the Diccionari printed. This was made even more difficult in that the money to pay for it was in a bank account frozen by the government. According to Massot, it finally appeared after the end of the Civil War; the publication is dated 1936, but that is wrong - a natural subterfuge, given the new political situation.

The other two volumes of the Diccionari were never completed. How much material for them was lost, and how much of what remains at Montserrat is still usable is difficult to say. In correspondence, Massot has informed me that there is very little. However, Joan Amades, one of its editors, produced his monumental Costumari català in 1953, covering much of the same subject matter arranged in the form of calendar customs. Unfortunately, this is a flawed work with such inaccuracies as to render it untrustworthy. Whether the rest of the Diccionari will ever appear seems doubtful.

In addition, there is the mass of material in the cèdules-fonts, mentioned earlier. This, however, has been microfilmed, which means there must be a possibility of it becoming more generally available.

⁸⁴ Materials, VI, p. 17.

⁸⁵ Materials, V, p. 230 et seq.

Notwithstanding the vast amount of material in the OCPC Materials, little critical work has been published on it to date. If only for space reasons, it is not possible within this present thesis to examine all of it, but I have covered some aspects. I have paid special attention to the earlier volumes, since these are long out of print and are difficult to obtain.

3.3 Francesc Pujol: Chromaticism, Modality and Tonality in Catalan Folk Song

The OCPC Materials contain a number of interesting monographs interposed between the various song collections. One of these, Cromatisme, modalitat i tonalitat appears in Materials volume II. It was written in 1928 by one of the leading figures in the OCPC project, Francesc Pujol. It is a highly technical article that deserves critical examination not only because of the subject matter but also because of Pujol's detailed analytical approach.

Though the work itself and indeed the OCPC publications as a whole reveal little personal detail about him, Pujol seems to have been a classically-oriented musician and scholar. He was a member of the Orfeó Català, and is referred to by Joan Llongueres as mestre.⁸⁶ He was one of the group of collectors and collaborators that also included Joan Amades that founded the OCPC in 1922.⁸⁷ In 1927 he presented a paper in French on Catalan folk song at a conference in Vienna on the history of music.⁸⁸ He also collaborated with Joan Amades to produce the Diccionari volume I on dance in 1936. However, unlike Amades, Joan Llongueres, Bohigas and Anglès, Pujol does not seem to have published folk-song collections independently of the OCPC, although he had done some collecting in Sant Joan de les Abadesses.⁸⁹

The introduction to the paper begins with a criticism of the conventional wisdom of the time, which apparently was that indigenous Catalan folk music was essentially diatonic, and that chromaticism was an indication of foreign influence. Pujol sets out to establish from the field recordings of the OCPC that chromaticism is in fact a native feature of Catalan music. Indeed, he criticises earlier collectors, and especially Pelai Briz, for altering the tunes to eliminate evidence of chromaticism, for he also sets out to show that certain forms of chromaticism are specifically Catalan. He states that his

⁸⁶ Materials, I:2, p. 111.

⁸⁷ Materials, I:2, p. 330.

⁸⁸ Materials, I:2, pp 347-404.

⁸⁹ Materials, I:2, p. 426.

primary evidence of the commonplace existence of chromaticism is taken from the results of the Barberà-Bohigas field trip to Alta Segarra in 1923 and the Llongueres-Tomàs trip of 1922. The former trip produced 850-900 songs, of which 81 are published along with the trip report in the same volume as Pujol's article; the latter also produced over 800 texts and melodies, of which only 26 are published.

Pujol is at pains to point out the scientific objectivity of his analysis. He states that he examined all of the unpublished as well as the published material, and that it consistently bears out his conclusions. He remarks that the effects he describes are to be found everywhere; he uses examples from twenty-six singers in ten widely-scattered villages over a period of six weeks. Given the difficulty and slowness of communication between the villages, he argues that the effects found are likely to be general features of the music and not the results of some individual common influence. Pujol also observes that the singers clearly distinguished between their own folk songs and popular songs of the day.

On the face of it, therefore, Pujol adopts a reasonably scientific approach, although it assumes the accuracy of the collectors' notation and the objectivity of the collectors in not influencing their sources. Nevertheless, it is flawed, because it does not take into account the performance aspect and the bond between singer and audience. It is axiomatic in science that it is impossible to make experimental observations without influencing to some degree the phenomenon that is being observed. Folk music collection is no different in this regard. Any song will be affected to some degree, depending on the existing relationship between singer and audience, the conditions of that particular occasion and the extra dimension of communication between performer and audience (always assuming that they can be separated) brought about by the song itself. If the song is sung "in a vacuum" by the singer, the only audience being the collector, it will lack its usual context for performance. For example, a song may be used by a group when working together and its rhythm or melodic decoration may be affected by the work. The same song when used as dance accompaniment may sound quite different, because of the need to maintain a strict dance rhythm. That said, no experiment is perfect and many produce good results. We as readers simply need to be aware of the limitations of Pujol's approach, rather than dismissing his conclusions from the outset.

Pujol sets out his ideas under four main headings: transient chromaticism, structural chromaticism, modality and harmony. I deal now with each of these in turn.

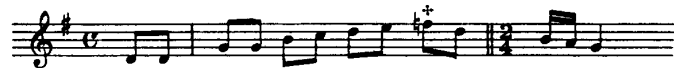
Transient chromaticism is where accidental sharps and flats occur only occasionally within a tune. Pujol classifies these into many kinds, such as "sharpening the mediant in a minor key" and "flattening of the leading note in a major key - very common." This latter is the example shown in Figure 2.

4. Alteració descendent de la sensible en modalitat major. Molt freqüent.

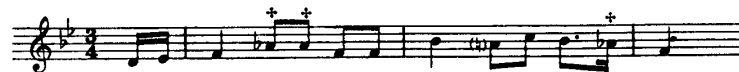
Vida dels soldats (de Sant Martí Sapresa), pàg. 127.



El rei mariner (de Canalda), pàg. 212.



L'esposa morta que parla (d'Odén), pàg. 220.



Els aranyons (de Sant Joan de les Abadesses), pàg. 365.



Aquesta cançó comença, i es manté durant la seva primera meitat, en modalitat menor (to de *la*); sobtadament modula al to de la *subdominant* (to de *re*) en modalitat major i s'hi manté fins al final, amb la particularitat que la *sensible* de la nova tonalitat, o sia, la nota *do*, continua essent sempre natural, i, per tant, alterada, car hauria d'ésser *diesi*.

Mata degolla, ballet (de Sant Feliu de Pallerols), pàg. 366.



Amor contrariada (de La Pobla de Lillet), pàg. 371.



Contrapàs llarg (de Sant Vicents de Torelló), pàg. 397.



Contrapàs llarg (de Sant Vicents de Torelló), pàgs. 402 i 403.



Figure 2 : Example of Pujol's Transient Chromaticism

The page references in Figure 2 refer to volume I fascicle 2 of Materials. The accidentals that Pujol is referring to are indicated by + signs above the staves. The example is typical of the meticulous care that Pujol has taken to identify and classify every type of transient chromaticism that occurs. In his text he makes two other important observations. First, he remarks that at times it is difficult to distinguish structural chromaticism (in which the effect is to produce a key or mode change in the song) from transient chromaticism (in which the effect is momentary and does not change the overall structure of the song). Secondly, he remarks that the rhythms as notated are often complex, but adds that rhythm is a subject requiring special treatment in another study.

Whilst the former observation is well made, the latter is indicative of a problem with his analysis in general. He seems to be approaching the score as if it were a composition, fixed in form or at least deliberately "composed" by the singer. In fact, the pieces appear to be accurate notations of specific performances, warts and all. Many of the singers are in their 60s and 70s; the OCPC is meticulous in such detail. It seems much more likely therefore that a good many of the "chromaticisms" are nothing more than inaccurate pitch by elderly singers. Similarly, some of the rhythmic complexities to which Pujol refers elsewhere are nothing more than the freedom, or rubato, often found with unaccompanied singing, as a communicative element with the audience, through melisma to fit the words or even hiatus caused by shortness of breath in elderly singers. Nevertheless Pujol insists that the transcriptions are absolutely faithful and, following the guidance of the French folklorist Tiersot, insists that they be taken as definitive. He declares that in all cases the singers performed them deliberately in the manner as notated. Bronson's wise words on the clumsiness of musical notation for recording folk-song performance, and the superiority of the use of sound recordings are particularly apt in this regard,⁹⁰ and I cannot accept Pujol's assertions. The recent publication of later volumes of Materials (volumes VI onwards) supports my view. These are covered in more detail elsewhere in this thesis, but the critical points are these. First, the published material in these volumes is taken straight from the field notes and not, as was the case with the earlier volumes, after subsequent editorial work; thus we can test Pujol's assertion. Secondly, all recording was done by manuscript; the only mechanical aid was a metronome, which often seems to have been wildly inaccurate.

⁹⁰ Bronson, I, intro., pp. xxvii-xxviii.

Thirdly, the transcribers seem to have tried in the notation to indicate the variability of individual performances. Fourthly, the field notes are full of errors (wrong number of notes in a bar, missing dots, missing key signatures, and - critically - obviously missing sharps and flats. While it is generally not hard to discern what the transcriber had heard, this is not always the case.

In order to get at the truth, I have corresponded on the matter of field recordings with Josep Massot i Muntaner; in reply he has said that nothing usable has survived. There are some wax cylinders, but these are too fragile to use. If they are OCPC recordings, it is likely that they belong to the later field trips documented in the most recent volumes of Materials published by Massot, and not to the material analysed by Pujol. However, the field recordings produced on CD by the Centre de Promoció de la Cultura Popular i Tradicional Catalana help the listener, more than any manuscript will, to understand the place of chromaticism and variability of performance in Catalan folk song. Their evidence seems to show that Catalan singers are like traditional singers everywhere: they interpret their material spontaneously and the quality of their performance is often inconsistent.

So how Catalan is chromaticism? There is a CD of Spanish traditional singers that accompanies the Romancero of Paloma Díaz-Mas.⁹¹ Although not in Catalan, the unaccompanied songs - which, again, are field recordings - show precisely the same characteristics of inconsistent (that is to say, probably inaccurate) pitch and variable rhythm. Furthermore, they clearly demonstrate that chromaticism is not a particularly Catalan phenomenon in the context of Spanish folk music as a whole, a point strongly made by Torner, who argues that Basque, Catalan, Galician and Asturian music belong to the same family.⁹²

While therefore I do not doubt that there are genuine instances of transient chromaticism in Catalan folk music, I take issue with Pujol's over-exact analysis. As for his assertion that certain types of chromaticism are specifically Catalan, I find it not proven, to use the Scottish legal term. In scientific terms, the differences revealed by the analysis are smaller than the degree of probable error in the data, and he has not taken all experimental conditions into account.

⁹¹ Paloma Díaz-Mas, Romancero (Barcelona: Crítica, 1994).

⁹² Eduardo M. Torner, 'La canción tradicional española', in Folklore y costumbres de España, 3 vols (Barcelona: Martin, 1944, repr. Madrid: Merino, 1988), Vol. II, pp. 84, 88-89.

Pujol's second section deals with structural chromaticism. Here he is referring to changes of key or mode within a song which may last for one or more bars, thereby changing the nature of the melody. The changes are introduced by sharpening or flattening a particular note, and retaining the new key or mode thereafter, or until another change of this type later on. As in the previous section, he gives many examples, the following being typical:

2. Canvi de modalitat damunt una mateixa tònica per alteració ascendent o descendent de la *mediant*.

CANVI DE MENOR A MAJOR.

El bon caçador (de Torà), n.º 36.

La primera part de la cançó és en menor; la segona, en major.

Figure 3 : Example of Pujol's Structural Chromaticism

He is quite right. However, here he commits a mistake as serious as those of folk-song analysts who ignore the music: he ignores the words. The following figure gives the actual score Pujol is referring to. As will be seen, the words consist of a poem where each line ends in -ar and is divided into two hemistichs. When sung, each hemistich is repeated. The first hemistich is in the minor key and the second is in the major. The accidental that forces the change between the minor and major is on the first syllable of the second hemistich, and provides a link between the two halves of the line. By doing so it focuses attention on the second hemistich, which often contains an important amplification or narrative consequence of the first, for example: "I find her asleep/but I do not want to wake her", "I pick a bunch of violets/I lay them on her breast" and "Except for the birds in flight/who can tell no tales." From a musical perspective, each hemistich has only one occurrence of a note that forces the changes between minor and major, and it is in the same relative position in the scale (C natural/C#) which to my mind makes the song easier to remember.

36. EL BON CAÇADOR

(♩ = 100)

En to - mo el sar - ró i la fu - ra, Ara va de bo, en to - mo el sar - ró i la
fu - ra, a - ra va de bo, i me'n vaig a - nâ a ca - çar, a - ra va de
bo, i me'n vaig a - nâ a ca - çar, a - ra va de bo, que de bo va.

En tomo el sarró i la fura,
Ara va de bo,
i me'n vaig anâ a caçar,
ara va de bo,
i me'n vaig anâ a caçar,
ara va de bo, que de bo va.

No en trobo caça ninguna — per a poguer-li tirar.
Ja en trobo una pastoreta — que en gordave el bestiar;
ja la'n trobo adormideta, — no la'n goso despertar.
Ja en cullo un pom de violes, — al pit les hi vaig posar;
les violes són fresquetes, — la pastora es despertà.
— Ara que m'han gonyadeta, — a on me'n faran anar?
— Cap a les muntanyes altes: — no hi veuràs ningú a passar,
sinó els aucellets que volen, — que no saben de parlar. —

Figure 4 : Song Analysed for Structural Chromaticism by Pujol

He continues:

Diumenge de Rams (d'Oliana), n.º 80.

El canvi de modalitat s'efectua en el moment de caure el terç període en el repòs cadencial. La cançó consta de quatre períodes.

Figure 5 : Further Analysis by Pujol

This example is also based on a single note. It could be as he says, or it could be just a mistake or incidental variation by the singer (the song only has one verse). Again, however, consideration of the words reveals that the cadence is sung to the words Jesus, Maria which appear in the text as a kind of refrain and the phrase may be quoting a hymn. There is a strong tradition of Catalan folk hymns, or goigs, and at least one folk song, El minyó de Villeres⁹³ has a tune somewhat related to the widespread Catholic hymn known in Britain as the Lourdes Hymn or Immaculate Mary, a traditional French tune that occurs elsewhere in the Catalan corpus.

⁹³ Materials, I:2, p.126.

Pujol then goes on to give examples of songs that alternate between major and minor in successive bars. If we follow the idea of quotations from the last example, this alternation begins to suggest a new idea: that of musical clichés or, to use Albert Lord's word, formulae.

The next examples then show a common feature of Catalan songs: a modal tune with an ending that contains an accidental, thereby creating an interval of a sharpened or flattened second that lends a somewhat Arab air. However, Pujol's examples quoted do not give the full picture; here is one of them quoted in full.

48. EL REPROPI

Alegret (♩. = 58)

Prin - ci - pi de seu - ma - na me'n po - so a fes - te -
jar. d'u - na gen - til mi - nyo - na me'n vai a - ni - mo - rar.

Figure 6 : Chromaticism Example of Pujol

Here we have possible evidence of the confluence of two cultures, though Pujol makes no mention of it. The chromatic result may be a clash to ears used to English-language songs but is perfectly understandable if the tune consists of formulae assembled from two different musics, both being familiar to Catalan ears. That said, it needs to be shown that Arab-sounding tunes exist in Catalan folk music. They do, and they are to be found in abundance in the work songs of the Balearic Islands. Many examples will be found in the report of the Samper-Ferrà trip to Majorca in Materials volume III. Here are two, both of which exhibit diminished seconds. The first example is particularly striking because the diminished second occurs in the middle of an undulating cadential elaboration that is used to embellish the final syllable of the line.

29. CANÇÓ DE JOC INFANTIL:
D'ON VENIU, D'ON? — MARGALIDETA



Figure 8 : Example of Diatonic Tune

What Pujol's analysis shows, I think, is evidence of different musics and the fusion or collision between them, which reveal themselves in the chromaticism that he describes. I have found no evidence of Arab influence in the words of the songs themselves (by which I mean subject matter or themes that are identifiable as being specifically of Arab origin), so Pujol the musician does a useful service in highlighting some interesting examples of cultural interaction. His work illustrates the importance of considering music as well as words when analysing folk songs.

The third of Pujol's main headings is modality. He begins this topic with a lengthy explanation of the difficulties of applying ancient Greek modes to modern folk song. Difficulties indeed, but most of them seem to be of his own making, since he has used a most odd set of mode definitions.

The following table shows his definitions, compared with those conventional among musicologists.⁹⁴

Compass	Pujol	Authentic	Plagal
C-C'	Lídia*	Ionian	Hypolydian
D-D'	Frígia*	Dorian	Hypomixolydian
E-E'	Dòrica*	Phrygian	Hypoeolian
F-F'	Hipolídia	Lydian	Hypolocrian
G-G'	Hipofrígia	Mixolydian	Hypoionian
A-A'	Hipodòrica	Aeolian	Hypodorian
B-B'	Mixolídia*	Locrian	Hypophrygian

Figure 9 : Mode Definitions with Respect to the C Major Key

⁹⁴ See The New Oxford Companion to Music, ed. by Denis Arnold (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983) and also on-line New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 2nd edn (<http://www.grovemusic.com>) under Mode.

The asterisked items show the ancient Greek mode definitions. It is also noteworthy that Pujol draws no distinction in his text between authentic and plagal modes. It will be seen from Figure 8 that only the plagal Hypodorian mode is referred to accurately in accordance with the 16th century rules of Heinrich Glarean, which form the standard system used today⁹⁵ and which, it should be said, are well known to be inconsistent with the Greek definitions. Careful examination shows that the order is simply back to front, starting from the Hypodorian mode. This is probably not Pujol's fault, since he takes Tiersot⁹⁶ as his authority. The definitions proposed in Tiersot's Tableau comparatif des modes de l'antiquité du Moyen Age et des temps modernes on page 293 of his Histoire de la Chanson Populaire en France are either obscure or wrong; indeed, his work is a very flawed reference source, containing assertions that are either unsupported, or justified by the Humpty-Dumptyish expedient of redefining terms to suit his own ends.⁹⁷ The modes are no exception. He has taken the original incomplete set of Greek modes and added plagal modes to it, rather than taking the complete system as defined by Glarean.

Pujol's analyses are nevertheless quite interesting, although his misuse of mode names makes understanding difficult. In his paper he examines the tunes published so far in Materials. He puts these into two groups, A and B, depending on their source. Group A refers to songs collected in various locations in Catalonia and given in volume I fascicle 2. Group B refers to songs collected by the 1923 Barberà-Bohigas field trip to Alta Segarra, Cardoner and Segrià and given in volume II. The total number of songs analysed is 99 in group A and 81 in group B. He breaks these down further by only examining those which contain chromaticisms and the use of modes: 40 in group A and 49 in group B. He summarises them into a table, in which we can translate the mode names to yield some interesting results:

⁹⁵ Norman Davies, Europe - A History (London: Pimlico, 1997), p.118 in the intercalated passage entitled Mousike contains a succinct definition.

⁹⁶ Materials, II, p. 171, 237-238.

⁹⁷ Tiersot, part II chs. II and IX provide excellent examples in their opening statements.

<u>Pujol</u>	<u>Authentic</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>Quantity</u>
<u>Frígia</u>	Dorian	A	2
		B	2
<u>Dòrica</u>	Phrygian	A	4
		B	6
<u>Hipolídia</u>	Lydian	A	0
		B	0
<u>Hipofrígia</u>	Mixolydian	A	2
		B	4
<u>Hipodòrica</u>	Aeolian	A	12
		B	8
<u>Mixolídia</u>	Locrian	A	0
		B	1

Figure 10 : Mode Occurrence in a Sample of Catalan Folk Songs

If we accept Pujol's analyses of the individual tunes (my detailed reading of those given in his text does not raise any doubts) then we can see that modal tunes (to be more precise, ones not in the major key or Ionian mode) are relatively uncommon in Catalan folk song - at least in the sample he has chosen. We can also clearly see that the Aeolian mode is favoured, while the Mixolydian and Dorian modes so popular in Britain are much less used. In statistical terms, the sample is too small for accurate prediction, but there is some indication that the Phrygian mode is also favoured in Catalonia. I do not accept Pujol's conclusion that the results show that modal tunes are "clearly" more popular in group B than in group A; again, mathematically speaking, his sample is too small.

The fourth section of Pujol's paper concerns the possibility that some of the tunes are in fact parts of harmonic duets and have established an independent existence. His argument is that duets in thirds have the upper part ranging from the mediant to the tonic above, while the lower part ranges from the submediant to the tonic below. He then cites a number of examples that appear to follow this rule for the upper parts. This is an interesting idea, because it would help to explain the frequent occurrence of tunes with unresolved endings. Unfortunately, there are shortcomings in his argument. First, he presents no examples of extant songs that might have been lower parts. Secondly, the resolution of tunes is not a precondition of melodic structure, particularly in a folk music with non-European

influences.⁹⁸ Thirdly, the recorded evidence from Valencia clearly demonstrates the importance of the Phrygian mode. The Fonoteca de Materials recording from Titaguas contains examples of solo singing followed by choruses that repeat the solo line and harmonise it.⁹⁹ However, the solo line is Phrygian, and the added harmony is Ionian: quite the opposite of what Pujol is suggesting.

This section of Pujol's paper is very short. It may be that he thought it was off the point, or that he was forced to curtail it for some reason. Whatever the reason, I believe that he was wrong; I think that he did not understand the significance of the Phrygian mode. This mode does not fit in easily with the Western European classical musical tradition, which, based on major and minor keys, is dominated by the concept of resolution. Phrygian and Hypophrygian tunes do not resolve, at least to classically-trained ears or indeed the ears of musicians familiar with the folk music of other European countries; the British Isles, for example, has produced few Phrygian melodies. If we look at the fourteen examples Pujol gives¹⁰⁰ we find that eleven are clearly Phrygian, two are Hypophrygian and one (which Pujol himself seems not quite sure about) is Dorian. Pujol would be more convincing if he had produced variants of the songs he gives sung in different modes, thereby supplying other parts of the harmonies he proposes. I think, therefore, that while it is perfectly possible that harmony singing could have developed in parallel thirds by duets singing simultaneously in (say) Ionian and Phrygian because the performers were comfortable with singing in either mode, it is quite another matter to say that people would be satisfied singing song parts as solos with unresolved endings. I suggest a better reason is needed for using the Phrygian mode: it needs to be satisfying in its own right, because of familiarity. This familiarity, if it comes from anywhere, comes from Arab music.

The Phrygian mode is one of the closest points between the tonalities of Western European and Arab music. It is very close to the maqām bayātī, differing from it only in that the second note of the maqām tone row is flatter by a quarter tone than the second note of

⁹⁸ Julián Ribera, História de la música árabe medieval y su influencia en la española (Madrid: Voluntad, 1927, repr. New York: AMS, 1975), p. 309.

⁹⁹ Fonoteca de Materials: Titaguas música tradicional. 1987. Tallers de Música Popular cassette DMF-014. Side B tracks 9-12.

¹⁰⁰ Materials, II pp. 233-234.

the Phrygian mode.¹⁰¹ The maqām bayātī is not only still commonly used but is ancient; during the centuries of Moorish occupation, it would have been heard by the populace at large from the chanting of the muezzin calling the faithful to prayer. Thus the frequent occurrence of the Phrygian mode in Catalan folk song is arguably a cultural relic of the Moors, not the result of singing a harmony to a song in the more common European Ionian mode, or major key.

To conclude, therefore, Pujol's paper is very much the curate's egg. Its major flaws are the highly detailed yet inadequate analysis of chromaticism, his lack of appreciation of performance aspects and his demonstrably poor knowledge of the modes.

An important question that Pujol does not address is what constitutes Catalan folk music. Just as no man is an island, neither is a culture; it is the result of a mixture of influences.¹⁰² Catalan folk music, as part of Catalan culture, will reflect those influences. Thus the original idea that Pujol set out to disprove was wrong, but not for his reasons. Rather, there are modal parts of Catalan folk music just as there are chromatic parts. Possibly the former came from France, possibly the latter came from the Moors, but the question of sources is a quite separate issue. Pujol seems to have had problems simply because of the age in which he lived. There was a drive in his time all over Europe to establish national identities and cultures as distinct entities, a drive that ultimately led to the horrors of the Spanish Civil War and Nazism; indeed, Pujol declares that an aim of his paper is to enable readers to "possess that natural beauty which is evergreen, everlasting and never withers, because it is the essence of the spirit of the race" (my translation). In the case of Catalonia, emphasis on folk song was a major thrust in the re-assertion of Catalan identity.¹⁰³ This too has to be put in the context of its time, which, as Hobsbawm points out, was a period when traditions were being invented all over Europe.¹⁰⁴ However, one must be very careful of ascribing a particular musical characteristic to a people; this is simply because of difficulties in defining boundaries and therefore in establishing what constitutes an external influence. Furthermore, one must be just as careful with influence, because it is rarely a one-way

¹⁰¹ Habib Hassan Touma, The Music of the Arabs, new edn. tr. Laurie Schwartz (Portland, OR: Amadeus, 1996), p. 43.

¹⁰² Anthony P. Cohen, 'Culture as Identity' in New Literary History, 24(1) (1993), 195-209.

¹⁰³ Marfany, pp. 310-311.

¹⁰⁴ Hobsbawm & Ranger, The Invention of Tradition, p. 6.

process; it affects the individual creativities of everyone. Thus the traditions of travelling folk will be influenced by those of the communities they visit, and vice versa. The easier communication becomes, the less distinctive will be any local tradition affected by it. Tradition should be seen as the consequence of ideas of a number of individuals in past times. The ideas form the basis of a common understanding of the world in which a group of people live, and their responses to that world. The understanding and responses that are strong enough to pass from generation to generation form the tradition. Thus musical tradition, while not exclusively so, is likely to be based on the playing and singing of the most respected musicians within a community's past. It is a matter of social values and behaviour, not of race. While Pujol has successfully identified certain general characteristics of the Catalan musical tradition, his paper does not necessarily identify any unique features of it.

Another important factor that Pujol does not take into account is the possible influence of musical instruments on the tunes. The shawm family is still well-used throughout the Països Catalans and include the Catalan gralla and the Valencian dolçaina.¹⁰⁵ These instruments are of Arab origin and are the precursors of the Western European oboe. Their shrill sound has two important characteristics: a lack of fixed pitch and (in Catalan playing at least) the frequent use of slides, chromaticisms and microtones. These features can be heard by anyone who listens to a cobla playing for a sardana. Not that singers would be accompanied by shawms (they are loud instruments), but the OCPC provides evidence that shawm playing was at the very least a parallel tradition to that of singing, and that players were carriers of traditional tunes.¹⁰⁶ It is therefore reasonable to suppose that shawm playing style influenced Catalan singing style, just as, for example, the uilleann pipes influence Irish traditional singing.¹⁰⁷

But for what reason did Francesc Pujol write his paper in the first place, and what was his reason for writing it in the way that he did? While we can only speculate on these questions, I believe the answers are not hard to find. The 1920s were the period in which many orchestral composers had abandoned diatonic music in favour of

¹⁰⁵ Glòria Bastardes, Ricard Casals & Montserrat Garrich, Instruments de música tradicionals catalans (Barcelona: Caixa de Barcelona, 1983), pp. 38-40.

¹⁰⁶ Materials, III, pp. 321-3.

¹⁰⁷ Tomás Ó Canainn, Traditional Music in Ireland (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978, repr. Cork: Ossian, 1993), p. 74.

chromatic, atonal and 12-tone serial works. The leaders in the field were the Vienna school, led by such luminaries as Arnold Schoenberg and Alban Berg and fired by a philosophy later to be written down, if not defined, by Theodor Adorno.¹⁰⁸ They took as their starting point the later works of Beethoven, who was a composer central to the ideology of the Orfeó Català.¹⁰⁹ Now Pujol wrote his monograph on chromaticism in Catalan folk song in 1928. However, it is not his only paper published in Materials. In volume I fascicle 2 there is the paper he presented in 1927 - a year earlier - on the OCPC project at a conference on the history of music in Vienna, to celebrate the centenary of Beethoven's death. I suggest therefore that Pujol met with the Viennese avant-garde school and, fired by their views on chromaticism, committed the very sin that he accused Pelai Briz of committing: fitting a preconceived and academic idea of musical structure on to folk music. In so doing, Pujol may have been trying in some way to make Catalan folk music seem avant-garde, in line with other Catalan artistic achievements of the period, such as the compositions of Robert Gerhard.¹¹⁰ It can be said that Pujol's attempt at scientific analysis is that of a noucentista, displacing the romanticism of the Renaixença.

Criticisms aside, Pujol's exhaustive analysis of chromaticism is useful in highlighting some of the results of the mingling of cultures. It enables us to see that Albert Lord's ideas of formulae in narrative songs¹¹¹ can be more generally applied to folk song in the use of standard characteristic musical phrases. As Lord points out, "any study of formula must [...] properly begin with considerations of metric and music."¹¹² In the case of Catalan folk music, the mingling of musical phrases from different traditions may have created fusion and collision which can be heard as chromaticism. The instances (rather than the types) of chromaticism may well reveal something uniquely Catalan because of geographic and demographic circumstance.

Finally, Pujol's idea of the possible separation of duets into solo songs is a most interesting insight into the history of Catalan folk song, and sheds light on the possible background of the havaneres tradition, with its close harmonies; unfortunately, his evidence is

¹⁰⁸ Robert W Witkin, Adorno on Music (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 100.

¹⁰⁹ Meirion Bowen, Gerhard on Music (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), p. 41.

¹¹⁰ Bowen, p. 42.

¹¹¹ Albert Lord, The Singer of Tales (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960), ch. 3.

¹¹² Lord, p.31.

unconvincing. Rather, it throws the use of the Phrygian mode into sharper relief, and with it the likelihood of Arab musical influence.

3.4 Palmira Jaquetti - Collector Extraordinary

If Pujol's analysis of chromaticism reveals a certain weakness within the OCPC project, then the field work of Palmira Jaquetti demonstrates a strength. She claimed to have 10,000 pages of songs she collected between 1927 and 1934,¹¹³ a figure that many experienced folk-song collectors may feel is exaggerated. However, the truth is even more extraordinary, and even now the full story is not completely known. Some details of Jaquetti's life and work have been published by Roser Matheu, who says little or nothing about the song collecting. As Jaquetti herself put it, ruefully:

Els Diaris del Cançoner no arribaven a publicar-se. Coses d'ordre extern i col·lectiu, ben al marge de la meva petita vida, ho destorbaren. Havent cessat les activitats del Cançoner Popular de Catalunya, el meu fitxari de cançons, entre les que hi tinc meravelles, hagué d'esser tancat, amb les altres, amb tot aquell gran tresor en el silenci.¹¹⁴

The new information is emerging from the publication of the gran tresor by Massot in his edited volumes of Materials.



Figure 11 : Palmira Jaquetti

Some biographical data to begin with will help the reader to understand the new information and build a picture of Palmira Jaquetti i Isant and her work. She was born in La Seu d'Urgell in 1895 and was the only surviving child of five. Her father was a construction worker

¹¹³ Roser Matheu, 'La vida i l'art de Palmira Jaquetti (1895-1963)' in Quatre dones catalanes (Barcelona: Fundació Salvador Vives Casajuana, 1972), p. 182.

¹¹⁴ Matheu, p.185.

who took jobs in Cuba to guarantee enough money for his family. A nature lover, singer and keen excursionista, he spent much of his free time improving his education. He had great intellectual ambitions for his daughter and sent her to a private non-religious school in Barcelona, where she seems to have excelled at everything. On leaving school, and by selective examination, she got a teaching post in Vilafranca, where she continued to study for a state teaching qualification. She achieved this, coming top in her year, but was never awarded her proper qualification of Mestra Normal because of the new laws restricting women under the Primo de Rivera dictatorship; she was, however, granted a mestratge de català. Nothing daunted, having achieved her batxillerat, Jaquetti gained entry to the University of Barcelona to study Filosofia i Lletres. She graduated "amb nota de Sobresalient i Premi extraordinari".¹¹⁵

It was her time at Vilafranca that first brought Jaquetti to the attention of the OCPC, who awarded her a prize for the songs she had collected in the surrounding district. She was subsequently invited, on 8 July 1925, to join the OCPC as a researcher. Whilst many of the collectors employed at that time by the OCPC were established folklorists attached to the Orfeó Català (Joan Amades and Higiní Anglès fall into this category, for example), Palmira Jaquetti was fresh blood. The very next day, she returned to La Seu d'Urgell on her first OCPC mission, accompanied by an old friend, Maria Carbó i Soler. In a period of exactly 8 weeks, they collected 637 songs with music. The methods were straightforward: find the local parish priest to give a clue to where singers might be located, obtain introductions and then pay each informant a small fee for each song. In this case, of course, Jaquetti used her local roots to help her identify singers, and began with the local Asil de Pobrets, which housed a number of old people and later proceeded to villages and hamlets in the vicinity. Recording of both words and music was done using pencil and paper. They had a camera to photograph their informants, and whoever the photographer was showed a gift for capturing their character. Examples of these photographs are given in Materials volume VI. The diary that Jaquetti kept (and which is published in the same volume) gives a vivid account of her experiences throughout the period, of which the following is a sample:

L'hem deixada per anar a veure una dona de mitja edat, de posat gavatx, parlar picat de lleugeres nasalitats, cara

¹¹⁵ Matheu, p. 182.

desperta i vermellosa, alta, ben plantada. Rentava, i no ha permès que ens asseguéssim al seu costat; s'ha alçat i hem anat a tancar-nos a una cort propera; volia amagar-se del seu marit, que ja de dies li ha prohibit que cantés; però ella té l'encert de desobeir-lo, convençuda que no fer cap mal, més comprensiva que el marit. Ens ha cantat l'única cançó catalana que sap; és una d'aquelles que valen per cent.¹¹⁶

The keeping of a detailed diary was to become a feature of all Jaquetti's missions. Each gives a glimpse of the people, how they lived and what part folk song played in their lives. She comments particularly that although the women sang while they worked, their songs were not about work; indeed, she found no songs about work.¹¹⁷ Her informants were largely women; this seems to have been because the men were away from home working in the fields or elsewhere, for she certainly collected from men too.

The results of the mission were well received in Barcelona,¹¹⁸ and another was organised for the following summer. From the various events, it would appear that Jaquetti was at this time studying at the University, so her OCPC work had to fit into her holidays. In 1926 the two ladies made what was to be for Jaquetti the first of many visits concentrating on the Pallars and Ribagorça valleys in north-western Catalonia. This is a mountainous area with scores of tiny villages and hamlets, many of which in her day were isolated and only accessible on foot or muleback. Between 2 July and 2 September, they collected 1216 songs with music. She commented in her diary that in the first six days they collected 162 songs, 50 on one day alone.

At the end of the year, and following her graduation, Palmira Jaquetti married Enric d'Aoust, her French pen-friend, with whom she had corresponded during her studies; she was 32, he 21. The marriage was a disaster. Of course, we only have her side of the story, but Enric seems to have been an artistic ne'er-do-well who sponged off Palmira and her mother (her father had died a few years earlier). She, blinded with love, rejected the warnings of friends and family and proceeded to modify her behaviour to make him happy. He was clearly daunted by her intellectual output of poetry and music, to say nothing of her song collecting, so she agreed to write nothing more than the diary for the OCPC missions. She tried to win him over by taking him

¹¹⁶ Materials, VI, p. 143.

¹¹⁷ Materials, VI, p. 151.

¹¹⁸ Materials, V, p. 110.

on her song-collecting expeditions for the next few years, and he took to writing parts of the diary himself. But the marriage was not to last. After a painting trip Enric made to Majorca with friends and after he had sired a bastard on another hapless woman, the couple formally separated. To add insult to injury, in 1934 Enric used the full weight of Spanish law to extract as much of her money as possible before he finally disappeared - and this when she was in hospital recovering from operations on all four limbs for the rheumatoid arthritis she had suffered since her teenage years. They finally divorced in 1951; Palmira never married again. It is notable that neither she in her autobiographical notes nor Roser Matheu name the husband, who left one final sting: because he was French, she had acquired a French married name. By the laws of the time, she says, she was thereby prevented from holding a professorship in Spain except in French - which she eventually did.

Nevertheless, in spite of a difficult husband, in spite of rheumatoid arthritis, in spite of the lack of mechanical recording apparatus, in spite of the difficult terrain, much of which was only accessible on muleback and in spite of the lack of time, the song harvest she reaped in the north-west of Catalonia (and which is now held by Massot at Montserrat Abbey) was enormous:

<u>Dates</u>	<u>Partner</u>	<u>Period</u>	<u>Song Quantity</u>
1926	Carbó	63 days	1216
1927	d'Aoust	72 days	1600
1928	d'Aoust	50 days	1354
1929	d'Aoust	66 days	1374
1931	Carbó	57 days	1111

Figure 12 : Jaquetti's Summer Song Collecting in North-West Catalonia

The quantity of songs they encountered was such that on at least one occasion, d'Aoust had to travel down to the nearest town to get more money sent from the OCPC in Barcelona to pay the singers. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, Jaquetti did not collect all of the songs she heard, but only took down the different ones. How she remembered or could distinguish differences among so many songs is a wonder; she does not explain. The coverage was the most thorough of any researcher with the possible exception of Baltasar Samper in Majorca, as Figure 14 on page 80 below attests. The locations visited by Jaquetti are shown as the dense cluster over the whole of north-western Catalonia. Yet as if that were not enough, she also collected

in the Empordà / Costa Brava region during her Christmas holidays. The figures there are no less impressive, bearing in mind that the song collecting often involved visiting people in their homes over the Christmas festival, a time that tends to be reserved for families.

<u>Dates</u>	<u>Partner</u>	<u>Period</u>	<u>Song Quantity</u>
1927 (Jan)	Carbó	9 days	160
1927 (Dec)	d'Aoust	4 days	58
1928/9	d'Aoust	11 days	174
1929	d'Aoust	6 days	107

Figure 13 : Jaquetti's Christmas Period Song Collecting in the Empordà

Jaquetti's diaries reveal something of the problems she faced. One woman in L'Estartit invited the couple back to her house for supper, promising to sing for them afterwards. At the end of the evening, the woman apparently sang very few songs, and these very badly, after which she demanded money not only for the songs but also for the inconvenience. The visit ended in unseemly haggling until a compromise was reached.

Apart from using her diaries to record her joy and disappointment at each discovery, Jaquetti also describes the scenery and the people. Early on the same trip that took her to L'Estartit, she describes a fellow-passenger on the bus to Verges:

L'autobús no es fa esperar, i, trontollats de mala manera, encastats entre un pagès de nas morat, que fuma amb delícies un escanyapit que empesta. El pagès ho troba riquíssim, somriu i pel cantó dret de la boca surt un suc negrós que, després de fer-se camí entre la barba de vuit dies almenys, li regalima damunt la brusa i en fi cau en la cistella de vianda.¹¹⁹

In spite of this discouraging encounter, the pair returned to Verges in the summer of 1930 instead of going to the mountains of the north-west. Here, on the flat coastal plain of the river Ter, Palmira and Enric collected 570 songs in just over three weeks. This was their last joint mission, and it seems likely that the choice of the Empordà as a search area was Enric's, no doubt reacting against the years of spending his summers on muleback. The following year, 1931, when the

¹¹⁹ Materials, IX, p. 13.

couple had split up, Palmira returned to her favourite hunting-ground of Pallars with her old friend Maria Carbó.

According to the OCPC diary in Materials volume V, there seems to have been little collecting in 1932, and there is no explanation given. It may have something to do with the political uncertainty of the time. Certainly Palmira Jaquetti did not venture forth, although her reasons could have been personal ones. In the summer of 1933, however, and with a new partner, Mercè Porta i Pino, she collected 558 songs in the area around Camprodon. The same team went out the following summer on what was to be Jaquetti's last official mission. This time they ventured over the French border, to Prats de Molló, and collected 543 songs in four weeks.

We have evidence, therefore, that between 1925 and 1934 Palmira Jaquetti collected 9,462 songs in total, not far short of the 10,000 she claimed. Yet we still do not know whether we know everything. In the autumn 1934 she was hospitalised and suffered the financial depredations of her husband. Catalonia was becoming unsafe by this time and the Civil War was yet to come. The OCPC project was abandoned in 1936. Nevertheless, this indomitable lady seems not to have given up. In the summer of 1940 she conducted her own field trip to the Vall d'Aran and its surrounding area, where she collected some dances, and she may have been active there again in 1941.¹²⁰ Whether she collected more songs will not be revealed until Massot publishes her final papers.

Jaquetti's personal life continued to be eventful. Although brought up outside Christianity, she became a fervent Catholic, which undoubtedly saved her career during the Franco years. She continued to teach languages and literature at university level, to publish poetry and music and to win prizes for literature and the arts. However, two accidents left her with a permanent limp and a paralysed right arm. She was killed in a car accident in 1963.

Although she had a fair amount of her own work published, Palmira Jaquetti does not seem to have produced much analysis of the folk songs she collected. She did produce one article on the subject which is appended to the notes of her first mission in 1925 to la Seu d'Urgell.¹²¹ Her arguments are as follows.

She found no songs on the subject of work in the uplands where she was searching. People did sing at their work, but they adapted existing songs - often narrative ballads - to the task in hand. She

¹²⁰ Materials, IV:2, p. 494.

¹²¹ Materials, VI, pp. 151-153.

argues that labouring people, fully engaged in the task at hand, have no time to think up songs, thus songs about ploughing or harvesting have very primitive (read: unimportant) words, while singers engaged in less physically strenuous tasks sing old favourite songs. Thus while tune and rhythm might vary, the words would be the least creative part of the song. This is not to equate lack of creativity with unimportance.

She rejects the idea of the long narrative ballads being created spontaneously by the people. First, she argues, there are no "people" but only individuals. Secondly, the singers in her experience take great care to preserve the old words, archaisms and all. Thirdly, The language is very different and reflects an unknown cultured origin for the ballads.

Jaquetti argues for four kinds of song, based on her field work. The first is the old narrative ballad, archaic in form, undiminished in popularity and adapted for use in everyday work. The second is the song of the people. This is created anonymously by ordinary people, largely for entertainment. The language is simpler, more repetitive and often joking. Excluding those of toil, such songs are used at weddings and wakes and other celebrations. The third category comprises written songs (by which I think we may assume she means what we would call broadsides) that have passed the popularity test and become part of the oral tradition. They are sung on any and every occasion. To these categories she adds a fourth: the songs of ceremony and ritual, such as La cançó de l'ós, used in the custom of Hunting the Bear.¹²²

She concludes by saying that "the people" do not create songs; they merely preserve them and modify them for their own reasons. Hidden behind the people are the individual poets and musicians who create the songs.

What is striking to me about her views is how much they diverge from the older attitudes of Milà i Fontanals and Aguiló and how close they are to present-day thinking. This is because when examining the songs she considered the words, music and performance all together, as directed for collection by the Manual per a recerques d'etnografia de Catalunya. In her use of the information as a whole for analysis she was well ahead of her time; although Joan Amades recommended the same

¹²² Violet Alford, The Singing of the Travels (London: Parrish, 1956), p. 117.

approach,¹²³ we cannot be sure when he began to use it and in any case his analysis often lacks rigour. Indeed, to this day there are folklorists who do not consider all three aspects. The pity is that no further analysis by Jaquetti has come to light.

So what are we to make of this extraordinary woman? In her lifetime she was dogged by tragedy and the results of years of her work seemed to have been lost forever. Only now, from the information published by Josep Massot i Muntaner, can we begin to see her as she truly was in folk music terms: one of the greatest song collectors of all, far outstripping Sharp and Karpeles in their work in the Appalachians ten years earlier¹²⁴ and matching the collecting efforts of Bartók.¹²⁵ Her work in north-western Catalonia is exemplary in its thoroughness; one wonders what the harvest would have been if collectors of similar calibre had been available throughout Catalonia during the period of OCPC research.

¹²³ Joan Amades, Folklore de Catalunya, 3rd edn, 3 vols (Barcelona: Selecta, 1982), Cançoners, pp. 90-91.

¹²⁴ English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians, coll. by Cecil J Sharp, ed. by Maud Karpeles (London: Oxford University Press, 1932, repr. 1973), preface, pp. xii-xiii.

¹²⁵ Béla Bartók, Studies in Ethnomusicology, ed. by Benjamin Suchoff (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska, 1997), preface, p. ix.

PART II: SONGS

4 INTRODUCTION TO THE SONGS

As the early collections indicate and the work of the OCPC proves, a great wealth of folk songs has been found throughout the Països Catalans. These are now examined in more detail.

To analyse the songs we need to address them from three different points of view: subject matter, purpose and circumstances of performance. The first is purely textual and tells us of the kinds of things the people like to sing about and the form of the song texts. These can be categorised under various subject headings, such as love or adventure and under song type: narrative, lyrical or dramatic. The second is essentially musical, because the melodies and rhythms provide clues to the way a song was used. Again categories emerge, such as lullabies and dance accompaniment. The third provides the reason for singing the song and tells us more about the people and their social circumstances; work songs and drinking songs form categories of this kind. These are not clear-cut distinctions, and a song will often fall into several categories. More complicated still, a song used for dancing in one region or set of circumstances may be used as a work song in another. Nevertheless, for all its faults, classification enables us to examine the songs people sing and the context in which they sing them. The question of how to improve classification is one I deal with specifically in the last chapter of this thesis.

The first noticeable feature is that the songs of the Països Catalans fall into two basic types: long songs and short songs, which differ in several fundamental ways.

In their structure, the long songs contain any number of verses or hemistichs related and ordered by the text. The short songs, on the other hand, are mainly single quatrain verses. They may be sung on their own or may be strung together in impromptu fashion to construct longer songs with a common tune, in which the links between the texts of the verses will often be tenuous or non-existent. Whether taken individually or collectively, short songs form the bulk of the Catalan corpus.

This structural difference reflects a difference in use of the two types of song. The long songs are used in a more individual way. They mainly provide entertainment, although many will be sung to dance tunes and will be used as accompaniment. Short song aggregations, on the other hand, are typically used to accompany communal activities of varying duration, such as rhythmical working, dancing or quête ceremonies such as the singing of caramelles.

The most striking difference between the two kinds of song, however, is the subject matter of the texts. Long songs tend to be fictional and, in the case of romances, unrelated to the contemporary reality of the singer, making reference to legendary or semi-legendary happenings. Songs that refer to historical events rarely, if ever, exist to provide a narrative of those events; they are much more likely to be concerned with emotional and lyrical aspects, such as saying farewell to Barcelona and loved ones, as in Despedida de los fusileros¹²⁶ or Expedición á Portugal.¹²⁷ Other narrative songs of broadside origin, though they may make reference to recognisable features of urban or rural life, also concentrate more on feelings than facts. Often a better description for the long songs is lyrico-narrative. Short songs are quite different. They are epigrams about the real world: the people, their relationships, the places, and the circumstances of the singers and their audiences. They are frequently barbed, for example:

En es portal teniu roses
a s'escala clavellines;
a sa boca teniu mel
i en es cor teniu espines.¹²⁸

Els frares de sant Francesc
obsequien al soberano
pegant-li voltes al nano,
per l'indret i pel revés.¹²⁹

The subject matter covers every facet of the people's lives, and when they are not simply descriptive they are often written in the second person. Short songs are often improvised, as el Calic mentions¹³⁰ and as Amades demonstrates with almost 2,000 examples in his Cançoner.

The two kinds of song are also distinguishable in their means of transmission. The long songs comprise the traditional romances, which would be remembered and passed on by those with the interest and

¹²⁶ Milà, Romancerillo catalán, p. 82.

¹²⁷ Milà, Romancerillo catalán, p. 83.

¹²⁸ Rafel Ginard Bauçà, Cançoner popular de Mallorca, 4 vols (Palma: Moll, 1983), Vol. I, p. 166.

¹²⁹ Amades, Cançoner, p.932

¹³⁰ See above, p. 24.

particular skills (memory, for example) to do so, and the broadside songs, which although passed on by the same means as traditional romances are supported by versions in print. This is a simplification, of course; some traditional romances would be printed on broadsides, for example, but let that pass. On the other hand, the short songs because of their simplicity could be invented and memorised by almost anybody, especially given the topicality of their subject matter. This would explain the enormous quantity of them in the oral tradition and the recognised use of improvisation. In a very real sense, therefore, the short songs are the vox populi of the Catalans.

In all the foregoing I have excluded religious and ritual songs, because they have specific functions and connotations and I therefore treat them separately. Both long and short religious songs exist; longer songs will often be hagiographical or biblical narratives, while short songs will often be prayers or invocations. There is a parallel with secular songs; the longer religious songs concern biblical and hagiographical events, would probably be memorised through study as part of a ritual and might be written down, whereas a short song would in all likelihood originate as a spontaneous reaction to a contemporary event resulting in an appeal to the Almighty or a patron saint, for example. Songs of ritual follow along parallel lines; the longer songs such as La cançó de l'ós used in festivities would be memorised, preserved and repeated as part of the continuation of the custom concerned. Short songs used in activities such as caramelles, in which the praises (or otherwise!) would be sung of the occupants of particular houses visited, are contemporary and might be spontaneous and improvised, relating to recent behaviour of the subjects.

Because the songs fall into two such distinct types, they are treated separately in the next chapters.

5 THE LONG SONGS

The long songs fall into the following broad categories from a textual viewpoint.

Lullabies
Children's songs
Work
Festivals
Religion
Historico-political matters
Bandits, robbers and smugglers
Romance
Soldiers
Love
Amusement
Dancing
Miscellaneous (a final catch all).

These categories are based on those used in the Cançoner del Ripollès, which seems to embrace the categories used in other anthologies. However, as Jordi Mascarella puts it, "no pretén més que poder ser operativa i de fàcil localització en la seva consulta."¹³¹

An examination of the various anthologies reveals that, in terms of theme, love songs and religious songs make up the largest proportion of the total corpus of long songs.

If we compare the genres of songs with those to be found in the British Isles, several differences are apparent. First, there is a very much larger representation of religious songs. This is not unusual in the context of France and Spain, however, and is evidence that Catalan folk song is a sibling of the traditions of the countries that encompass it.

Secondly, the number of old narrative ballads ("romance" in the above list) is relatively small; only a handful of songs such as El testament d'Amèlia, L'estudiant de Vic and El comte Arnau are thought to be Catalan. The rest, like Gerineldo and La porqueirola, are of Castilian or Provençal origin.

Thirdly, few industrial songs have been collected. This is surprising, given that Barcelona was the Catalan equivalent of Manchester, and great numbers of people came into the city and its surrounding industrial area from the countryside in the 19th century to find work in the factories. Indeed, Maria Gelats, the mother of Joan Amades, was just such a worker, and more than 200 songs were

¹³¹ Juan, Cançoner del Ripollès, p. 16.

collected from her.¹³² Yet none of them seems to have been related to industry; either that, or such songs were studiously ignored by everybody. That said, folk-song collection in the early part of the 20th century in Catalonia - as elsewhere - went hand-in-hand with excursionisme, a movement out of the cities to explore the countryside and discover the old rural ways before they disappeared. Industrial folk song did exist (and indeed may still survive) but as yet there has been no Catalan equivalent of Bert Lloyd or Roy Palmer to research the matter. Work has only recently begun in this area, and some interesting preliminary results from Valencia have been published (2001) in Caramella.¹³³

Fourthly, there are few long sailor's songs. To be sure, there is El grumet and there are a couple of others in the Cançoner de Pineda. However, the collections contain precious little else that relates to the life of the seafarer, other than short songs, which are of a different kind entirely and are dealt with in the next chapter. Amades includes one or two songs related to fishing in Costumari català¹³⁴ and collected what sounds like a rowing song in Verges.¹³⁵ Yet the Mediterranean Sea is a dominant feature of the geography of the Països Catalans. Why should there be such a lacuna? Part of the answer I believe is related to the answer I posited for the lack of industrial songs: no collector has looked in the right place. Palmira Jaquetti and Joan Amades collected on separate occasions along the Costa Brava, yet in spite of their success in collecting large numbers of songs, few relate to the sea. One is therefore forced to the conclusion that there cannot have been many sea songs in that area. In any case, such songs would most likely have related to fishing, and the quantity of British fishing songs is not large, either, by comparison with the number of shanties and songs of sea adventures and naval heroics. If sea songs were to be found, the most likely places would have been in the port of Barcelona itself, and on broadsides published there. This comes back to the way that songs were collected in Catalonia: inspired by or as a result of excursionisme.

¹³² Amades, Cançoner, p. 1336.

¹³³ Josep Vicent Frechina, "Allà a la fabriqueta..." in Caramella, IV (2001), 20-25.

¹³⁴ Joan Amades, Costumari català, 5 vols (Barcelona: Salvat, 1950-56 repr. 1987), Vol V, pp. 326-331.

¹³⁵ Materials, IX, p. 368.

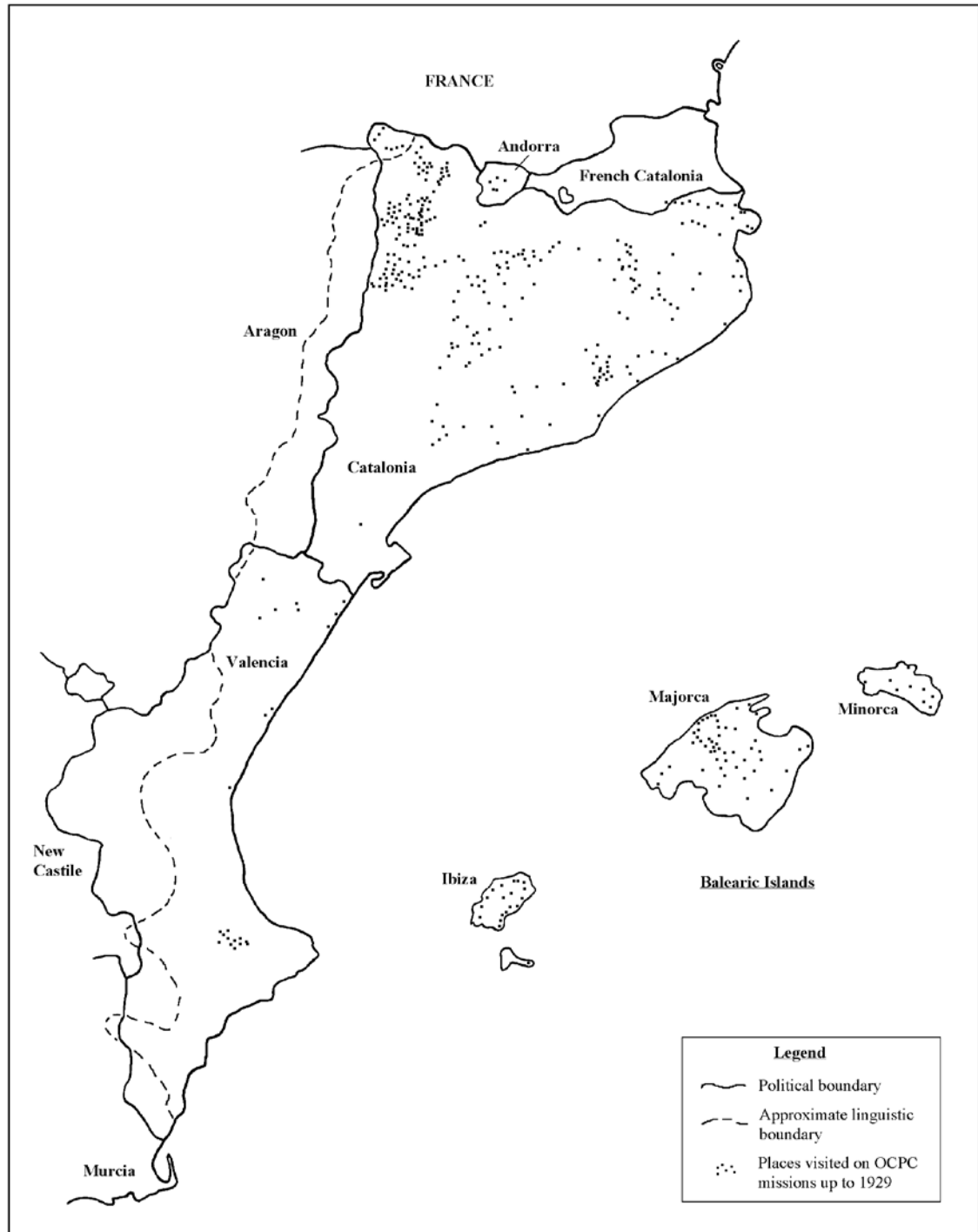


Figure 14 : OCPC Collection Sites in the Països Catalans 1922-1929

This cannot be the whole answer, because although the Balearic Islands (including Minorca, with its important harbour) were combed extensively for songs, as will be seen from Figure 14, few relating to the sea have turned up. Another part of the answer may lie in maritime history. The Catalans were forbidden by Ferdinand and Isabella from taking part in the exploration of the Americas, thus they were excluded from the development of work songs that may have been associated with crewing big sailing ships on long voyages. This ban

persisted until 1756. But this is not a satisfactory explanation either, since sea songs in Castilian are virtually unknown too. Stan Hugill's Songs of the Sea¹³⁶ reveals songs in many languages, but Spanish is not one of them - and this given the circumstances of over half the Americas being colonised by Spain. To a very great extent this can be explained by the dominance of the British and United States merchant marines during the 19th century, the heyday of sea shanties. The references in these songs to ports such as Callao, Valparaiso and Rio testify to the dominance of British shipping on the South American run following the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805 and the loss by Spain of any control over commercial traffic to the Americas. Yet France also suffered the consequences of that same battle and some French shanties survive, albeit with English influence.¹³⁷ So maritime history cannot be the whole answer. There is the havaneres tradition, of course. These songs, thought to have originated in Cuba and nominally associated with Havana,¹³⁸ certainly have a nautical flavour and many are sung in Catalan by fishermen along the coast of the Costa Brava. However, havaneres are not particularly Catalan; they are found all around the Spanish coast, and most have known authors. Although the writing and performance of these songs, therefore, may be considered as a traditional activity, we can no more classify havaneres as Catalan folk songs than we can classify calypsos as British. All in all, therefore, the paucity of long sailor's songs in the Països Catalans is hard to explain.

To me as a Briton, one other genre of songs is conspicuous by its almost total absence from the Catalan corpus: songs of rebellion, that is to say Catalan analogues to the Border ballad or the Fenian song. Given Catalonia's history of revolution and would-be independence, I would have expected to find any number of songs relating to its political struggle. This absence has also been remarked upon by at least one cançoner anthologist.¹³⁹ Instead, all there seem to be are a few songs about bandits and smugglers, plus some songs relating to the

¹³⁶ Stan Hugill, Songs of the Sea (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1977).

¹³⁷ Henri Davenson, Le Livre des Chansons, 4th edn (Neuchâtel: La Baconnière, 1977), p. 475.

¹³⁸ Càstor Pérez Diz, Andreu Navarro & M. Teresa Linares, L'havanera: un cant popular (Tarragona: El Mèdol, 1995).

¹³⁹ Lluís Borau & Carles Sancho, Lo molinar: literatura popular catalana del Matarranya i Mequinensa (Calaceit: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, Associació Cultural del Matarranya & Carrutxa, 1996), Vol. II: Cançoner, p. 18.

Carlist wars, which were a Spanish rather than a specifically Catalan issue. The military songs tend to speak of men going off to Barcelona to serve the King and bemoaning the fact to their wives and sweethearts; there are few tales of adventure.

These lacunae highlight the need for further research to explain them. In particular, we must await the publication by Massot of the remaining volumes of Materials, since the information published to date covers the period between 1922 and 1929, and collection continued until 1936. The map given in Figure 14 reveals just how incomplete and lopsided the work was up to 1929, although there are some significant 1928 missions as yet unpublished. The province of Tarragona was hardly covered at all; Valencia fared little better. Other significant areas not covered included southern Lleida, the Cerdanya and much of the coastal Empordà region in the north-east. In fact, as will be seen from the index in Materials volume IV of songs yet to be published by Massot, these northern areas were covered in later trips by the indefatigable Palmira Jaquetti, and in others by Joan Tomàs.¹⁴⁰ Further examination of the index reveals that a good number of songs were collected in the province of Tarragona by Rossend Serra i Pagès outside the activities of the OCPC. Little of this material has yet been published and once more we await the results of Massot's diligent efforts.

Having taken all of the foregoing into account, I still believe that in the final analysis the OCPC song collecting will be dominated by the results from the Pyrenean foothills and the Balearic Islands. I base this judgement on the song counts given in Materials volume IV for the as-yet unpublished material. This information gives a broad idea of the places searched, but the detail is missing. Two questions come to mind as a result of this patchy coverage: first, were the geographic gaps deliberate, and secondly, have they been filled by other collections? To the first, I believe the answer is "no"; even though it might be (I have no evidence) that the early collectors such as Milà i Fontanals, Pelai Briz and others garnered songs in southern Lleida and Tarragona, it seems unlikely that the OCPC workers would have ignored these areas thereafter. There are, of course, the large unpublished collections of Aguiló and Serra i Pagès, but the former lacks music in any case and may not be as useful as it would otherwise be. The evidence of the missions suggests that collectors went back to areas previously visited in the hope of gathering more songs. In this they were often successful, as the frequent trips by Jaquetti and

¹⁴⁰ Materials, IV:2, pp. 453-457.

others to the north-west show. I think a more human excuse is likely. The collectors were volunteers, and a good deal of their work was done in the summer months in holiday periods. The cool foothills of the Pyrenees to the north were likely to have been more attractive than the dusty plains of the south. Furthermore, the total number of volunteers available to collect songs does not seem to have been very large (around two dozen people for the whole of the Països Catalans during the entire fifteen years of the project), so that the particular direction taken by any individual effort would have had quite a marked effect on the whole outcome.

In answer to the second question, there has been considerable research in recent years in Tarragona, through the work of the Carrutxa group in Reus. The large quantity of songs in its publications, which cover not only Tarragona but venture into the catalanoparlant areas of Aragon (another area apparently never touched by the OCPC, although Amades and Tomàs seem to have come close¹⁴¹), show that the OCPC would have found plenty of material had its researchers spent as much time there as in other parts of the country. As a final assessment of the work of the OCPC, therefore, we may say that while what it did, it did very well, its laudable ambition of collecting all the folk songs in Catalan was not achieved. The reasons for the failure are likely to have been a shortage of skilled collectors allied to the vagaries of human nature.

5.1 Narrative Songs: the Romances

Catalonia is strategically placed, straddling the borders between France and Spain. As such, and given its history of struggle to be French, Spanish or simply independent, the English-speaking reader, conversant with the British Border ballad tradition, might expect the Catalan traditional song repertoire to be full of references to its history. Such an expectation would be reinforced by the knowledge of the fronterizo Castilian ballad tradition. In fact, nothing could be further from the truth. Although it is true that the Catalan national anthem Els segadors refers to a historical event (the reaper wars of the 17th century), there are hardly any songs that refer to historical - or even legendary - figures. This seems to be true on both sides of the present political border. There are no Parcy Reeds or Hugh the Graemes or Barons of Brackley. Yet there were certainly independent-minded lords in the mountains, such as the Comte de Foix, and some,

¹⁴¹ Materials, IV:2, p. 469.

such as Don Bernadino de Marimón were bandits themselves.¹⁴² The few songs with personal references are of quite a different sort. Bac de Roda¹⁴³ refers to a lord who was taken prisoner and put to death for being a Catalan patriot first and a Spaniard second, but there is no action in the song, nor reason given for his condemnation. There are, however, some interesting robber songs. Although one version of Serrallonga is simply a song about the death of a brigand and gives no details, another does have an adventure of sorts, of how a landlady is defrauded, although the plot is essentially comic in tone.¹⁴⁴ It says nothing about the historical 17th century brigand who terrorised, robbed and murdered people on both sides of the Franco-Spanish border, as is well documented by Reglà and Fuster.¹⁴⁵ One of his contemporaries, the bandit Toca-Son¹⁴⁶ in his song simply gets shot dead in a failed highway robbery. El Cabrer¹⁴⁷ seems to have been a bandit who after some years as a Carlist soldier took to the mountains around Andorra and according to the song was a kind of Robin Hood figure who was finally ambushed and killed while at dinner. There are songs about smuggling across the border, but these are not really narrative. They are either songs about capturing smugglers, as in Els contrabandistes¹⁴⁸ or about not getting caught, as in Som set de camarades.¹⁴⁹ The minimal action or absence of it is a notable feature. The one song that does have a real adventure in it, L'hostal de la Peira,¹⁵⁰ contains anonymous characters who appear to be purely fictional. Nevertheless, it is a strong story. Some robbers dressed as women come to stay at an inn. At dead of night they sneak out past the female servant who pretends to be asleep. They let hot candle wax drip on her to see if she is really asleep, but she snores on. When they leave, she rises and locks the door. On their return she refuses to let them in at first. After threats and bribes she agrees to put some food into the hand of one of the robbers. However, when he puts his

¹⁴² J. H. Elliott, The Revolt of the Catalans (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), p. 122.

¹⁴³ Amades, Cançoners, p. 632.

¹⁴⁴ Amades, Cançoners, p. 654.

¹⁴⁵ Joan Reglà & Joan Fuster, Joan Serrallonga, vida i mite del famós bandoler (Barcelona: Aedos, 1961).

¹⁴⁶ Amades, Cançoners, p. 662.

¹⁴⁷ Amades, Cançoners, p. 664.

¹⁴⁸ Amades, Cançoners, p. 647.

¹⁴⁹ Amades, Cançoners, p. 648.

¹⁵⁰ Amades, Cançoners, p. 515.

hand through the hole in the door, she chops it off and then raises the alarm.

El comte Arnau¹⁵¹ is a song of a different sort altogether: a ghostly night-visiting song. The count has returned from Hell to visit his wife. The song takes the form of a question-and-answer dialogue between the pair and the reasons for his condemnation become apparent - his evil life and not paying his soldiers. He tells his wife that she will find money for his daughters' dowries under the stairs, but she will not touch it, fearing it to be tainted. When he demands one of his daughters to comfort him, his wife refuses saying that his touch will burn them. Eventually he is summoned to depart by the cock-crow of the impending dawn.

Although widely known throughout Catalonia, this song is associated with a specific place, Montgrony, near Gombrèn in the Ripollès district. There are many legends associated with Comte Arnau unrelated to the ballad, and these are described in detail by Josep Romeu i Figueras¹⁵² in his extensive work on the subject. One interesting and not very obvious link is to the nuns in the convent of Sant Aimanç, a place in the same region. The song about this, Les monjes de sant Aimanç, describes how a gentleman is invited to stay by twelve nuns, who later on all have children, except for the prioress, who has twins.¹⁵³ This apparent virility is cast in doubt, however, by the version of the song in the Cançoner del Ripollès, in which the fathers are "freres i capellans, i també del comte l'Arnau"¹⁵⁴ and which provides a reference to the count missing in other versions of the same song. This reference in itself is worth further explanation, because the evil count in addition to being used by mothers as a bogeyman to scare children into being good, is also used as a source of blame for any bad event that cannot be attributed to anyone in particular. It could be that in the song the reference to the count simply means that the father is unknown. On the other hand, Josep Romeu tells us that the scandal started at the convent of Sant Joan de les Abadesses:

En general, la veu popular diu que les monges de Sant Joan, després d'haver pecat amb Arnau, foren portades a Sant Amanç, on continuaren els escàndols fins que un llamp abaté el convent.

¹⁵¹ Amades, Cançoner, p. 603.

¹⁵² Romeu, El comte Arnau.

¹⁵³ Milà, Romancer català, p. 76.

¹⁵⁴ Juan, Cançoner del Ripollès, p. 429.

Encara en nits de tempesta - afegeixen - se senten les rialles de
les monjes i el dringar de les copes.¹⁵⁵

I have referred here to what seem to be indigenous Catalan songs. It is also interesting to examine songs that have come in from outside the Catalan-speaking areas. Versions of the Castilian Gerineldo and Gaiferos have been collected, Catalanised to a greater or lesser extent, but neither hero is historical. The story of the Porqueirola¹⁵⁶ is particularly interesting in the way that it changes on moving from Provence. In Arbaud's version,¹⁵⁷ collected in Aix-en-Provence, the lord who leaves his young wife to the less-than-tender mercies of his mother, is named as the Duke of Beauvais. Furthermore, when he returns to rescue his wife from looking after the pigs, he tells his mother that only because she is his mother he will not hang her; instead, he will wall her up alive. This version has all the ferocity of a British Border ballad. On the other hand, the Catalan versions (of which there are many) without exception fail to name the husband. Furthermore, they all have the husband telling the mother that because of her status as his mother, she will not be burned; in fact, no punishment is meted out. While this may be good Christian doctrine ("Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord") it is a far cry from the ethos of the Provençal version. It is almost as if the song had been expurgated, yet it is too widely disseminated in Catalonia for this to be likely. Furthermore, there is plenty of violence in other Catalan narrative songs.

5.2 Narrative Songs: the Broadside

Examination of the older romances suggests that they could have originated anywhere in the Mediterranean region from Northern Italy to Spain, and possibly even further afield. Their language changes as they travel, which could partly explain the number of mixed-language ballads found in the Països Catalans.¹⁵⁸ On the other hand, the broadsides, or cançons de fil i canya, are written in Catalan. The term describes how the ballad sellers would string up their songs for

¹⁵⁵ Romeu, El comte Arnau, p. 79.

¹⁵⁶ Milà, Romancer català, p. 120.

¹⁵⁷ Damase Arbaud, Chants populaires de la Provence, in *Bibliothèque Provençale*, 8 vols (Aix: Makaire, 1862), IV, p. 94.

¹⁵⁸ But see below, Chapter 9.

sale,¹⁵⁹ as such hawkers did in Britain, as the following illustration shows:



LONG-SONG SELLER.

(From a Daguerrotype by BEARD.)

"Three yards a penny! Three yards a penny! Beautiful songs!
Newest songs! Popular songs! Three yards a penny!
Songs, songs, songs!"

Figure 15 : 19th Century British Broadside Hawker¹⁶⁰

Because of the language and the plots that are more specifically related to everyday life, it seems likely that these songs are indigenous. This is also supported by the large quantity of them. Another clue is given by the music. The older romances have a much greater variety of tunes; there is no fixed association between a tune and a set of words. Indeed, it is necessary to speak of tune families rather than tunes, because hardly any two collected versions of a romance bear exactly the same tune. That said, of course, the evidence is distorted because collectors tend to note down different versions but do not indicate the frequency of encounter of versions that they have already collected. Nevertheless, the variety exists and it is much greater than that of a cançó de fil i canya, which - at least in its British equivalent - tends to have a single tune or a family of close variants associated with it, simply because it either included the musical score or bore a note saying "sung to the tune of...". Amades seems to suggest that the same thing happened in Catalonia.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Amades, Cançoners, Pròleg, p. 70.

¹⁶⁰ Charles Hindley, Curiosities of Street Literature (London: Reeves and Turner, 1871, repr. London: The Broadsheet King, 1966), frontispiece.

¹⁶¹ Amades, Cançoners, Pròleg, p. 70.

This is not to say that broadside plots and tunes would be original; a song might freely borrow themes that already existed in the oral tradition, but it would be sufficiently novel to make the public want to buy it. But what of the themes? Let us begin in polite fashion with ladies first.

5.3 Women in Catalan Traditional Songs

The stepmother and the daughter in the Porqueirola mentioned earlier emphasise one of the characteristic features of women in Catalan folk song - most, if they are not giving others a bad time, are on the receiving end. Rank has no privileges in this regard. The queen in El testament d'Amèlia¹⁶² poisons her own daughter so that she can continue her affair with her son-in-law. The queen in Donya Elisabet¹⁶³ is no less violent, ordering the death of Elisabet for having children by the king. In this case, however, we have two wronged women. Elisabet has clearly been the unwilling love of the king's life since his youth, whereas the queen owes her position to an arranged marriage. Elisabet has failed to escape the king's attentions by hiding in a convent; the result is that the queen's brother kills Elisabet and the king in revenge kills his queen and her party, crowning Elisabet in death. These two songs introduce three facets of womanhood which I propose to examine separately: the mother/stepmother/mother-in-law, the wife and the unmarried girl.

Mothers can be cruel, as in El testament d'Amèlia, but by and large they give good advice, and they provide foils for impetuous youth, as in A la plaça fan ballades, or Caterineta,¹⁶⁴ where the mother cautions the daughter against going to the dance in the square in case her father catches her. On the other hand, in Ai, quina mare tinc!¹⁶⁵ the mother seems to be quite insensitive to the girl's desperation for a young man. In the Majorcan version, Mumareta,¹⁶⁶ a version of which has been recorded by Maria del Mar Bonet,¹⁶⁷ the mother counsels waiting for a year, a month, and so on, but the girl will not wait even one minute. Stepmothers and mothers-in-law are, on

¹⁶² Amades, Cançoners, p. 594.

¹⁶³ Aguiló, p. 131.

¹⁶⁴ Joaquim Maideu i Puig, Llibre de cançons: crestomatia de cançons tradicionals catalanes, 2nd edn, (Vic: Eumo, 1994), p. 188.

¹⁶⁵ Amades, Cançoners, p. 706.

¹⁶⁶ Materials, VII, p. 190.

¹⁶⁷ "Cançó de la núvia impacient", on L'Àguila Negra. Maria del Mar Bonet. Guimbarða CG-1.114. Side B track 7.

the other hand, universally bad, as we have already seen in the Porqueirola and as La mala sogra,¹⁶⁸ also known as Caterina d'Alió¹⁶⁹ bears witness. In this latter story, a woman is by the river washing clothes. Three young men pass by and try to flirt with her. She will have none of it and one of the young men wisely advises leaving her alone, because her husband will kill her if they interfere with her. The mother-in-law who has been spying on these events tells her son that Caterina has been unfaithful, and true to the youth's prophecy, the husband kills Caterina, as a result of which he is hanged. This black and white attitude to morality with instant death as the result of perceived sexual transgression by women is a recurrent theme in Catalan narrative songs.

Wives by and large fall into three categories: the unfaithful, the feeble and the intrepid. True to the rules we have seen in other songs, unfaithful wives normally come to a sticky end, murdered by their cuckolded husbands, as in Don Ramon i Magdalena.¹⁷⁰ Here the discovered wife simply makes defiant noises, saying her lover is worth more than her husband, paralleling the final speech of Lady Barnard in the British border ballad Little Musgrave (Child 81). In La mala muller¹⁷¹ we find just the opposite; not only do we find a husband who kills his wife for infidelity, but an element that smacks almost of comic opera. The wife pleads to make a speech. She then climbs up to the window and addresses the populace at large, warning them not to follow her bad example. Then she dies. Moralising endings are common in Catalan folk songs, as they are in other traditions. In this case the moral statement has been directly linked into the plot by being put into the mouth of the protagonist. In spite of the apparent absurdity of the plot, there is no irony in this song; it is deadly serious. Of course, some singers, especially today, might treat the song as ironic comedy. Another interesting song from a British perspective is El retorn sobtat,¹⁷² in which the returning husband finds belongings of the lover all round the house, before encountering the lover himself and killing both him and his own wife. This, like its Castilian equivalent Blancaniña¹⁷³ is a serious version of the familiar Anglo-Irish Seven Drunken Nights.

¹⁶⁸ Ginard, IV, p. 380.

¹⁶⁹ Amades, Cançoner, p. 700.

¹⁷⁰ Milà, Romancer català, p. 105.

¹⁷¹ Amades, Cançoner, p. 377.

¹⁷² Aguiló, p. 93.

¹⁷³ Smith, pp. 197-199.

Perhaps because of the male-dominated society that the songs describe, some wives are simply frail to the point of feebleness. Blancaflor,¹⁷⁴ for example, lets her husband go to war for years. When he returns she does not recognise him and he pretends that he is someone else and says that her husband has married a French princess. Only when she declares that she will enter a convent to remain loyal to her husband's memory does he reveal the broken wedding ring and his true identity. This is a familiar pan-European plot, belonging to the family of broken-token ballads, and as in most songs of this type the couple are then happily reunited. However, in the Catalan version she first kneels and apologises to her husband for not treating him with due respect; a more abject attitude is hard to imagine, given his insensitivity. Another and entirely unrelated Blancaflor song is of a different kind altogether, and I deal with it at the end of this section. La viuda¹⁷⁵ is more frail than feeble, perhaps because of physical weakness in the aftermath of childbirth. The plot here is that a knight goes off to war just as his wife has given birth. News of his death arrives in the town and the bells toll. When the young widow asks the reason, her mother gives her all kinds of excuses, to protect her. The following Sunday she insists on going to Mass dressed in all her finery only to overhear critical remarks from the crowd because she is not in mourning. When the truth can no longer be kept from her she drops dead. We are clearly meant here to consider the strength of this idealised love as being more important than any physical weakness.

A different category of feeble wife is the malmaridata, a common theme of Occitan song.¹⁷⁶ Here we have songs of complaint, such as Rossinyol,¹⁷⁷ where the girl has been married off to someone she hates and she spends her time bemoaning her fate. On the other hand, when we consider the fate of unfaithful wives in other Catalan songs, perhaps the threat of death for infidelity or bad behaviour is sufficient reason for her state of mind. Dishonour is the key to the behaviour of the French princess in Sona, viola, sona¹⁷⁸ who is kidnapped by an Aragonese cad at a dance. He promises her riches as they ride off. She weeps, and he asks if she is mourning the loss of her family. She says

¹⁷⁴ Aguiló, p. 83.

¹⁷⁵ Aguiló, p. 83.

¹⁷⁶ Jean Poueigh, Chansons populaires des Pyrénées françaises (Paris: Auch, 1926, repr. Marseille: Laffitte, 1998), pp. 435-450.

¹⁷⁷ Maideu, p. 152.

¹⁷⁸ Maideu, p. 117.

no, but that her (chastity?) belt is hurting; she needs a dagger to cut herself and her heart free. Happy to oblige, the man lends her one, at which point the girl stabs herself to death to protect her honour. This is a far cry from the third category, the women with sufficient gumption to deal with their situation and despatch the villain.

Strong-minded women can be just as deadly as their husbands, as witness La jutgessa.¹⁷⁹ Here the wife asks her husband whom she should marry after he is dead. He bids her be silent and not to speak of such things, threatening to thrash her with a stick and drown her in the river. She, however, retorts that it is he who should be quiet because she has just poisoned him. Clearly there is no love lost, but we never get to find out what caused such marital strife. Other lethal women are definitely heroines, however, and one cannot help but cheer them on. In El comte Berenguer¹⁸⁰ the said lord goes to the castle of Don Pere to tell the lady that her husband is dead. He also says that he promised Don Pere that he would marry her to keep her safe. For her part, the countess clearly believes Berenguer to be a murderer. She pretends to accede and invites him up to a high window to survey the lands of which he will become lord. When he does so, she promptly pushes him out to his death. A rather darker story, though, is that of Capitel·lo.¹⁸¹ He is the commander of the army that has captured the lady's husband. In true villainous fashion he promises to release the husband if she will sleep with his captor for the night. The lady selflessly consents, only to find that the villain then executes her husband the following morning. He then promises to kill his own ailing wife and marry the lady. Nothing daunted, she stabs him to death.

Single girls are by and large an untrustworthy lot in Catalan songs, at least in the broadsides. L'Antònia,¹⁸² for example strings her hapless boyfriend along right up until the day she marries somebody else. Disobedience is a strong theme, and dealing with runaways seems to be a constant parental headache. If the girls do not run away of their own accord, then they are kidnapped, generally as a result of talking to strangers. Sometimes they run off to avoid being sent to a convent or an unwanted marriage; other reasons include elopement with soldiers and escaping for adventure. The plots are very simple and lacking in detail; most of the song is typically taken up

¹⁷⁹ Aguiló, p. 283.

¹⁸⁰ Amades, Cançoners, p. 730.

¹⁸¹ Amades, Cançoners, p. 685.

¹⁸² Juan, Cançoners del Ripollès, p. 361.

with arguing with the boyfriend before or after the departure. Interestingly, the parental attitude is markedly gentle if the father catches up with her, as in La fugitiva.¹⁸³ Far from giving her a beating, he says that her mother has died of grief and that he will soon follow. In most cases, the song ends in a dialogue between the girl and her pursuers and never tells us the outcome, although for the most part it seems that the girl wants to go home again. As for girls kidnapped by bandits, they have a harder time. Some end up dead and all end in tears, even if they join the gang, as in Penediment tardà.¹⁸⁴ The silliest example, perhaps is that of Les dames desconegudes,¹⁸⁵ in which some women are seen around the town, dressed in their finery. Nobody knows them, although the men lust after them. The local army commander flirts with the prettiest one. When she admits that they beg for a living and smuggle liquor and cigarettes, he throws them into prison. On the other hand, girls who join the army seem to do well. In La jove guerrera¹⁸⁶ we have one who after enlisting is made a commander after a month, wins a great battle and sails off to fight the Moors. Another, La aventurera,¹⁸⁷ after years spent as a soldier is finally discovered. She marries her discoverer, is widowed after fifteen years and then has an army pension to support her.

These songs about single girls differ in many ways from the other songs dealt with so far regarding women. The people are not noble and there is a much more everyday feel about the plots; the town square, the inn, the street and the family home are all used as backgrounds. The songs originated as broadsides, cançons de fil i canya, dating probably from the early 19th century, rather than as romances passed down orally from earlier times. As in England, the broadsides far outnumber the older ballads, but just as in England they have been absorbed into the oral tradition and are inseparable from it. The older romances deal with single girls differently. For example, in El mariner¹⁸⁸ a girl is sewing and runs out of thread. A passing sailor says he has some and invites her on board to see it. When she does so he sails away. She bemoans her fate as the youngest of three daughters, fearing that she will become a sailor's wife while the others have become noble ladies. However, her abductor turns out to be

¹⁸³ Milà, Romancer català, p. 63.

¹⁸⁴ Milà, Romancer català, p. 162.

¹⁸⁵ Milà, Romancer català, p. 68.

¹⁸⁶ Milà, Romancer català, p. 27.

¹⁸⁷ Milà, Romancer català, p. 46.

¹⁸⁸ Maideu, p. 197.

the son of the king of England. In Rosaflorida or Els dos germans,¹⁸⁹ another tale of abduction, a knight carries away a girl he thinks is a Moorish slave from her washing at the river. Only later does he discover that she is his long-lost sister kidnapped by the Moors years before. Interestingly, before this fact comes out, in some versions of the song the girl mocks her rescuer's gentility for not taking sexual advantage of her. Her behaviour is even more scandalous in that when she meets her mother again she proudly announces that she has kept her virginity through prayer and the rosary. This is an older romance, yet there is more than a hint of the cançó de fil i canya about the girl, as her hoydenish behaviour shows, which illustrates how the edges between the two kinds of song become blurred in the oral tradition.

The subject of women is not complete without a mention of perhaps the blackest songs in the Catalan repertoire. The first is La filla del marxant.¹⁹⁰ Here the merchant's daughter gets pregnant but she and the father do not want the child. When it is born, she asks him to throw it in the river, but he refuses. She has no such compunction, and does so. However, some fishermen find the infant, give it to the queen and the woman is arrested, thrown into prison and later hanged. Before she dies, she blames her mother for not finding her a husband soon enough. The only redeeming feature of this ghastly story is the glorious melody to which it is normally sung.

¹⁸⁹ Aguiló, p. 165.

¹⁹⁰ Josep Subirà, Cançons populars catalanes (Barcelona: Millà, 1948), p. 36.



Figure 16 : La filla del marxant from Aureli Capmany's Cançoner Popular

The second song is Blancaflor i Filomena.¹⁹¹ This is even more grisly, unusually so for a Catalan song, and for once the husband and wife are equally murderous. Don Arquil marries Princess Blancaflor but prefers her young sister Filomena. He rapes Filomena in a wood and cuts out her tongue, which she uses to write a note in blood to incriminate him. When Blancaflor finds out what has happened, she aborts their baby and serves it up as a meal for Don Arquil. When he has eaten it she stabs him to death. The horror of this song is reminiscent of the appalling behaviour of the Infantes de Carrión in the Cid poem. Interestingly, the words are a 50%-50% mixture of Catalan and Castilian, the song begins Por las calles de Madrid, and the metre is generally octosyllabic, a form supported by the somewhat monotonous chant-like tune; all of which suggests that the song is

¹⁹¹ Materials, VI, p. 97.

Castilian in origin, although the plot is straight from Ovid (Procne, Philomela and Tereus) and thus of great antiquity.¹⁹² The song is in fact one of the most widespread in Spain¹⁹³ and the plot appears in plays and poems too.¹⁹⁴

Finally, and in complete contrast, other categories have come to light as a result of recent research in Valencia into industrial songs.¹⁹⁵ They include exploited women who earn a pittance while their boss makes a fortune (nothing new there), women who supplement their incomes by selling their charms to salesmen or to the boss (nothing new there either), and single girls who, as a result of earning money, have a new economic freedom which no doubt disturbs male machismo. Here is one, Les xiques quan són fadrines, collected in Sorió, a district of Xàtiva. The song is a warning by the singer to his friends that working girls are too fond of wine. They pretend to be sober and demure until after the wedding day and then reveal their true natures, kicking their husbands out to go and fetch suitable booze.¹⁹⁶

Les xiques quan són fadrines
i volen acomodar-se,
se deixen de beure vi
i soles saben afrontar-se.
Quan estan davant del nóvio
i se posen a menjar,
tot es fer-li de carasses
ni l'arriben a tastar.
Quan estan a soles,
això ja és sabut,
es beuen el trago
eixe de l'eixut.
Ixen colorades
com a ramellets,

¹⁹² The Metamorphoses of Ovid, tr. by Mary M. Innes (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1955), pp. 146-153.

¹⁹³ 'Una recogida de romances en Andalucía (1948-1968)' in El romancero en la tradición oral moderna, ed. Diego Catalán & Samuel G. Armistead (Madrid: Cátedra/Seminario Menéndez Pidal, 1973), pp. 99-100.

¹⁹⁴ José María de Cossío, Fábulas mitológicas en España (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1952), pp. 8, 371, 749.

¹⁹⁵ Caramella IV, pp. 20-25.

¹⁹⁶ Caramella IV, p. 23.

ixen empolvades
blanques com la llet.
En després quan són casades,
ja no guarden el secret,
els diuen als seus marits:
porta vi, que no tinc llet.
Pobra criatura,
s'estira la pell,
no me'l portes agre,
porta-lo dolcet.
Si me'l portes agre,
no hi ha qui li entre
perquè me se posa
dolor en el ventre.

LES XIQUES QUAN SÓN FADRINES

The musical score is written on a single staff in treble clef, with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The melody is simple and rhythmic, with lyrics written below the notes. The lyrics are in Catalan and describe the behavior of young women when they are drunk.

Les xi-ques quan són fa - drines i volen a-como- dase se deixen de beu-re
vi i so-les sa-ben a-fron- tar se. Quan es- tan da- vant del no- vio
i se po-sen a men- jar tot és fer-li de ca- races ni l'ar-ri-ben a tas-
tar. Quanes-tan a so - les. (aixíja éssa- but)
se be-uen el tra- go d'eixe del'ai- xut. Ei-xen co- lo-
ra- es coma ra-me- llets ei-xen empol- va-es, blanques com la llet.

Figure 17 : Les xiques quan són fadrines

The sexual connotations are quite clear, the song providing an interesting variation on the "headache" excuse - although no doubt the woman would have one, in the form of a hangover!

5.4 Men in Catalan Traditional Songs

The moral attitude to men's behaviour is in stark contrast to the attitude to that of women. For example, in El comte Raixa,¹⁹⁷ the princess pesters her father the king for a husband. Having no-one suitable at court, to indulge her he instructs one of his courtiers, comte Raixa, to kill his wife and get rid of his children so he can marry the princess. This is no idle request; it is an instruction from the king under pain of death. The count goes home and tells his wife that he has no choice but to kill her. Happily, an angel saves the day to prevent the murder. The abominable royal pair both die in the night and are dragged off to Hell.

Just as strong characters, but contrasting with the previous couple, are the father and daughter in La presó de Lleida.¹⁹⁸ Here the daughter of the prison governor falls in love with one of the prisoners. Though she begs for the man's life, her unyielding father tells her that he is the ringleader of a rebellion, and that he above all must hang. She replies by asking her father to hang her too, because of her love for the prisoner. One gets the feeling in this magnificent song that there are no villains, only enemies fighting for different causes.

The father of young Caterineta¹⁹⁹ is even harsher in the song that bears her name but which is often known as A la plaça fan ballades because of its fairly consistent first line. As mentioned earlier, the mother warns against going dancing in the square, but the girl will not listen. When the father comes home and asks where she is, he does not believe the excuse that she has gone to visit her sick sister. Instead he goes to the square with a cudgel and beats his daughter to death. Justice is done, however, in that his savagery sends him to the gallows.

It does seem for the most part that family violence is duly punished. However, that is not always the case. While cuckolded husbands seem to have the right to kill their wives, as La mala muller demonstrates, there are exceptions; in El Babau Cistella²⁰⁰ we have an excellent example. The title means "gullible idiot", which is exactly what our hero proves to be. The fiancée plots an affair with a passing merchant before her wedding. Shortly after the marriage, the merchant turns up at the couple's house and pretends to be the girl's rich

¹⁹⁷ Ginard, IV, p. 363.

¹⁹⁸ Amades, Cançoners, p. 597.

¹⁹⁹ Amades, Cançoners, p. 177.

²⁰⁰ Amades, Cançoners, p. 733.

uncle. They send the foolish husband out to buy some fish (references to fish - especially sardines - are a common hint of bawdiness in Catalan songs) and when he gets back he finds the "uncle" in bed apparently taken ill and his bride weeping what one can only imagine to be crocodile tears.

Whereas the behaviour of wives is fairly consistent in both the broadsides and the older romances, the behaviour of husbands is not. In general, husbands in the broadsides are violent and often cuckolded, whilst they are often heroic in the romances. We have already seen how the husband rescues his wife in the Porqueirola. A stronger example is given in L'Escrivaneta,²⁰¹ in which a knight goes off to war leaving a child bride behind. The Moors invade and carry off the girl, who is then kept by the Moorish king. When the husband returns and discovers what has happened, he disguises himself as a beggar and begs alms at the Moor's palace. Invited in by the king, he quickly makes himself known to his wife and they escape at night, leaving the king to rage and curse.

Not all husbands are so bold, however, and El mestre²⁰² is a most strange man. This is often two songs, but the whole story is this. A teacher falls in love with one of his pupils and promises to marry her. He then goes off, in some cases to war, and does not return for a long time. When he does, he explains that he has been very ill for months. However, the couple seem happy to be reunited. This strange song has a refrain and tends to be sung to a jolly tune. However, its plot is far from clear.

A most interesting variant on the theme of a young man going off to war is Mambrú.²⁰³ This is the Catalan version of the French Malbrouk s'en va-t-en guerre; however, by the time it arrives south of the Pyrenees the eponymous English general has lost any historical reality. Our hero is apparently born in France, sent to school at five, in the army at fifteen and married at twenty. He goes off to war and never returns. The wife looking out of the window sees two pages approaching. They tell her that her husband is dead and buried and birds sing over his grave. Clearly his story has become inextricably linked with that of the comte de l'Aronge in La mala nova,²⁰⁴ which ends in a similar sad manner.

²⁰¹ Milà, Romancer català, p. 84.

²⁰² Amades, Cançoners, p. 733; Milà, Romancer català, p. 232.

²⁰³ Aureli Capmany, Cançoners populars, 3 vols (Barcelona: Horta, 1901-1913), Vol III, no. LXIX. See also below, p. 192.

²⁰⁴ Capmany, Cançoners populars, III, no. LXXVIII.

A very common theme is that of young men going away. In many songs, if the object of the young man's affection is not available through lack of interest, a rival, death of the girl concerned or opposition of her parents it is quite normal for the lovelorn swain to volunteer for the army. This situation is undoubtedly one which would be familiar to the fadrister, the younger brother of the hereu, but with no property or prospects. His misfortune is commented on in Ai, noies que aneu al ball.²⁰⁵ Groups of young men behave quite differently, however, and it is common for gangs of three to accost young ladies, with varying results. In Els tres tambors,²⁰⁶ a song well known in France, three army drummers come from the wars and the youngest (a normal theme) courts a lord's daughter. She says he will have to ask permission of her father, who questions the young man closely about his family. The young man replies that he comes from another country and is noble. The father finally approves when the young man turns out to be a prince. He says his daughter has a substantial dowry in land, to which the young man, no doubt miffed by the cross-examination and the ambitions of the father haughtily replies that he already has all the land he needs and that there are much better girls at home. This story contrasts sharply with that Els estudiants de Tolosa,²⁰⁷ in which three seminary students tease some girls. We never hear the details, but it must be serious, because the girls complain to the authorities and the young men are thrown into prison and then hanged. As it happens, they are of noble family and their uncle comes to rescue them. Arriving too late, he vows to massacre every inhabitant in the city. This song has some historical basis, according to Josep Romeu and is of great antiquity.²⁰⁸ In 1332 some noble youths made a nuisance of themselves in Toulouse and the local authorities threw them into prison. However, under the laws and customs of the time, only the king or his nobles could arraign the youths, because of their nobility; the civic authorities had no such jurisdiction. Therefore when word of this matter reached the king, the city was punished harshly.

The theme of three young men turns up time and again. In Els tres segadors²⁰⁹ three young reapers come to a farm for work. The lady (generally noble) falls in love with the youngest one who carries a

²⁰⁵ Caballé, p. 81.

²⁰⁶ Amades, Cançoners, p. 641.

²⁰⁷ Amades, Cançoners, p. 404.

²⁰⁸ Romeu, Materials i estudis de folklore, p. 237 et seq.

²⁰⁹ Amades, Cançoners, p. 506.

golden scythe, and asks him to mow her meadow, the symbolism of which is plainly sexual. Not all such encounters are so amorous, however. We have already seen the effect of the three young men in Caterina d'Alió on the life of that unfortunate woman. In La noia de l'Empordà²¹⁰ some youths arrive in the region with the express intention of kidnapping a girl, which they proceed to do. Even more disruptive from a community perspective is Batusses de pobles,²¹¹ which is about fights between gangs from rival villages. Whereas fights between the clans in the Scottish ballads might be dressed up as one noble fighting for his rights over another, even though the affair was little more than a battle between a few villages, the Catalan equivalent makes no such claims. This is thuggery pure and simple, celebrating the weapons used, the blood flowing and the authorities doing nothing. Only some days later do the authorities put a stop to it with force. This may be a reference to the time when law enforcement was carried out by the local bailiff, or batlle. According to Elliott, these officers were extremely poorly paid and had little incentive to keep the peace, even if they wanted to.²¹²

If there is an overall impression about the men in Catalan folk song, it is that of leaving: not in the sense of unavoidable emigration, as in many Irish songs for example, but of leaving because duty calls. Husbands are summoned away, leaving wives to grieve for years. Things go wrong at home because the man is away. The standard response to a failed love affair is for the young man to join the army and leave for the wars. Girls fall in love with soldiers who are leaving. What is more, the chances of the man coming back safely seem to be remote. If he is not waylaid by another woman or killed in some foreign country, he falls ill and takes years to return, or he simply returns to die. This seems to be true whether the song has its origins in the older romances or in the cançons de fil i canya. This underlying pessimism in the songs may be a reflection of the political and social realities of the Països Catalans: subjugation by the nation states of France and Spain, and a muted sense of grievance relating to political subordination. The songs are mostly sung by women, and it is the women who stay behind to look after the family and home. Wars are traditionally fought by men, and these are the songs of the victims.

²¹⁰ Amades, Cançoners, p. 367.

²¹¹ Amades, Cançoners, p. 612.

²¹² Elliott, p. 84.

5.5 Love and Marriage

Unsurprisingly, a very large proportion of the Catalan long songs, whether narrative or lyric, are about love, courtship and marriage. While the older narrative ballads treat love in a conventionally adventurous manner (princes and lords rescuing damsels, ladies being reunited with lords returning from afar, nobles rescuing their wives from kidnap and worse, etc.) the majority of the love-theme songs are much more specifically related to Catalan society. In L'hereu Riera,²¹³ for example, a young man is dancing in the square (the standard topos for a love encounter) when news reaches him that his betrothed is dying. Filled with remorse, he rushes to her to find that she is receiving the last rites. She tells him that she is dying and that he should marry her sister. He refuses, and turning to face a crucifix on the wall, he prays for her. She duly recovers and a few weeks later they marry. Leaving aside the miraculous element, along with the legend and dance associated with this song (which Amades explains in his Cançoner in the notes accompanying this song), the characters relate very directly to Catalan society of centuries past. Since they are stock characters in many Catalan songs they merit an explanation. As Elliott puts it,

For many centuries, Catalan society has been organised round the person of the hereu. He is the son, but not always the eldest son, who inherits the bulk of the family's property. As the heir, he is marked out as the head of the family, and symbolises the family's determination to survive as a unit, preserving its substance intact. For this very reason, great care was taken to prevent him from squandering his inheritance.²¹⁴

Elliott goes on to explain that if there was no son, then the daughter - the pubilla - would inherit, and it was common practice for her husband to adopt her name rather than vice versa, so that the continuity of the estate ownership name was maintained. However, the period we are dealing with (the 17-19th centuries) was one of economic decline in Catalonia; there was always a shortage of money, and the coinage was constantly being devalued. Consequently, dowries for girls were hard to come by and settlements for second and subsequent sons were often non-existent. Thus daughters might be got rid of by being

²¹³ Amades, Cançoner, p. 362.

²¹⁴ Elliott, p. 36.

sent to convents while younger sons, if they could not be persuaded to enter Holy Orders, might leave to join the army or might form gangs of bandits or other troublemakers. Nevertheless, Elliott notes, the family was a very tightly bound unit. We see evidence of this in El bon caçador, from which the following dialogue is an excerpt, omitting the chorus:

- Digueu-me, la pastoreta,
de qui és el bestiar?
- Les ovelles del meu pare;
els moltons del meu germà.

- El vostre amor, donzelleta,
si m'en volíeu donar.
- Demaneu-lo a n'el meu pare
o també a n'el meu germà,

i, si no, a la tia monja,
o bé a l'oncle capellà
que si ells us el donaven
per mi ben donat serà -²¹⁵

This clearly shows the social network and family protocols that a respectable suitor might have to follow to engage in serious courtship.

Rural Catalan society had four levels or classes. At the top was the landowner, who was frequently an absentee landlord. The estate would be based around the masia or farmhouse, which was generally occupied by a tenant, the masover. He in turn had peasant cottagers, menestrals who worked for him. Below them were the migrant labourers (reapers, for example) who were hired for specific seasonal tasks. Thus we may interpret the song Els tres segadors mentioned earlier as containing an element of subversion. The three itinerant reapers who come to work are of the lowest class, whereas the lady of the house, who in most versions is noble, is of the highest class - possibly the pubilla. There may be a flight of fancy here, paralleling the English song The Farmer's Boy, in which the penniless youth wins the farm and the hand of the farmer's daughter. On the other hand, in La pubilla cerdana²¹⁶ we have a specific instance of rank being of supreme

²¹⁵ Maideu, p. 148.

²¹⁶ Amades, Cançoners, p. 566.

importance. A fourteen-year-old girl whose mother dies is sent from her home in the Cerdanya to Girona to study sewing. A captain who is lodging at the same house wants to marry her. He takes her riding to the Cerdanya, where they encounter her father, who is scandalised to see the pair of them. The captain promptly kills him and declares that now the orphan girl will have to marry him. She, however, stoutly rejects her father's murderer. As another example, in L'Antònia (mentioned earlier) we have perhaps an element of forced marriage. It could be that she is a pubilla, or that the youth who loves her is a disinherited second son and thus no match for her. It could also be that her parents have arranged for her to marry an hereu. We can apply the same kind of speculative analysis to Caterina d'Alió in order to provide elements recognisable to the performer and audience. Thus the three young men might be thought of as younger sons of lords or masovers, while Caterina herself is the wife of a menestral. The fact that one of the youths says that they should not interfere with her because she will get into trouble (which indeed she does) suggests that he at least has some sense of responsibility (possibly the younger son of a masover); were the youths to be itinerant labourers we can imagine that they might have no such qualms. This is pure speculation of course; nevertheless, the social model does help us to understand the tensions that existed in Catalan society. It also enables us to see these songs as being specifically Catalan, as distinct from French or Castilian, since they reflect specific and even singular features of Catalan society.

Not all songs of love and marriage are so bounded by social convention, however. In La vella²¹⁷, for example, a rich old woman wants a young man, and asks a student to marry her. He does so, but the shock of dealing with such a lusty lover is clearly too much for her and she drops dead almost immediately. The newly-rich widower follows the funeral procession playing on a whistle, clearly none the worse for his loss. This song often places the action in Paris, and is well-known in France; it may be French in origin.²¹⁸ Nevertheless, Joan Amades relates an interesting anecdote in his notes to his version of the song in which he says that his grandparents told him that the dances of the students during the Lenten carnival were called balls de casavelles.²¹⁹

²¹⁷ Amades, Cançoners, p. 97.

²¹⁸ Louis Lambert, Chants et chansons populaires du Languedoc (Paris: Welter, 1906, repr. Marseille: Laffitte, 1983), p. 308 et seq.

²¹⁹ Amades, Cançoners, p. 98.

We are not sure in the previous song whether the old woman was a widow or a spinster before she married the student, but it is clear that there is little sympathy for her. Widows are definitely on the fringes of society in Catalan song. In L'Estudiant de Vic,²²⁰ for example, a young man falls in love with a widow and his parents pack him off to Rome to become a priest in order to prevent the marriage. On the other hand, the widow in Desig assolit²²¹ is shunned by the young men she courts for fear that they die too. She clearly has a reputation which is well justified, for when she does manage to marry again she declaims "Now I've got you, you fool. I've searched a long time for you!" - a statement that bodes ill for the young man's future.

Continuing the subject of unconventional marriages, it is unusual to find the Cinderella theme in Catalan songs. To be sure, a wandering prince may encounter three damsels and carry off the youngest (of course) to marry, but it turns out that she is noble anyway. There is, however, a possible incest theme in La pelegrina.²²² In this song two children are born on the same day, have the same godparents and are brought up together as playmates from the cradle, sharing the same nurses and servants. At the age of fifteen they swear their love for each other. The boy's father objects and sends the youngster to sea. The distraught girl asks her mother if she will see her lover again, to which her mother replies by telling her to plant salt and flour in the fields; when they grow, he will return. The girl then decides to search for him and sets off as a pilgrim. After many adventures she enters the service of a queen and does some embroidery. The king (who of course is the long-lost lover) recognises the embroidery, and deserts his queen to ride away with his sweetheart com marit i muller. Although the words of Aguiló's version of this song begin with the statement that the mothers of the boy and the girl were delivered of their babies in one day and night, we have to remember that Aguiló emended his texts. The version of Milà i Fontanals simply says that the two children were born on the same day.²²³ The details of the children's upbringing are sufficiently clear to make the idea of siblings a very strong possibility.

²²⁰ Amades, Cançoners, p. 724.

²²¹ Milà, Romancerillo catalán, p. 332.

²²² Aguiló, p. 67.

²²³ Milà, Romancerillo catalán, p. 181.

There are also hints of incest in La dama d'Aragó.²²⁴ This strange song with its lovely melody is a paean of praise to a woman who is so beautiful that she distracts the priest when he is trying to say Mass. The song also describes how her brother buys her presents and gazes on her amb un ull tot amorós; in the Amades version he declares that if he were not her brother he would marry her. Again, there are royal overtones; the lady is thought to have been the 13th century Isabella of Aragon, the daughter of Jaume I (the Conqueror) of Aragon and the wife of Philippe III (the Hardy) of France. Not all incest is dealt with so lightly, however. In El rei tenia tres fies²²⁵ the king lusts after the youngest of his three daughters, and clearly succeeds in having his way. She sickens and calls for water; her mother and sisters each refuse to give her any, but the king agrees to do so. By that time, however, the girl has died. An interesting feature of this song is the way the verses consist of a sequence of pleas and denials, until the girl's wish is finally granted. This follows the same pattern as The Maid Freed From the Gallows (Child 95) and its Catalan equivalent, El rescat,²²⁶ in which a maid is freed from Moorish slavery.

5.6 Religion and Religious Songs

Irreverent Songs

Physical attraction did not just distract priests saying Mass; if the Catalan song repertoire is any yardstick, the religious life and its trappings were no bar to sexual activity, as the nuns and the knight in Les monjes de sant Aimanç demonstrated earlier. In Mestre Joan²²⁷ we find conventional roles reversed though lust remains just as strong: the wife gets so much money from her day's "work" at the local monastery that her husband begs her to cuckold him three times a week. Another encounter, related in La nostra minyona²²⁸ is reminiscent of the English ballad Lovely Joan. A girl is accosted by a friar at the spring when fetching water. However, she tricks him and escapes with his mule. Friars are clearly not to be trusted, since another, in Si n'era un frare d'auforges,²²⁹ seduces a gypsy girl with a promise of

²²⁴ Amades, Cançoners, p. 672.

²²⁵ Materials VI, p. 336.

²²⁶ Pere Bohigas, Cançoners populars català, 2 vols, 2nd edn (Barcelona: Serra d'Or, 1983), II, p. 99.

²²⁷ Amades, Cançoners, p. 523.

²²⁸ Materials VI, p. 210.

²²⁹ Materials VII, p. 274.

bread which he then does not supply. Not that these affairs always end in such scenes; in the sad song Despreniment,²³⁰ a young man loses his girl who is the subject/victim of an arranged marriage. He therefore becomes a monk, but continues to write to her and the correspondence is discovered. As in so many Catalan songs we (frustratingly) never hear what happens next. A happier tale is that of El fals novici²³¹, in which a girl is about to be sent to a convent, much to her lover's dismay. He goes to see his uncle who is a friar, who offers to help and lends two monk's habits. The boy then returns to the house, helps the girl to escape and they flee in the robes to the friary, where the uncle marries them. The couple then cheekily return home still dressed as friars to beg alms and are invited in for a meal. This sort of disguise also occurs in Pastora galana²³², in which the young man dresses as a friar and hears a girl's confession, so that he can find out if she truly loves him. At the end of the song he reveals himself, but we never find out what the girl's reaction is.

Miraculous Songs

Inconsequential endings are not, however, a feature of the miraculous songs, since the miracle and the subsequent holy praise are essential to the dénouement of the plot. There are three kinds of miracle songs in the Catalan corpus. The first is essentially a romance with the added element of Divine intervention. An example is La dida,²³³ a song possibly of Provençal origin.²³⁴ The nursemaid of the title makes a fire to warm and soothe a fretful baby while its royal parents are out. She falls asleep in the warmth and when she awakes, she finds to her horror that the child has fallen in the fire and burned to death. She prays to the Virgin Mary for help. Then the parents return and the king asks to see his son and heir. The nurse prevaricates, but the king will have none of it. When she goes to fetch the baby she finds him safe and well, playing in his cot. Overjoyed by the miracle, the nurse gives thanks to the Virgin Mary. The interesting theological element of this song is that there is no mention of God performing the miracle; it is as if the Virgin herself had performed it, which is pure heresy. However, one needs to understand the "verbal shorthand" used in Catholic circles when

²³⁰ Milà, Romancerillo catalán, p. 308.

²³¹ Milà, Romancerillo catalán, p. 375.

²³² Milà, Romancerillo catalán, p. 389.

²³³ Amades, Cançoner, p. 10.

²³⁴ Pelai Briz, I, p. 87.

dealing with such matters. This is a long-standing tradition that occurs time and again in Berceo's Milagros de nuestra señora, for example. It is assumed that the listeners understand the faith and that the Virgin does not perform miracles; rather, she intercedes with her Son to perform them. Berceo comes to mind again when examining El miracle de Sant Jaume,²³⁵ in which a young man accused of robbery is hanged, but having prayed to the Virgin Mary, he is saved from dying. In this version, St James holds up his feet, Mary holds him up by the belt and the Holy Ghost feeds him. In Berceo's miracle El ladrón devoto, only Mary holds up his feet, but nevertheless, he is saved from death and freed. According to Amades this song is widespread in Spain and France and versions have reached as far as Canada. Bohigas gives the source of the story as the Liber Sancti Iacobi, a copy of which, dated 1173, is held in the Arxiu de la corona d'Aragó.²³⁶

This last example, being related to St James, borders on the second type of miracle song: the hagiographical. The classic example of this is Sant Ramon de Penyafort.²³⁷ Having been ordered by the king not to go to sea, the saint throws his cloak on the water, uses his crozier as a mast and his scapular as a sail and sails away, to the amazement of the sailors looking on. Another song, De Betlem partí la Verge,²³⁸ is a variant of the Cherry Tree Carol. However, in the Catalan version it is an apple tree not a cherry tree, and there is no mention of the Holy Child speaking from the womb.

The third kind of song in which miracles appear is the cançó de fil i canya. Songs in this category are less common, probably because they relate more to contemporary life. Nevertheless, there is an element of the miraculous in the girl's recovery in L'hereu Riera. Less pleasantly miraculous is the story of Càstig de la Marianna,²³⁹ in which a girl is promised to a convent but then the parents change their mind, having found a rich suitor. A richly-attired beautiful woman (we can assume this to be a vision of the Virgin Mary) meets the family party on the way to the wedding, accuses the girl of breaking her promise and the girl promptly drops dead in the street.

Hagiographies

²³⁵ Amades, Cançoners, p. 772.

²³⁶ Bohigas, II, p. 167.

²³⁷ Amades, Cançoners, p. 11.

²³⁸ Milà, Romancerillo catalán, p. 3.

²³⁹ Milà, Romancerillo catalán, p. 49.

There are many songs about the saints, celebrating their individual stories. Sant Ramon de Penyafort has already been mentioned because of its miraculous content; non-miraculous favourites include Santa Quitèria,²⁴⁰ Santa Agnès²⁴¹ and Sant Magí.²⁴² None of these latter is particularly remarkable. However, La Magdalena²⁴³ is interesting in that it combines part of the story of Mary Magdalen with the very old tale of Santa María Egipcíaca,²⁴⁴ in which a whore reforms. Whereas she begins beautiful on the outside and ugly on the inside, after years of penance in the desert she becomes ugly on the outside and beautiful on the inside.

Biblical themes

Songs on biblical themes are common, taking either stories or just the characters from the New Testament. Many stories are apocryphal, however, such as De Betlem partí la Verge mentioned earlier and La Mare de Deu quan era xiqueta,²⁴⁵ which relates a fictional account of the girlhood of the Virgin Mary and which, according to Amades, once enjoyed enormous popularity throughout the Països Catalans. These songs are largely narrative, with perhaps an invocation at the end.

Goigs

Goigs are a speciality of the Països Catalans. They are religious verses sung generally on feast days especially by choirs in processions around the town. They are strongly devotional and invocatory in nature, and many can be traced back to their original authors. To all intents and purposes they are folk hymns; indeed, many have been written by priests.²⁴⁶ They can be associated with any saint, the Blessed Sacrament or God, but they are mainly associated with devotion to the Virgin Mary, to whom two whole groups, the Goigs de Nostra Dona and the Goigs del Roser are sung. They may be considered as the music of the confraries, the lay religious brotherhoods who organise the public religious festivals and provide many of the

²⁴⁰ Amades, Cançoners, p. 15.

²⁴¹ Amades, Cançoners, p. 707.

²⁴² Amades, Cançoners, p. 776.

²⁴³ Amades, Cançoners, p. 118.

²⁴⁴ Manuel Alvar, Antigua poesía española lírica y narrativa (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1985), pp. 53-126.

²⁴⁵ Amades, Cançoners, p. 8.

²⁴⁶ J. Deloncle, Goigs del Rosselló (Perpinyà: [n. pub.], 1952), p. 293.

penitents who, dressed in steepled hoods and all-covering robes, are so characteristic of the Holy Week processions in Spain.

Mention should be made here of a difference between Catalonia and Valencia. In the former, the goigs are almost universally in Catalan, whereas in the latter, a very large proportion are in Castilian and (naturally) are referred to as gozos.²⁴⁷ However, the content and structure of these songs appears to be the same, irrespective of language used.

The structure of goigs is an agglomeration of verses of similar length. There is no narrative thread and often no argumental thread to maintain a specific order of verses. It is therefore not always possible to say whether goigs fall into the realm of short songs or long songs. In some cases the verse form follows that of the caramelles, in which case they may be thought of as short song collections. However, even this is not always a safe decision. The typical metrical form of Catalan caramelles is abab, whereas in the Balearics it is abba. It is also true to say that many caramelles are improvised. Goigs are not improvised; the texts of the various versions are very similar, if allowance is made for some alteration resulting from oral transmission. As will be seen in the following example the verse form alternates abba and abab between quatrains:

Vostres Goigs amb gran plaer
cantarem, Verge Maria,
puix la vostra Senyoria
és la Verge del Roser

Déu planta dins Vós, Senyora
lo Roser molt excel·lent,
quan vos féu mereixedora
de concebre'l purament

donant fe al missatger
que de cel vos trametia
Déu lo Pare, que volia
fósseu Mare del Roser.

²⁴⁷ Salvador Seguí, Cancionero musical de la provincia de Valencia (Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1980) contains examples on pp. 850-883.

.....²⁴⁸

The caramelles form is clear to see, both in terms of the rhyme/assonance scheme and the syllable count. However, it is misleading. In fact, the particular song given above is sung in groups of twelve lines. The first quatrain above serves as a chorus for each verse and the two following quatrains form the verse itself. Metrically, therefore, we have the form abba for the chorus and ababcdc for the verse. This is not always the case; in a version recorded for the Fonoteca de Música Tradicional Catalana, the verses are all quatrains.²⁴⁹

Although not themselves religious, mention should be made of the satirical versions of the goigs sung during the pre-Lenten carnival period. Carnival is still a strong tradition in Catalonia as in other parts of mainland Europe, and it retains a strongly anarchic character. The goigs sung at this time are directed at the great saint Patantúm. Some of the words parody the Goigs del Roser; compare for example the two beginnings:

- (a) GOIGS: Y ALEGRÍAS DEL GLORIÓS GRAN PATANTÚM
QUE SE VENERA Á LAS MONTAÑAS DE HERMENIA.

Vostres goigs amb gran calor
cantarém per fervos llúm.
Guardeunos de mals de caps
gloriós gran Patantúm.²⁵⁰

- (b) GOIGS

MOLT DEVOTS DE NOSTRA SENYORA DEL ROSER

Vostres goigs, amb gran plaer
Cantarem, Verge Maria,
Puix la vostra senyoria
Es la Verge del Roser.²⁵¹

To emphasise the point, at the bottom of each of these we find a prayer. In the case of the satire, it is:

²⁴⁸ Juan, Cançoner del Ripollès, p. 125.

²⁴⁹ Cançons i tonades tradicionals de la comarca d'Osona, Centre de Promoció de la Cultura Popular i Tradicional Catalana, CD DT-002, track 56.

²⁵⁰ Amades, Costumari català, II, p. 406.

²⁵¹ Deloncle, p. 61.

v. Ora pro potris grandi Patantumi
r. Indignus pisatibus gentis tristi

OREMBAS

Grescam tuam provinentem de vinorum bonorum, cum butifarrorum
y llanguicinorum, et cum zapiñarum dinerorum ad butchacorum
(etc.)

whereas the religious version has:

v. Horate coeli desuper, et nubes pluant justum
r. Aperietur terra, et germinet salvatorem

OREMUS

Concedes nos famulos tuos, quoe sumus Domine Deus (etc.)

[The reader needs to take into account the irregular orthography and misprints in the above examples, which are quoted verbatim. One wonders if the pseudo-Latin of the Patantúm version is satirising the misprinted Latin of the religious version, assuming that the latter is typical of such published broadsides.]

Whether gran Patantúm is still honoured in goigs at Carnival time I do not know. However, it is quite clear from the foregoing that at the time of the broadside from which the satire was taken (19th century) there still existed a certain readiness for liturgical disrespect in Catalan society, which probably dated from Medieval times.

Allied to the goigs are the cançons de pandero and caramelles. These are dealt with later, under the topic of short songs.

Carols and other seasonal religious songs

Just as goigs are sung in season, so are carols. Catalonia is blessed with a number of Christmas carols all its own which I dare say are a match for any in the world both lyrically and musically. The largest collections of carols are those by Josep Crivillé,²⁵² Joan Amades²⁵³ and Joan Llongueres.²⁵⁴ The most useful of these is by

²⁵² Crivillé, Música tradicional catalana, II.

²⁵³ Joan Amades, Les cent millors cançons de Nadal (Barcelona: Selecta, 1949).

²⁵⁴ Joan Llongueres, Les cançons de Nadal, 2nd edn (Barcelona, N.P., 1927).

Crivillé, since the Amades volume is simply a reprint of 100 carols extracted from his Cançoner (Amades published a number of "reprint" volumes of this type) and the texts of the Llongueres work are deficient because of the liberties taken with the texts by the editor, as mentioned earlier. In addition to the above, a detailed analysis of the Catalan carol, Les nades tradicionals by Josep Romeu was republished in 1996. The most accessible adult introduction to these carols is the CD recording Cançons de Nadal recorded in 1997 by the choir Polifònica de Puig-Reig.²⁵⁵ The fact that Josep Crivillé contributed to its production undoubtedly accounts for its quality. However, these are choral arrangements with harmonies that owe more to classical music than to their folk heritage. In contrast, there are also some CD recordings available for children. These contain children singing many of the same songs in unison and, quite apart from using different rhythms and tempi have a completely different feel about them.

Some Catalan carols have equivalents or relatives in France or elsewhere in Spain; El Noi de la Mare is perhaps a surprising example, with links to Galicia.²⁵⁶ A good number can, however, be regarded as indigenous. Examples include El cant dels ocells²⁵⁷ in which each kind of bird in turn sings to celebrate the Nativity, and Tunc que tan tunc²⁵⁸ which is a song of the shepherds visiting the stable in Bethlehem.

Christmas is also the time when a remarkable song is still performed in the Balearics: El cant de la Sibil·la. Although it can be argued that this is a liturgical song rather than a folk song, it is certainly an example of a very old traditional song in Catalan, and for that reason I include it here. The song is a relic of an extremely ancient Mediterranean tradition that predates Christianity. As regards the sibyls, according to Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase & Fable, in classical legend there were anything up to ten of them; however, the mediaeval monks "adopted" them, raised their number to twelve and assigned them prophecies that related to Christ. The essence of the song is a prophecy of the Day of Judgement. No detail is spared; we hear of the destruction of the world and the death of all its

²⁵⁵ Cançons de Nadal. Polifònica de Puig-Reig. 1997. Generalitat de Catalunya Centre de Promoció de la Cultura Popular i Tradicional Catalana 25.1612 CD.

²⁵⁶ Romeu, Les nades tradicionals, pp. 99 & 115.

²⁵⁷ Crivillé, Música tradicional catalana, II, p. 73.

²⁵⁸ Crivillé, Música tradicional catalana, II, p. 131.

creatures followed by the appearance of Christ in all His majesty to judge mankind. At the end of the prophecy there is an invocation to the Virgin Mary to intercede for us with her infant Son to spare us the horrors of that day. The entire song is sung to a particularly haunting melody of mozarabic origin which has been recorded by Maria del Mar Bonet.²⁵⁹ Although the sung tradition, which began in the 10th century, was officially suppressed by the Council of Trent in the 16th century, it survived in a few places. It is still alive and may be heard at midnight Mass in the cathedral in Palma, Majorca and in other Balearic churches. In the cathedral I have observed it (1999) sung by a woman dressed in colourful Moorish silken robes and carrying a sword erect before her, although reports of other occasions are of a child performing instead of the woman. It is thought that this once-common tradition now no longer exists anywhere else but in the Balearics and possibly in Sardinia. The matter has been researched extensively by the musician and conductor Jordi Savall and his wife, the singer Montserrat Figueras. They have recorded versions in Latin (10th century) Provençal (13th), Catalan (13th), Castilian (16th) and Galician (12th). Their recordings, on two CDs,²⁶⁰ come with detailed and referenced explanatory notes by Maricarmen Gómez on the history and background to the various versions and the tradition as a whole.

Other Religious Influences

Two other uses of religion in Catalan traditional music are notable. The first is rather like an invocatory prayer at the beginning of a song: "If God will permit me, I will sing you a song about..." and there then follows a song which may have nothing religious about it at all. A good example is Resposta al cas, which begins:

Una cançoneta nova cantaré si Déu ho vol
treta n'és d'una minyona filla de Castellterçol...²⁶¹

This song is about a young man who becomes infatuated with a girl whom he meets fetching water from a well. He invites her to dance, and when she does so he pulls out a gun, gives it to her and asks her to shoot

²⁵⁹ Saba de Terrer. Maria del Mar Bonet. Ariola 200.265-1.

²⁶⁰ El Cant de la Sibila·la I: Catalunya. Montserrat Figueras et al. 1996. CD Fontalis ES 8705; El canto de la Sibila II: Galicia, Castilla. Montserrat Figueras et al. 1996. CD Fontalis ES 9900.

²⁶¹ Milà, Romancer català, p. 199.

him dead so he can die of love for her. She clearly has more sense than this silly youth and refuses. The song with its overblown sentimentality is a fair example of a good few cançons de fil i canya, and is only remarkable for the invocation of God at the beginning. It is illustrative of the fact that religion is inseparable from Catalan folk song; most of the narrative ballads have some form of religious reference or invocation. This contrasts sharply with, for example, the Anglo-Scottish Border ballads, which have few religious references. Indeed, as Wimberley puts it, "Christian thought in our popular poetry is on the whole alien and intrusive."²⁶²

A totally different use of religious material is in providing words for dance tunes, of which there is a remarkable example in the OCPC Materials²⁶³ with a variant of it given by Poueigh.²⁶⁴ The tune is a contrapàs llarg, an extremely complicated social dance from which the sardana was later developed, but the accompanying words are the story of Christ's Passion. The mystery, which Francesc Pujol discusses in his study that accompanies the version in Materials, is why such a text should be associated with such a tune. He arrives at no firm conclusions, except to suggest that possibly the dance was used as the basis of some form of religious spectacle in times past, and that there were two groups of singers. Poueigh appears to support this view, and both remark that the contrapàs llarg as a dance dates back to at least the time of Cervantes.

5.7 Songs of Magic

In contrast to religion, there are not many songs about magic in the Catalan corpus. The most common one is Les transformacions,²⁶⁵ also known as Si tu te'n fas la lluna,²⁶⁶ which is a close relative of The Twa Magicians (Child 44). The main difference is that whereas the British version is a narrative that concerns a magical duel, which the lady eventually "loses" and yields to the man, the Catalan version is a dialogue between the two parties in which each tries to better the other in cleverness; there are no actual events.

²⁶² Lowry Charles Wimberley, Folklore in the English and Scottish Ballads (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1928, repr. New York: Dover, 1965), p. 401.

²⁶³ Materials I:2, p. 391.

²⁶⁴ Poueigh, p. 191.

²⁶⁵ Milà, Romancerillo catalán, p. 393.

²⁶⁶ Caballé, p. 46.

Rather different is the song El carboner.²⁶⁷ While not overtly magical, there is a hidden threat which lends the song a strong supernatural air. Three girls are walking in the woods and get lost. They meet a charcoal-burner and ask him the way out, but this surly individual demands payment. When they offer him kisses, he rejects them, demanding money. The girls then proceed to curse him roundly, saying that he himself will never get out of the wood and that all his charcoal-burning will turn to ashes. The frightened man runs away in terror. In another variant, the girls invite the man to dance; when he does so, a whirlwind blows up and he stops dancing, trembling like a leaf. Are the girls witches? The inconsequential ending never tells us.

On the other hand, there are a fair few magical songs: that is, songs that are used for magical purposes. These fall into two categories. The first, in general, are so short that they scarcely merit the description "songs," being more like nursery rhymes in length and in sentiment. Amades gives a number of them in his Cançoner, and relates them to children's songs.²⁶⁸ The subject matter varies enormously; it includes making a fire burn, making loose eyelashes come out of the eye, a version of "he loves me, he loves me not" done with an ear of corn and a wish to make stars fall down. The second category is much more serious; Amades calls these songs of enchantment, and many are sung curses. He gives an excellent example as Per fer fondre una persona i fer-la tornar calavera.²⁶⁹ This song comprises dog Latin and a series of curses, and is meant to be sung by a witch with a lighted candle at noon and midnight for several days until the desired effect is produced. According to Amades, the song's primary use was to curse people who were known to have stolen things so that they had a most uncomfortable time until they returned their ill-gotten gains.

There is considerable blurring of religious boundaries in some of these songs, which are plainly superstitious rather than religious and can be downright blasphemous. In the song Per fer cessar una calamitat pública,²⁷⁰ Christ himself is invoked along with many saints to relieve suffering allegedly caused by some person named in the song. The words are, on the face of it, innocent enough: a prayer to God to deliver the people from all manner of evil. However, it is in fact a song of

²⁶⁷ Amades, Cançoner, p. 456.

²⁶⁸ Amades. Cançoner, p. 31.

²⁶⁹ Amades, Cançoner, p. 791.

²⁷⁰ Amades, Cançoner, p. 798.

exorcism and Amades's notes are particularly revealing; he remarks that the person had to be named because "l'efecte de la cantarella feia assecar i tornar calavera l'autor de la dissort". He goes on to say that the song had to be performed on the stroke of midnight, and repeated three times. The singer had to be naked while facing a bare wall, which would carry the sound to the subject of the exorcism. This was a secret song, the transmission of which was apparently jealously guarded. However, Amades remarks that a single peseta changing hands was sufficient to obtain the words. There can be no doubt that the Church would roundly condemn this ritual. On the other hand, how much trust can be placed in Amades's description? We know that he can be wildly inaccurate from his Costumari català, in which his description of the Verges Procession contradicts not only the facts, but his own illustration.²⁷¹ However, Amades used material collected by others for this work, so that it is quite possible that the mistakes in it are due to lack of checking the accuracy of his received material. In the case of this particular song, however, he quite clearly did collect it himself, since he refers to "us" when revealing that certain elements of performance were withheld from him:

Mitjançant una almoïna d'una pesseta no tingué inconvenient a cantar-la; però, segons ens digué, es reservà alguns detalls sobre la manera d'ésser cantada perquè fos ben eficaç, puix que si ens els hagués dits tots, li hauriem pogut fer la competència.²⁷²

Here I think Amades deserves the benefit of the doubt.

There are also songs which are invocations against witchcraft and devilry, for example Per guarir embruixaments de tota mena:

Mal donat, mal ignorat,
així quedis mort i escanyat;
torna-te'n a la casa d'on t'han portat;
rosega el cor del que t'ha donat.
Que tot això sia tan veritat
com Jesús en creu va ser clavat,
i com les tres persones
de la Santíssima Trinitat.²⁷³

²⁷¹ Roca i Rovira, p. 24 footnote 9.

²⁷² Amades, Cançoner, p. 799.

²⁷³ Amades, Cançoner, p. 810.

in which it will be seen that there is no prayerful element at all, just the invocation of the name of God. Compare this with the song Contra tota mena de mals:

Creu bella,
creu santa,
creu digna,
gardeu-me de l'esperit maligne
del llop i del mal irat
i del dolent cristià. Amen.²⁷⁴

While this is clearly a prayer, it is arguably idolatrous in that it addresses the Cross and not Christ. Amades remarks that it was chanted three times with a cross in the hand. To understand this, compare it with the ritual of the rosary, where each bead is a reminder to say a particular prayer, and the crucifix on the end is a reminder to finish with the prayer of the Sign of the Cross: "In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, amen."

It is clear therefore from the evidence of the oral tradition that, in spite of centuries of the Inquisition, superstition was not stamped out, in Catalonia at least.

5.8 Songs of Amusement

Entertainment and Drinking

I now move on to lighter matters. The Països Catalans have their fair share of songs that are sung by people enjoying themselves of an evening over un got de vi, or more likely, un porró. La Margalideta is a classic example of a cumulative song mentioning the body parts of a girl. The object of the exercise, as in many drinking songs is a forfeit: the first person to get the words wrong buys the next round of drinks. Thus the words of such songs tend to be complex, often tongue-twisting (especially after a few drinks), and amusing. Such songs exist in many (most?) traditions; they may be accompanied with actions, and the circumstances of performance can become quite ribald. A common English example of this type is Touched Her on the Toe.

Drinking is clearly a hazardous business in the Països Catalans, if Amades's description of the performance of the song Pel bon vi²⁷⁵ is to be believed. There are several versions of this song, the best of which perhaps, in terms of both words and tune, is given in Sara

²⁷⁴ Amades, Cançoners, p. 810.

²⁷⁵ Amades, Cançoners, p. 779.

Llorens's collection.²⁷⁶ The general theme of the song is: "As a result of drinking good wine I lost my hat/jacket/shoes etc." The English song All For Me Grog has a similar theme; however, there the similarity ends. The Catalan song is cumulative and is sometimes performed with actions by a group of singers who gradually remove all their clothing. In a longer version, they then reverse the verses to put their clothes back on again. If the evening is getting really silly, then they put each other's clothes on, and the game goes on until they all have their own clothes on again, assuming that the participants are still sober enough. The Catalans also have a competitive song about tobacco. De fumador²⁷⁷ has to be sung completely accurately three times for a cigarette or seven times for a pipeful. As will be seen, this is not easy without practice:

Un cigarro tinc
i un que me'n deus fan dos
dos i tres fan cinc
i cinc fan deu
i cinc fan quinze
i cinc fan vint.
Vint menos cinc
fan quinze,
quinze menos cinc
fan deu
deu menos cinc
fan cinc i cinc
fan deu
i cinc fan quinze
i cinc fan vint.

Cumulative and sequence songs are common in the Catalan repertoire, and they have a broader social use than just in the tavern, and might be sung to or by children for example. The song El camp de mill²⁷⁸ is in the same category as the American song The Old Woman Who Swallowed a Fly, while La gallina²⁷⁹ is a close relative of the English The Mallard. More directly linked to the songs of other

²⁷⁶ Llorens, p. 295.

²⁷⁷ Amades, Cançoners, p. 782.

²⁷⁸ Maideu, p. 366.

²⁷⁹ Maideu, p. 375.

countries is Jan Petit,²⁸⁰ which is of French origin. El ball de la civada²⁸¹ is a children's song, in which they perform actions while singing:

El ball de la civada jo us el cantaré;
el ball de la civada jo us el cantaré;
el pare quan la fangava* feia així, feia així;
se'n dava un truc al pit i se'n girava així.
Treballeu, treballeu, que la civada que la civada,
treballeu, treballeu que la civada guanyarem.

* in each successive verse, substitute sembrava, llaurava, segava, llogava, etc.

This particular song is generally associated with a specific tune that is a member of a widespread family used for variety of songs quite unrelated to children.

Nonsense Songs

Catalan folk song contains a number of nonsense songs, such as El poll i la puça,²⁸² which deals with the courtship of the louse and the flea, and L'oreneta i el pinsà,²⁸³ which concerns the courtship of the swallow and the finch. Both are related in theme to the English nonsense song The Frog and the Mouse in that they concern the organisation of the wedding, although they lack the English song's interference by the cat in the lovers' arrangements. Such songs are, however, relatively sensible (at least they have a plot, of sorts) when compared in particular with the nonsense songs from Majorca. These songs²⁸⁴ cover a variety of subjects, such as El dia de Sant Tomàs, El sermó de riure and El testament del porc. However, the titles say nothing about the rambling nature of the contents of each song, which have no sensible narrative or other cohesive thread.

Comic Songs

²⁸⁰ Maideu, p. 369. See also Marc Robine, Anthologie de la chanson française (Paris: Albin Michel, 1994), p. 699.

²⁸¹ Maideu, p. 360.

²⁸² Maideu, p. 348.

²⁸³ Maideu, p. 350.

²⁸⁴ See Ginard, IV, p. 231 et seq.

There are some straightforwardly comic songs, such as El maridet,²⁸⁵ in which a wife bemoans the life having to deal with a husband the size of Tom Thumb. There are also fantastic tales, such as La serpent de Manlleu,²⁸⁶ which has a similar plot to the English Lambton Worm. Unfortunately, as with so many Catalan songs, the ending is inconsequential; unlike in the English song, no hero comes to defeat the monster. All we hear about are its predations on the local people. Allied to such exaggeration is the Cançon de mentides,²⁸⁷ which contains outrageous fictions:

Per mar corren conills
pels rostolls les anguilles
per les soques dels noguers
se'n crien les tonyines
Tot n'eren mentides, tot
que tot n'eren mentides.

Lying songs like this are common in Britain too, and include The Derby Ram, As I Was Going to Banbury and When I Was a Little Boy.

Bawdy Songs

Mestre Joan and Les monjes de Sant Aimaç mentioned earlier clearly fall into the category of bawdy song. Unsurprisingly, perhaps, many of the more bawdy songs are not to be found in the printed collections. Indeed, some of the collectors remark that they did not note down some of the ruder songs they heard. Nevertheless, they exist and have been recorded occasionally. Ai Jaumet, recorded by the group Els Cosins del Sac²⁸⁸ comes from the Penedès region and consists of various scurrilous verses in which figurative language is extensively used to cover its otherwise explicit sexual content. What adds to the character of this song is the jolly tune to which it is sung. The group Clau de Lluna has recorded several such songs on its Fica-li noia! CD.²⁸⁹ It is clear that such songs are perfectly acceptable in the right context, which is not at all the "rugby club" kind, as will be heard from the audience reaction on these recordings. Further evidence that this is true will be found in the SOLC recording, which

²⁸⁵ Amades, Cançoner, p. 475.

²⁸⁶ Juan, Cançoner del Ripollès, p.454.

²⁸⁷ Juan, Cançoner del Ripollès, p.458.

²⁸⁸ L'estrafolari. Els Cosins del Sac. 1997. Sonifolk 20110 CD.

²⁸⁹ Fica-li, noia! Clau de Lluna. 1994. Sonifolk 20049 CD.

consists of a gathering of traditional and revival singers at Sobremunt in 1994.²⁹⁰ Josep Verdaguer "Roviretes" sings of the amorous adventures of La Ramona i en Tonet, a courting couple. At the end of his song, the audience spontaneously joins in to add on a particularly scurrilous last verse.

Satirical Songs

Apart from the more vulgar aspects of humour, there is a considerable presence of satire in Catalan folk songs, and these may include word play. A notable example of this is the song Malaparte²⁹¹ which, as might be gathered, is anti-Napoleonic in sentiment, condemning the great man to eternal perdition. It begins:

Bé podem tots començar
a cantar una prosa:
Malaparte hem d'enterrar
a sota una llosa,
o bé dins d'algun torrent
a baix d'una gruta
perquè no empesti la gent
la pudor de futre.

The essence of the song is that St Peter will not let him into Heaven, nor Lucifer into Hell in case he decides to take over!

An interesting parallel with English songs is the role of the tailor; ever the butt of jokes in English folk song (in, for example, The Tailor's Breeches and Benjamin Bowmanceer) he is no more fortunate in the Països Catalans. In El sastre²⁹², our "hero" offers to accompany some girls along the road, although clearly with lustful intent, as he later admits. Unfortunately the girls are too quick for him. They hang his shoes from a high pine tree and thrash him with an espardenya for good measure.

Anti-establishment feeling is present in Els ballaires dintre un sac:²⁹³

Ja n'hi havia tres o quatre

²⁹⁰ SOLC: Trobada de cantadors de Sobremunt. Various artists and performers. 1995. Tram TRM 0055CD. Track 7.

²⁹¹ Milà, Romancer català, p. 70.

²⁹² Juan, Cançoners del Ripollès, p. 406.

²⁹³ Maideu, p. 341.

que ballaven dintre un sac:
lo un era el senyor batlle,
l'altre lo regidor en cap.
Jo que no ballo ni trumfo amb dones
jo que no ballo ni trumfo amb cap.
T'altre n'era lo vicari,
que dansava més que cap.
Ja n'ha vingut el dimoni
i se n'ha emportat el sac.
Jo que...

However, this is an unusual song. In spite of political tensions between Catalonia and representatives of Spanish centralism, there are few songs that criticise the political situation, through either protest or satire.²⁹⁴ This does not necessarily mean that such songs do not exist; rather it could be that such songs were not collected by the Catalan researchers, just as many bawdy songs were not collected. As evidence of this, two Italians collected protest and satirical songs in the 1960s dating from the time of the Spanish Civil War.²⁹⁵ The songs are in Castilian, Catalan and Basque, although the only Catalan song included in the collection is a version of Els contrabandistes. However, even this is not the version collected, but a reprint of the Amades version.²⁹⁶

5.9 Themes of Death

Death is always a serious matter in Catalan folk songs, and it is always set in a Christian context. The romances concerning death contain no pagan supernatural element as in the Scottish The Twa Sisters (Child 10) in which a bone of the murdered sister is made into a musical instrument that plays magical music to reveal the murderess. Nevertheless, their themes are familiar. Death is personified in La mort i la donzella,²⁹⁷ which has the same subject matter as the English song Death and the Lady; Death tells her that her time has come and she cannot escape. In Don Lluís,²⁹⁸ two lovers are reunited in death; trees grow from their common grave and intertwine, as in Lord Lovel

²⁹⁴ See above, p. 81.

²⁹⁵ S. Liberovici & M. L. Straniero, Chansons de la nouvelle résistance espagnole (Paris: Maspéro, 1963).

²⁹⁶ Amades, Cançoners, p. 647.

²⁹⁷ Amades, Cançoners, p. 373.

²⁹⁸ Amades, Cançoners, p. 683.

(Child 75). In the Catalan version, however, there is a twist in that the lovers were husband and wife. He was so late returning from the wars that she married again; her new husband (apparently) killed them both out of jealousy. The topos in the Scottish ballads of the intertwining rose and briar becomes an orange and a lemon tree in the Catalan song. According to medieval symbolism described by Amades, the two trees represent the bodies of the two lovers. From these trees two doves ascend to heaven, representing the souls of the pair. This gives an interesting insight into the possible origin of the symbolism in the Scottish song. El comte de l'Orange²⁹⁹ is a version of The Unquiet Grave (Child 78). Here the knight (again returning from war) visits his wife's grave and prises open the tomb with his sword. He is told by his dead lady to cease his mourning and marry again. El comte Arnau³⁰⁰ is a night-visiting song, in which the lady is visited by the ghost of her damned husband. El Testament d'Amèlia³⁰¹ relates the dying wishes of a princess poisoned by her mother-in-law, and belongs to the same thematic family as the Scottish Lord Randal (Child 12) with elements of Lady Isabel (Child 261). In Don Joan i Don Ramon, a wounded knight returns home to die, allegedly from the wars. However, in at least one version,³⁰² he has killed his own brother, as in the Scottish ballad Edward (Child 13). All of these similarities point to a common root for at least some of the ballads of the British Isles and Catalonia, with France as the probable link, because of the historical movement of people between adjacent countries.

Even in the cançons de fil i canya death is never the joke that it appears in such English songs as Giles Scroggins' Ghost. Indeed, some of the Catalan broadsides are positively maudlin. The Romanç de la Marianna really belongs to the same family as L'hereu Riera. A young man in the square is summoned to the death bed of his beloved. However, the faithful swain is unluckier than the hereu (whose girl recovers) in that his girl dies, naturally having received the Last Rites. De Santanyí vaig partir³⁰³ is an extremely long and mournful piece on the same subject; La mort de na Margalida is just as dismal

²⁹⁹ Amades, Cançoners, p. 600.

³⁰⁰ Amades, Cançoners, p. 603.

³⁰¹ Capmany, Cançoners populars, I, no. VI.

³⁰² Subirà, p. 42.

³⁰³ Josep Massot i Planes, Cançoners musicals de Mallorca (Palma: Sa Nostra, 1984), p. 292.

if not as long. Both have been recorded by Maria del Mar Bonet.³⁰⁴ On the other hand, this kind of song is quite consistent in style with the songs of lost love which also abound in the repertoire of the Països Catalans.

5.10 Summary

The long songs, then, in their topics, music and use are very much like those of other European countries and regions, to which they are often related and with which they often share common themes, especially in France and Spain. Yet just as often they have a distinctly local character. There appear to be lacunae in the areas of songs of rebellion, sea songs and industrial songs, although the last two are currently being investigated by researchers in the Països Catalans. Most of the songs are lyrico-narrative; the quantity of those that are purely narrative is relatively small.

There is a significant broadside tradition, and these cançons de fil i canya have a more "homely" feel than the older ballads, which tend to deal with knights, kings and their ladies. Plots are sketchy and narratives are often inconclusive, but their characters are quite distinctly Catalan. Songs of political and social commentary are rare, and didacticism is light, being generally limited to commonplaces such as marital fidelity, being careful about falling in love, shunning crime and not falling foul of the master of the house.

All this suggests that the long songs in Catalan are mainly for entertainment, without too much serious concentration required of the listeners. That is not to say that the "entertainment" is necessarily happy; many long songs are sad. A function of the long songs will therefore be to spark a full range of emotions in their audiences, ranging from the happy or excited to the sad or sentimental.

³⁰⁴ Cançons de Terrer. Maria del Mar Bonet. 1979. Ariola 200265.1;
Cançons de Festa. Maria del Mar Bonet. 1979. Ariola 27072.1.

6 THE SHORT SONGS

6.1 General Points

If the long songs can tend towards gloominess at times, this cannot be said of the short songs, which form a complete contrast in every way:

Les folies són folies
i les cançons són cançons.
Carbassera que no es regue
tampoc farà carbassons³⁰⁵

- which is not to say that short songs will grow into long songs if encouraged! Rather, as Borau says (it is from his anthology that this verse comes), the tradition has to be nurtured if it is to flourish.

Except for French Catalonia, wherever songs have been collected in the Països Catalans, the bulk of them have been short songs. They go by various names, such as corrantes, follies, gloses and caramelles. A glossary of these names is given in Appendix A. A typical short song consists of four lines of seven or eight syllables, assonated or rhymed either abab or abba, the former being more common on the mainland, and the latter in the Balearics.³⁰⁶ The tune structures vary enormously, as do the circumstances of performance.

It should be recognised from the outset that this type of song is by no means uniquely Catalan; it is found all over Spain, and goes under the general term of coplas.³⁰⁷ Pedrell gives many examples in his collection.³⁰⁸ Nevertheless, because short songs form such a significant proportion of the Catalan corpus they need to be examined in some detail in their own right.

To give an idea of the predominance of short songs in the Catalan corpus, three of the four volumes of Ginard's Cançoners populars de Mallorca contain nothing else, and he estimates his total collection at some 20,000. Joan Amades, in his Cançoners, gives another 3,000 (over half of his total collection), of which just over one third are dance-related corrantes. Most of the rest he gives under the heading

³⁰⁵ Borau, p. 20.

³⁰⁶ Antoni Comas i Pujol, Cançoners català, 2nd edn (Barcelona: Destino, 1981), p. 19.

³⁰⁷ Crivillé, El folklore musical, p. 119.

³⁰⁸ Felipe Pedrell, Cancionero musical popular español, 4 vols, 4th edn (Barcelona: Boileau, 1958), passim.

cançons improvisades, which gives a clue to the reason for the enormous quantities found, although these songs permeate almost every one of his categories, including work songs, lullabies and wedding songs.

The most important feature of the short songs is that, in contrast to the longer songs, they are the voices of the people speaking about themselves directly. The words relate to their day-to-day lives. The subject matter covers almost every imaginable topic about life in a non-industrialised community. That said, gloses are still very much alive today in Majorca as an improvisatory folk art form (often as poetry rather than song), and examples may even be found on the Internet.³⁰⁹

A final general point to add on the subject of short songs relates to the unpublished material of the OCPC. While Massot holds the original documents, microfilms of them are held at the Centre de Promoció de la Cultura Popular i Tradicional Catalana in Barcelona. In an all-too-brief examination of the microfilms I found that the bulk of the material seemed to consist of short songs too. This may go some way to explaining how the OCPC collectors recorded so many songs in the short time they had available, although it raises another question: bearing in mind that the collectors were paying their informants for each song, how did they negotiate payment for short one-verse songs as distinct from longer narrative ballads with many verses? Given the Catalan reputation for driving a hard bargain, such negotiations must have been interesting!

6.2 Love Songs

As with the longer songs, the predominant theme of the short songs is love. Over 5,000 of the items in Ginard's collection are on this subject, occupying the whole of the first volume of his Cançoner. These verses are expressed mainly in the first or second person and generally express the state of mind of the jo protagonista, for example:

³⁰⁹ An Internet search via the Google search engine(www.google.com) specifying "gloses" as the keyword and qualifying the search with the names of the Balearic islands will reveal a host of examples.

Clavellina, clavellina,
¿me vols dar un clavellet?
que aquí hi ha un jovenet
que per tu plora i sospira?³¹⁰

This particular verse illustrates how vowels are elided to sustain the metre. It follows the classic Balearic abba format, unlike the next example.

Si la mar tornava tinta
i les ones paper fos
no en tendríem per escriure
s'amor que tenim jo i vos.³¹¹

This latter song also provides an instance of the ubiquitous "If all the sea were ink" topos. The rhyming scheme follows the peninsular abab format, which may indicate that this particular verse originated on the mainland.

Many of the songs are in the voice of the young man, which is consistent with the performance of these songs in serenades to girls (possibly on their balconies, in stereotypical fashion), albeit with a certain cunning in the following example:

Sa guiterra per vós sona,
madona. ¿No la sentiu?
una fia que teniu
la calçau i la vestiu,
i ha d'ésser sa meva dona.³¹²

This is an example of one of the longer verses. It still follows the same syllabic and rhyme format of the standard Balearic quatrain but with an extra line inserted in the middle.

In other verses the girl's voice is heard instead:

Quan sent aquesta guiterra
de la teva mà sonar
sepultada davall terra
m'aixecaria a ballar.³¹³

³¹⁰ Ginard, I, p. 54.

³¹¹ Ginard, I, p. 195

³¹² Ginard, I, p. 215.

Sometimes both lovers may be heard, not necessarily in agreement:

- Quin jardí tan preciós!
Quina fruta tan madura!
O parral de confitura!
- Però no en menjareu vós!³¹⁴

Some songs may not be in the lover's voice, however, for example:

La vostra mare deu dir:
"Quina gent tant enfadosa!
Perque tenc sa fia hermosa
no la me deixen dormir!"³¹⁵

In other cases, the issue is to give advice to would-be lovers:

Si estimes ses dones, Manco,
acabaràs es doblers;
no hi ha res que valga manco
i que costi més doblers.³¹⁶

- or vice versa:

Sa mare l'hi alabava:
-Ma fia, és un bon fadrí.
-Mu mare, casau-vos-hí
si deis que tant vos agrada!³¹⁷

The above are just a few of the aspects of love expressed in the short songs, which cover a full range of emotions. Perhaps more importantly, as the above examples show, the sense of humour of the people reveals itself clearly through the vehicle of the short song. If only we had the corresponding music for these verses!

³¹³ Ginard, I, p. 215.

³¹⁴ Ginard, I, p. 275.

³¹⁵ Ginard. I, p. 214.

³¹⁶ Ginard, I, p. 283.

³¹⁷ Ginard, I, p. 277.

6.3 Work Songs

In contrast with the longer songs, where the subject of work hardly occurs at all as the central theme, there are a very large number of short work songs where the words relate to the specific activity. The subjects include ploughing, sowing, reaping, threshing, picking almonds, figs and grapes, pressing olives, pruning trees and fetching water, to mention only a few. The songs may emphasise the boredom of the work, as for example in this threshing song:

Si no fos p'es carretó
que va darrere, darrere
no hi hauria cap somera
que batés un cavaió.³¹⁸

This song is particularly common in Majorca, and its feeling comes as much from the music as the words. One version may be heard on the Cançons Tradicionals recording of Joan Manuel Serrat.³¹⁹ Baltasar Samper gives another couple,³²⁰ and Josep Massot i Planes gives three more.³²¹ All are characterised by long, drawn-out chromatic cadential elaborations.

Other songs spell out the dangers of work, for example when tree pruning:

Jo estic damunt un cimel
es més alt de s'olivera:
feis pregàries, amor meva,
que, si caic, no em faci mal.³²²

Yet others highlight the companionship of working in the fields and groves:

Al·lotetes, cantau fort,
que es cantar és divertiment;
si per aquí passa gent,
no diguen: - Vaja un tai més mort!³²³

³¹⁸ Ginard, II p. 163.

³¹⁹ Cançons Tradicionals. Joan Manuel Serrat. 1967. Ariola I-206388.

³²⁰ Materials vol VI p. 323, vol VIII p.322.

³²¹ Massot i Planes, pp. 39,42-43.

³²² Ginard, II, p. 174.

³²³ Ginard, II, p. 167.

The work songs reflect the hardness and poverty of rural life, and although many are complaints, none are what we might call protest songs: songs that attack the character of masters for ill-treatment or poor pay. That is not to say that there are no songs of complaint; there are. But they lack the crusading nature of protest songs. Here is an example:

L'amo d'aquí diuen que ès
empeltat de mala muda:
molts de pics hi som venguda
però mai m'ha donat res.³²⁴

It may be a reflection on the people, in that those who found conditions unacceptable did not stay and rebel, but simply left the land, while those who remained adopted a stoic or fatalistic attitude, no doubt encouraged by the Church.

6.4 Topographical Songs

Wherever those who left the land went, they seem to have made a song about it. The short song lends itself perfectly to epigrammatic descriptions of places, for better or for worse. This is an ancient genre that existed in medieval England:

Hervordshir, shild and spere;
Wosetershir, wringe pere.
Glowsetershir, shoo and naile;
Bristowshir, ship and saile.
.....³²⁵

In the Catalan case, the genre is very much alive:

A Barcelona hi ha barcos,
a Tarragona hi ha peix.
a València hi ha taronges,
i a Benavent no hi ha res.³²⁶

³²⁴ Ginard, II, p. 222.

³²⁵ The Oxford Book of Medieval Verse, ed. Celia & Kenneth Sisam (Oxford: OUP, 1970), p. 499.

³²⁶ Amades, Cançoners, p. 333.

Some refer to good times:

A Calella la botella,
a Sant Pol el flabiol,
a Canet el tamborino
i a ballar de sol a sol.³²⁷

while others emphasise the regional products:

A Campmany es fan els naps,
a Peralada carbasses,
a Vilabertran pebrots,
albergínies i tomàtecs.³²⁸

and yet others refer to the local girls:

A Clarà són les boniques
a Creixells ja no són tant,
a Roda les rovellades
i a Bonastre la flor del ram.³²⁹

All of these verses come from Catalonia, and the verse form reflects this. The structure is generally abab, and has corresponding syllable counts of 8/7/8/7, although there is some variation to be found, as instanced by "A Campmany..." above. The rhyming, it will be noticed, is rarely more than assonance. However, all of these songs (and there are over 400 in this category) form part of the collection that Amades groups under cançons de dansa. If the dances were accompanied by musicians, then the lack of rhyme would be less noticeable. It is quite possible that many of the one-line descriptions of the various towns and villages are basically refranys which someone at some time has fairly arbitrarily put together to make individual verses to sing while dancing, without concentrating too much on poetic niceties, rather in the same way that religious songs are used for dances without the words apparently signifying very much.³³⁰ The music, therefore, would be whatever the tune was of the

³²⁷ Amades, Cançoners, p. 335.

³²⁸ Amades, Cançoners, p. 335.

³²⁹ Amades, Cançoners, p. 337.

³³⁰ See above, p. 114.

dance. As Maria del Mar Bonet has demonstrated on her records, short songs can be sung to the jota.

Amades³³¹ points out that there was great rivalry between the people of different villages, and that the appearance of boys from one village at a dance of another would be sufficient to start an argument and would certainly provide an excuse to sing this kind of song. Others who might have sung such songs (on different occasions) are seamen and other travellers.

6.5 Sea Songs

Work is not the only theme that exists in abundance in the short songs but not in the long songs; another is the sea. There are some dozens of short sea songs, and like the agricultural work songs they have an epigrammatic quality. Their terseness serves to emphasise the points they make, for example on the necessity of seafaring:

Cada dia, cada dia
lo meu senyor va a pescar
soliment per no comprar
carn a sa pescateria.³³²

and the price women pay:

Garrida, la mar salada
vos ha feta la mercè:
en un mes vàreu esser
fadrina, viuda i casada.³³³

The sailors will tell of the places they go to:

De Mallorca fins a Alguer
no s'enquantra cap barrera
només una carretera
d'aigo qui tota se té.³³⁴

And these descriptions may be laced with fisherman's tall tales:

³³¹ Amades, Cançoners, p. 324.

³³² Ginard, III, p. 172.

³³³ Ginard, III, p. 167.

³³⁴ Ginard, III, p. 164.

Jo m'en vaig anar a pescar
damunt l'illa Foradada
i, en sa primera calada,
que pos sa ginya dins mar,
amb un ham vaig agafar
set saupes i una variada,
deu sards i una oblada
i un obladel·l qui pesava
de tres roves a un quintar.
Ja poreu considerar
que això és mentida provada.³³⁵

Others tell of coastal features and what is to be found there: girls, fish, and sirens. These contrast with the more concrete risks of drowning and the dangerous places:

Ara vos vaig a contar
sa desgràci de sa Torre.
A Son Primer mori un jove
i En Butlo se negà,
i En Vei qui va quedar
mort, i no hi va haver que córrer.³³⁶

This last is one of the few with a narrative that relates to a disaster at sea. Its terseness adds to the shock of the story.

Not everything is so concrete, however; the metaphorical use of seafaring language is particularly effective in this courtship song:

Jo voldria esser es patró
de sa teva barca un dia
i altra cosa no faria
més que remenar es timó.³³⁷

Judging by the words, many of the sea songs were sung by women. It would be interesting to know how many (if any) were sung as work songs by men at sea, thereby paralleling the British sea shanty. Unfortunately we have no music for them, so we do not know the rhythms

³³⁵ Ginard, III, p. 165.

³³⁶ Ginard, III, p. 171.

³³⁷ Ginard, III, p. 168.

they were sung to.³³⁸ The best possibility to provide answers to these questions is the OCPC, with its huge numbers of unpublished short songs collected by Baltasar Samper in Majorca. There may be others within the OCPC archive too, since Joan Amades gives two examples of rowing songs in Costumari català on page 328 of volume V. The difficulty with them is knowing how far to trust this book. However, recent research into Mediterranean sea songs has provided more information.³³⁹ The songs investigated are not purely Catalan, but were used by sailors travelling between ports as far apart as Benidorm, Roses, Larraix, Casablanca and Sicily. Some examples are in Catalan, others are in Italian. Figure 18 shows a rowing song from a Benidorm that clearly dates from before the advent of the package holiday industry.

LA REATA
Saloma Benidormera
Transcripció musical: Josep D. Cano Gracià
Transcripció lingüística: Francesc X. Llorca Ibi.

(vogada)

A - llà'n n'el mo - rro Ne - gret hi ha -
gut u - na gran pe - le - a dos
mo - ros con - tra un jo - di - o han rom -
put la ca - la - ve - ra

Figure 18 : Saloma - a seafaring (rowing) song

The meaning of the word "saloma" is uncertain, except that it refers to a song of the sea. Note how in the example the sung lines alternate with rowing strokes.

We know much more about agricultural work songs and how they were sung, because both Samper and Massot i Planes tell us.³⁴⁰ Singers would

³³⁸ Massot i Planes p. 425.

³³⁹ Josep Doménech Cano & Francesc Xavier Llorca, "La saloma: cant dels mariners" in Caramella, IV (2001), 6-8.

³⁴⁰ Materials, III, pp. 346-347. Also Massot i Planes, passim in notes accompanying individual short songs.

either be divided in two groups or individuals, one acting as leader. The leader would begin a verse and the follower would then sing the rest, sometimes accompanying themselves with castanets. Subsequent verses would be chosen and added by the leader, and the song would go on as long as desired. Except for the accompaniment, many British sea shanties follow this model, being led by the shantyman, so it may be that Catalan short songs were sung at sea in the same way.

Short songs may be sung as single verses, as in the threshing songs, or may be strung together to accompany a group activity, for work or more especially for dancing. There seems to be no general rule for what is chosen, except that quite often songs for dancing would begin with a verse beginning Aquí dalt de la muntanya (of which there are many variants). Here is one collected in Catalonia by Sara Llorens:

Aquí dalt de la muntanya,
si n'hi ha un gros aucellàs:
amb el bec toca sardanes
i amb la cua el contrapàs.³⁴¹

The number of verses in the song depends on how long the dancers (or the musicians) want to continue. Furthermore, even though the words of each verse form a quatrain, the constraints of the melody may mean that phrases are repeated by the singers to fill out the tune. A good example is Voldria tornar bellveure, sung by Maria del Mar Bonet on her record Saba de Terrer and taken from the OCPC Materials, volume III p.403.

³⁴¹ Llorens, p. 279.

69. CANÇÓ DE VEREMADA:
EN ESSER DAVANT ES PONT — VOLDRIA TORNAR BELLVEURE

Moderat (♩. = 66)

En es - ser da - vant es pont, en
es - ser da - vant es pont vol - dri - a tor - nar bell
veu - re i vós qui fós - siu sa
font d'a - llà on jo he de
beu - re, vol - dri - a tor - nar bell - veu - re.

En esser davant es pont
voldria tornar bellveure,

i vós, que fóssiu sa font
d'allà on jo he de beure.

Figure 19 : Example of the Root of a Dance Song

The rhythm is that of a *jota*, which means that melisma is needed to make the syllables fit. Using this single verse as a root on which to base further verses, Maria del Mar has added the following words of her own composition while retaining the metre, rhyming scheme and syllable count of the original verse:

Perquè em robásseu s'amor,
voldria que fósseu lladre
que du tanta vermeior
com una flor de baladre,
voldria que fósseu lladre.

Vui ser corda d'aquest pou
o tornar-me corriola
per conversar amb vos com sou
a treure aigo tota sola,
voldria ser corriola.

Es tres mesos de s'estiu
voldria tornar coloma.
Saps a on fariu es niu?
A dins es lloc de Sa Torre.
Voldria tornar coloma.

This of course is a composition performed by a professional singer. However, many such songs are performed by non-professionals who add standard verses they know or verses they have invented themselves using whatever the tune of the moment happens to be. Quite apart from the skill required for impromptu versifying, it is clear that skill is involved in adapting standard verse forms to the desired tune, since the rhythm may be quite different. This leads to a difficulty with Ginard's collection. He has classified all of the individual verses into different categories but gives no details of the song structures to which the various verses originally belonged. As a result, we have song bits but no complete songs. Were it not for other collections we would have no real idea of what the original songs looked like; Ginard's collection would be like a broken mosaic. The only clue is that he has faithfully noted down the place where each short song was collected. One might possibly be able to do some "conjectural restoration" to reconstruct some of the original verse groups on that basis. However, while such an exercise might have some historic interest, one needs to ask if it is necessary. As el Calic pointed out, impromptu song invention and song exchange are features of traditional Catalan song. Joan Amades collected many short songs that he labels cançons improvisades. Both he and Sara Llorens say that verses were strung together in an ad-hoc manner. It therefore seems perfectly reasonable for singers within the tradition to put together whatever verses they wish, whether remembered or invented. Thus verses from Ginard's collection may be employed without fear of accusations of fakery. Evidence of improvisation will be found in the recording of the SOLC trobada de cantadors a Sobremunt made in 1994.³⁴² The finale of this event (and the penultimate track on the recording gives a sample of it) included a series of 54 corrandes improvised for the occasion by one of the singers, Josep Casadevall.

6.6 The Cançons de Pandero and Caramelles

These two types of song are closely allied. In theory, the former are accompanied by someone playing the pandero, or

³⁴² SOLC: Trobada de cantadors de Sobremunt. Track 29.

tambourine, while the latter may be sung by an unaccompanied group. The subject matter comprises a mixture of religious and non-religious themes, and the songs are performed as serenades by singers strolling from house to house. Where the residents are not known, or when some sense of propriety is required, then the verses are religious; otherwise, they tend to praise the attributes of the daughter of the household with the aim of getting her to come out and join the singers. It is clear that they often succeed, since Serra i Boldú gives verses to be sung by a girl inviting another out, for example.³⁴³ There are also special verses aimed at married couples, widows and citizens of distinction.

Apart from accompaniment, the main differences between caramelles and cançons de pandero seem to be the season of performance. Caramelles are generally sung at Easter, except in Minorca where they are sung at Christmas, and are always sung as outdoor serenades. Cançons de pandero are mainly sung at Corpus Christi, and may be performed indoors in the room where feasting is to take place. Also, caramelles generally comprise verses in corrantes format (four heptasyllabic or octosyllabic lines), whereas (at least, in Serra i Boldú's collection) cançons de pandero verses are eight lines long. This is not a satisfactory distinction in my view, because the eight lines can generally be split into two quatrains in corrantes format, as can be seen from the following example taken from p. 22 of Serra i Boldú:

Jovenet no'm llenceu tant
que algú o altre'm plegarà:
les gotes del cel, quan cauen,
totes saben aont anar;
jovenet no'm llenceu tant,
no digueu lo que dieu:
digueu coses en vritat,
que en mentida'm sab molt greu.

The idea of a split is reinforced by the fact that the first and fifth lines are generally identical. Furthermore, many of the words used in caramelles are the same as those used in cançons de pandero. On the other hand, the common tune that Serra i Boldú

³⁴³ Valeri Serra i Boldú, Cançons de pandero (Barcelona: L'Avenç, 1907), p. 22.

gives for his cançons de pandero is definitely for an eight-line verse, as shown in Figure 20, and Moll in his analysis of short and long songs clearly states that eight-line verses belong to long songs.³⁴⁴ All that can be said with certainty is that the two genres overlap considerably.

TONADA DE LES CANÇONS DE PANDERO

Don-ze - lle - ta a - gra - ci - a - da, a qui
vos com - pa - ra - ré, a la
flor de la pe - re - ra o a les ro - ses del ro -
ser? A la flor de la pe -
re - ra vos com - pa - ro per blan - cor;
a les ro - ses del ro - ser vos com -
pa - ro pel co - lor, vos com -
pa - ro pel co - lor.

Figure 20 : Tune for Cançons de Pandero

6.7 The Valencian Cançons d'Estil and Musical Geography

Cançons d'estil are a Valencian speciality. They do not resemble anything else in the Països Catalans with the possible exception of the work songs described above on page 129. However, they do strongly resemble the flamenco singing of Andalucía, and some of the nomenclature used with them is shared with flamenco songs. Oddly,

³⁴⁴ Ginard, I, Assaig d'estudi preliminar, p. xxxviii.

provide a link to France. Here we see not only geographic extremes but also musical extremes within the Països Catalans. In fact, Valencia has a pivotal role in the music of the region, not only by linking to southern Spain but also by linking to the Balearic Islands. Not only does it possess the same kind of work songs that are found in the Balearics, but it also shares melodies of other songs. For example, the Canción de corro³⁴⁶ collected in Albal just south of the city of Valencia has the identical tune to that of the Majorcan La mort de Na Roseta (De Santanyí vaig partir).³⁴⁷ The link is purely musical; the texts are not only in different languages (Castilian for the former and Catalan for the latter) but their subject matter is completely different.

6.8 Francesc de B. Moll's Analysis of Les cançons curtes.

Moll's analysis alluded to on page 139 above forms a chapter of a lengthy introduction to Volume I of Ginard's Cançoner popular de Mallorca. This is a most interesting piece, but one I have difficulties with because it analyses song texts without reference to music. Thus I criticise it just as I criticised Francesc Pujol earlier for analysing music without taking into account performance aspects.

Francesc de Borja Moll was one of the most important figures in 20th century Balearic literature, and one of his legacies is the publishing house that bears his name to this day. Another is the ten-volume illustrated Diccionari català-valencià-balear that he and Mgr. Antoni Alcover produced and first published in its entirety in 1962. This dictionary is particularly useful in that it describes the folklore and customs of the people of the Països Catalans as reflected in their language. Moll also published inter alia a small volume of cançons curtes in 1934 entitled Cançons populars mallorquines, thereby anticipating Ginard by some decades. Many of the songs were collected by Moll himself. It is clear, therefore, that he had first-hand knowledge of his subject. However, his book has little commentary in it and no music.

Moll's chapter on the cançons curtes in the Cançoner popular de Mallorca, on the other hand, covers the short songs in depth under four headings: versification, language, themes and variations, and finally dates, authors, places and diffusion.

Under versification, the first topic the author touches on is el vers i l'estrofa, and here he points out the difference between

³⁴⁶ Seguí, p. 67.

³⁴⁷ Massot i Planes, Cançoner musical de Mallorca, p. 292.

Catalan and Castilian verse from an analytical point of view. He states that Catalan verse follows the Provençal model, in that the number of syllables in a line is counted up to the last stressed syllable, ignoring any unstressed termination. Thus what might be classed as octosyllabic in Castilian is heptasyllabic in Catalan. This does have the merit of avoiding arguments over the paragogic e. However, as with Castilian there remains the problem of how to account for the irregular number of actual syllables. This is done by the artifice of feminine and masculine rhymes, in which feminine has the extra unstressed syllable at the end and masculine does not.³⁴⁸

Now this is all very well as an artificial analytical construct; one can have any arrangement one likes, provided that it is useful. My argument with it (and this does not relate just to Catalan folk song) is that it is both confusing and obstructive when applied to song. If it were the case that poems were to be chanted to a strict inviolate rhythm, let us say Hiawatha-style, then I would accept the need for some rules which emphasised that rhythm. However, that is not the case, even with recited poetry; licence is always taken with the underlying rhythm by the reciter to fit the meaning and natural stresses of the individual words and to avoid mechanical performance. The key here is rhythm, which may or may not have anything to do with line lengths and syllable counts. If we now consider the musical aspects, the tune will have its own rhythm, which may not naturally coincide with that of the words. Furthermore, the natural stress points in the melody (high notes or long notes, for example) may again not coincide with the natural stress points of the text rhythm. In fact, there are six factors whose interplay creates tension in the dynamics of any song. They are the four just mentioned, which to summarise are: that of the underlying rhythm of each line of text, that caused by textual irregularities, that of the tune rhythm and that of the melody stress points. To these we must add the interpretation that the singer wishes to make and the constraints imposed by the conditions of performance. It is the successful resolution of all of these tensions that makes for pleasing performance, both to the performer and to the audience. From the point of view of rhythm, this resolution will come from the arrangement of weak and strong beats. This is true not only with regard to music but

³⁴⁸ Martin J. Duffell, Modern Metrical Theory and the "Verso de arte mayor", Papers of the Medieval Hispanic Research Seminar, 10 (London: Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London, 1999), p. 22.

also with regard to Catalan prosody. The Catalan language is like English and unlike Castilian in that it has strongly-marked stress patterns, which are in part related to the existence in it of the short schwa vowel. In my view, therefore, the concept used by Moll of masculine and feminine rhymes combined with a curtailed syllable count (the Catalan/Provençal case) or augmented syllable count (the Castilian case) is overly complex and unsuitable for the analysis of songs in the Catalan language. Instead, the true syllable count should be taken into account with every line. Thus I do not agree with Moll's assertion when analysing a particular song that traïdor should be taken as trai-dor and not tra-i-dor on the basis of syllable count,³⁴⁹ because the music has not been considered. Likewise, I believe that we need to treat his detection of sinalefa and afèresi with caution, because we must simultaneously look for melisma in the music associated with his texts, as Maideu does.³⁵⁰

The difficulties I have with Moll's argument become clearer if we apply it to the cançons curtes from the Catalan mainland, rather than from the Balearics. Let us look at some examples taken from the Bertran i Bros anthology.³⁵¹ In the first case we have a verse that has an alternating 8/7/8/7 syllabic structure matching the melody, whereas in the second case the second and fourth lines have an extra note on the final syllable, admitting the possibility of the tune being usable for a uniformly octosyllabic verse:

³⁴⁹ Ginard, I, Assaig d'estudi preliminar, p. xliiii.

³⁵⁰ Maideu, pp. 202-203.

³⁵¹ Bertran, pp. 207-212.

II

Moderato.

A la mon-ta- nya hiha bo-xos
y al bosch hiha ro- ma- nins,
a ca-sa de les ca-
sa-des quehineu a bus- car, fa- drins?

I 2

Moderato.

Si la mar se lor-nès lin- ta
y los pe-xos es- cri- bans,
les car-tes com hi vin- drian,
bon a- mor, a vos lres mans!

Figure 22 : Cançons curtes example 1

In the next case, taken from the same collection, the two verses have the same syllabic structure but melodies that could be used for a text of four octosyllabic lines:

I

Moderato.



Quan el sol s'en va à la pos-ta jo'm co-
men-so d'a-le-grar, que dit-xo-sa se-ra
l'ho-ra que ab'là-mor no-dre' par-lar.

2

(Del segar)

Allegretto.



Les dol-ze ca-uen en le-rra y ls
an-gels can-tan al cel a-la-bat per sem-pa
si-ga lo San-ti-ssim Sa-gra-ment

Figure 23 : Cançons curtes example 2

Finally, to make the point even more strongly, the following cases show how different the natural stresses and rhythms of the music and words can be while retaining the same syllabic count. In the first example, natural short syllables are sung on long notes, and vice versa.

3
(Del batre)

Moderato.

U- na got- lla n'hi sen- ti- da
à la se- rra de Pi-
nos, que si cas hi can- ta
gay- re no hi fal- ta ran ca- ssa- dors

4

Andante.

Au- cell de du- gues de- ve- ses, be pots
viu- re re- ga lat, fa- dri qu'è n'fes- te- ja
du- gues no us fi- eu de sa bon- dat;
no us fi- eu de sa bon- dat ni tam-
poch de son in- tent, fa- dri qu'è n'fes- te- ja
du- gues no por- ta ell bon pen- sa- ment.

Figure 24 : Cançons curtes example 3

Therefore, while Moll's statement is true that the usual form of the songs in Volume I of Ginard's Cançoner is heptasyllabic, it is less useful than it could be. In fact, as he convincingly demonstrates, the usual form of the Balearic cançons curtes is the quatrain of syllabic form 7/8/8/7.

On the topic of rhyme, Moll makes the interesting observation that the general rule is for the Balearic cançons curtes to use true rhyme or consonance wherever possible. Assonance is much less used. Furthermore, a lack of consonance is possible evidence of defective oral transmission. His evidence is convincing at this point. However, it is less so when he moves on to the subject of metre and applies the same argument to the situation of a defective line, for example one

with too few syllables. He says that we might suppose the authorship to be poor or the song's transmission to be defective through uncertainty or forgetfulness. This is not good enough. If we assume that composition of such songs is or was commonplace, we might just as easily suppose that the new "owner" of the song would be able to repair the damage. Far more likely in my view is the effect of music on the words; it may well be that the defective verse sings at least as well as the postulated original version. Without the music to hand, however, we cannot be sure. Again, Moll's analysis founders on not taking music into account.

Under the general heading of language, Moll examines archaisms, non-standard grammar and dialect in addition to matters of a more general linguistic kind. A significant conclusion that both he and Ginard come to is that most cançons curtes are in contemporary language, which distinguishes them from longer songs. He concludes that the reason is that it is much easier to modernise a four-line verse than to modernise a whole song, with which I agree. I would also point to the fact that many of the short songs are improvised; such songs would most naturally be created in the language of the day, given that the subject matter of these songs is generally topical. Balearic dialect forms, and those archaic usages which remain current there constitute no obstacle to this view; nor do non-standard grammatical features, where these regularly persist in common use either in spoken language or in song.

Another aspect of the use of modern language is that when a song is modernised, the original metre and rhyme may very well be lost. Since the point of modernisation is to make the song more relevant or intelligible in performance, the singer is at least as likely to change the words to fit the music as to fit the poetry of the original text.

Under the heading of themes and variations, Moll begins by looking at the poetic quality of the songs. Again, he looks at the words and pays no heed to the fact that the words are sung. Thus any idea of how well the words fit the music is absent. This is particularly important because one of the notable features of some of the short songs, in particular the cançons de batre, is how poor the fit is. The example I gave earlier as Figure 7 on page 58 shows this clearly. It seems almost a point of distinction for such songs to have a flowing, arhythmic quality to the tune while at the same time preserving the strict syllabic 7/8/8/7 structure of the words. It is not just the musical rhythm that is lacking; the music also masks any innate rhythm within the words themselves. Yet in the example mentioned, the

melismata on the last two syllables of the word preciós certainly emphasise the poetry of the song.

Under dates, authors, places and diffusion, Moll vigorously argues the case for Majorca as the origin or source of the bulk of the short songs. For the most part I believe that he is right, and I would add another reason to those he cites: song collection. Apart from his own collecting and that of Ginard, there is the work done by the OCPC. Baltasar Samper collected a huge number of short songs in the Balearics, selections of which are printed in Materials. The most cursory examination of the short songs published in the various volumes shows just how disproportionate is the quantity from the islands. This of course assumes that the selections made from each area of the Països Catalans by the Materials editors are quantitatively representative of the songs collected in that area.

This does not, of itself, establish that the songs originated in the Balearics, of course; they might have come from the mainland. However, we know that a feature of Balearic short songs is improvisation; it therefore follows that many short songs would originate in the islands. Nevertheless, if Moll had analysed the music to show that there was little if any commonality between the tunes used on the peninsula and those used on the islands he would have a stronger case.

In conclusion, Moll's analysis of the cançons curtes is both wide-ranging and insightful. It is therefore all the more frustrating that he has not taken music into account.

PART III: ANALYSES

7 MUSIC

7.1 Melodic Form

In spite of Pujol's opinions to the contrary on the matter,³⁵² the evidence of the many collections shows that many Catalan folk songs are modal. However, the preferences for particular modes are not the same as in other traditions such as those of France or the British Isles. An examination of various cançoners shows this quite clearly. The books I have included in the following table (Figure 25) are mainly fairly recent (i.e. post-Amades) publications containing recent or previously unpublished collections. It would of course be useful to have included the contents of the Amades Cançoner, but because of its sheer size the task would have taken too long to complete within the timescale of this project. I have also excluded the Crestomatia of Maideu; in this case because it is a compilation of songs extracted from other collections made in various places and at various times, which would only confuse the analysis that follows here. The table groups the tunes in each collection according to the mode used, as determined from the final note, but for the sake of simplicity I have not distinguished between authentic and plagal forms. Furthermore, where tunes have a range so limited or gapped that they could fit into two or more modes equally well, I have used the most common mode, which is almost always the Ionian. The number of such tunes is very small (less than a dozen all told), so the effect on the statistics is negligible. It is, however, worth noting in passing the implication that there are few pentatonic tunes in the Catalan folk-song corpus.

³⁵² See above, p. 61.

Volume	Place, District	Date of song collection	Mode (Note: authentic and plagal combined)								Total
			None	Ionian	Dorian	Phrygian	Lydian	Mixolydian	Aeolian	Locrian	
<u>Cançoner de Pineda</u>	Pineda de Mar, Maresme	1902-1931	46	70	5	63	1	6	13	4	208
			22%	34%	2%	30%	0%	3%	6%	2%	
<u>Cançoner del Ripollès</u>	Ripollès	1903-1921	112	164	14	144	2	32	49	5	522
			21%	31%	3%	28%	0%	6%	9%	1%	
<u>Cançoner musical de Mallorca</u>	Mallorca	1900-43	126	76	0	38	1	11	27	2	281
			45%	27%	0%	14%	0%	5%	9%	1%	
<u>Folklore del Lluçanès</u>	Lluçanès, Osona	ca.1937-47	25	46	4	48	0	11	10	1	145
			17%	32%	3%	33%	0%	8%	7%	1%	
<u>Rasquera</u>	Rasquera, Ribera d'Ebre	1988-1989	2	6	0	9	1	0	0	0	18
			11%	53%	0%	56%	0%	0%	0%	0%	
<u>Cançoner de l'Empordà</u>	l'Escala, Baix Empordà	1943-93	13	21	0	8	0	2	2	0	46
			28%	46%	0%	17%	0%	4%	4%	0%	
<u>Lo Molinar</u>	Matarranya i Mequinensa	ca. 1990?	15	72	1	55	0	27	6	0	176
			9%	41%	1%	31%	0%	15%	3%	0%	
<u>Si tu te'n fas la lluna</u>	Bagà, Berguedà	1991-92	0	22	4	10	4	12	3	2	57
			0%	39%	7%	18%	7%	21%	5%	4%	

Figure 25 : Occurrences of Modes in Songs (Endings) in Various Cançoners

The locations are widely spread over the Països Catalans, as will be seen from the following map.



Figure 26 : Specific Areas for Later Song Collections (excluding Valencia)

I have excluded Valencia because although works such as the cancioneros of Seguí fall into the category being considered here, I have not been able to examine all of them yet. The map will therefore need to be modified in the light of this information.

The various cançoners are listed in Figure 25 in date order of song collection, not of publication. The most recent publication in the list, for example, is the Cançoner del Ripollès. What is remarkable in the results is the consistency between the songs in that collection and those of the Cançoner de Pineda. The song collections are contemporary, while the places are fairly widely separated geographically. What this means is that in the first quarter of the 20th century there appears to have been a consistent character to the music of traditional song in the north of Catalonia at least. Most songs were modal; the most common modes were Ionian and Phrygian, the two being used in more than half of the songs. There was some use of the Aeolian and Mixolydian, but the remaining modes were used rarely. The slightly later collection made in the Lluçanès, an area just to the south of the Ripollès, shows similar characteristics.

There is a most interesting difference between these songs and those of the contemporaneous collection made in Majorca by Josep Massot i Planes. Although the general distribution of songs amongst the modes is broadly similar, the use of non-modal tunes is much higher on the island: double that of the peninsular songs, and almost half of all the songs in the collection. This suggests that there is an additional musical influence in Majorca. Examination of the tunes reveals that many of them - particularly the work songs - have distinct overtones of Arab music, a topic I deal with later.

As noted above, the predominant modes are the Ionian (the major key) and the Phrygian. The latter is the reason why to English ears (and to Francesc Pujol, whose work I dealt with earlier) many Catalan tunes have an unresolved "feel" to their endings; it is a characteristic of the Phrygian mode. However, that does not completely explain the feeling of unresolvedness. Although it is often convenient to classify a song as being in a particular mode, there may be two modes involved. Take, for example, the song Si tu te'n fas la lluna:³⁵³



Figure 27 : Si tu te'n fas la lluna

³⁵³ Caballé, p. 46.

The first three lines can be taken as being in the Ionian or Hypoionian mode, whereas the last line is Phrygian. It is this change from the conventional major key used for most of the melody to the less usual Phrygian mode that provides the sense of lack of resolution. The same thing can be seen to happen in A la plaça fan ballades:³⁵⁴

—A la plaça fan ba-lla-des, a la plaça fan
fan ba-lla-des; ma-re, dei-xeu-m'hi a -
nar; ma-re, dei-xeu-m'hi a - nar!

Figure 28 : A la plaça fan ballades (Caterineta)

This tune consists of two basic phrases. The first can be heard as being in a perfectly conventional major key, although it is perhaps best considered as being in the Mixolydian mode, whereas the second part descends in the Phrygian. Compare this with El fill del rei, which begins in the Phrygian, modulates into the Ionian but returns to the Phrygian at the finish:³⁵⁵

3.166.—EL FILL DEL REI
Al. ad. J.

Si nè-ren tres ni ne-les me
ai/ vo-raun lór-rent, vo-raun lór-
rent tu-naen ren-la bu-ga-da me
ai/ l'al-lu l'estén qu'eres ai/ l'al-lu fes-lén.

Figure 29 : El fill del rei

In all of the above cases, the dominant (G in the first two cases, B^b in the last) has a pivotal role which can be seen by the frequency of its occurrence. This use of different - and contrasting - modes to create an unresolved ending is very common in Catalan folk songs. Here

³⁵⁴ Maideu, p. 188.

³⁵⁵ Amades, Cançoner, p. 684.

is another example, but in this case the initial mode is Phrygian and the final mode is Lydian:³⁵⁶

5 A la ter- ra del poc pas'hi, ha ca-sat u- na mos-so-
9 o- o- o- ta. Que s'es- ti- ma més xer- rar que no pas ren-
13 tar la ro- o- o- o- ba. Si li do- na- ren per dot u- na ca-
17 di- ra Un got, la xor- xa, la xor- xa, la
xo- o- o- or- xa.

Figure 30 : A la terra de poc pa

Even more striking is A l'horta del meu pare, also from the Caballé collection. It is almost entirely Ionian until it drops into the rare Locrian mode at the end. The fact that it uses the Locrian mode suggests that what we are hearing is not really a modal ending at all, but a stylistic feature of deliberately leaving endings unresolved. In turn, this suggests that some Catalan folk songs defy the quick and easy method of identifying a mode from the final note. Thus the table given in Figure 25 is based on the last mode used in each tune, but not necessarily the main mode used by it. Examination of each tune generally reveals the likely candidate if the ending does not give the main mode used. Often this is Ionian, but in others the tune structure makes it impossible to be certain. The unresolved ending may be a device to hold the attention of the audience or perhaps the dancers; it acts as a natural lead-in to the next verse of the song, particularly where the tune starts with the first note of the mode. In such a case, one would therefore expect the end of the melody in the last verse to resolve, and indeed that is exactly what happens sometimes, for example in De qué us val lo treballar:³⁵⁷

³⁵⁶ Caballé, p. 41.

³⁵⁷ Borau, p. 273.

1043 VR *Poc a poc*

I. De qué us val lo tre-ba-llar i viu-re amb a-ques-ta fam, si el que no ha tre-ba-llat mai vos no sa-beu com s'ho fa. I. De tot se'n fan jocs de II. Si vo-leu cri-ar un bon mans porc per ex-plo-tar la na-ció i quan ve u-na vo-ta-ció de cols no n'hi do-neu pas com-pren los hò-mens en rals. Per-qué el món es-tà ins-tru-it que ai-xí no s'en-grei-xe-rà. Si vo-leu cri-ar un bon porc qui té di-ners té ra-ó i si hi ha al-gú que hiveu mas-sa, sa-ben qué li pas-sa? que va a la pre-só. fit lo te-niu d'a-nar a por-tar din-tre les Corts de Ma-drid sa-beu com s'ho fan!

Figure 31 : De qué us val lo treballar

This song has the basic structure of two verses and a chorus, which latter is also used to start the song. On the face of it, the song is in the Phrygian mode; the verses and the chorus end on E. However, the last chorus resolves to C.

There is another way of looking at this apparent unresolvedness that may solve the problem for listeners whose ears are attuned to major and minor keys. The best way to explain this is via tonic sol-fa. It is common knowledge amongst musicologists and teachers that the two most universal and basic notes that children sing spontaneously are so and mi, generally alternating so-mi-so-mi. Indeed, many lullabies follow this form. The well-known child's taunt is so-mi-la-so-mi. As it happens, mi is the bottom note of the Phrygian mode, whereas do is the bottom note of the Ionian mode. If we go back to A la plaça fan ballades (above, Figure 28) we discover that the first phrase of music revolves around so while the second resolves to mi. Thus this song is simply based on those two fundamental notes. Now British (and in general northern European) music is also based strongly on the interval of the fifth: the relationship of the tonic do to the dominant so. Thus the basic triad is the rising do-mi-so.

This finally resolves by returning to do. Good examples of this are Johnny Todd and the Blue Danube. However, as Rösenstrunck observes, the most important interval in Mediterranean folk music is the fourth, not the fifth.³⁵⁸ This is one reason why the guitar, in its conventional tuning in fourths, fits Spanish music so well. In sol-fa terms, the interval is the fourth so-do', i.e. to the do' at the top of the octave, not the do at the bottom. The basic triad is thus the falling do'-so-mi, which is the first inversion. This of course ends on mi and provides the basis of the Phrygian mode, whereas the British example is based on the root position triad, so-mi-do, which by dropping to do is clearly Ionian. If we look again at El fill del rei (above, Figure 29), we see this do'-so-mi structure, in which do'-so is emphasised by a repeated cadence half way through the tune and the so-mi is emphasised at the end. The tune in effect "hangs" from the top do' instead of being "underpinned" by the bottom do. Once we abandon the idea of tunes having to resolve at the end on a low note, and accept the idea that a melody can have its top note as its anchor, these Catalan tunes make much more sense to British ears.

The Dorian mode, so common in the folk music of the British Isles, is virtually absent from Catalonia. The Mixolydian mode is common in Britain, but in Catalonia seems to be mainly used in children's songs. In the sample from the Matarranya, of the 27 Mixolydian tunes 23 belong to children's songs. The Cançoner de Pineda has no children's songs, and the Mixolydian content is correspondingly low. The collection from Ripollès contains only half a dozen children's songs, of which two are Mixolydian. However, if we examine Josep Crivillé's Música tradicional catalana volume 1, which is concerned with children's songs, it is clear that they come in all melodic varieties. Although, therefore, there is some evidence to suggest that the Mixolydian mode occurs most often in children's songs, it is not true to say that children's songs are mainly Mixolydian.

The Cançoner del Ripollès also reveals a large number of Aeolian (minor key) tunes. Many of these tunes are associated with religious songs, such as goigs. Of all the books considered here, religious songs are proportionately most numerous in the Ripollès collection. Thus the same sort of considerations can be applied here as were applied with children's songs. That is to say, there seems to be a preference for using Aeolian tunes for religious songs, but it is neither very strong nor restrictive.

³⁵⁸ Rösenstrunck, p. 12.

An unusual feature of the Catalan corpus is the existence of a few tunes that genuinely use the Locrian mode. This mode is often considered to be a purely theoretical construct because it has no true dominant; the fifth note in the mode is separated from the first note by an interval of four whole tones instead of four and a half. Thus the most important interval in the mode is defective, according to the ancient rules of St. Ambrose and St. Gregory.³⁵⁹ However, we have already noted that the interval of the fourth is what matters, not the fifth and in any case folk music makes its own rules. Thus the absence of the fifth is no hindrance. Indeed, it could be that the use of the Locrian is more evidence of Arab influence in the music, since the following example, Matinet me'n llevo,³⁶⁰ closely follows the Arab shawk afzā mode:³⁶¹



Figure 32 : Matinet me'n llevo

The version of La dida given in Sara Llorens' Cançoner de Pineda has exactly the same range and characteristics, although the tune is unrelated.

The frequency of occurrence of non-modal tunes is significant, but needs some clarification. There are many genuinely non-modal tunes, but a number exhibit what Pujol calls "transient chromaticism" where only a single note is sharpened or flattened.³⁶² It is often difficult to say whether the note is an essential part of the melody to the singer. Truly non-modal tunes (that is, ones that contain Pujol's "structural chromaticism") are used extensively in Majorca for work songs. These songs, an example of which I gave earlier, also contain long melismata at the end of each line. Josep Crivillé has convincingly demonstrated that these songs both melodically and

³⁵⁹ The Oxford Companion to Music, ed. by Percy A. Scholes, 8th edn (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 586.

³⁶⁰ Caballé, p. 199.

³⁶¹ Touma, p. 35.

³⁶² See above, p. 51.

rhythmically follow Arab musical patterns.³⁶³ He has also shown that the primary area for the songs extends over not just the Balearic Islands but also much of Valencia and southern Catalonia. His diagram illustrating this is reproduced here as Figure 33. The area shown is only approximate and, according to Crivillé, outside it the Arab influence disappears only gradually.

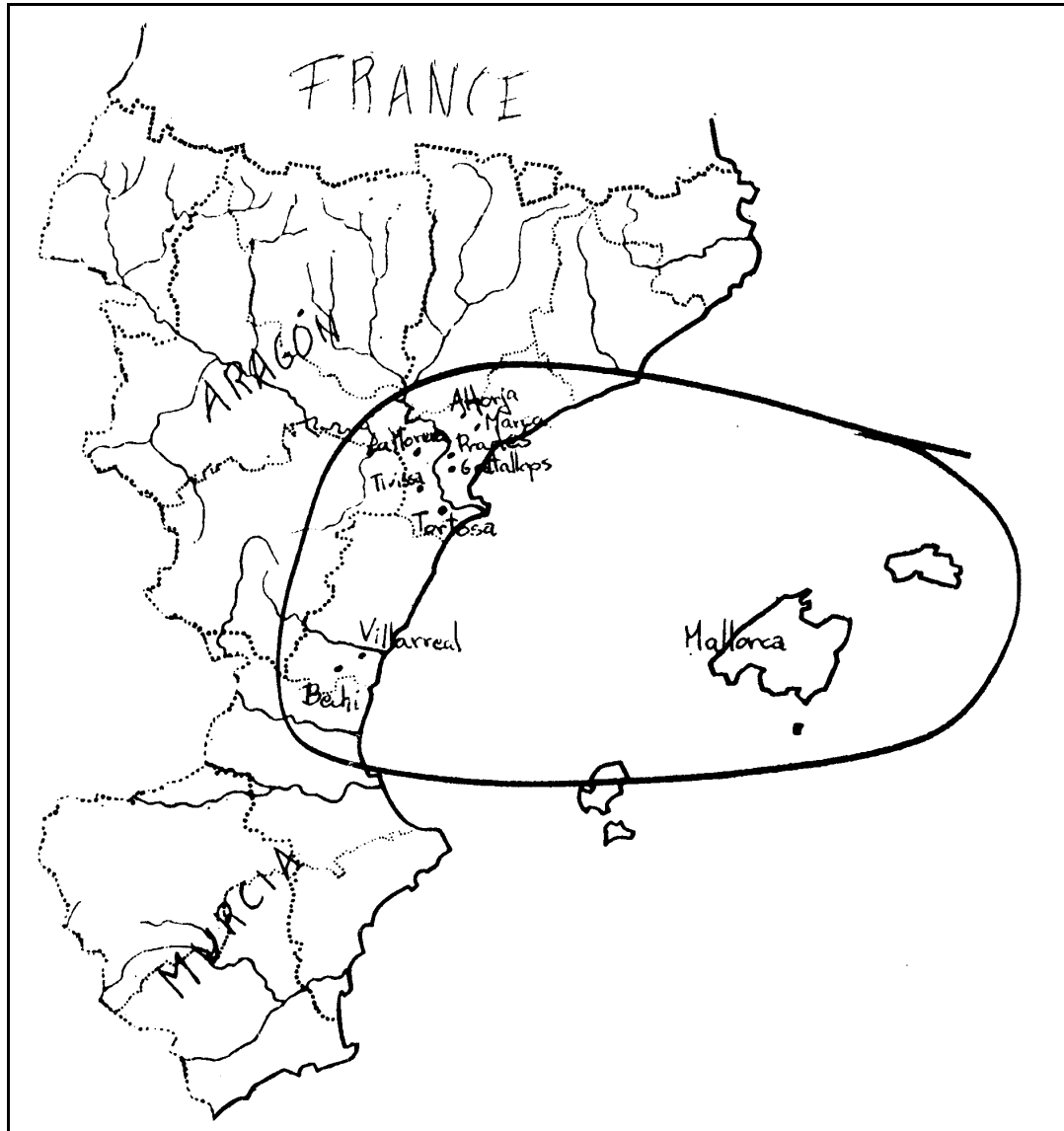


Figure 33 : Primary Zone of Arab Musical Influence (from Crivillé)

This Arab-sounding melodic form is restricted to two kinds of song. First, there are certain kinds of work song: ploughing, sowing, reaping and threshing - in other words, the work done by men often working alone. Agricultural work done by women or by mixed groups

³⁶³ Josep Crivillé i Bargalló, 'El sistema de organización melódica en algunas canciones de trilla de Tarragona, Castellón y Mallorca, Anuario Musical, XXX (1977), 154-166.

tends to be accompanied by songs that are modal, although the long melismata may still be there, as in the following example.³⁶⁴

33. TONADA DE COLLIR FIGUES

Andant

En ris di-es va cre - ar -
tot lo món el Pa-re È-tern; -
va-cre-at tex-xa i cel, a-bres,
a-ni-mals i mari;
tam-bé ma-teix va cre-ar las ca-
la-bos-sos d'in-forn.

Figure 34 : Fig-picking song

Secondly, there are lullabies: cançons de bressol. These are often chromatic rather than modal and similar in melodic form to the men's work songs. Josep Crivillé has suggested to me in conversation that the songs of the field affected the lullabies, rather than vice versa. Baltasar Samper seems to suggest this also.³⁶⁵ He makes another important observation on the similarities of the music of the work songs with the cante jondo of Andalusia. These songs therefore provide a link not only to Arab music but also to that of other parts of Spain.

Further examination of the contents of the table in Figure 25 reveals that there is considerable discrepancy in the proportion of non-modal tunes between the various collections. The songs collected much later in the catalanoparlant areas of the Matarranya and Mequinensa in Aragon and the songs in the smaller collections show that the use of non-modal music is much less than in the other large

³⁶⁴ Materials, VII, p. 207

³⁶⁵ Baltasar Samper, Estudis sobre le cançó popular (Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat, 1994), p. 82.

collections in the table. There are several reasons why this might be so. First, it could be that the collectors (or subsequent editors) differed in their musical ability for accurate notation. While this is probably true to some degree, each of the collections (excluding the cançoners of Pineda and l'Empordà) is the result of the collaboration of a number of field workers, and I think it reasonable to assume competence on their part, particularly as recording equipment would have been available for the later work. Secondly, the location being within Aragon may give rise to the influence of Aragonese music. While this is likely, I have not made the comparison with Aragonese collections to find out whether Aragonese and Catalan music are sufficiently different to create in the Matarranya such a deviation from some supposed Catalan norm; however, as will shortly be seen, this is not a crucial issue. Thirdly, there is the possibility of association of different modes with different types of song. Thus if one collection is biased towards (or away from) a particular kind of song, and another collection has a different bias, the music the two contain may be significantly different. The bigger collections will contain a more representative sample of the songs of the areas concerned; collections of fewer than (say) 100 songs are not likely to represent all or even a reasonable fraction of the Catalan song types. As an example, the Cançoner musical de Mallorca contains more work song tunes than any other collection, and these are rarely modal, which helps to explain the higher proportion of non-modal songs in the collection as a whole. On the other hand, the other larger collections in Figure 25 cover broadly the same song types, except for the Cançoner de Pineda, which has no section on children's songs. Fourthly, there is the effect of the passage of time. The Aragonese collection was made over half a century later than the other large collections mentioned. During this time radio and television have become ubiquitous, along with modern popular music. These will surely have affected singing styles. The recent collections from Rasquera and Bagà are too small to provide much of statistical significance except for any very obvious features that they contain. In this case, both show the common trait of all of the collections in the table: a preponderance of Ionian and Phrygian tunes. They also have few if any that are not modal. Since Bagà is near the Ripollès, comfortably within Catalonia itself and a long way from the Matarranya, geographic location cannot be particularly important in the loss of non-modal tunes - hence my lack of concern with consideration of Aragonese music. Furthermore, Bagà is the town of el Calic. This town was also visited by the OCPC and later still produced the Cançoner de Bagà. Si

tu te'n fas la lluna represents the songs of the traditional singers of the town in the early 1990s, and these songs are all modal. The photographs in the book indicate that, as in many places, the songs have become concert items for folk festivals and the like. It seems plausible that the tunes have changed as the singers are now surrounded by accordions and other fixed-scale instruments. Unaccompanied singing of traditional songs has been displaced in the home and at work by ready-made entertainment provided by radio, television and recorded music. It may therefore be that we are now seeing - or rather, hearing - a trend in Catalan traditional singing away from non-modal tunes, possibly allied to the move of the songs away from the home and workplace and on to the concert platform.

On the face of it the Cançoner de l'Empordà does not fit with this hypothesis. Again, it is a small collection, so any statistical conclusions are difficult to draw. Yet the quantity of non-modal tunes is significant, and the place of collection suggests that geographic influence might be important, despite my earlier argument to the contrary. In fact, the songs are unusual in that they were not collected in the field. Instead, they are the family repertoire of Lluís Albert, the nephew of Caterina Albert, better known as the writer Victor Català. His aunt gave him some 30 of the songs in 1943; the remainder he acquired from her sister some years later.³⁶⁶ Thus the collection is earlier than it appears at first sight; as such, it too is consistent with the trend over time away from non-modal music, and the geographic aspect may be safely disregarded.

7.2 Baltasar Samper and the Music of the Balearic Work Songs

Non-modal music in Catalan folk song is very much the province of Baltasar Samper. In contrast to his Balearic compatriot Francesc de B. Moll, Samper (1888-1966) was a trained musician and an assiduous collector and analyser of the music of the Balearic short songs. He carried out his field work on behalf of the OCPC for a number of years beginning in 1924 and only gave up work on the project when the authorities in Barcelona tried to arrest him in 1937 during the Civil War. He then went into exile in Mexico, where he published a number of papers that were assembled and published by Massot as Estudis sobre la cançó popular in 1994.

Samper collected an enormous number of songs from all over the Balearic Islands. The results of his field trips were as prolific as those of Palmira Jaquetti. He was unusual in that he had a wax

³⁶⁶ Lluís Albert, Cançoner de l'Empordà (Figueres: Brau, 1994), p. 11.

cylinder recorder with him. However, if any of his recordings survived (Massot has indicated to me in a letter that some may, but that they are in a very fragile state) they have not been made available. Nevertheless, his analyses and musical notations are extremely clear. He took a special interest in work songs, and was careful to note the circumstances of performance. For example, when he asked for a song, he often found that the singer could not remember any unless actively engaged in the job concerned. Thus he had to collect ploughing songs literally from the man at the plough, for example.

Samper notes that the rhythm of the work songs was fitted to the work. Reaping songs, for example, would be sung in groups, with the reapers swinging in time to the song. This type of song would be led by one singer with the rest following in refrain, thus establishing a steady rhythm for the men to swing their scythes in a coordinated manner. There is a parallel with sea shanties, which were also used for cooperative effort. Threshing songs and ploughing songs, on the other hand, which involved following slow-moving animals, are totally arrhythmic. Such songs are highly ornamented, and each singer had his own ornamentation. Samper also says that the work songs in fact had no individual fixed tunes, but instead each type of song (the type here depending on the work with which the song was used) would be associated with a style. A style was associated with a particular kind of work, so for example it would be impossible for a threshing song to be confused with a ploughing song or a shearing song. The singer would improvise a tune within the style, and thus make the song his or her own. Thus the short songs not only could have improvised words, as we saw earlier, but could also have improvised tunes. Perhaps this is why Moll and Ginard did not collect the music; it was too challenging a task for non-musicians.

The foregoing also explains the caption below the following threshing song collected by Samper:³⁶⁷

³⁶⁷ Materials, VI, p. 332.

16. TONADA «DE BATRE»

Moderat (un poc animat)

Cor-reu, mu-le-tes, cor-reu
i fa-reu sa pa-ia me-nu-da.

Si la feis llar-ga i tor-çu-da
(en) hi-vern l'e-hi tro-ba-reu

Correu, mulettes, correu,
i fareu sa paia menuda;

si la feis llarga i torçada,
en s'hivern la hi trobareu.

Cantaire: Maria Abraham, Campos. La sap de sentir-la pel camp.

Figure 35 : Threshing Song

Threshing was done by men, thus the informant would only have heard it sung; she would not have sung it herself normally. Thus Samper's note is a warning not to take the tune too literally. That said, he does remark that the women knew the songs of their menfolk:

Hom s'expliqua igualment que fins les dones, encara que en general no practiquin els treballs propis dels homes, sàpiguen també cantar les tonades de treball.³⁶⁸

This tune has the rhythmical freedom characteristic of such songs and shows strong Arab influence in its tonality and structure; one can hear echoes of the muezzin's call to prayer, partly because of the use of intervals of a sharpened second and partly because of the melodic line rising to a series of repeated notes. There is also a degree of melodic freedom in the oscillation between the major and minor key. It

³⁶⁸ Samper, p. 80.

is clear from listening to the song that there could be almost any number of syllables in a line, since the cadential elaborations at the end completely dominate the melodic structure. Furthermore, the words give no hint of any Arab influence; thus conclusions about this song based on the text alone will be misleading. However, because this tune was gathered at second hand, as it were, we need to look at other examples to see if the musical characteristics identified are not related to the informant. Here is another example collected on the same field trip:³⁶⁹

11. TONADA «DE BATRE»

Lento

Mu-ma-re em diu :- qui-na ho-ra és?
tu fas llargues ses vet-la-des.
ah!
Jo dic:- les deu han to-ca
ca - des: mol-ta vol-
ta són les tres
Per començar i acabar:
ah!

Mumare em diu: — Quina hora és? Jo dic: — Les deu han toca-des. —
Tu fas llargues ses vetlades. — Moltes voltes són les tres.

Cantaire: Francesc Janer, «des Molí de can Xim», Randa.

Figure 36 : Cançó de batre

Again we see long cadential elaborations throughout the piece. We also see the accidentals that provide the Arab overtones: the frequent sequence B^b-A-G-F[#]-G which is part of the maquâm hijaz,³⁷⁰ and the sequence D-C[#]-B-C[#] with its sharpened second that occurs in the melismata for the words vetlades and tres.

The fact that the above analysis is possible is a testament to the careful work of Samper. The difficulty of his efforts is clear from

³⁶⁹ Materials, VI, p. 328.

³⁷⁰ Touma, p. 33.

the complexity of the notation. His work not only enriches his own collected songs but adds an extra dimension to those of other collectors, especially Ginard and Moll.

7.3 Rhythm

Dance and song are closely linked in the Països Catalans, as mentioned earlier.³⁷¹ Song is still used to accompany dance and vice versa, and the music of many songs, both short and long, reflects this. The most common dance form found in song music is the jota. It is used for long romances, such as El Comte Raixa, for example, and in this case the customary English term for this kind of song - ballad - is completely appropriate, since the origin of the term is "a song used for dancing." However, jota rhythms permeate everywhere. For example, while witnessing caramelles being sung by a group in Torroella de Montgrí in 2000, I observed two women strike up an impromptu jota in the street as the rest of the group sang verses to people on their balconies.

Songs are also associated with many other dance types: the copeo, the mateixa, the ball rodó and the ball pla, to name just some of them. However, it is uncommon to find these dances nowadays as spontaneous popular entertainment, sung to or otherwise. In Catalonia, according to the leader of the group of caramellaires in Torroella de Montgrí, the reason is that the sardana has become so much a symbol of Catalan identity as well as Catalan dance that it has almost completely displaced other dances on public occasions, except at festes when other dances are specifically called for, such as the Ball del Cornut on Easter Monday at Cornellà de Terri. However, even this dance is accompanied by a cobla rather than by singers.

The jota, copeo and mateixa (which is considered to be really just a jota) are all in triple time, and accompanying songs are phrased accordingly. The ball rodó comes in two varieties: a children's dance and an adults' dance. Apart from the fact that they are round dances (as their name suggests) they are quite different.

It is an important feature of Catalan folk song that rhythms vary from the rigidly rhythmic (as used for dances) to the almost totally arrhythmic (as used in work songs), with almost every variation in between. It is very common to find songs with multiple time signatures in them. This is not just a case of the singer performing in a free and expressive manner and taking liberties with what might otherwise be a tune in straight 4/4 or 3/4 time; the songs often genuinely have

³⁷¹ See above, p. 75.

an irregular or unconventional rhythm. The song l'Estudiant de Vic (see Figure 47 on page 206 below) is a case in point. Another "odd" one is El ciutat de Xalons.³⁷² According to Amades, this song is of French origin, although whether the odd rhythm can be attributed to French influence is hard to say. Songs with complex rhythms are generally expressed with bars combining (say) duple and triple time, although more complex time signatures are occasionally found. Songs in 9/8 are quite common. It is very rare to find any songs in "pure" 5/4; "pure" 7/8 may not exist at all in the Catalan corpus. On the other hand, it is possible to find such signatures used in more complex arrangements, as in Mentides diuen la gent.³⁷³

2.737.—MENTIDES DIUEN LA GENT

M. 72: J.

Mentides diuen la
gent; ve-ri-tats, no en diuen gai-res: diuen que
no tinc ga-lants; la ca-sa en tinc en vol
ta-da A-déu Ros-sel·ló i Cap-cir.
sir; a-déu pla-na de Cer-da-nya.

Mentides diuen la gent;
veritats, no en diuen gaires;
diuen que no tinc galants;
la casa en tinc envoltada.
Adéu, Rosselló i Capcir!
Adéu, plana de Cerdanya!
Trenta-vuit o trenta-nou
o a la ratlla de quaranta;
jo no n'aimo sinó un
que n'és fill de la vall d'Aura.
F'ill d'un tinent coronel
servidor del rei d'Espanya,
que no el veig sinó un cop l'any
quan els segadors davallen.
El dia que han de baixar
jo al cap del pont l'esperava.

Figure 37 : Mentides diuen la gent (fragment)

It is worth noting in this song that the syllabic structure is a regular and conventional 7/8/7/8. This example shows how free the sung rhythm can be in spite of this regular starting-point. In fact this freedom is a feature both of the singers and of the early collectors, and needs to be taken into account when examining the music. Many of the songs could be "massaged" to fit into a more conventional rhythm. What we are seeing is an aspect of performance written down as part of

³⁷² Amades, Cançoner, p. 617.

³⁷³ Amades, Cançoner, p. 509.

the essential structure of the song. This is a limitation of the early song collections where no recording apparatus was available. The collector is torn between noting the song as sung, including the variations induced by specific performance and noting what the underlying structure might be. In practice (and this follows the Bartók school)³⁷⁴ each song seems to have been notated exactly as heard, because that is what the singer meant. Any subjective decisions could then be made later as to what the "basic" song was, to which the singer added variations. If, by way of comparison, we examine the typical folk-song collections of the British Isles, we find that there are few songs with multiple time signatures. However, anyone who has listened to traditional singers from the British Isles will have noted the considerable liberties that are taken with rhythm, a point that Bronson has commented on.³⁷⁵ In other words, British collections do not follow the Bartók model - which is why warnings will sometimes be found in such books about slavishly singing the songs as they appear in print, because they are simply starting points or raw material on which the singer can impose his or her own style. Nevertheless, the same warning still holds good with the Catalan corpus; the singer has to examine each song carefully to understand its nature.

Apart from songs with regular and irregular rhythms, there are those - particularly work songs - in which phrases begin with a conventional rhythm but lose it in a long, arhythmic cadential elaborations. Other work songs are almost completely free in form. These are typically those with the chromatic Arab influence mentioned earlier.

Catalan folk song in its rhythms thus embraces dance rhythms of Spain, irregular rhythms of France and arhythmic structures of Arab music. These are assembled in almost any imaginable way. The reasonable inference from this observable feature is that the folk music of this region illustrates the situation of the Països Catalans as a meeting point and melting pot for different musical cultures.

7.4 Harmony

Catalan folk songs are for the most part unharmonised; even when sung in groups, the performance is normally in unison. There are occasional exceptions, and with them the general principle is singing

³⁷⁴ Béla Bartók, Essays, ed. Benjamin Suchoff (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska, 1992), pp. 18-19.

³⁷⁵ Bronson, I, Introduction, p. xxix.

in parallel thirds. The most notable song genres in which harmony forms an essential component are havaneres, caramelles and goigs.

Havaneres are composed songs; composition covers both words and music, so they do not use traditional melodies. They are outside the scope of traditional song and are not dealt with further.

Caramelles and goigs are closely related and there is often overlap in their verses. The use of harmony in caramelles is very similar to that in goigs, so the two should be considered together.

Goigs - at least in the case of the Goigs del Roser - are often harmonised with the two voices separated in parallel thirds and sometimes with three or four part harmony. Some of the harmonies are the result of improvisation, as with other folk tunes. In other cases, they appear to be written by someone with more formal knowledge of musical theory. The goigs thus provide an example of blurring between the oral tradition and composed music. An extensive analysis of goig music will be found in La versió autèntica dels Goigs del Roser de tot el any, by Lluís Romeu, in the OCPC Materials volume I fascicle II.³⁷⁶ This analysis is interesting in that it takes as its premise the probability of a single educated composer of the original Goigs del Roser and uses the various collected versions as evidence of what the original might be. The study concludes by giving a complete four-part harmonised version of a putative "original version" which is reasonably convincing, and certainly sounds well. However, from the point of view of folk music it is less interesting than the versions that have been collected from the oral tradition, with all their variations, since these latter reflect the diversity of the communities in which they are sung. Figure 38 shows an early example from Majorca.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁶ Materials I:2 pp. 259-343.

³⁷⁷ Massot i Planes, p. 370.

274 **Veus** **Escorca**

Puis re - bem tants de fa - vors
per vos - tra san - ta fi - gu - ra, dau -
nos, de Lluç Ver - ge pu - ra, que en lo cel go - sem de
vós. Dau - nos, de Lluç Ver - ge pu - ra, que en lo
cel go - sem de vós.

Figure 38 : Goig de la Mare de Déu de Lluç

This uses two voices arranged in parallel thirds. Compare that with Figure 39, which is from Ripoll³⁷⁸ and has an added bass and solo part,

115. Goigs de Nostra Senyora del Remei

Ripoll, 1920?

Del pe - ca - dor ad - vo - ca - da dig - nau - vos a ser Se - hyo - ra.
Del Re - mei in - ti - tu - la - da si - au nos - tra pro - tec - to - ra.
Vos - trahu - mi - li - tat pas - mo - sa i vos - tra o - be - dien - cia ra - ra, per tots
los mals nos de - pa - ra me - di - ci - na pro - li - to - sa,
Solo
lo Fi - at de Nat - za - ret tot nos - tres - pe - nit mi - llo - ra.

Figure 39 : Goigs de Nostra Senyora del Remei

whereas the next example, Figure 40, from the Roussillon,³⁷⁹ begins in unison, moves to parallel thirds, departs from them into fourths and

³⁷⁸ Juan, Cançoner del Ripollès, p. 142.

³⁷⁹ Deloncle, p. 275.

fifths, still with the parts tracking each other closely, and finally resolves to unison.

Goigs de N.S. de Font Romeu

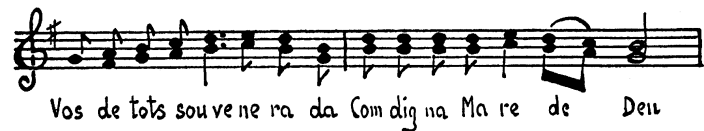
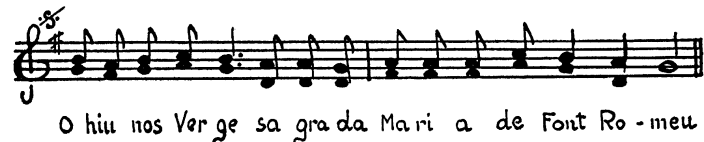
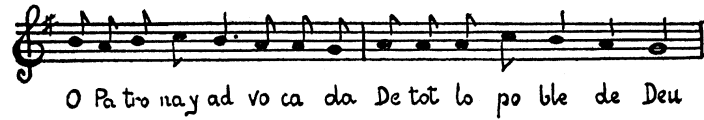


Figure 40 : Goigs de Nostra Senyora de Font Romeu

The use of parallel thirds as the general rule for creating harmonies in Catalan folk song means that songs in the major key of C will have a harmony that ends on E. (The last example is unusual in ending in unison). This gives an immediate and direct link to the Phrygian mode, which is so common in this music. This returns us to the point that Pujol raised about some song tunes being perhaps simply harmonies separated from their original principal melodies. Perhaps; however, I have already established that verses of Catalan songs may change mode part way through, and that an unresolved end note is not necessarily related to the mode mainly used in a song, but can be used to retain the attention of dancers or audience. I think it more likely therefore that a "Phrygian" ending may often be the chosen method of retaining attention simply because of its familiarity to singers and dancers.

7.5 Accompaniment

As with Mediterranean peoples in general, social life in the Països Catalans occurs primarily outside the home. As a result, dances are generally held in the open air. The voice, of course, is a relatively quiet instrument, and thus for the most part instruments designed for playing outdoors are used for accompanying dancing on

social occasions such as public sardanes. This means that their musical instruments tend to be loud, for playing in the open air. Thus the sac de gemecs (bagpipes) and the various members of the shawm family (the dolçaina and gralla) are generally too loud for accompanying songs performed in the traditional manner (I am ignoring the modern trend of using electronic amplification to overcome such problems), but may be used alternating with the voice, as happens in some performances of goigs. Generally, folk songs in the major collections seem to have been performed unaccompanied; where they have been accompanied, the common instruments such as the violin, the diatonic accordion, the guitar and bandurria are generally used. The vielle is used in France, but tends to be associated with Provençal rather than Catalan music. For rhythm, there are the ximbomba, castanyoles (castanets) and the pandero (tambourine), all of which are particularly used in the Balearic Islands for song accompaniment. Indeed, there is an entire group of songs known as cançons de pandero, and another in which every song has the title Sa ximbomba. The ximbomba merits further description because it is an Iberian speciality. It usually consists of a large jar with a skin stretched and fixed to cover the opening, giving the appearance of a kind of drum. A stick is fixed by its end to the centre of the skin, and the player rubs his or her fingers up and down the stick. The result is a sound between a buzz and a whir at each stroke, and is generally used to provide rhythmic accompaniment at a volume compatible with singer/player's voice. The size of the instrument varies considerably, and there is at least one recorded incidence of a ximbomba apparently made from an old oil drum!³⁸⁰

An interesting aspect of accompaniment is whether and how it affects the melodic structure of the songs accompanied. One can detect in Scottish folk song, for example, the influence of the bagpipes on the range of a song and the intervals within it. There are distinctive tonal features in Catalan songs, for example the Arab influence already dealt with. Furthermore, variation in the tonal range of the Catalan gralla is distinctive; it is much less discordant when played on the French side of the border than when played on the Spanish side, and this discordance also seems to disappear in Valencia in the playing of the related dolçaina. Nevertheless, I can detect no particular link between the restrictions of any instrument or its playing style and the melodic form of accompanied Catalan folk song, unless perhaps the increased availability of instruments with standard

³⁸⁰ Materials, VI, 320-321, intercalated photograph.

tunings has been a factor in the reduction of non-modal tunes in recent times, as I have already observed.³⁸¹

³⁸¹ See above, page 162.

8 PERFORMANCE

8.1 Dance

Although the majority of traditional dances seem to have been accompanied by instrumental groups, this is by no means the whole picture, particularly in Majorca, where the copeo,³⁸² for example, was danced to unaccompanied voices. The songs used were by no means always ballads (thus one cannot draw the conclusion from Catalan folk song that the origin of the ballad is a dance song) but were often constructed from cançons curtes, and were thus extensible as long as necessary for the purpose of the specific dance. Singers might accompany themselves with tambourines and castanets. The singers seem predominantly to have been women, although in dialogue songs men and women would alternate between verses - the latter being particularly the case with the copeo.³⁸³ Singing for accompanying dances differs from instrumental accompaniment in that there is a blurring between the singers and the dancers; that is to say, dancers might sing, while instrumentalists and dancers are separate groups.

8.2 Work

Work songs divide into two clear groups: solitary songs and group songs. Solitary songs tend to be cançons curtes and no doubt were sung to alleviate the boredom of the task in hand. There are many cançons de batre, for example; this is very understandable given that the traditional method of threshing was for a man to stand in the centre of a circle and walk his mule or donkey round him dragging a sled-like device called a carretó across the threshing floor.³⁸⁴ No doubt the melancholy character of his songs reflects the mind-numbing nature of his task. The solitary work songs are not rhythmic; they seem to be for self-entertainment rather than to maintain a work rate. This is true even of the cançons de segar, where one might reasonably expect a rhythm in time with the swing of the scythe. This absence of rhythm contrasts markedly with British work songs, and may have something to do with the difference in climate. Working outside in the Mediterranean sunshine is a sweaty business, and the slow, gentle

³⁸² Aureli Capmany, 'El baile y la danza', in Folklore y costumbres de España, II, 330.

³⁸³ Good examples are the two copeos Copeo de Montanya, de Selva and Copeo Matansé on Aires de Montanya, de Selva (HMV LCLP190, [ND])

³⁸⁴ Stephan Schmitt, Arbeitslieder auf Mallorca (Tutzing: Schneider, 1984), pp. 25-31.

nature of the Catalan agricultural work songs may be an attempt to alleviate the oppressive heat through song.

Short songs are not the only acceptable accompaniment to boring agricultural tasks. If we accept the classification of songs given by Joan Amades in his cançoner, then long songs - even narrative ballads - might also be sung. However, it is the shorter songs that are identifiable by their content as relating to the task. With the notable exception of Els tres segadors, the longer songs do not deal directly with men's work; one can suppose that they would be sung to take the singer's mind off the job at hand.

Group songs such as the cançons de filadora, de cosidora and de puntaire would be sung by groups of women, or by one of the group to entertain the rest. These songs tend to be of the longer type: the lyrical songs and the narrative ballads. A number have choruses, in which all would join. Since the work is not rhythmical, the rhythms of the song would not help the work directly. The cançons de rentadora are rhythmic, however; generally dance tunes were used by the women, no doubt to aid them when scrubbing their clothes³⁸⁵ in the river or in the washing sheds that are still to be found, long deserted, in many Catalan villages.

Men also sang in groups, primarily when hunting and fishing; again, the longer songs were employed. Joan Amades relates an interesting use of song by river fishermen: to frighten the fish! The men would wade along the rivers singing loudly driving the fish into nets previously set.³⁸⁶

Certain activities would be carried out in groups of men, women and children, such as espellonar, or husking maize. From what we can gather from Joan Amades, such activity would be a social occasion when long ballads of all kinds would be sung for group entertainment.

8.3 Religion

There are several kinds of religious song, each with its own distinct circumstances associated with performance. The religious ballad, such as Sant Ramon de Penyafort would be sung in the same circumstances as other ballads, not necessarily with any religious connotations but reflecting the inseparability of religious matters from everyday life. Caramelles are still sung as part of Easter festivities. They are quête songs, sung by groups of men and women who go from house to house through the town or village at night singing

³⁸⁵ Amades, Cançoner, p. 700.

³⁸⁶ Amades, Cançoner, p. 403.

blessings upon the occupants. Goigs may also be sung on such occasions but are also sung during religious processions that take place during the day. Carols are sung during Advent and Christmas as in other parts of the world. As is common, many carols are for children to sing and may be associated with plays or processions centred on the Crib.

8.4 Other Social Occasions

Songs are also associated with festivals. The ballad Serrallonga, for example, is re-enacted as a ball parlat, a theatrical event that comprises elements of dance and play (specifically the entremès). The festivity takes place in Tarragona as part of the festa of Santa Tecla.

The singing of caramelles is not just an occasion for religious and family blessings. The occasion has also been used by gangs of young men to wander around the town playing instruments and serenading young ladies on their balconies; this stereotypical "Spanish" image is often shown in books of Spanish folklore.³⁸⁷

Finally, groups of people get together just to make music. My first encounter with the folk music of the Països Catalans was in Majorca in 1978. While I was drinking in a bar in Cala Sant Vicenç one evening, a local family entered with a ximbomba and proceeded to play and sing for their own amusement. A more recent one was in the grounds of Montserrat Abbey a few days before Christmas, 2000, when a group of a dozen young people were singing lively traditional songs to each other, accompanying themselves by clapping.

8.5 Children's Songs

The song collections abound with children's songs. These are, or were, performed for singing games, dancing games, counting games and skipping games, exactly as in other countries. They form a specific genre within the Catalan corpus and have been extensively studied by Josep Crivillé, to whose work I refer the reader.³⁸⁸ Examples of children's songs can be heard on the CD entitled Cançons d'infantesa produced by the Fonoteca de Música Tradicional Catalana. This recording is accompanied by useful notes.

Catalan children have particular festivals which now seem to be disappearing, although they are well-documented and the associated songs have been recorded. Two in particular are worth mentioning: the

³⁸⁷ Amades, Costumari català II, pp. 841, 843; Carreras y Candi, II, p. 75.

³⁸⁸ Crivillé, Música tradicional catalana, I.

feasts of St Nicholas (6 December) and St Lucy (13 December). The former is for boys, and the latter is for girls. On these occasions the children dress up in costume and go from house to house singing the appropriate quête song and begging money and sweetmeats. The following figures are examples of these.

M. 408. J



San- ta Llí- cia la bis- bal, tret- ze
di- es, tret- ze di- es, San- ta Llí- cia la bis-
bal, tret- ze di- es d'a- quí a Na- dal. Pan- ses i
fi- gues, nous i o- lí- ves, mel i ma-
tó, ca- ri- tat per Nos- tre Se- nyor.

Santa Llúcia la bisbal, tretze dies, tretze dies; Santa Llúcia la bisbal, tretze dies d'aquí a Nadal: panses i figues, nous i olives, mel i mató:	caritat, per Nostre Senyor; caritat, Sant Pere, caritat, Sant Pau, que venim de Roma, que portem corona de Sant Nicolau; jutge de pau, jutge de pau. ¹
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Figure 41 : Girls' Quête Song³⁸⁹

M. 408. J



Vi- ro- let Sant Pe- re, vi- ro-
let Sant Pau, la ca- put- xaus que- ia, la ca-
put- xaus cau, per Sant Ni- co- lau sius plau.

Cantarella del captiri de Sant Nicolau. Recollida per l'autor a Martorell.
Transcripció musical del mestre J. Tomàs.

Figure 42 : Boys' Quête Song³⁹⁰

8.6 Performers

The evidence of the collections shows that the main sources of collected folk songs have been women, rather than men. This is

³⁸⁹ Amades, Costumari català, V, p. 878.

³⁹⁰ Amades, Costumari català, V, p. 850.

particularly so for the ballads and longer songs. However, there is a large corpus of work songs associated with ploughing, sowing, harvesting, threshing, sheep shearing and other tasks traditionally associated with - and collected from - men. On the other hand, the photographic evidence of the OCPC seems to indicate that instruments (other than percussion and the ximbomba) were almost exclusively played by men.

8.7 Modern Performance

Modern times have changed the circumstances in which traditional music is performed. Higher living standards and education together with improved communications (especially television and the motor car) have largely eliminated the old isolation and self-sufficiency of far-flung villages, and this has necessarily changed the importance of traditional music, dance and song within the community. If these were once the basis of communal recreation, they are now simply one aspect of it. As in other countries, traditional music and song has become more the province of the enthusiast, or reserved for special occasions such as feast days. Concomitant with this is the loss of repertoire through disuse.³⁹¹ Thus the revivalist phenomenon of the folk festival has arrived, such as the annual one at Sobremunt, in which men, women and children sing their songs in the somewhat artificial environment that such a festival engenders, even though the occasion will be hugely enjoyable for all participants.

Performers have also changed. Again, as in other countries, folk groups are emerging who are not tied to any one particular area and who will travel all over Catalonia and beyond performing their music. Such groups include Clau de Lluna and Els Cosins del Sac. Along with this is the rising prominence of female folk instrumentalists such as the violinist Simone Lambregts. Simone, of Dutch origin, lives and teaches in Catalonia and is helping to bring on a new generation of players in traditional style.

These changes are relatively recent; many of the performers were not even born when Franco died. They should not be confused with the Nova Cançó singers who emerged during the Franco years. To be sure, Joan Manuel Serrat and Maria del Mar Bonet produced interesting and valuable recordings of traditional songs, but these were put out as a form of disguised protest: a plea for cultural recognition of the

³⁹¹ Ignasi Roviró, Xavier Roviró & Jaume Aiats, 'Josep Verdaguer Roviretes. Dues èpoques, un flabiolaire', in Revista d'Etnologia de Catalunya, 3 (1993), 40-49 (p. 44).

Països Catalans. With Franco dead and his regime buried with him these singers have concentrated on their own material; traditional song seems to have served their purposes and been dispensed with. Nowadays, the songs have become an articulation of civic society in which tradition remains very strong, as can be seen from the survival of and renewed interest in gegants, castellers and dancing, for example. Yet relative to these, folk-song performance remains weak, despite the richness of the archive. Time will reveal to what degree the revivalists can succeed in returning Catalan traditional song to its former social prominence, or in finding a new role for it.

9 MANIFESTATIONS OF OTHER LANGUAGES

9.1 Introduction

Given that Catalonia straddles the borders of two states whose national language is not Catalan and who have historically oppressed languages other than that perceived as the "national" or state-wide standard, it is hardly surprising to find Castilian and French linguistic invasions in the texts of many Catalan songs. That said, the large quantity of songs predominantly or entirely in Catalan clearly reflects a strongly autonomous tradition and the robust persistence of Catalan language and culture. This is hardly surprising, considering the number of centuries that Catalonia has been an identifiable community if not a political entity. The Catalan language is not, however, simply a vehicle for repressed national identity; nor is Catalan folk song simply a tool for linguistic and cultural education. If it were, one might suppose that the collected texts would be purged of all non-Catalan (and non-standard Catalan) features. Indeed, there have been such attempts, for example by the anthologist Joan Llongueres.³⁹² All living languages absorb elements of others over time and, I would argue, are enriched thereby. By examining Catalan traditional songs for such elements we can trace something of the cultural history of the people whose native language is Catalan and who use it out of preference. In a sense it is like examining the architecture of an old building, observing the changes made by succeeding users and noting how these affect the character of the whole. Examination of the use of languages other than Catalan helps us to identify the core and boundaries of the Catalan folk-song canon, to use Bohlman's terms.³⁹³ To put it another way, it helps us to understand what distinguishes Catalan folk song from the rest, and where it fits in relation to folk song in other languages.

There is a difficulty in making such examination, because we cannot be certain of the extent to which texts have been "massaged" at the whim not only of collectors but also of anthologists and publishers. Pelai Briz, for example, certainly admits to doing so:

D'aquesta cansò n'hem tret alguns versos en rahò de no ser massa morals. Ab tot i aixó, encara alguns n'hi quedan que per no traure lo sentit al tot de la composició 'ls hi deixém.³⁹⁴

³⁹² Oriol Carazo, pp. 80-83.

³⁹³ Bohlman, pp. 30-32.

³⁹⁴ Pelai Briz, I, p. 252.

In addition to the Llongueres case mentioned earlier, there is also the possibility of errors by collectors in the field when encountering foreign words and phrases that need to be distinguished from mere garbling through oral transmission. I raise these difficulties, not because they prevent us from detecting the presence of foreign languages in the Catalan song corpus, but because they prevent us from quantifying accurately how much foreign languages have penetrated it. This is particularly true in the case of Catalan, which shares many words with Castilian and French, both spoken and written.

To take a specific example, volumes VI-VII of Materials contain 527 items. Of these, 16 are just tunes and two are songs with texts purely in Castilian. This leaves 509, of which 83 (16%) are mixed-language: 78 mix Catalan with Castilian and a mere five mix Catalan with French.³⁹⁵ All the rest are in Catalan only. Even though many of the songs in these volumes were collected in or near the Vall d'Aran by the Jaquetti-Carbó missions, I have found no evidence in them of Aranès, a language more closely related to Gascon than to Catalan. These statistics need qualification if they are to be understood. First, the published material represents only about 10% of the songs collected during the missions to which they refer. We do not know the criteria for selection exercised by the OCPC editors, and thus how representative the figures are of the whole. Secondly, the material was collected in Spanish rather than French territories, thus there is a higher probability of Castilian penetration. Thirdly, we need to consider where we are dealing with in the Catalan-speaking lands. The figures I quote refer to missions that took place exclusively in Catalonia itself and in Majorca. However, if we consider the songs collected by the 1924 Sansalvador i Cortés mission to the Concentaina (sic - present-day Cocentaina) area near Alcoi in Valencia, as described in volume III of Materials, we might expect to find greater Castilian influence. Concentaina is, after all, nearer to Andalucia than to Catalonia. In fact, of the 74 songs published, only 19 (26%) show Castilian infiltration. Subject to my first point about editorial selectivity, the evidence of Materials suggests relatively little loss of the Catalan language in songs from further south. Thus any assumption about the degree of likely Castilian penetration based on geography is dangerous.

³⁹⁵ Figures extracted from the song index database produced as part of this research project.

The situation in France is different, but no clearer. The collection of Poueigh, Chansons populaires des Pyrénées Françaises, made in the Cerdanya/Cerdagne and the adjoining area on the French side of the border, reveals great linguistic confusion. In his Etude Générale Préliminaire,³⁹⁶ Poueigh remarks on the lack of linguistic purity of the songs, which can be French with patois influences or vice versa. The patois he says is a "mélange réciproque du gascon et du languedocien", and he adds that Catalan, apart from being contaminated by languedocien is also often larded with Gascon words. To make things even more complicated, the songs often exist in two forms, one basically French and the other basically patois. This may be because the tradition Poueigh was recording was exclusively oral. On the other hand, Canteloube's songs collected in the Roussillon³⁹⁷ are clearly in Catalan and distinguishable as such by their orthography from the songs he collected in Provençal from other parts of southern France. That said, an analysis of some of the Provençal texts reveals them to be close relatives of some in Catalan.

What we can conclude is that both French and Castilian have infiltrated Catalan folksong to a certain extent, irrespective of the current political border between France and Spain, and that in spite of such infiltration a healthy majority of the folk songs of Catalonia and the Balearics are in Catalan only. The situation in Valencia and Alguer (Sardinia) is less clear and is dealt with in the following sections.

9.2 Castilian

I turn now to examine how these infiltrating languages are used within Catalan folk songs, beginning with Castilian. The figures quoted in the previous section relating to the OCPC indicate that Castilian presence is significant. However, the use of the language varies enormously. In some cases only a single word in Castilian has been used in place of its Catalan equivalent, and there seems to be no good reason why, except for the whim of the performer/informant at the time of collection. In other cases given in Materials, it is difficult to know whether a word is in fact Castilian, Catalan dialect or simply non-normative Catalan, given that the songs were collected before Catalan was standardised. All three cases are quite common. L'esposa morta que parla, collected in the Olot region by the Joan Tomàs-

³⁹⁶ Poueigh, p. 28.

³⁹⁷ Joseph Canteloube, Anthologie des chants populaires français, 4 vols (Paris: Durand, 1951), I, pp. 181-221.

Bartolomeu Llongueres mission of 1924,³⁹⁸ provides an example of where it is impossible to tell - bearing in mind that we are dealing with an oral source - where the Catalan stops and the Castilian begins, because of commonalities in vocabulary:

On te'n vas, tu, caballero,
on te'n vas tan dematí?
Vaig a veure l'amor meva,
set anys que no l'he vist.
Ai, Dios de mi,
Quina pena és el morir.

The first two lines in their repetition are typically formulaic after the style of Castilian romances. The phrase Ai, Dios de mi is a curious mixture which is certainly not Catalan (the phrase would be Ai, Déu meu). It seems to be a mixture of the two Castilian interjections ¡Ay de mí! and ¡Ay Dios! It is also noteworthy that the rhythm of the piece in the first four lines follows that used in so many Castilian romances; while this rhythm is not unknown in Catalonia, it is much less common.

At the other extreme we find songs that are basically Castilian but have been Catalanised to a greater or lesser extent. The version of Gerineldo given on p. 265 of Materials volume III falls into the first category; while Silvana, on p. 286 of volume VI falls into the latter. In between, we find a number of interesting variations. Don Francisco, collected in Majorca by the Samper-Morey 1924 mission,³⁹⁹ is a case in point. The plot of this ballad is as follows. The husband goes off hunting, saying he will not return until the next day. He returns home unexpectedly at dead of night and knocks at the door. His wife addresses him from the window asking who he is. He replies that he is her lover Don Francisco. She responds that she will get her servants to let him in. He insists that she come down. She does, and he tells her that he has killed a man who might be her husband. She congratulates him and they continue conversing on the subject of her bastards by Don Francisco until the man reveals himself as her husband. She admits her guilt and he stabs her to death.

³⁹⁸ Materials, III, p. 281.

³⁹⁹ Materials, III, pp. 405-406.

- 1 - Bondat, bondat, senyoreta;
sopar i colgat dejorn;
jo me'n vaig a la caçada,
fins demà vespre no torn. -
Ella sopa i se colga,
fa lo que el seu marit diu;
i mentres se despullava,
a la porta sent toquiú.
- Quién és que toca a la puerta,
- 10 que no me deja dormir?
- Senyora, som Don Francisco,
que la venc a divertir.
- Ahora bajan mis criados
i le vendrán a obrir.
- Yo no quiero tus criados,
sinó que te quiero a ti. -
S'aixecà en camia blanca
i sabateta tapí;
mentres obria sa porta,
- 20 li va apagà el candelí.
- Ben fet, ben fet, Don Francisco;
no ho solia fer-ho així.
- Calla, que n'he mort un homo,
no sé si és el teu marit.
- Ben fet, ben fet, Don Francisco,
i més prest n'haurem sortit.
- Ahora estava pensando
los hijos, ¿de quién seran?
- 30 - Nostros, nostros, Don Francisco,
des petit fins as més gran.
- Ahora estava pensando
de què els haurem de vestir?
- D'una vestidura blanca,
forrada de gambusí. -
L'agafà per la mà blanca,
en el jardí la mení.
- Crida ton pare i ta mare,
si d'ells te vols despedir;
també crida Don Francisco,
- 40 que te vengà a divertir.
- Mon maridet, no em matis,

tres paraules deixa'm dir;
Viudes, casades, donzelles,
no vos 'xequeu a obrir,
que jo m'hi he aixecada
i me costarà morir:
pensant obrî a Don Francisco,
he obert al meu marit. -
Li pega tres punyalades.
50 La primera punyalada
li va pegar a un braç;
li va dir: - Marieta,
de mi te recordaràs. -
La segona punyalada
li va pegâ a ses costelles;
li va dir: - Marieta,
aquestes són ses més belles. -
La tercera punyalada
li va pegâ an es cor;
60 li va dir: - Marieta,
amb aquesta t'he fet bo. -

Here the singer uses different languages to strengthen the plot. The husband announces his departure in Catalan and the narrative continues in the same language, thus establishing the domestic norms. On hearing the knock on the door, the wife begins by speaking in "distant" or "formal" Castilian. She is addressed in familiar Catalan but does not recognise her husband; she responds in the language of her lover, Don Francisco (note: not Francesc). The husband has therefore given his wife the opportunity to catch him out. During the discussion about the children, she speaks mainly in Catalan (emphasising familiarity) while he speaks mainly in Castilian (preserving his fiction). Once the husband drops his mask, Castilian has served its purpose and is no longer used.

Though the song is mainly in Catalan, the overlap with Castilian is noticeable. The above text is reproduced exactly as it appears in Materials, and reveals a deficiency in the original editorial work. This song was collected from the oral tradition, and from the meaning it is clear that a number of words written as Catalan should have been highlighted as Castilian. The most obvious cases occur in lines 10, 16 and 27, which should be rendered que no me deja dormir, sino que te quiero a tí and Ahora estaba pensando respectively.

A somewhat similar case of language mixture and code-switching by the singer will be found in La cautiva rescatada pel seu germà. This is a very widespread song, more often known under the title of Els dos germans. There are several versions of it given in volume III of Materials. They vary from being wholly Catalan texts to others entirely in Castilian, but a mixed-language version collected in the Cervera region by the Barberà-Bohigas mission of 1924⁴⁰⁰ is particularly interesting. The plot in brief is that a girl is captured by the Moors and set to do menial tasks. When washing clothes in the river she is rescued by a knight who turns out in the course of conversation to be her brother. In this version, the girl uses much more Castilian when declaring her noble birth to the knight. This code-switching may be an indication of the singer's association of Castilian with the language of the nobility, in contradistinction to Catalan. It may also be, as noted in the previous example, a kind of formality introduced via the choice of language rather than via the use of the usted/vostè form, as the rescued girl tries to establish some social distance between herself and her rescuer.

Distinction of a different kind is found in La pastora i el cavaller, again collected in Majorca by Samper and Morey, but this time on their 1926 mission.⁴⁰¹ This song is also reproduced exactly as given in Materials.

- ¿Por dónde iba el camino
que conduce a la ciudad?
- Ai, senyor, vostè ara el deixa
per altra part de costat.
- Vamos en el bosque, niña,
y a la sombra de un pinar.
- No hi vull anar que no veja
los ditxosos animals.
- Si lo haces de esta manera,
doncellita quedarás.
- Ai, senyor, si mor fadrina
corones me posaran.
- Vamos en el bosque, niña,
y allí nadie nos verá.
- Ses parets tenen orelles
i els ocells ho cantaran.

⁴⁰⁰ Materials, III, pp. 256-257.

⁴⁰¹ Materials, VII, pp. 196-197.

- Si lo haces de esta manera,
doncellita quedarás.
- Ai, senyor, si mor fadrina
corones me posaran.
- Árbol que no hace fruto,
Dios lo manda castigar.
- També mana que castiga
qui menja del fruit privat.

Here we have a dialogue between a Castilian man and a Majorcan maid. The structure is in couplets that alternate between his somewhat repetitious attempts in Castilian to get her into the woods to seduce her, and her virtuous rebuttal in Catalan. This is no riddling or argument-capping song like Les transformacions, in which the girl eventually succumbs, but is a straightforward moralistic argument which puts Castilian firmly on the side of sin. The repetitious aspect of the Castilian is also interesting, because it is clear that the man never replies directly to the girl's answer but counters by simple repetition. Although it could be that he is not interested in what she has to say, it could also be simply that he does not understand Catalan. There is another level of meaning here therefore, in that she is his superior because she understands him, but not vice versa. The linguistic parallel reinforces the moral argument: she understands his desires, but he does not understand hers. The use of language as a structural element also eases any requirement for other features to distinguish the speech of the two characters, such as the repetitive alternative refrain lines viudeta igual/valga'm Déu val found in the dialogue of El comte Arnau, for example.

The position of Castilian is quite different in Valencia because there are areas of the Comunitat that are purely Castilian-speaking. The effects of having two languages are quite different from those found in other parts of the Països Catalans. There is no question of one language asserting its superiority over the other. Interestingly, however, there are not many truly mixed-language songs, by which I mean songs where Valencian is larded with Castilian words and vice versa. Instead, songs are either in one language or the other, for the most part. However, there are numerous examples of language-switching between verse and chorus. The verse may be almost entirely Castilian, and the chorus or estribillo almost entirely Valencian, or vice versa. This suggests perhaps that there is some form of social kudos associated with singing the solo in the "foreign" language, while the rest of the people who join in sing the "local" language. This is true

of both adult songs and children's songs. Here is an example of a children's song from Aldaia:

El sereno i la serena
se n'aren a peixcar
i peixcaren una anguila
i se la feren p'a sopar
estribillo
Sereno con el tururut
ha venido un perro
El sereno de la Puerta 'el Sol
sube a la escalera y se apagó el farol.⁴⁰²

At first glance at the map of the distribution of the Catalan language family (above, Figure 1) one might imagine that most songs collected in the Comunitat Valenciana were in Valencian Catalan, at least in those areas where the latter was the dominant language. However, this does not seem to be the case at all, at least from the material examined so far. The evidence of the almost 1300 songs in Salvador Seguí's Cancionero musical de Valencia points to something quite different. The table below, Figure 43, shows the songs of this collection. The first obvious result to be seen is that in general, songs in Valencian Catalan are in the minority, which is an indication of cultural pressure on the language. The other remarkable feature is how few ballads are in - or even partly in - Valencian. Why should this be, and does it have any implications for Catalonia and the Balearics?

The first thing to examine is where the ballads were collected, since Valencia is roughly evenly divided into Valencian and non-Valencian speaking areas. The locations are shown below in Figure 44. It is clear that there is no correlation between the use of Castilian for ballads and the linguistic divide. If we refer again to the table, we also notice that festive songs (which includes drinking songs and other forms of merriment) are much more biased towards the use of Valencian. Although I have not plotted the locations for these songs, the evidence seems to suggest that there is some social association between language and song type. One such association is that ballads are sung in Castilian. This might explain the relative paucity of

⁴⁰² Carles Pitarch Alfonso & Antoni Andrés Ferrandis, eds., Aldaia, Cuadernos de música folklórica valenciana (tercera época), 1 (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, Diputació Provincial de Valencia, 1998), p. 50.

narrative ballads in Catalan, if the custom has been to create such songs in Castilian, just as in the early Middle Ages it was conventional in courtly circles to write poems and songs in Gallego-Portuguese. Of course, this is by no means the only explanation. According to Martí de Riquer, Castilian ballads have been permeating Catalonia since the 15th century; the older the song, the more linguistically Catalan it has become.⁴⁰³ Thus the more recent the infiltration of a song, the fewer Catalanisms it contains. This is an interesting idea, and might apply to (say) the Empordà region, but is not very satisfactory in the case of Valencia with its linguistic divide. There is also the possible recent effect of popular anthologies such as the Flor nueva de romances viejos of Menéndez Pidal. Nevertheless, the apparent popularity of the ballad in Castilian raises an interesting question about collecting by the OCPC: did the collectors collect everything, or did they concentrate on Catalan material, ignoring (or at least being less diligent in collecting) any obviously Castilian songs?

Song Category	At least partly Valencian Catalan	Total	Proportion
Lullabies	49	77	64%
Children's songs	132	290	46%
Easter songs	36	56	64%
Group outdoor & quête songs	35	114	31%
Ballads	3	69	4%
Street cries	25	53	47%
Festive songs	101	133	76%
Agricultural work songs	24	72	33%
Dance songs	42	98	43%
Carols	50	144	35%
Hymns	20	192	10%
Total	517	1298	40%

Figure 43 : Valencian Songs Categorised by Language

⁴⁰³ Martí de Riquer, Història de la literatura catalana, Vol. III (1964), pp. 553, 556.

None of these questions can be answered until more work is done. The statistical sample is not large, and needs reinforcing with the evidence of Seguí's corresponding cancioneros of Castelló and Alacant. For example, the collection from Cocentaina by Picó Pascual⁴⁰⁴ contains few ballads and they are in Valencian Catalan, so there is at least one inconsistency to resolve. To answer the question about the OCPC, the full archive of material at Montserrat needs to be examined.

⁴⁰⁴ Miguel Ángel Picó Pascual, ed., Cocentaina, Cuadernos de música folklórica valenciana (tercera época), 2 (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, Diputació Provincial de Valencia, 1999), pp. 79-87.



Figure 44 : Sources of Ballads in the Cancionero Musical de la provincia de Valencia of Seguí

9.3 French

Excluding the Provençal influences, which I deal with separately, French appears much less often than Castilian in Catalan folk songs in anthologies from both sides of the border. The pattern of use seems to be much the same as with Castilian, in that the foreign language appears in conjunction with a foreign song, or within a song to introduce a stranger in an encounter. Of the former type, a good

example is Mambrut (or Mambrú), which is a Catalan version of the French song Malbrouk s'en vat-t-en guerre. The following version given on p. 296 of Materials volume VII was collected in San Feliu de Guixols in 1927.

Mambrut s'en va a la guerra,
bom, viva l'amor,
no sé quan revindrè
viva l'amor
que viva la rosa
no sé quan revindrè
viva la rosa del roser.
Si revindrè a la Pasqua
o a la Trenidé.
La Trenidé se passa
Mambrut no revindrè.
Ja veu venir son patge
que nouvel·la porté
-La nova que jo porto
jo no lo te la diré.
Mambrut és mort en guerra
és mort i enterré
jo le vi mort en terra
per quatre officiers.
La'n porta la carossa
l'altre son gradiller
la un porta son sabre
l'altre no en porta rié.
I a l'entorn de sa tomba
le romaní han planté
i a la branxa més alta
lo rossinyol xanté.

This song is interesting linguistically for two reasons. First, there is no real attempt at French orthography, although words like branxa and Trenidé are clearly the French branche and Trinité. Secondly it illustrates the -é ending of many of the lines. This is a common phenomenon found in songs in several other collections, for example La mala nova in Bohigas⁴⁰⁵, La nena virtuosa in Milà i

⁴⁰⁵ Bohigas, I, p. 39.

Fontanals⁴⁰⁶ and La porqueyrola in Pelai Briz.⁴⁰⁷ It is sometimes said to be a Gallicism, although there is some disagreement on the matter. Pelai Briz declares it to be nothing of the sort,⁴⁰⁸ although support for the Gallicism idea appears again in a more recent (1996) anthology, Lo molinar, produced by the Carrutxa research group.⁴⁰⁹ An examination of the text of Mambrut shows that the -é ending is more of an affectation than a Gallicism, since it does not convert the words into true French; rié is clearly the French rien, for example, and while it is possible that xanté is used for chantait, chante seems more likely, given the tenses of the other verbs. Furthermore, the song example given in Lo molinar was collected in the province of Teruel in Aragon, and is a mixture of Catalan and Castilian; thus the use in this song of -é endings seems to me more stylistic than linguistic. On balance, therefore, I agree with Pelai Briz. I concede, however, that an -é ending may sound French (or Provençal) to some native Catalan speakers.

The second kind of song, where French is used to identify a stranger in a dialogue, is well illustrated by La pastorel·la,⁴¹⁰ in which a soldier returning from the wars greets a shepherdess with a bonjour asking her if she could fancy a joli pastor. She will have none of him, recognising him by his accoutrements as a soldier and no shepherd. She fobs him off with a date the following day, to which she of course does not turn up.

9.4 Provençal

As a result of the muddle of languages that Poueigh describes it is quite impossible to say where Catalan ends and Provençal begins - even if they are to be treated as separate languages, which they are generally understood to be. What is certain from the collections of Poueigh and Canteloube is that there has been free interchange of songs throughout Catalonia and the pays d'oc. The first two volumes of Canteloube's collection, which cover (among others) the areas of Provence, the Auvergne, the Comté de Foix, Languedoc and the Roussillon, contain almost every kind of song found in Spanish Catalonia, including many specific relatives. Parallels can be found in other collections too; for example, the cumulative song La

⁴⁰⁶ Milà, Romancer català, p. 127.

⁴⁰⁷ Pelai Briz, I, p. 169.

⁴⁰⁸ Pelai Briz, I, p. 175.

⁴⁰⁹ Borau, p. 248.

⁴¹⁰ Capmany, Cançoners populars, II, no. LII.

Margaridon on p. 118 of Chansons de l'Auvergne⁴¹¹ is a very close relative of Aquest polidet peu... on p. 35 of volume IV of the Cançoner popular de Mallorca, as shown in the following excerpts from each, contrasted with the version on p. 66 of volume VII of Materials. The differences are more to do with orthography and textual variance (a pretty foot rather than a tiny one, for example) rather than language. In terms of geography, these versions are from Majorca, from the Auvergne and from the south of Catalonia.

(Cançoner popular de Mallorca)

....
De la polida cama
de Na Margalideta.
Cama llongueta,
peu polidó,
garidondodó, Margalidó!
....

(Chansons de l'Auvergne)

....
Quanha gente camba
qu'a la Margaridon.
Camba longueta
E lo pè petiton
de la Margaridon
....

(Materials vol. VII)

....
Qui li'n tocarà la cama
i a la Margalideta?
Qui li'n tocarà la cama
i a la Margalideta?
Cama galana
peu petitó
lairó laireta
peu petitó
lairó lairó
....

I have found no songs that distinguish Catalan speakers from Provençal speakers in the manner I have described for French and Castilian. Since, however, the socio-political overtones of French and Castilian in relation to Catalan are missing with Provençal, this is perhaps not surprising.

⁴¹¹ Alain Bruel, Didier Huguet, Jean-Claude Rocher, Chansons de l'Auvergne (Orlhac: Ostal del Libre, 1996).

9.5 Sardinian (Italian)

The island of Sardinia retains a Catalan-speaking enclave centred on Alguer. There is not a great deal of publicly-available information on folk song from this area, and the following analysis is based on the commercial recordings by the group Càlic. Many of its songs are written or arranged by members of the group, but some are traditional. Interestingly, the modern written songs in Catalan appear to use relatively normative grammar and vocabulary; this may be because of the proximity of the Balearics and the market that it offers for the group's music. The traditional lyrics, however, reveal infiltration of Sardinian words into otherwise Catalan texts, and it must be noted here that Sardinian is itself a distinctive dialect of Italian. Furthermore, some lyrics that are basically Sardinian employ Catalan words and phrases. The following song, Mariner, is essentially a cross between Blancaflor and Les transformacions.⁴¹² The tune bears some superficial resemblance to the version of Blancaflor recorded by Maria del Mar Bonet.⁴¹³ The words are basically Catalan, but with some local non-normative linguistic variations. The orthography shown is as given in the notes accompanying the recording.

Mariner, bon mariner, Deu vos dongui abundancia
haveu vist i coneixut el meu amador de França?
Jo l'he vist i l'he parlat i un'ambaixada m'ha dat
un'ambaixada m'ha dat, que vos cerqueu altro amor.
I fa set anys jo he esperat i altres set l'espero encara,
si en aqueixos set no vé, monja me troba posada,
monja del monastir sant que te 'l nom de Santa Clara.
I si vos us poseu monja, jo me posaré fraret
i al convent de la Mercé vos prengaré en confessió.
I si vos us poseu fraret jo me farè un'anguileta,
jo me farè un'anguileta i m'en anigaré nedant.
I si vos us feu anguileta, jo me faré pescador
jo me faré pescador i vos prengaré pescant,
i veniu vos la mia bella, que jo so lo vostro amant.

Sardinia has its own variations on the theme of serenades, called muttos. These verses are generally of an amorous nature and are often

⁴¹² Terres de Mar. Càlic. 1995. CD LDL 743. Track 6.

⁴¹³ Cançons de Festa. Side A track 2.

improvised.⁴¹⁴ Here is a traditional verse from one such song.⁴¹⁵ The infiltration of Sardinian/Italian words is more noticeable than in the previous example:

I a l'estany del Càlic
la gioccura i la llissa
so anat per pescar.
I a l'estany del Càlic
han embutjat lo riu
i han gittat lo xiu
la gioccura i la llissa
no és bona de menjar
la tens de gittar.

From the (admittedly small amount of) evidence it would appear that the languages of Sardinia, which include Catalan, are now inextricably linked. It seems doubtful that a genuinely separate Catalan folk-song tradition exists there, although there are clearly links to the Catalan mainstream.

9.6 English

The island of Minorca was occupied by the British for almost the whole of the 18th century. It is therefore interesting to find an example of English used in a folk song from there on p. 343 of volume VIII of Materials. The notes made by Baltasar Samper, who collected the song in 1927, indicate that the song was obtained from the curate of Sant Lluís, who learnt it from some peasants in Biniancollet. The song came from their grandfathers, who knew it as one of their "Latin songs," and it had thus come down at least two generations.

The song is interesting on a number of counts. First, in spite of oral transmission, the words are relatively ungarbled. Second, either the priest who passed on the song knew no English or he was broad-minded! Here are the words of the song.

⁴¹⁴ As with gloses, an Internet search using muttos as the keyword with the Google search engine (www.google.com) will reveal many examples of the genre.

⁴¹⁵ Terres de Mar. Càlic. Track 1.

Mai fader
Mai mader
Mai sister
Mai güel.
Di missis
per doblis
per bõttil
de ueny
Crit: De ueny!
De tu
de titali tenc
D'espeny inglesmeny
ueng, de tu,
de tiquili tenc.
Guimes
per doblis
de bõttils
de uels
Crit: De ueny!
Crit: Foc a l'inglis!

The words have been transcribed from the music score given in Materials and not from the text given underneath it, since the former is the collected information, not the result of later editing. This is an excellent example of where the editing of Massot is of real benefit, because we can see the music score and text as collected on the mission. A case in point is the word inglis which makes more sense in a macaronic song than inglès, which is what appears in the edited text. Replacing the accented -è- with an unaccented -i- shifts the stress to the first syllable, so that the word sounds like "English". Pronunciation is key to my interpretation, which is given in the following glossary.

Original word/phrase	Interpretation
Mai	<u>My</u>
fader	<u>father</u>
mader	<u>mother</u>
güel	<u>girl</u>
Di	<u>The</u>
missis	<u>missus</u> (= mistress = wife)
per	<u>pay</u> or <u>per</u>
doblis	obsolete copper coins (<u>doblers</u>)
bòtil	<u>bottle</u>
de	<u>the</u> or <u>of</u>
ueny, ueng	<u>wine</u>
titali tenc	<u>titillating</u>
espeny	<u>Spain</u>
inglesmeny	<u>Englishmen</u>
tiquili tenc	<u>tickling</u> (garbled)
Guimes	<u>Guineas</u>
uels	<u>girls</u>

I have discussed this song with Josep Massot, the general editor of Materials. He conceded⁴¹⁶ that he saw no meaning in the words other than a parallel to a common saying in the Balearics about the English language:

S'inglès és molt fàcil. Veri güel vol dir Miquel, veri gut vol dir llaüt, i tot lo altre com noltros.

In fact, the only thing the saying has in common is the word güel. In the above example the English phrases are, of course "very well" and "very good."

Most of my interpretations are straightforward and, I believe, uncontentious. However, taking uels to mean "girls" may be less so. I have taken it by its similarity to güel that appears earlier. Clearly, to make any sense neither of these words relates to "well" as in Massot's example. Taken all together, then, the meaning of the words is quite explicit, if lacking in grammatical sense, and says, "My family can buy wine for coppers. You sell wine and titillation to Englishmen coming over from Spain. Now you want payment in guineas not doblers. Give us the wine, and to hell with all English!" What we have here in my view is a tavern or brothel song relating to the singer's

⁴¹⁶ Letter to me dated 14 June 1999.

unwillingness to pay the inflated prices brought about by the British military occupation. It is not a British song; I imagine it to be locally composed in Minorca. It dates probably from the 18th or early 19th century; the second verse refers to Englishmen coming from Spain, as happened during the Peninsular War. Likely as not, the officers would have had guineas to spend instead of the local currency. I have checked my interpretation with Massot, who in a letter to me said that he found it bastant plausible. He differs, however, in the interpretation of doblis, which he takes to mean dobles rather than doblers. In context this will mean either doubled prices or double guineas. He may be right.

Although off the subject of language, the music of the song is also interesting, in that the first verse has a different tune to the second (assuming we divide the song at the first cry). The second tune I do not recognise, but the first is clearly the well-known tune used for the Lourdes hymn, Immaculate Mary. The miraculous visions of Bernadette Soubirous occurred in 1858 and the Pope declared them authentic in 1862. The tune is quoted in hymn books as being "French traditional" and the words are anonymous. I do not know at what stage the Lourdes hymn became popular; it may be later than when this strange macaronic song was collected in Minorca. Today, of course, such a combination of tune and words is likely to appear highly irreverent to devout Roman Catholics.

According to Massot, this song is an isolated instance; he knows of no other English/Catalan macaronic songs in the OCPC materials, published or unpublished, or indeed in any other collection. I have not encountered any other occurrences of English in Catalan folk songs either, nor have I encountered any evidence of a tradition of anti-English satire. It would be interesting to research the matter in Minorca.

9.7 Other Languages

As for other languages, there are a few songs with Latin and Greek references drawn from the Mass, as might be expected in an area whose religion is dominated by Roman Catholicism. Thus we find, for example, Kyrie eleison as a chorus line in the Christmas carol Esta nit és nit de vetlla⁴¹⁷ and as a refrain in the nonsense Carnival song Pallary pica-foch.⁴¹⁸ There is also the mock Latin of the Patantúm song

⁴¹⁷ Crivillé, Música tradicional catalana, II, p. 68.

⁴¹⁸ Poueigh, p. 181.

mentioned earlier.⁴¹⁹ I have found no evidence of Arabic in any of the songs, although the case for Arab influence on Catalan folk music is clear, as described in Section 7.1.

⁴¹⁹ See above, p. 110.

10 ODDITIES IN THE CATALAN FOLK-SONG CORPUS

10.1 Introduction

This thesis sets out a general panorama of the traditional songs of the Països Catalans. However, broad-brush generalisations, no matter how valid, must not be allowed to obscure or conceal significant anomalies or idiosyncrasies, since these are just as much a part of the picture. The Catalan folk-song corpus, like any other, contains oddities of its own. In the previous chapter I drew attention to one, the English macaronic song from Minorca, but there are others, which I deal with now.

10.2 Musical Escapes

The case of the song Mambrú, which has travelled all over Europe in sundry forms, was covered earlier. This particular song has simply spread, country by country. There are, however, examples in the Valencian corpus that have obviously come from England, possibly directly. The first comes from Xàtiva⁴²⁰ and is instantly recognisable from the tune to any Briton, irrespective of any knowledge of a foreign language, and no further description is necessary.

Londres es crema

Játiva

The musical score is written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The tempo is marked as quarter note = 112. The melody consists of two staves. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across notes. The lyrics are: Lon-dre's cre—ma, Lon-dre's cre—ma cor—rem hi cor—rem hi fa, fa, fa, fa que li s'a—ca—bael ai—gua.

Figure 45 : Londres es crema

The second example is a recording of tune collected in Sagunt⁴²¹ and given the title Ball de Lanceros. This is quite unmistakably Thomas D'Urfey's Would ye have a young virgin of fifteen years, dating from 1709. The question naturally arises as to how these two got to Valencia. It is perfectly possible, of course, that they spread down through France, just as Mambrú did. However, there is another possibility. During the Napoleonic wars, British troops were stationed in various locations in Valencia, and it seems likely that the local people would have acquired English tunes as a result. I have

⁴²⁰ Seguí, Cancionero, p. 456.

⁴²¹ Fonoteca de Materials, Algar-Sagunt-Mutxamel-L'Alcúdia-Canet d'en Berenguer. Cassette DMFC 035 Side B track 3.

previously remarked⁴²² on the possibility of the opposite effect, that the tune to the English song Spencer the Rover has its origin in a Catalan caramelles tune.⁴²³ It is pleasant to speculate that such harmonious musical exchange arose from the discord of war. Nevertheless, one wonders if the worthies of Sagunt dancing the Lanceros had any idea of the lascivious nature of the song to the tune of which they were dancing!

10.3 The Serrana

This anomaly originates in medieval Castile. The 14th century Libro de buen amor of the Archpriest of Hita contains early examples of the goig, illustrating the fact that this song form is not a purely Catalan phenomenon. The same book also contains examples of the serrana, a song genre related to the pastourelle of French, Provençal and Gallego-Portuguese. In the burlesque form favoured by Juan Ruiz, it relates the story of a man who visits the countryside and encounters a hill girl (una serrana) whose shortness of skirt is matched by her fondness for copulation. She is characterised by a rough manner and physical strength that exceeds that of the man, so that eventually he considers himself lucky to escape her clutches.⁴²⁴

The serrana has its origins in courtly literature. Even there, it is something of an educated man's joke,⁴²⁵ with the socially privileged lover visiting the world of his inferiors to be charmed, gratified or rebuffed there, according to the turn the poem takes. This pattern can be clearly seen in the serranillas of the 15th century Marqués de Santillana, for example La serrana de Boxmediano.⁴²⁶ Given that Catalan folk songs (and particularly those collected by the OCPC) tend to be collected from ordinary working people in a rural environment, it is surprising to find a serrana among them. Nevertheless, here it is:⁴²⁷

⁴²² Simon Furey, Spencer the Rover: An Old Soldier? ? in Centenary Conference of the Folk Song Society, Sheffield, 1998 (Aberdeen: Elphinstone Institute, 2002)(in publication).

⁴²³ Pelai Briz, IV, p. 141.

⁴²⁴ Arcipreste de Hita, Libro de Buen Amor, ed. G. B. Gybbon-Monypenny (Madrid: Castalia, 1988), p. 308 et seq.

⁴²⁵ A. D. Deyermond, A Literary History of Spain: The Middle Ages (London: Benn, 1971), pp. 184-185.

⁴²⁶ Marqués de Santillana, Obras completas, ed. Ángel Gómez Moreno & Maximilian P. A. M. Kerkhof (Barcelona: Planeta, 1988), pp. 3-4.

⁴²⁷ Materials, VI, p. 268.

28. LA SERRANA

(♩ = 104)

A les mun-ta-nyes de l'o-ro, les muntanyes de Flo-
rèn-cia, n'hi ha-vi-a u-na ser-ra-na que e-ra blan-ca i no mo-
re-na. *Ai-re, que m'hi dó-nes ai-re, ai-re, que m'hi dó-nes pe-na.*

A les muntanyes de l'Oro,
les muntanyes de Florència,
n'hi havia una serrana
que era blanca i no morena.
*Aire, que m'hi dones aire,
aire, que m'hi dones pena.*
N'hi havia una serrana
que era blana i no morena;
portava el vestido curto
per a anar *más aligera*.
Quan ella gusta d'un hombre,
baixa baix a la riera,
i un dia, per *mi fortuna*,
jo m'hi encontro *con ella*.
— Vols venir, lo eixiquito?
Vols venir dalt de mi serra?
— Ni per ser linda senyora,
gran ditxa fóra la meva. —

Quan ne fórem pel camino,
tantes cruces que jo veia.
— De què són aqueixes cruces,
tantes cruces que jo veio?
— Estes cruces son de hombres,
maridos que yo n'hai muerto.
El mateix faré de tu
quan l'amor ne serà *fuera*. —
Mo n'anàrem b'un hostel,
un gran sopar que n'hi fèrem,
i en fèrem un gran sopar
de conills i de llebretes.
Quan ne som a mig sopar,
ella s'és adormideta.
Tot a poquitu, poquito
li poso el cap en terra;
quan ella s'ha despertat,
jo ja fóra a llunyes terres.

Maria Bagué, Olot.

Figure 46 : La Serrana

The song has the characteristic plot of a true serrana: the wild mountain girl in a short skirt offers herself to the man visiting from the outside but terrifies him. The song was collected by Joan Tomàs in Olot in 1925 from Maria Bagué, a lady who gave him the remarkable number of 144 songs. These include ballads, either whole or fragmentary, one of which was a version of the ubiquitous Gerineldo. As with the latter, La serrana is a mixture of Catalan and Castilian, and thus belongs to the mixed-language songs described above on page 183. It has a strict octosyllabic format, rather than the more usual alternating 7/8 and 8/7 of Catalan songs. The music is in the Ionian mode (or major key) and has strong melodic similarities to the well-known bourrée in the Terpsichore of Michael Praetorius. It may therefore be thought of as having affinities with the mainstream of European courtly music.

The serrana or wild woman concept also occurs in a version of Els tres segadors given in Folklore del Lluçanès⁴²⁸ and which begins:

El conde de Figols tiene una hija muy serrana

Els tres segadors is very common. It tells of three reapers who come over the hill to a farm to find work. The youngest (and naturally the most handsome) lad is invited in by the lady or daughter of the house to mow her meadow, the sexual innuendo being quite explicit. This particular version is almost entirely in Castilian and as such is unusual within the catalanoparlant regions. As a result, it is suspected by the Grup de recerca folklòrica d'Osona of being a folk-song parody. It may be that the serrana reference in Els tres segadors indicates a girl of hoydenish tendencies, the idea of which comes from knowledge of La serrana in the tradition.

So what of the song entitled La serrana? The first thing to notice is that the plot structure is unusual. The story begins in the narrative third person, describing a girl who comes down from the mountain for sexual encounter. It then moves into the first person at the meeting with I-as-protagonist. As far as I am aware, this is unique in Catalan folk song (there are some that move from the third to the first person, e.g. El Serraller,⁴²⁹ but the subject does not change). We then move into the nightmarish landscape of the man passing the graves of the dead husbands, which then leads to the comic dénouement of him creeping away from the inn leaving the girl slumbering. This comic plot is also unique in Catalan folk song. To be sure, there are other comic songs in the corpus, such as El pobre banya, but their humour is of a much more direct sort. The plot structure of La serrana is also remarkably complete; apart from the language mixture, there appear to be no distortions, non-sequiturs or lacunae as might be expected in a song that had been transmitted through generations of the oral tradition. I therefore suspect that this is an erudite fake of some late date, probably the 19th century. The question then naturally arises as to where the song could have originated. The version given above was collected in Olot, a sizeable town that is the capital of the Garrotxa district. Olot is situated at the head of the Fluvià valley, which opens out on to the plains of Empordà. Thus it has never been difficult to get there from, say, Girona or Barcelona. It is also not far from the old university and

⁴²⁸ Vilarmau, p. 245.

⁴²⁹ Milà, Romancer català, p. 57.

seminary town of Vic, which is at the bottom of a valley no more than a day's ride away on muleback. When we also take into account the fact that mountain roads frequently have crosses by the sides of them, marking the graves of travellers who have died in accidents or when caught in bad weather, and that there is often an inn at the top of the pass, the scene is set for a travelling songsmith with reasonable imagination and a decent education to create our serrana. The song was also widespread in Empordà, as Amades reported;⁴³⁰ this is consistent with the picture of ease of communications. However, six versions of the song are also given by Milà i Fontanals in his Romancerillo catalán but omitted from his Romancer, and their origins are not always clear. However, they include Ripoll or Sant Joan de les Abadesses, Agramunt or Bellpuig (north of Cervera), and Llacuna (south west of Igualada).⁴³¹ The last two are exceptional, since they are far from the other collection sites. It is not inconceivable that the song was brought by people who came from the north, although it might have been widespread throughout Catalonia at one time. Nevertheless, the available evidence from the collections suggests that the song is localised in origin.

In conclusion, then, I suspect that La serrana given in the OCPC is the folk equivalent of a "garden escape" - a courtly or academic conceit that has escaped its cultured origins, and survived in the wild for the best possible reason: it is a good song.

10.4 Musical Dislocation

The second anomaly in the Catalan song corpus concerns rhythm. Anyone who has observed the national Catalan dance, the sardana, will have noticed its most peculiar feature: the dancers do not seem to dance in time to the music, yet the circles of dancers are all dancing in time with each other. In fact, they are dancing to a rhythm which only coincides with that of the accompanying music after a certain fixed number of bars, the quantity depending on the particular dance or part of it. It follows, therefore, that the Catalans are likely to have a highly-developed rhythmical sense. I invite anyone who doubts this to try the dance for themselves! Indeed, one of the things I first noticed when I began to take an interest in Catalan folk songs was the complexity of some of their rhythms. It is with a manifestation of this complexity that I now deal.

⁴³⁰ Materials, IX, p. 260.

⁴³¹ Materials, I:1, pp. 28-31.

I am not concerned here with the specificities of syllabic rhythms, which have already been dealt with in some depth by others.⁴³² What I am interested in are the rhythms and metre in relation to entire lines. The ballad L'estudiant de Vic is a case in point. The following version is taken from Folklore de Catalunya: Cançoner of Joan Amades. It is a sad tale of a widow who is courted by a young man who is sent away to become a priest:

3.242.—L'ESTUDIANT DE VIC

M. 6/8.

U. na can-çó vull can- tar u-
na can-çó no- vai lin- da d'un
es- tu- di- ant de Vic que en
fes- te- ja- va- na viu- da. *Bon*
a- mor a- deu- si au- co-
lor de ro- sa flo- ri- da bon
a- mor a- deu- si au- '

Una cançó vull cantar,
una cançó nova i linda,
d'un estudiant de Vic,
que en festejava una viuda.
Bon amor, adéu-siau,
color de rosa florida.
Bon amor, adéu-siau.
La viuda s'hi vol casar,
el seu pare no ho volia;
l'estudiant se n'és anat
a servir una rectoria.
Quan la viuda ho va saber,
tingué llarga malaltia.
La viudeta se'n va a l'hort,
en un jardí que hi tenia,
un jardí de totes flors,
rosa vera i satàlia.
A la vora del jardí
un roseret n'hi havia;
a la vora del roser,
la viuda s'hi adormia;
ja en passava un rossinyol

Figure 47 : L'estudiant de Vic (Fragment)

The above text is a fragment of the complete song, but is enough for our purposes. Notice that in general every second line ends in an assonating -i-a, and the syllable count is a more or less consistent

⁴³² See, for example, Jaume Aiats, 'El ritme g.s. 1212: un cas notable de giusto sil·làbic en les cançons baladístiques de la comarca d'Osona', in Actes del col·loqui sobre cançó tradicional, Reus, 1990, pp. 93-109. See also Rövenstrunck, pp. 40-63.

alternating 7/8. These are standard romance features and thus there is nothing unconventional about the verse text structure as written.

If we now look at the music, two things are very apparent. First, the rhythm is uneven; listening to the song reveals that the mixture of 9/8 and 3/8 rhythms is only a written approximation. The following diagram shows the musical phrasing.

3.242.—L'ESTUDIANT DE VIC
M. 68. 6.

Figure 48 : Musical Structure of l'estudiant de Vic

We can see that the tune contains only three different musical phrases: a, b and c. These form a pattern abc bcb c. If we superimpose these phrases on the words, we get a most odd result:

Una cançó vull cantar,	a
una cançó nova i linda,	b+c
d'un e studiant de Vic,	b+c
que en festejava una viuda.	b+c
<i>Bon a mor, adéu-siau,</i>	b+c
<i>color de rosa florida.</i>	b+c
<i>Bon a mor, adéu-siau.</i>	b+c
La viuda s'hi vol casar,	a
el seu pare no ho volia;	b+c
l'e studiant se n'és anat	b+c
a servir una rectoria.	b+c
<i>Bon a mor, adéu-siau,</i>	b+c
<i>color de rosa florida.</i>	b+c
<i>Bon a mor, adéu-siau.</i>	b+c

Figure 49 : Phrasing of l'estudiant de Vic

If we first take the b and c phrases together in pairs as marked by the horizontal lines in the diagram, we notice that the end of a verse does not occur at a musical phrase end. The chorus is simply absorbed into an extended verse. Indeed, there is no separate tune for the chorus. If we then take the b and c phrases separately, we notice that the end of the b phrase happens in the middle of a word: a/mor and e/studiant.

What this means is that we have a clear structure for the words and a clear structure for the tune, but they do not fit. Indeed, we might write the metrical structure of the words as sung in the following form:

Una cançó vull cantar;
una cançó nova i linda d'un e
studiant de Vic
que festejava una viuda bon a
mor adéu-siau
color de rosa florida bon a
mor adéu siau.

Part of the charm of this song is its apparent freedom. Yet it is not free; it simply has an unconventional combination of words and music. Here, perhaps, we have a song parallel to the sardana, but instead of the circles of dancers not following the tune, it is the lines of text that do not. The layout used above for writing the words of L'estudiant de Vic makes a convenient "shorthand" to demonstrate the effect.

An alternative breakdown of musical phrasing is possible, if we ignore the note lengths and simply take the melodic contours. In such a case, we could end up with a word structure that matches the tune structure. Furthermore, it is certainly the case that traditional singers take liberties with melody and rhythm during performance. I am not convinced that such liberties have been taken in this case for the following reasons. First, the unconventional structure described above is sung consistently throughout the song. Where traditional singers take liberties with rhythm and melody, in my experience such liberties are not consistent throughout a song, but will occur in occasional verses (generally as an alternative to melisma, where an odd syllable count has to be taken care of) and will vary verse by verse. Secondly, the pauses in the song are clearly defined as sung; there is no room for alternative phrasing without ignoring the rhythm of the tune. I do not believe that one can ignore the natural pauses. Thirdly, this song

is found in a number of collections from different sources: Milà i Fontanals, Pelai Briz, Amades, Alió, and others.⁴³³ That said, there is a one-verse fragment in Llorens that has pauses in the more conventional positions, and has a very similar tune. However, these pauses are additional to the pauses found in the version already discussed. Because of this fact, and because there are several collected complete versions with the "odd" structure, it could be that the Llorens fragment is an attempted rationalisation based on poor recall of the original.

I originally put L'estudiant de Vic down as a one-off oddity, since I found no others quite like it amongst the collections published before the Spanish Civil War. However, I encountered another instance on a record produced in 1994 by the group Clau de Lluna. The song, El pobre banya, is an amusing - and allegedly true - tale about a willing cuckold, and comes from the town of Organyà in the district of Alt Urgell. It begins as follows (this being the way the text is written down in the sleeve notes):

Déu vos guarga, l'Arminguet, quina botiga n'heu muntada
i de fil i de cotó i altra roba delicada
Feu-li llum, feu-li llum el pobre banya, feu-li llum.

This song appears in the early collections with a different and more regular tune,⁴³⁴ but appears with the same tune in volume VI of Materials, published in 1996. It is reproduced below.

⁴³³ See Amades, Cançoner, p.725 for the complete list of references.

⁴³⁴ See Mestre Joan in Amades, Cançoner, p. 523.

54. DÉU LO GUARD, GALANT MINGUET

Moderat $\text{♩} = 116$ *a*

Déu-lo guard ga-lan Min-quet quin bo-
ti-ga n'heu plan-ta da ai de fil i de co-
tó i al. tra no-ba de .li. ca-da feu-li
llum feu-li llum al po-bre sa-i ja feu-li
llum

— Déu lo guard, galant Minguet,
quina botiga n'heu plantada,
ai, de fil i de cotó
i altra roba delicada.
Feu-li llum, feu-li llum
al pobre banya,
feu-li llum.
I de fil i de cotó
i altra roba delicada.
I a on teniu vostra muller,
que no la vei voltar per casa?
— Lo Lluís de l'Esquerrer,
que me la n'ha manllevada.
Puja'l dalt,
puja'l dalt i gica'l caure,

xot-lo baix.
Lo Lluís de l'Esquerrer,
que me la n'ha manllevada.
Me l'ha comprat per una nit,
quinze dies ja que em falta.
Feu-li llum...
Me l'ha comprat per una nit,
quinze dies ja que em falta,
i quon ella tornarà
jo li'n trencaré una cama.
Feu-li llum...
I quon ella tornarà
jo li'n trencaré una cama;
també li'n trencaré un braç
i li'n nyaufaré la cara.

Figure 50 : El pobre banya (Fragment)

It should be remembered that this version was published two years after the appearance of the recording, although collected nearly 70 years before it. So it is almost certain that the Clau de Lluna version has come down through the oral tradition independently of the version in Materials, and it confirms the structure of the song as collected and notated in 1925. In fact, the Materials version seems simply to have removed some garbling reflected in the first line of the Clau de Lluna version and to have expressed the stanzaic form more clearly.

When we examine this song (or better, listen to the recording), we sense the kind of "misfit" that we noticed with L'estudiant de Vic, and it happens in the same way in both the written and recorded versions of the song. In this instance there is a chorus tune, but it starts half way through the last line of the verse, and there is

another break halfway through the chorus line. Thus if we use the text shorthand used in the previous example, the chorus of the first verse is sung as follows:

..cada feu-li llum
feu-li llum al pobre
banya feu-li llum.

We can see that there is a clear dislocation between the tune phrasing and the words, in this instance of half a line.

Then other instances came to my attention. The notes from the same 1925 Jaquetti-Carbó mission contain other songs that exhibit this phenomenon. Here is one, no. 58, entitled Dona i prenda; in this case it is a tale of a lord about to kill his fourth wife, but she is saved by the intercession of her baby who miraculously speaks and pleads for her.

58. DONA I PRENDA

Melangiós i lent $\text{♩} = 69$

Do. na i pren da se'n pas se ja per
u. na sa. la molt gran de ve. nen les do lors de
part... que no dei. ca. ven ce. sar. la

Dona i prenda se'n passeja
per una sala molt *grande*;
vénen les dolors de part,
que no deixaven cessar-la.

— Vés-te'n, dona i prenda,
a Castillo amb la mare. —
Dona i prenda se n'hi va,
a Castillo amb sa mare.

Figure 51 : Fragment of Dona i prenda

From a musical standpoint, we need to do some interpretation of the manuscript. There is a triplet indicated underneath the second note of the second bar, using a shorthand notation seen elsewhere in the collection. Applying this to the entire melody (otherwise the time signature makes no sense) results in a havanera rhythm. The beginning has an anacrusis, but one that creates a most odd result. To fit the rhythm, each line 'steals' a syllable from the following line to make

up the count. This is clearly evident in the music. However, when taken into the preceding line of the melody, this syllable does not produce an anacrusis. Instead, the havanera rhythm keeps its longer note at the end of each phrase. The result is that each line as sung ends on the first syllable of the next line as written. In the first verse, the effect is that instead of rhyming or assonating on the last syllable of a written line, it assonates on a first syllable, thus:

Do
na i prenda se'n passeja per
una sala molt grande vé
nen les dolors de part que
no deixaven cessar-la

Note that in Catalan the final r can be silent, thus per can assonate with vé; que and la rhyme with a schwa vowel. At the end of the verse, the syllable loss creates a dramatic pause.

This is no accidental arrangement; it would be possible to fit the words without the anacrusis and syllable-shift. However, the notation makes quite clear what is happening. It is another example of dislocation, this time of a single syllable.

I have chosen to call the phenomenon musical dislocation. There is a structure to each tune and a structure to the words, but it seems that the singer does not feel constrained to put the two together in the conventional manner to make the text phrasing coincide with the musical phrasing. Instead, they may be put together to obtain completely different effects, as in the examples I have given.

I have seen it argued that where the words do not fit the tune, this is simply the result of a hack song peddler fitting an existing tune to some new words and making rather a poor job of it. I do not accept that argument in this case. First, the tunes do not seem to belong to any recognisable families that have better word-fits elsewhere (and Catalan folk music certainly contains tune families). I cannot be positive about this, since the corpus of songs is simply too large for me to be totally familiar with it, but I would have thought that ballad sellers would primarily have used common tunes where possible, and these are easy to recognise. Second, the songs are found all over Catalonia and particularly up in the foothills of the Pyrenees. Until relatively recently (the 1980s) the roads to some of the small villages were dirt tracks only. Indeed, the OCPC collectors in the 1920s write of days on muleback to reach their destination. Communication was extremely difficult, thus I think it unlikely that

ballad sellers would have travelled out to such far-flung places, especially given that the people - especially the Catalan-speakers - were probably illiterate anyway. In other words, we are looking at song transmission with a low probability of it being anything else but oral. This oddity is therefore in my view a genuine part of the Catalan song tradition, and not just a clumsy accident. Furthermore, I believe it to be a Catalan peculiarity since I have not found, nor have I been informed of, any evidence of it in Castilian, French, Italian or Provençal songs. I have been in correspondence with Francesc ("Panxito") Tomàs Aymerich of the group Clau de Lluna on this matter, and he has suggested a possible parallel in Mexican songs. He cites as a reference the folklorist Vicente T. Mendoza, who has suggested that such dislocation occurs in songs originating from Navarre. However, the example he gives, Canción de aliento entrecortado, is quite different in structure. A song from Cocentaina in Valencia, Allà baix en el riu, mare,⁴³⁵ does have pauses in mid-line that do not fit the text well, and is said in the associated collection notes to have a Navarrese "feel" to it.⁴³⁶ However, I think that the pauses are reasonably explicable in this particular song. Thus whilst it might be interesting to pursue a possible Navarrese connection, the evidence so far is unconvincing.

The question now arises about how frequent this "anomalous" feature really is. There are one or two other less clear examples in the same printed collection, which contains 87 songs. On this evidence, the phenomenon would seem to be uncommon. It is worth pointing out, however, that the printed Materials volumes generally contain only a small sample of the songs collected; the reader is thus at the mercy of the editor as to what is available for analysis. The total number of songs actually collected by Jaquetti and Carbó in that particular field trip was 637. The frequency of occurrence is therefore impossible to state from the evidence examined so far.

As to how general or local the phenomenon is, I am not sure. Both El pobre banya and Dona i prenda were collected in Organyà, but L'estudiant de Vic was collected in Barcelona. At this stage more evidence is needed to determine whether or not this is a sporadic oddity.

⁴³⁵ Picó Pascual, p. 114.

⁴³⁶ Picó Pascual, p. 16.

11 REFERENCING THE SOURCE MATERIAL: TOWARDS AN IMPROVED METHOD OF INDEXING FOLK SONGS

11.1 Index of Materials of the OCPC

In chapter 3 of The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World, Philip Bohlman describes the problems and pitfalls inherent in classifying folk songs. He defines classification as "...a metaphor for our attempts to understand and describe folk music in an orderly fashion. As an abstraction of our concepts of folk music, classification ideally should provide the infrastructure for a systematic discourse about folk music".⁴³⁷ He goes on in the same chapter to warn that classification "is almost never the product of strictly objective goals."⁴³⁸ He argues that classification is always distorted by the aims of the classifier, and that if a classification system is accepted as canon-forming, it distorts the general perception by others of the material concerned.

Part of my work has been to identify the features of Catalan folk song, and what characteristics distinguish it from neighbouring traditions in France and Spain, thereby identifying what may be called a canon of Catalan folk songs. This implies detailed examination of the songs in the various sources I have used. In other words, I need to become engaged in classification and am therefore subject to the difficulties Bohlman warns of. In my case, however, I have addressed a simpler problem, but one tied to classification nevertheless: that of creating an index for cross-referencing.

Whether singer or scholar, everyone researching folk songs is faced with the same problem when looking through collections and anthologies: how to find items of interest in the plethora of available material. The greater the number of collections, the more haystacks there are to hide the needle (or needles) in.

The problem arises from a conflict between the constraints on the anthologist and the needs of the searcher. The anthologist is forced to make a specific arrangement of material either for publication in a book or for filing documents, simply because the material is in a physical form, such as paper. The searcher, on the other hand, may be quite vague and unspecific when formulating an enquiry. To take our metaphorical needle as a concrete example, we as searchers may be looking for songs that contain the word "needle", songs about sewing, songs sung by tailors, seamstresses, sailmakers, embroiderers and so on. Any or all of these categories may be of interest. Meanwhile, one

⁴³⁷ Bohlman, p. 34.

⁴³⁸ Bohlman, p. 50.

anthologist may have indexed songs by content and another by use. And this is a simple example. When we add the extra dimension of music, the complexity of searching and cross-referencing increases still further, as any investigator of tune families (i.e. songs whose tunes bear family likenesses) will testify. These issues have also been well described by Bohlman.⁴³⁹

Nevertheless, even though some of the more rigorous aspects of classification may not be satisfied, the issues are not intractable if the goal set is simply one of creating an indexing system that is practical and useful. What is needed is a method of multiple indexing, where the existence of any index, however incomplete or imperfect, does not exclude any other. Furthermore, it should be possible for any number of indexes to be searched simultaneously, allowing searchers to focus at their own pace and in their own way on items of potential interest. Thus to take our previous example, we may choose to look for songs containing the word "needle" (including "needlewoman" and other such compounds) and those about sewing but to exclude sewers' work songs that are not necessarily about sewing.

Such multiple indexing is readily possible using any reasonably powerful personal computer available today. The various indexes are combined within a single relational database. Such a database creates several benefits, including:

- a central source of reference for all material within a specific canon, irrespective of the indexing methods used by the original anthologists and collectors;
- the possibility for other workers in the same field to add new indexes based on different criteria;
- the ability for workers to correct and amplify existing indexes to improve accuracy and usefulness.

On the other hand, there is a need for someone to establish and manage a definitive, or master version of the database, so that users can be sure that false information has not been introduced by other people. Known errors can be coped with by supplying notes with the database, and by issuing bulletins as and when problems are discovered.

None of this is new, and a number of computer-based indexes have already been created, notably in the United States. However, the more

⁴³⁹ Bohlman, pp. 38-41.

commonly available ones, such as the Ballad Index⁴⁴⁰ and the Digital Tradition⁴⁴¹ are based on obsolete technologies that impose restrictions on use that are almost as awkward as those of paper-based indexes, and possibly even more awkward for users who are not particularly computer-literate: a situation which is particularly frustrating, given the excellence of the contents of these databases. While these examples provide useful ideas for information structure and the needs of researchers, they have not proved good models for me in creating a multiple index database for Catalan folk songs.

The first task in approaching the design of the multiple index database is to examine the classifications and orderings used by collectors and anthologists in their various publications. The first comprehensive attempt at classification of the Catalan material seems to have been that of Joan Amades in his Cançoners, in which he indexed songs by use or function. He explains the difficulties of classification and the problems associated with assigning groups musically or textually.⁴⁴² However, he gives no details of how he reached the classification decisions he made for songs that he includes that he did not collect himself. If a song lacked information from its collector on the circumstances in which it was sung, then Amades can only have classified it in accordance with other versions of the same song for which contextual information was available; he admits to having freely chosen versions to print from among all those available to him on the basis of completeness and personal taste.⁴⁴³ Given the reservations already expressed elsewhere⁴⁴⁴ about some of Amades's conclusions, I find it hard to accept his classifications blindly, and there are obvious practical difficulties in reclassifying the 30,000 or more songs in his collection. Maideu classifies his songs consistently in his Crestomatia, but in a limited manner. Ginard uses a number of techniques in his Cançoners Populars de Mallorca by first dividing his material into long songs and short songs, then dividing the long songs into Castilian and Catalan, and finally categorising the songs by textual content. Crivillé only covers

⁴⁴⁰ Available (1999) via the Internet at

<http://www.csufresno.edu/folklore/balladindexTOC.html>

⁴⁴¹ Available (1999) via the Internet at

<http://mapweb.xerox.com/docs/DigiTrad/AboutDigiTrad.html>

⁴⁴² Amades, Cançoners, p. 90.

⁴⁴³ Amades, Cançoners, p. 89.

⁴⁴⁴ See, for example, M. Débax & B. Fernández, 'La légende de Héro et Léandre', in Fulls de treball de Carrutxa, I, p. 41.

children's songs, Christmas songs and dances, thus much of the canon is not touched. Like Ginard, Juan i Nebot recognises the problem in her otherwise excellent Cançoner del Ripollès and attempts to solve it with a dual-purpose ordering of the songs by content or by use. Thus she mixes two entirely separate indexing categories - not that she had much choice but to reach some sort of awkward compromise, given the constraints imposed by a printed work. The songs in Materials of the OCPC are only classified by field trip, place and date, and are thus impossible to cross-reference as they stand. The onomastic references given at the back of each volume, while helpful, are of limited use. Fortunately Amades has cross-referenced the earlier (pre-Civil War) volumes in his Cançoner, but of course that appeared before the recent volumes published by Massot, which have already more than doubled the total number of songs published in Materials.

The above are just a few examples; a cursory examination of any of the other collections reveals that the one consistent feature is the inconsistency of classification. The approach I have taken has therefore been to build on existing work where possible and useful but to rid myself of the restrictions imposed by the limitations of book publishing.

My indexing falls into two parts: that which is applicable to folk songs in general and that which is specific to the Catalan material. The categories of general indexing I have used for each song are as follows:

- by type, as indicated by the textual subject matter, for example war, the sea or amorous encounter;
- by structure, as indicated by the text, to give an idea of how the song is sung, for example narrative, lyrical or cumulative;
- by use, as indicated by the words, music or collector's notes to indicate when and where the song would be performed, for example a Christmas carol, a ploughing song or a dance song;
- by "words family" or textual similarities to show linkages to other songs or tales;
- by "tune family" (by which I generally mean melodic contour) to show linkages and similarities to other songs or tunes;
- by language, to show not only macaronic elements but also to indicate where songs may have been "imported" from outside Catalonia.

To the above I have added a general "notes" facility for each song entry to cater for the inevitable anomalies that crop up in any categorisation. I have at all times tried not to impose a framework on the material, but to let it establish its own characteristics. There is no restriction on the type or number of entries in each of the above indexes. For example, it is perfectly allowable (if the evidence suggests it) to use the name of a French or English tune as a "tune family" entry. Also, the person carrying out the classification is not - nor should be - constrained to use melodic contour for identifying a tune family, but may use any recognisable means of establishing song similarity. Similarly, it is quite possible to specify song types using Stith Thompson descriptors. I have not in fact done so in my classification because I felt it to be too heavyweight and restrictive for my purposes. The major limitation of the above scheme as defined at present is that there is only one song family index and one tune family index, whereas some songs will have features of more than one words or tune family, thereby acting as a "bridge". This characteristic feature of the oral tradition often bears the unfortunate name of contamination. There is, however, nothing to prevent the addition of indexes to cover multiple tune or words families, or for that matter any additional criteria for which a classifier feels the need.

The second part of my indexing, the creation of categories specific to the Catalan material, addresses the strengths and weaknesses of the various sources I have used. In the first place, I made the decision that the heart of the database should be Materials of the OCPC. This collection is not only the largest, the most scientifically collected and the most in need of an index, but it is also still in the process of publication. It therefore seemed to me the natural heart of the Catalan canon. Thus I have included indexes by field trip, by place and by Materials volume. I have also included the music of each song as a sound recording, but not the words. The reason is that while anyone can read the text in the published volumes, the number of people able to read the music is much smaller. I will return to the topic of the music in Materials later. There is no technical limit imposed by the structure of the database, thus it will be possible (given the requisite amount of labour) to include all of the songs collected by the OCPC within it. I have begun by including the entire contents of volumes VI and VII published by Massot and at the time of writing I am working on volume VIII. These are the first of his volumes to contain actual source material. More are expected over the next decade, to be published at a rate of one

volume per year. This leaves the earlier, pre-Civil War volumes, already indexed by Amades. For these I have included a cross-reference to his Cançoner. This is not a complete reference to the early volumes, and depends on Amades's accuracy. What it provides is the following. Where a song appears in volume VI or later and also has a version in the Cançoner, I have given the song-number reference from the latter. Using Amades's cross-references, one can then trace the songs back to versions appearing in the early volumes of Materials. There are additional benefits of this approach, because the Cançoner also contains cross-references to the collections of Milà i Fontanals, Pelai Briz, Aguiló and the other 19th century collectors, plus the Cancionero of Felip Pedrell. Thus, assuming one can rely on Amades, the database unlocks the major early collections for research.

Having established a cross-reference for Amades, I felt it useful to extend the principle to other collections. Mindful of Bronson's dictum "Q. When is a ballad not a ballad? A. When it has no tune" I determined to make good the musical deficiencies of Ginard's Cançoner popular de Mallorca and Bohigas's Cançoner popular català, which provide excellent sets of words for their songs. Thus where a song appears in Materials and has a relative in Ginard or Bohigas, I have included the appropriate page reference. While it is likely that the tune given in Materials is not exactly the one used for the text given in Ginard or Bohigas, it does add an extra dimension to the written words. This is important because so often readers of text mistakenly assume that the sung rhythm matches the written metre, whereas this is frequently not the case. The sung rhythm may also give an indication of the use of the song, for example for dancing or to accompany work, and thus shed further light on the social significance of the song. It is, of course, quite possible to search the database "in reverse", as it were, to look up all incidences of songs in Materials that also appear in Bohigas or Ginard, which helps readers of these two works.

The principle of cross-referencing to other collections can be extended almost without limit. I have chosen to include one other work, Joseph Canteloube's four-volume Anthologie des chants populaires français, because this contains songs collected across the whole of southern France from the Roussillon to Provence. This enables a certain amount of correlation to be made with material from French Catalonia and elsewhere, thus helping to establish the boundaries of the Catalan canon and possible influences on it. Other works, for example the anthologies of Poueigh (collected in the Cerdanya) or Diego Catalán (covering all of Spain), could usefully be added to increase the degree of correlation possible.

An important aspect of the indexing that I have done is that it is not complete; nor does it need to be for the database to be immediately useful. For example, the entries for words families and tune families are unfinished. These entries take time and concentration on a large amount of material to reach sensible conclusions, and the entries depend to a great extent on the material that is already indexed. There is the potential for a "virtuous circle" here, such that the greater the amount of information in the database, the better the correlations that can be created. Tune families are a good example of this, and search mechanisms within the database have been created with them in mind. Each song in the database has its tune stored so that the computer can be used to play it back. The difficulty in establishing tune families is hearing and remembering particular characteristics within the tunes. To help with this, the database permits three concurrent searches to take place. The number is fairly arbitrary, being based on my own limited capability for dealing with several things at the same time. When the database user finds a tune of interest, he or she can retain the index entry readily available on the computer display for playing the tune as and when desired. He or she can then begin another search, and on finding a tune of similar characteristics can compare it with the original without having to search through the database again. Should the user forget the tune being searched for, the original can be played again without "losing one's place" in the second search. Naturally, should the user identify a tune family, he or she can update the relevant indexes there and then for the two songs. By repeating the process of searching and listening, the user can generate tune families with as many members as the evidence reveals.

The foregoing makes certain assumptions about the quality of the music held in the database. The quality is unfortunately not always as good as might be desired. The music has been transcribed from the manuscripts reproduced in the Materials volumes. By contrast with the pre-Civil War volumes, which went through a substantial editing process, the music as printed under Massot's editorship is literally that as collected, and is in the collectors' handwriting. This has the advantage that we can see exactly what was collected, and we can admire the skill of the OCPC workers who collected for the most part without any kind of recording tools other than paper, pencil and metronome. Even so, many tunes have no tempi, shorthand has been invented and used in the haste to record song details, bars often have the wrong number of notes in them, many songs have no barring at all and time signatures are often wrong. In addition, the collectors have

often tried to record the individual variations their singers have made from verse to verse. As a final blow, the tempi where used are sometimes significantly wrong, caused in some cases by a slow metronome and in others by inaccurate note length markings. The 1925 Jaquetti-Carbó field trip documented in Materials volume VI clearly had a slow metronome (sand in the works?), because many of the songs are unsingably quick as notated, and appear to be consistently about 50% faster than they should be. Finally, in addition to all of the above, there are one or two errors introduced by Massot's editorial team, such as the wrong music being printed next to a song (Massot has acknowledged as much to me in a letter).

Thus in transcribing the music from manuscript into MIDI files held in the database so that they can be played by a computer I have had to do a certain amount of editing to massage the notes into what appears to be the original, or something close to it. This is clearly a subjective process; I have therefore included in the database a quality indicator associated with each tune. This is a fairly simple three-level indicator like a traffic light:

- green for a reasonably faithful transcription of the original manuscript, with only the most minor editorial amendments, if any. An example of a minor amendment is where there is no tempo given, or the one that is given is quite clearly wrong and I have a recording of the same song which gives a better indication of the speed at which it should be sung;
- yellow for a transcription that has called for some significant conjecture on my part, such the relative significance of grace notes in the long free coloratura passages of the Mallorcan cançons de llaurar, or has required simplification such as the elimination of notated variations;
- red for a tune that is clearly wrong, and cannot be put right with the evidence available.

The reason for including the red category is to allow for items within it to be put right by future work, and for the sake of completeness.

Finally, I have included three other indicators for each song: one that indicates if the song has no music given, one that indicates if a tune is given without words and one that indicates that several tunes have been lumped together as one item (such as an instrumental tune medley).

It will be seen from the foregoing that the use of a relational database on a computer offers enormous advantages for song classification over traditional paper-based methods. The development described here is intended to provide a central source of reference for the Catalan folk-song canon. Although many of the references and all of the built-in instructions to help the user are in English, it is a straightforward task to change these to Catalan (or any other language, for that matter).

The entire database has been built using Microsoft Access 97 running on a PC with Microsoft Windows 95. It has been tested successfully on other versions of Windows, specifically 98, ME, NT4, 2000 and XP, and using Access 2002, part of Microsoft Office XP. With 677 songs in it, taken from Materials volumes VI, VII and part of VIII, the database occupies somewhat less than 4 Megabytes of disk space. Within the existing technology it is perfectly possible (the limitation - as usual - is human effort) to enter all of the OCPC songs, not just the ones published in Materials. Extrapolating linearly from the number of songs already in the Index, and assuming that the final total number of songs is approximately 20,000, the database is likely finally to reach a little over 100 Megabytes, well within the capacity of a CD-ROM, which might be a useful eventual distribution medium. However, one reason for the choice of Access as the database tool is the possibility of using its Web interface, which Microsoft is still developing. As yet, this interface is not adequate for the purpose, but it is reasonable to suppose that it will eventually be possible to install the database with the fully-developed interface on a Web server, and thereby make the Index instantly available to everyone through the Internet.

11.2 Index for the Romancerillo catalán of Manuel Milà i Fontanals

The Romancerillo, which was reprinted by Alta Fulla in 1999, suffers from having no index. Even worse, the song titles are in Castilian and often bear little resemblance to those commonly found in other anthologies. This makes it an extremely frustrating work to search. To overcome this, I have applied some of the same techniques I used for the Materials Index database to create a straightforward search tool. I have also included a cross-reference to the Romancer edited by Paloma, and taken account of the corrections given in volume I fascicle 1 of Materials. The database includes such tunes as are given by Milà. It is a complete index and is in English. As with the Materials Index, it would be straightforward to produce a Catalan version of it.

12 CONCLUSIONS

What identities are found in the Catalan folk-song corpus? It is clear that there are many songs that are shared between the Països Catalans and elsewhere; their language may be translated partly or completely, but they are undeniably the same songs. As to where they originated, in most cases it is impossible to say, and perhaps origins are not important. What is probably more important is the juxtaposition of different songs. Just as the character of a community is defined by the individuals that constitute it (considered as individuals and as a group), so are cultural aspects defined by the individual items - in this case songs - that are juxtaposed, for whatever reason. One of the reasons I suspect why the subject of song origins was important to folk-song researchers a century ago was to do with cultural snobbery, in which creativity was regarded as a mark of superiority; we are back to Hobsbawm's "Invention of Tradition" again. Another reason is related to the 19th century idea that worthwhile folk songs are nothing more than the debased remnants of ancient cultured music and poetry. Such an idea imposes an external aesthetic or value judgement on the materials a society uses for its own entertainment, and has pretensions to historico-cultural depth. The result of any analysis based on such imposition will be distorted; it will say more about the analyst than about the folk songs themselves. That is one reason why it is crucial to know something about the way the songs are or were performed; one then gets a much better idea of the place of a particular song within the society to which it belongs. In this respect, Joan Amades was absolutely right when he stressed the importance of getting to know and understand his informants in their own domestic settings before attempting to collect any songs.⁴⁴⁵

All of the above having been said, two questions still need to be answered. First, what makes a Catalan folk song peculiarly Catalan, or peculiarly representative of some specific part of the Països Catalans? Can we find any identifiable features in the folk-song corpus? Secondly, what features are characteristic of the corpus and are shared with the songs of other regions?

The most identifiably Catalan feature is obviously the language, and it is clear that the use of the language does not follow administrative or political boundaries. It is probably true to say that language is the only truly distinguishing feature of the Catalan folk-song corpus. However, the corpus contains a significant proportion of mixed-language songs. These mixtures vary between

⁴⁴⁵ Amades, Cançoners, p. 91.

predominantly Catalan songs and those predominantly in another language (mainly French or Spanish). On the other hand, this variation is not necessarily related to the distance from the Catalan-speaking heartlands. In particular, songs entirely in Valencian Catalan have been found in southern Valencia.

From a textual point of view, the cançons de fil i canya that were written or at least published in Barcelona are Catalan songs; however, more work is required to establish whether and to what extent these songs were translated to or from Castilian. The rest of the corpus seems to have changed language from Castilian, French or Provençal at will. As a result, although undoubtedly there will be songs that have their origins in the Països Catalans, in many cases there is no sure way of distinguishing them from songs that have come from elsewhere. However, the songs that relate to the social environment of the masia (those that refer to the hereu, for example) will almost certainly be Catalan in origin, since the masia was a feature peculiar to Catalan society. One may therefore see some songs that appear to be specifically Catalan, while many others form part of a broad spectrum which goes from Catalan to Portuguese in one direction and through Provençal to French and Italian on the other. The major textual feature of the Catalan corpus is the split between long and short songs, which it shares with Castilian but not with French.

From a musical point of view, it is difficult to identify any feature in the corpus of songs from the Països Catalans as specifically Catalan, although individual tunes may be local. The evidence points to Catalan folk music being an integral part of the folk music of the Mediterranean. The region is a melting pot in which the western European tonal system collides and fuses with the north African/ Arab tonal system. The particular instances of tunes that illustrate this fusion are Catalan (or, for the most part more properly termed Balearic and Valencian, since that is where most such instances occur) but the phenomenon of fusion of the two musics is widespread in Iberia, and especially in Andalusia.

As for performance, the Països Catalans share a way of life common to the Catholic Mediterranean countries and thus the reasons for and purposes of singing, be they work, religion, entertainment or dancing are very much the same.

The major apparent variations within the folk-song corpus are between the Balearic islands and the European mainland. On the basis of available evidence, the islands have a higher proportion of short songs. In other ways, though, there seems to be a triangular relationship between the three autonomies that form the core of the

Països Catalans: if the Balearic language used in the songs is closer to that of Catalonia, Balearic music is closer to that of Valencia; the three autonomies make three pieces of a jigsaw.

The biggest problem in understanding the corpus of folk songs of the Països Catalans is the sheer volume of unanalysed collected material. Even when Josep Massot i Muntaner has finished his work on the OCPC there will still be the matter of the material he has not published, plus the other collections at Montserrat Abbey. Much work remains to be done; the database I have begun in this project is one step along the way.

One of the main aims at the outset of this thesis was to introduce an English-speaking readership and audience to the size and diversity of the Catalan folk song tradition. However, within the constraints of the timetable imposed for a PhD thesis I have been able to give only a broad-brush view of the material and treat a few selected parts in depth. I can therefore only hope to provide a starting-point and a route map for further work into the subject. As far as the documented source material is concerned, the Països Catalans are fortunate in that so much has been saved and is in such good hands. However, I fear that the task that Josep Massot has given himself is too great for any one person or team. What would make more sense, I think, in this electronic age would be to release with each published volume of Materials an accompanying CD-ROM of the remaining 80% of source material that he has not managed to include within the book. Another useful step would be to publish the CD-ROMs on the Internet so that folklorists around the world could contribute to the appreciation and analysis of the OCPC. Publishing via the Internet would have the added advantage of bringing the songs back to the people in the shortest possible time. Bearing in mind that all of the material is already on microfilm, the cost and complexity of transcription is relatively small. It is true that the microfilms are already available at the CPCPTC and Josep Crivillé and his team are most helpful to anyone who wishes to examine them. Nevertheless, Internet publishing reaches the whole of the Països Catalans and avoids the need for a possibly long and certainly time-consuming journey to Barcelona. When one adds to this the fact that most of the major early collections have also been microfilmed as the cèdules-fonts, the argument for Internet publishing becomes overwhelming if the object is, as in my view it should be, to bring the songs back to the people.

Much remains to be done. Josep Massot continues to produce his annual volume of OCPC Materials, and thus there is continual work needed over the next decade to understand and appreciate his results.

My intention is for all the OCPC collection, beginning with the published contents of Materials to be entered in the database I have begun, but that in itself spawns another task: that of analysing the songs to identify families of texts and families of tunes, and I doubt that I can or even should do all of this; fresh minds are needed. I have built a framework in the database, but there is as yet little in it. While such analysis does not necessarily help in the enjoyment of the music it can help in the understanding of how the songs have spread from community to community. This gives us insights into social mobility and linkages in bygone times, and thus the sense of social identity and relationships with other peoples, looked at from inside the community. The similarities and differences in songs can reveal a sense of togetherness as much as a sense of otherness, thereby allowing the Catalans (in this case) to retain their catalanitat yet understand and feel comfortable with their social (rather than political) bonds to Spain, France and to Europe in general. This of course works in reverse too, and with other communities, so that different peoples appreciate and value the richness that social diversity brings, without the evils of nationalism that so bedevilled twentieth-century Europe.

Another significant area where work is needed is the Rossend Serra i Pagès collection within the cèdules-fonts. Until that has been examined in detail, I believe that we shall still have an unbalanced perspective of Catalan folk song scholarship - and that is to say nothing about the songs themselves that he collected. Who knows what riches lie there awaiting the singer? That alone ought to be sufficient temptation for the folk enthusiast - never mind the scholar - to take an active interest in it.

Further work is also needed to extend this thesis - indeed, in some respects to complete it - by covering Valencian song in more detail by examining all of the associated publications of the Institució Alfons el Magnànim, and particularly the cancioneros of Salvador Seguí. Again, it is a matter of balance; the jigsaw of folk song in the Països Catalans assembled here is incomplete without these pieces.

Meanwhile, it is good to see that through groups like Carrutxa and publications like Caramella indigenous research is once more healthy and initiatives for collecting songs such as those of the industrial workers have begun. It is equally good to see the on-going production of recordings of the Valencian Fonoteca de Materials and Catalan Fonoteca de Música Tradicional Catalana. Folk-song research is not, though, an end in itself. While it provides interesting material for

intellectual analysis and debate, it has a more fundamental and useful purpose in this present age of mass media and passive entertainment: that of restoring social engagement through community entertainment and participation. It has begun to fulfil that purpose, for its results have caused the people in many parts of the Països Catalans to sing their traditional songs once more and to inject new life into them. Long may they continue to do so.

APPENDICES

Appendix A. Glossary of Terms Used for Short Songs

Term	Description
<u>corrantes</u>	Verses typically of four lines each typically containing seven or eight syllables. Known in other parts of Spain (e.g. Andalusia) as <u>coplas</u> .
<u>follies</u> (or <u>folies</u>)	A synonym for <u>corrantes</u> used in Catalonia and the <u>catalanoparlant</u> areas of Aragon.
<u>gloses</u> (or <u>glosses</u>)	A synonym for <u>corrantes</u> used in the Balearics. May also imply improvised verses.
<u>cançons botxetes</u>	A synonym for <u>corrantes</u> used in Valencia.
<u>caramelles</u>	Sequences of <u>corrantes</u> sung as <u>quête</u> songs, generally at Easter (Christmas in Minorca).
<u>cançons de pandero</u>	Sequences of <u>corrantes</u> sung as <u>quête</u> songs, generally at Corpus Christi.
<u>goigs</u>	Sequences of religious verses, often in <u>corrantes</u> format, sung as hymns, often in religious processions and to celebrate the feast day of a particular saint, especially the Virgin Mary.

Appendix B. The OCPC Materials Index Software

This database requires a PC running Microsoft Windows 95 (or higher) operating system and Microsoft Access 97 database application software (or higher). It has been tested successfully with Windows 95, Windows 98 (including 98SE), Windows ME, Windows NT 4 (Workstation and Server), Windows 2000 (Professional and Server) and Windows XP Professional. Please note that the database does not work properly with Access 2000 because of software bugs that were not resolved by Microsoft until the release of Access 2002. The databases have been tested successfully and run well with Access 2002 (Office XP).

The CD-ROM accompanying this thesis contains two versions of the database: one for Access 97 (Office 97) and one for Access 2002 (Office XP). The database is stored in ready-to-run form in folders on the CD-ROM. All the user has to do is copy the appropriate folder to the root directory of the PC hard disk (C:\), and click on the Materials.mdb icon.

Full instructions for use are built into the database. Installation instructions are included in a README.TXT file.

Appendix C. The Romancerillo catalán Index Software

This database is on the same CD-ROM as the Materials Index. It also requires a PC and uses Access 97 or Access 2002 and Windows 95 (or higher).

As with the Materials Index, the CD-ROM accompanying this thesis contains two versions of the database: one for Access 97 (Office 97) and one for Access 2002 (Office XP). The database is stored in ready-to-run form in folders on the CD-ROM. All the user has to do is copy the appropriate folder to the root directory of the PC hard disk (C:\), and click on the Romancerillo.mdb icon.

Again, as with the Materials Index, full instructions for use are built into the data, and installation instructions are included in a README.TXT file.

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