

Original scientific paper

<https://doi.org/10.18485/folk.2021.6.2.4>
398:001.8(83)"19"
398:[111.852+17](83)"19"
398:37.091313:(83)"19"

Traditional Culture and Folklore Science: Two Approaches in the Discursive Construction of the Cultural Field of Folklore in Chile

Cristian Yáñez Aguilar

The objective of this work is to address two conceptual approaches that have been quite relevant in the discursive construction of folklorists in Chile since the second half of the 20th century. On the one hand, an approach determined to legitimize folklore as a science with a determined and determinable object and method, and, on the other, a perspective cultivated from the field of aesthetics that incorporated the notion of traditional culture as a framework for interpretation from a perspective much more humanistic and philosophical, indicating the presence of certain ethical values of the popular and rural world in cultural manifestations. Both conceptions were disseminated through folklore schools where the primary, and to a lesser extent secondary teachers of the country participated, thus facilitating the social reproduction of certain concepts and conceptions that today are part of a widely disseminated discourse among folklorists: Traditional Culture, Folklore-Life, *Proyección del Folklore*, make up a varied, complex body, sometimes contradictory, but which was fundamental in the discursive construction of the cultural field of folklore in Chile. Through the following research, we are going to review historically how the cultural field of folklore was built in Chile and later: both currents, their concepts, dissemination instances and main exponents will be addressed historically and conceptually.

Keywords: discourse, folklore, traditional culture, folklore science, folklore in Chile.

The Proposal of This Work

This article seeks to describe and understand two theoretical trends that were very relevant for the construction of a folklorists' discursive framework linked to the trend of the folklore projection (*Proyección del Folklore*)¹

¹ In this work I will use expressions: 'folklore projection', 'folkloric projection', 'projection

in Chile. Although the conceptual development of folklore in Chile starts by the beginning of the 20th century, with the influence of researchers of cultural manifestations from the perspectives of philology and ethnography, the second half of the same century was marked by folklorist-protagonists who dedicated themselves to collecting and staging dance, music and other folklore expressions supported by theoretical perspectives, among which we identify two that bequeathed concepts that were later reproduced among folklorists, festivals, public programs and some university abodes linked to teaching and university extension: folklore as science and the notion of Traditional Culture. As the vertex of both appears the notion of projection of folklore, which is a third perspective reproduced through formative exponents.

We identify two currents originated in Chile but at the same time mutually permeated and unified, in generalized discursive use, by Augusto Raúl Cortázar's perspective on the projection of folklore. In this way, what we aim to show is that although there is a discursive field common to folklorists in Chile, these concepts respond to different epistemological perspectives and even contrast each other in logical terms, although both have bequeathed forms of "naming", reconciled through usage in exponents nowadays hosting the cultural field in which folklorists operate in Chile.

Our work holds a constructivist perspective and therefore we propose the following exposition: 1) exposition of the historical context of folklore agents since the second half of the 20th century in Chile; 2) exposition of the two conceptual currents manifest in Chile, reproduced in Argentine as well, that served as vertex and discursive synthesis; 3) exhibition of the exponents of reproduction of such concepts, and 4) reflections on discursive uses and their epistemological bases in the case of folklorists in Chile.

of folklore' or 'projections', a term proposed by Augusto Raúl Cortázar, that has been very relevant not only in Chile but also in Latin America. In the body of this work we will propose its definition; however, for now the proposal made by Fernando Fischman seems pertinent: "He [Cortázar] relativized these ideas when he sketched out his *deslindes conceptuales* (conceptual demarcations) as a way of broadening his framework's scope. He thus included within the purview of Folklore Studies what he termed *transplantes* (transplants) – that is, the expressions that were originally performed in "folk" communities and are performed in urban contexts when their inhabitants move to the cities, *elementos folklóricos transculturados* (transcultured folkloric elements), expressions that were originally folk, but are currently performed by urban dwellers, like proverbs, sayings, and superstitions, and *proyecciones* (projections), expressions produced outside the folk community and transmitted by mechanical and institutional means" (Fischman 2012: 282).

The Field of Folklore in Chile Since the Second Half of the 20th Century

From the beginning of the 20th century, folklore was established as an instance of research on popular culture, marked by the creation of the Chilean Folklore Society in 1909, under the direction of the German philologist Rodolfo Lenz. By the middle of the same century, there was a relevant confluence between agents from different fields: the university through research, teaching and extension institutions; the cultural industries through radio and the record industry; folklorists and a Welfare State that, in the midst of the developmentalist policies of the period, had repercussions in the creation of a cultural field where the figure of the folklorist was consolidated. People from the city who entered the peasant world to collect songs, dances and music typified as folkloric. In line with an informative approach, it should also be noted that on February 3rd 1943 the Chilean Folkloric Association was founded, linked to the National Historical Museum, from where a series of works were published and where the figure of the author Oreste Plath, one of the greatest disseminators of folklore in Chile, stands out. In the field of academic research, the theory of types and motifs in the publication of *Cuentos Folkloricos de Chile* by dr. Yolando Pino Saavedra, composed between 1960 and 1963, should be highlighted. However, these approaches were not directly connected with the folklorists' organizations that emerged in the second half of the 20th century throughout the country, as was the case with the theories of folklore projection, folklore studies as a science, or the traditional culture's perspectives.

For the purposes of this work, we shall emphasize the role of the universities² for the emergence of conceptual proposals, always attempted to be socio-historically and structurally contextualized.

For historical background, we must point out two very relevant milestones prior to 1950, in relation to the construction of a cultural field in which the activity of folklorists in Chile was legitimized.

1) Institute of Musical Research of the University of Chile

The Folkloric Research Institute was created in 1943, founded as a private entity, although relied on the support of the Faculty of Fine Arts of the University of Chile. It was attended by prominent intellectuals from the field of classical music, but focused on the knowledge of popular and folk musical expressions. In 1944 this institution became officially dependent

² We have previously addressed incipiently the role of cultural industries in the configuration of the folkloric field in some regions of Chile (see Yáñez Aguilar 2020; 2021).

on the Faculty of Fine Arts of the University of Chile (Barros and Danneman 1960). In terms of the performance of a work about folklore from music and its concepts, it should be remembered that the Institute of Musical Research organized and published a brochure called *Chile*, where an explanation of the concerts was given. According to Barros and Danneman, “this brochure is the first attempt to offer an organic vision, both of the folkloric-musical material, and of concepts and study methods related to this specialty, with the constraints of the limited space available” (Barros and Danemman 2002: 85). Salas (1945) recalls that the people of the Institute took advantage of the second tour of the Symphonic Orchestra of Chile, to which they added a Commission formed by the musical composer and ethnographer Carlos Isamitt, who in April 1944 visited a number of cities located throughout the south of Chile, where he gave lectures and talks in order to systematically explain “the scientific and cultural purposes pursued by the Institute of Musical Folklore” (Salas 1945: 20). He ends the journey stating its value, because it allowed old forgotten musical and dance forms to be found, generating expectations for new research.

This institution developed research and informative activities, that traced an epistemological and discursive route for the new generations. Only as a significant example, we expose that one of the activities of the first period of the Institute was the preparation of a map with provinces and departments, where “traditional winds are still preserved with purity” (Salas 1945: 20). This terminology is interesting because it reveals the relevance of romantic concepts associated with purity and tradition, that is, with an idea of authenticity. The author reveals that she is working based on files numbered from 1 to 200, establishing what she calls an Explanatory Map Index: “Files that contain technical documentation of sites, ceremonies, dates and melodies that are sung there, references that are carefully organized and serve as a guideline for future research” (Salas 1945: 20).

A milestone that linked the Institute’s activity with the development of a record industry was the publication of the album *Aires Tradicionales y Folklóricos de Chile* [*Traditional and Folkloric Winds of Chile*] in 1944 (Universidad de Chile, RCA Víctor). González, Ohlsen and Rolle (2009) remember that this collection consisted of 10 78rpm records that were presented in a bound album. It will be followed by other publications of record labels for the dissemination of folklore. “Those developed by Odeón in the fifties and sixties, with the series ‘El Folklore de Chile’ and ‘Fiesta Chilena’, will be central in the incorporation of repertoire, genres and collectors of Chilean folklore to the national industry” (González, Ohlsen and Rolle 2009: 314). This album had an impact on the diffusion of unknown music and fueled the search that new actors began.

2) Seasonal Schools of the University of Chile

In 1936, the Popular Front [El Frente Popular]³ came to power under the Chilean presidency of Pedro Aguirre Cerda (1936–1941), a relevant milestone in the world context framed in the Cold War.

Along with the work oriented towards people from popular segments of society it is necessary to always remember the link with the aforementioned Institute of Musical Research, since, following the story of one of its founders, professor Filomena Salas (1945), who remembers an episode that, although it may be anecdotal, clearly links both institutions with primary teachers in Chile and the emergence and massification of activities related to folklore in Chile. In her narration, Filomena Salas quotes an audition held at the Law School of the University of Chile on the occasion of the National Congress of Women, with the harmonization support of Jorge Urrutia Blondel and René Amengual on the basis of “various folk melodies that were printed by the machines of the Institute of Musical Extension and distributed to teachers in Santiago and Provinces and in the Summer Courses of the Seasonal School of the University of Chile” (Salas 1945: 20). The quotation ends by clearly expressing the social reproduction present in school institutions: “the choral harmonizations to which we allude have become part of the repertoire of ensembles for voices from different high and primary schools in the country” (Salas 1945: 20).

The Seasonal Schools of the University of Chile undertook, as one of its projects, led by their head director, professor Amanda Labarca, the realization of folklore classes. These schools were held throughout the country, at the headquarters of the organization, and a number of prominent intellectuals supported this initiative. Professor Hiranio Chávez (2021) highlights the impulse of the composer linked to the Institute of Musical Research, Eugenio Pereira Salas, and several other teachers and folklorists who were invited to participate in these schools. In addition to people linked to the first institution, there were folklorists who came from the from popular segments of society and they, little by little, began to be identified as folklorists who, in

³ The Popular Front was an electoral and political conglomerate composed of the Communist Party of Chile (PC), Socialist (PS), Social Radical (RS) and democratic parties, as well as social organizations such as the Confederation of Workers of Chile (CTCH), Araucanian Unique Front (FUA), Movement for the Emancipation of the Women of Chile (MEMCH). During the government of the Popular Front, a set of policies were carried out that favored industrialization tackled by the State (Import Substitution Model), promotion of education and, in the cultural field, the creation of experimental initiatives in the arts amassed to the bulk of the population of Chile through the mediation of teachers of primary and secondary education. In this context, it is necessary to understand the emergence of the Seasonal Schools that favored the creation of folkloric groups that traced a route for the subsequent work.

the long run, became icons in Chile, such as Violeta Parra and Margot Loyola. The latter had participated in activities organized by the Institute of Musical Research.

The implementation of these university extension courses was important for the emergence of two groups that linked music and dance and became known as *Conjuntos Folklóricos* [*Folkloric Ensembles*]: Cuncumen (1955) and Millaray (1957). What is relevant is that from these courses and from both groups emerged folklorists who came to play a fundamental role in the establishment of a cultural field focused on folklore and the popular world in Chile, such as, for example, Victor Jara, who was trained in theater at the University of Chile and, as a student at the Seasonal Schools, became the theater and dance director of Cuncumen. This theatrical dimension⁴ became very important in the folkloric groups. The role of Victor Jara was developed in Cuncumen, as the director of emblematic plays related to the popular, and later as a composer linked to the movement La Nueva Canción Chilena. He was brutally assassinated in 1973 by the right-wing civil-military dictatorship established by Augusto Pinochet (1973–1990). The Cuncumen Group, closely linked to the work of Margot Loyola, became one of the fundamental artistic agents in the “institutionalization of the concept of folklore and the consolidation of repertoire, performative practice, and a way of approaching folklore. [They] will have the support of the university, but also of the music industry, especially radio and records” (González, Ohlsen and Tolle 2009: 311).

Thanks to these courses, the field of folklore spread from the academy to the communities throughout Chile and the practice of collecting and staging began to be legitimized and reproduced through different channels, having in its genesis a relevant impulse from the University of Chile, the state university by excellence in the country. Hence the relevance of the link between the Seasonal Schools and an important view of the State materialized in the policies of the Popular Front, which at the level of institutions, created in the same period, materialized in the creation of the *Teatro Experimental* [*Experimental Theater*] of the University of Chile in 1941 and the *Teatro Ensayo* [*Rehearsal Theater*] of the Catholic University in 1943. There, popular themes and folkloric elements were incorporated in the so-called Generation of 1950.

In the 1960s, the boom of the recording and radio industry, as well as the social processes that mobilized the search for political alternatives to im-

⁴ González, Ohlsen and Tolle maintain that already at that time a modernized theater influenced by five elements proposed by Ochsenuis will predominate, two of which will be fundamental for the folk ensembles: “the respect for the authenticity of the representation in relation to the original text; and the collective rather than individual sense of the theatrical representation” (quoted in González, Ohlsen and Tolle 2009: 314).

prove the situation of deeply rooted inequalities in the country, generated the conditions for the emergence of new trends linked to musical folklore, such as *La nueva Cancion Chilena* [*The New Chilean Song*], *Neofolklore*, *Typical Music* (an expression linked to the stereotypes of the countryside elite, located in the central valley of Chile, which helped the dominant sectors to symbolize a concept of national identity based on the image of the *huaso* (cowboy)). On the other hand, the developmentalist policies of the sixties provided the framework for training establishments that were nurtured by the contribution of Latin American authors of the time, particularly authors who sought to circumscribe the object of folklore such as Augusto Raúl Cortázar from Argentina and Paulo de Carvalho-Neto from Brazil.

Given their relationship with the institution of university and also with the already institutionalized practice of folklorists, as well as their link with teaching, these perspectives were elaborated by authors such as dr. Manuel Danneman, who was linked to the Institute of Musical Research of the University of Chile since his youth. His work stands out together with the folklorist Raquel Barros, Chilean folklorist who, in 1952, formed the *Agrupación Folklórica Chilena* [*Chilean Folk Group*], the longest-lived of this nature that exists to date in Chile, influenced by groups of this type formed in Spain at that time. Along with the research and staging work, his publications in the *Revista Musical Chilena* [*Chilean Musical Magazine*] stand out. Subsequently, the academic Manuel Danneman was linked to the major of Anthropology of the University of Chile, to the formative exponents in the field of folklore designed at national level and to the creation of an interfaculty seminar of the university that facilitated the reproduction of his theoretical proposals.

On the other hand, it is worth mentioning the work of the intellectual Gaston Soublette of musicological formation who, having had Violeta Parra as a teacher, was also connected to the Institute of Musical Research, as well as to the Chilean Radio as a producer whose work *Chile en 4 Cuerdas* [*Chile in 4 Strings*] should be pointed out, elaborated during the government of the Popular Unity (*La Unidad Popular*) led by Salvador Allende (1970–1973); Soublette was later linked to the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, from where a relevant musicological trend arose carried out by figures such as the musicologist Samuel Claro Valdés and dr. Fidel Sepúlveda. Simultaneously, a field of thought more closely linked to philosophy will emerge here, which will also achieve an important degree of socialization among Chilean folklorists in the second half of the 20th century.

Next, we present the two approaches developed in Chile together with a brief overview of the perspective of Augusto Raúl Cortázar from Argentina, that can be considered a base point between two Chilean perspectives. Previously, Donoso (2009) analyzed these approaches from an important

socio-political and historical perspective, that we seek to deepen with a view to their epistemological background. Thus, the theoretical panorama can be summarized as follows:

1) A concept of folklore as a science that studies a particular kind of behavior.

2) Traditional Culture as a privileged field linked to cultures of oral tradition located preferably in the peasant environment prior to the processes of modernization.

3) A distinction between authentically folkloric manifestations that would constitute the true object of folklore (folklore-life) versus a non-authentic field that would be constituted by the projection of folklore, although, as we will develop throughout the work, it became the space where the aesthetic practices linked to this field currently predominate.

Folklore Studies as a Science

The Chilean author who has represented this perspective, derived from positivist epistemology, that states that folklore is a science, is dr. Manuel Danneman. According to his proposals, folklore constitutes a science that is part of the social sciences but, therefore, it should not be limited “como todavía ocurre con prodigalidad, a construir catastros o registros descriptivos de las cosas, por muy útiles que ellos sean, ya que así no se llegará nunca a penetrar científicamente en ellas para explicarlas y sistematizarlas en su universo al cual pertenecen” [“as it still happens with prodigality, to build cadastres or descriptive records of things, however useful they may be, since in this way one will never be able to scientifically penetrate them in order to explain and systematize them in their universe to which they belong”] (Danneman 2007: 52). To circumscribe folklore to a scientific discipline presupposes defining its object and method.

In relation to classic distinctions between “folk=people” and “lore=knowledge”, Danneman criticizes the definition of its object to a pre-determined vision of what would be the people, and thus strongly criticizes what he considers as a “presunta diferencia social y cultural entre personas folclóricas y no folclóricas, demostrando cómo en cada ser humano coexisten estas dos clases de conductas, pudiéndose comprobar grados de uso de ambas en un individuo o en un grupo, y en todas sus formas de vida” [“presumed social and cultural difference between folkloric and non-folkloric people, demonstrating how in every human being these two kinds of behaviors coexist, being able to verify degrees of use of both in an individual or in a group, and in all their forms of life”] (Danneman 2007: 48). Two relevant issues arise from this: on the one hand, the object of study of folklore is deprived of the

popular dimension as a preconceived factor, since it is a matter of accounting for a “type of behavior” that could be transversal from the social point of view (Donoso 2009). However, an aspect of his approach has been recognized as positive at Latin American level: it no longer starts from *a priori* categories to define the folkloric quality of a manifestation (Fischman, 2012), such as, for example, that they are anonymous, traditional, preferably oral, vernacular or rustic (Fischman 2012; Dupey 2008; Luyten 2006). As a counterpart, Danneman posits that:

“en el universo de los bienes culturales, que éstos sean anónimos o de autor conocido, de forma arcaica o moderna, de gran antigüedad o recientes, rústicos o refinados, que gocen o no de gran popularidad, que sean de práctica colectiva o individual, de uso oral u otro, constituyen atributos secundarios para calificar la folcloricidad de ellos” (Danneman 2007: 49).

[“in the universe of cultural goods, whether they are anonymous or of known author, of archaic or modern form, of great antiquity or recent, rustic or refined, whether they enjoy great popularity or not, whether they are of collective or individual practice, of oral use or other, constitute secondary attributes to qualify their folkloricity” (Danneman 2007: 49).]

It turns out that folklore constitutes a type of culture that, by manifesting itself through phenomenologically determinable behaviors, is expressed in different degrees. Hence, it proposes a set of categories that allow the positivist scientific study of folklore phenomena to be circumscribed. The first of them is the notion of “folkloric community” which does not depend on permanent or stable cohesion due to factors related to “razones étnicas, geográficas, históricas, económicas, idiomáticas, educacionales, ideologías, además de las socioculturales generales, causantes todas ellas de una idiosincrasia, más los caracteres folclóricos que le pudiesen conferir uno u otro especialista” [“ethnic, geographical, historical, economic, idiomatic, educational, ideological reasons, in addition to the general socio-cultural ones, all of them causing an idiosyncrasy, plus the folkloric characters that may be conferred by one or another specialist”] (Danneman 1976, in Danneman 2007: 51). On the contrary, for the author, it is about the participation of people in a “customized and consecrated behavior by the traditional usufruct of goods with an autonomous function of common, proper, agglutinating and representative, with respect to those people” (1976, in 2007: 51). Hence, in his perspective, when the folkloric behavior concludes, the folkloric community also disappear. That is to say, “there is no ensemble of properly folkloric individuals” (Blache 1980: 39), instead, there are situations propitious for the subjects to

participate in a folkloric behavior⁵. Manuel Danneman synthesizes his perspective by identifying the following components:

“1) Instancia de la conducta humana. 2) en la cual una o más personas de un grupo o de más de un grupo, 3) recurren al uso de cualesquiera bienes que, después de procesos de selección y de re-elaboración de algunos de sus componentes, llegan a ser: 3.1) de su pertenencia recíproca, 3.2, de su más intensa correspondencia de identidad, 3.3) de su propia, específica y local tradición. 4) Para constituir una comunidad transitoria, la folclórica, que existe mientras se produce la práctica de dichos bienes, y cuyos miembros adquieren, durante ese evento, una condición de fundamental homogeneidad y logran una intertransferencia de sus comportamientos de comunicación y acción” (Danneman 1991: 16, citado en Danneman 2007: 52).

[“1) Instance of human behavior, 2) in which one or more individuals of a group or of more than one group, 3) resort to the use of any goods that, after processes of selection and re-elaboration of some of their components, become: 3.1. of their reciprocal belonging, 3.2. of their most intense correspondence of identity, 3.3. of their own, specific and local tradition. 4. To constitute a transitory community, the folkloric one, which exists while the practice of such goods takes place, and whose members acquire, during that event, a condition of fundamental homogeneity and achieve an intertransference of their communication and action behaviors” (Danneman 1991: 16, in Danneman 2007: 52).]

Proposal above suggests that in this conception of folkloric community characteristics that in other aspects appear as aprioristic, such as the representativeness and identity of the manifestations, are now reorganized to become a part of pragmatic process that reminds us of the theories of the sign.

Considering the scope of the recent Chilean history, Donoso (2009) links this perspective with the cultural policy developed by the right-wing civil-military dictatorship (1973–1990) in Chile, since the quality of folklore is not constituted by a set of *a priori* features or by a type of people with certain characteristics that would constitute the people, but by the usufruct that a community – temporarily constituted beyond the characteristics of its participants – creates concerning certain good that has the capacity of identification. In this way, the folkloric no longer refers exclusively to the

⁵ The Argentine theorist Marta Blache underlines the ambiguities of these approaches since, under such a definition, for example, a military or school event in honor of the flag and patriotism could be considered a folkloric event, although many scholars would certainly reject it.

popular classes, therefore “en un estudio publicado en 1974, considera que las canciones ‘Yo tenía un camarada’ (marcha militar) o ‘Adiós al Séptimo de Línea (creada en la década de 1960) sean parte del patrimonio folclórico de la nación chilena, pues según su interpretación, contribuirían a fortalecer la identificación entre la comunidad nacional” [“in a study published in 1974, he considers that the songs *Yo tenía un camarada* [*I had a comrade*] (military march) or *Adiós al Séptimo de Línea* [*Farewell to the Seventh of Line*] (created in the 1960s) are part of the folkloric heritage of the Chilean nation, because according to his interpretation, they would contribute to strengthening the identification among the national community”] (Donoso 2009: 37). The same remarks were previously made from the scope of Blache’s theory (1980). Even from the methodological point of view and in the same eagerness to delimit the characteristics of the object of study, in one of her academic works she argues that folklore differs from ethnology because its object of study focuses on communities that have achieved a greater degree of progress while ethnology focuses on the indigenous world. This conception, although justified from the methodological point of view, opens epistemological and ontological fissures, revealing an evolutionist conception that relates to the beginnings of folklore and the anthropological sciences since the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Ortiz 1989; Dupey 2008).

An Aesthetic Look from the Philosophical Reflection: Traditional Culture

Currently in Chile, one of the most widely used concepts among folklorists as reference to the cultural and expressive field that emerged linked to folklore, is that of Traditional Culture. The speculative development of the concept mostly benefited from a philosophical perspective anchored in the field of Aesthetics. This hermeneutic approach is located in a logical space different than one in the positivist approach defended by Manuel Danneman: humanist reflection oriented towards an ethics, also identified with a social segment – the scope of existence of the so-called Traditional Culture. In this sense, we will focus on two Chilean intellectuals who developed the work that has been contemplating and disseminating these perspectives during the last decades of the twentieth century and the first decades of the twenty-first century: namely the work of Fidel Sepúlveda and Gastón Soubllette, based on development linked to the Institute of Aesthetics of the Catholic University of Chile.

First, we shall focus on some general aspects of the ideas of Fidel Sepúlveda Llanos (1936–2006), who developed a work of intellectual reflection, teaching and analysis of cultural expressions such as the folk tale,

the *Canto a Lo Divino y a Lo humano* [*Song to the Divine and the Human*], in addition to a facet of being also a prolific writer. His reflections arise from humanistic and hermeneutic perspective, specifically around the concept of Traditional Culture which, according to him, constitutes “el subsuelo donde se gestan y decantan las imágenes y los símbolos con los que un pueblo dice su modo de ser en el mundo” [“the subsoil where the images and symbols through which people articulate their way of being in the world are conceived and decanted”] (Sepúlveda 2002: 7).

Representative corpus has been decanted from Traditional Culture:

“(…) Un nicho antropológico amplio y complejo que integra gran cantidad y variedad de factores creadores de cultura; por gestarse en un largo proceso de sucesivas rectificaciones y ratificaciones que depuran su expresión superando largamente la prueba del tiempo; Por ser una creación cultural dialógica, resultante del encuentro entre lo antiguo y lo reciente, lo autóctono y lo foráneo, lo particular y lo universal” (...) “la cultura tradicional es el laboratorio donde fraguan las imágenes y los símbolos expresivos de nuestra idiosincrasia. Las creaciones plásticas de la cultura tradicional, grafican magníficamente la relación del hombre americano con su entorno mineral, vegetal, animal” (Sepúlveda, 2002: 7).

[“(…) A broad and complex anthropological niche that integrates great quantity and variety of culture-creating factors; for being conceived in a long process of successive rectifications and ratifications that refine its expression largely overcoming the trial of time; for being a dialogic cultural creation, resulting from the encounter between the ancient and the recent, the autochthonous and the foreign, the specific and the universal (...) Traditional culture is the laboratory where the images and expressive symbols of our idiosyncrasy are forged. The plastic creations of traditional culture magnificently illustrate the relationship of the American man with his mineral, vegetable and animal environment” (Sepúlveda 2002: 7).]

This cultural subsoil is at the basis of the expressive characteristics that, for example, music reaches by modulating pitch, melody and rhythm in communities in the north, south, east and west of Chile. The poetic word “creates the world and creates man. Poetry in decimas has written sacred and profane history as no historian has ever done. The narrative, in its stories, embodies a true treaty of ‘education of the cacique’, to lead the community from independence to autonomy, from loneliness to solidarity” (Sepúlveda 2002: 8). Finally, it is in the myth and in the rite where the gestures of everyday life are rescued for their permanence, where history achieves an endur-

ing dimension. This subsoil would be the basis of a genuine originality, from where the people drink wisdom and experience, so that it becomes part of the tangible and intangible heritage. On this notion of heritage, the Chilean aesthete argues:

“Si el patrimonio cultural es el universo de monumentos que orientan acerca de las fronteras y direcciones cardinales de un pueblo, si es la muestra de lo mejor que ha creado, ciertamente la cultura tradicional debe tener ahí un sitio destacado. Sus monumentos son el doble simbólico más certero para saber qué somos, de donde venimos, a donde vamos. Todo este universo está en directa relación con ‘el horizonte del pasado del que vive toda la vida humana y que está ahí bajo la forma de la tradición...donde lo nuevo y lo viejo crecen juntos hacia una validez llena de vida’” (H. G. Gadamer, en Sepúlveda 2002: 8–9).

[“If cultural heritage is the universe of monuments that guide the borders and cardinal directions of a people, if it is the sample of the best it has created, certainly traditional culture should have a prominent place there. Its monuments are the most accurate symbolic double to know what we are, where we come from, where we are going. All this universe is in direct relation with ‘the horizon of the past from which all human life lives and which is there in the form of tradition... where the new and the old grow together towards a validity full of life’” (H. G. Gadamer, in Sepúlveda 2002: 8–9).

In this hermeneutic reflection, tradition appears no longer as content but as horizon where the old and the new come together, which, in the words of the Chilean philosopher, it could be apprehended as metabolism that allows discerning what is vital and what is viable for the future. Hence, it is possible to establish a relationship between this reflection and the perspectives that emphasize tradition as the instance of selection around certain expressions.

In her deliberations on this perspective, Karen Donoso underlines that academic Fidel Sepúlveda reflects on human experience, and not on folklore considered as “facts”; and, despite the fact that in his opinion a humanist matrix hybridized with the reflections of romanticism is evident, far from pointing to an essentialist view of folklore, he points out the foundations of an understanding of what would be an art-life arising from the crossing-over between the old and the new on the basis of a common horizon.

“La tradición, para Sepúlveda, nunca es sólo pasado, la tradición vive cuando se nutre de lo nuevo y eso nuevo puede re-

interpretar o revitalizar la forma de las tradiciones, al momento que se produce el encuentro de 'los signos del presente con los del pasado y desde ahí proyectar al futuro'. A partir de este diálogo es que este investigador plantea que la tradición se vive en un tiempo vital más lento, lo que denominó la 'tranhistoria', el tiempo de las cosmovisiones culturales y sus ejes, que trasciende la intrahistoria (el tiempo personal de cada individuo) y la interhistoria (el tiempo de la sociedad), explicando la razón de por qué las tradiciones permanecen en el tiempo por varias generaciones" (Donoso 2009: 41-42).

[“Tradition, for Sepúlveda, is never only the past. Tradition lives when it is nourished by the new and the new can reinterpret or revitalize the forms of tradition, at the moment that an encounter takes place between ‘the signs of the present and those of the past and from there project into the future’. It is from this dialogue that the researcher proposes that tradition is lived in a slower vital time, what he called ‘tranhistory’, the time of cultural worldviews and their axes, which transcends intrahistory (the personal time of each individual) and interhistory (the time of society), explaining the reason why traditions remain alive for several generations” (Donoso 2009: 41-42).]

In order to delve deeper into this view that was expressed through the Aesthetics Institute of the Catholic University of Chile in the last decades of the 20th century and the first decades of the 21st century, it is also relevant to understand the ideas of the Chilean philosopher and musicologist Gastón Soublette. This author explicitly grounds the ethical and aesthetic foundation in which the reflection on Traditional Culture is circumscribed, and distinguishes it from the scientific approach. To do so, he resorts to two categories originating in theology, such as the distinction between the Knowledge of Salvation and the Knowledge of Mastery. While science is circumscribed to the latter, traditional culture is linked to the former. Hence, traditional culture in Chile reveals a type of Wisdom that, as in other cultures of the world such as the Jewish or Greek, has been put in writing through texts that preserve a type of knowledge expressed through genres such as the folk tale and proverbs. Hence, it is a culture that was once also part of the elite, but which, gradually, due to its modernization, became established in the rural and popular social segments of population that preserved it through memory⁶. Therefore, through works dedicated to expressions such as the *Canto a*

⁶ In an interview given about 20 years ago in a talk show, Gastón Soublette explains how decisive it was in the mid-twentieth century to meet Violeta Parra, in time when he was director of broadcasting at Radio Chilena. As a result of that joint work, he began to transcribe parts of the enormous compilation work of in the field carried out by the funda-

Lo Divino, el Cuento Tradicional o los Proverbios [the Traditional Tale or the Proverbs], they have sought to put in writing part of this wisdom in works by Gastón Soublette and Fidel Sepúlveda.

For Soublette, both the tale and the proverbs are expressions that reveal the wisdom present in the Traditional Culture in Chile. In this regard, he states that in the case of the folk tale, the narratives collected from the oral tradition fixed in a text have generally occurred when such traditions began to be interfered by ideologies and ways of life of modernity. The same author infers that in France this tradition was beginning to disappear due to the fact that King Louis XIV himself orders the collection of the oral tradition of the nation and subsequently, authors such as the Grimm brothers (Germany), Hans Christian Andersen (Denmark) and many others, began work on compilation “como un anhelo del romanticismo de recuperar la sabia inocencia del texto hablado popular” [“as a longing of romanticism to recover the wise innocence of the popular spoken text”] (Soublette 2017: 14). In case of Chile, Soublette argues that part of the transfer that occurs from an oral tradition to the written texts of the recollections

“podemos hallarla comparando las recopilaciones realizadas por investigadores desde fines del siglo XIX con las realizadas a mediados del siglo pasado. Es un hecho que entre esas dos épocas comenzó un lento desvanecimiento de la memoria que sostiene la cultura oral, porque ésta es incompatible con los modos de vida del actual modelo de civilización” (Soublette, Robles y Veloz 2017: 9).

“can be found by comparing the compilations made by researchers since the end of the 19th century with those made in the middle of the last century. It is a fact that between those two eras began a slow fading of memory that sustains the oral culture, because it is incompatible with the ways of life of the current model of civilization” (Soublette, Robles and Veloz 2017: 9).

Writing stories in formats that the written text implies, a type of format that works according to different logic from the one coming from the oral tradition, since the former is a part of the illustrated culture, while the latter comprises manifestations that previously lived in “la oralidad y sus modos de transmisión, con lo que se quiere decir que la comunidad cultural

mental Chilean artist into music sheets. The relevant part of the quote is that, in Soublette’s words in interview, Violeta Parra’s great merit lies in the fact that “she shows the face of traditional culture in all its dignity” (available at: Gastón Soublette in *The Beauty of Thinking* (2003) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=em14Hs8SKko>). It is about people that possess a traditional culture different from the bourgeois culture, in a way that provokes much greater social cohesion than the latter. In the narrative he argues that Violeta Parra’s great merit was to have revealed traditional culture to the Chilean bourgeoisie.

se fue alejando del narrador y del particular modo de entregarnos su versión del patrón narrativo básico de los cuentos, con las variantes ocasionales del relato” [“orality and its means of transmission, meaning that the cultural community moved away from the narrator and the distinctive way of delivering its version of the basic narrative pattern of the stories, with occasional variants of the tale”] (Soubllette 2017: 10).

It is precisely from the characteristics of the folk tale, enunciated by Vladimir Propp, that Soubllette reflects on the importance of the hero in the several tales and how these constitute a way through which the concern for what he calls sensible behavior is expressed. For this reason, according to the author, the hero who is called to fulfill a very important mission constitutes a character that exists in all cultures: “podemos decir que la humanidad siempre se ha contado los mismos cuentos, y eso porque al fin todos los hombres son en esencia iguales” [“we can say that humanity has always been telling itself the same tales, and that is because in the end all men are in essence the same”] (Soubllette 2017: 13). He adds that the marvelous tales are derived from heroic myths and therefore can be considered minor myths since, as social changes took place, they disappeared from the upper strata of society. These strata at some point – the author points out – also had spoken texts, but later they went into writing in an effort to recreate the ancient traditions: “Esto realizado especialmente por clérigos de gran erudición. Es lo que ocurrió con las historias del Santo Grial; del rey Arturo y los caballeros de la mesa redonda; las proezas de Rolando, el Cid campeador, Tristán e Isolda, y otras de la misma naturaleza” [“This was done especially by clergymen of great erudition. This is what happened with the stories of the Holy Grail; of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table; the exploits of Roland, the Cid Campeador, Tristan and Isolde, and others of the same nature”] (Soubllette 2017: 13). These texts were known thanks to the recitations of court jugglers while members of the clergy and the bourgeoisie were able to acquire copies of these already written texts. If these expressions were collected by a descriptive anthropology in their prime, later “los cuentos como los mitos y otras formas narrativas de la antigua tradición oral, son procesados con criterios de interpretación con los aportes de las otras ramas del saber” [“the tales like the myths and other narrative forms of the ancient oral tradition, are processed with criteria of interpretation with the contributions of the other branches of knowledge”] (Soubllette 2018: 15). Thus, while the first deals with the collection, dissemination and formal and thematic analysis, as Vladimir Propp does, the second is hermeneutically linked to the interpretation of narratives fundamentally stemming from the analytical psychology, and points to authors such as Karl Gustav Jung, among others, “quienes tendieron a ver en la aventura heroica un sentido de maduración psicológica

denominado por Jung proceso de individuación” [“who tended to see, in heroic adventure, a sense of psychological maturation that Jung named process of individuation”] (Soubllette 2018: 15). This perspective differs from the approach of science which, aimed at accounting for the phenomenon, exhausts the object of study itself, while in interpretations based on a complex reading of myths and tales a more pervasive interpretative approach has been expressed, giving an account of the importance of the human message they provide. The distinction between knowledge of salvation and knowledge of mastery⁷ is revisited here, but the relevance of the expressions of traditional culture lies in the fact that they account for a wisdom understood as

“conocimiento vivencial referido al sentido de la vida, se puede emplear también el término salvación en el entendido que el hombre debe acceder de algún modo a ese conocimiento para vivir sensatamente, pues existe una legalidad inherente a la vida humana expresada originariamente en lo que hoy podríamos llamar la ley de las sociedades primitivas, pero enseñada después de toda su profundidad en los mitos heroicos y los cuentos, y posteriormente en las enseñanzas impartidas directamente por los sabios; conocimiento que el hombre siempre corre el riesgo de perder y caer en la insensatez y sus graves consecuencias pues ocurre que ignorar la sabiduría no puede hacerse impunemente, y de esa igno-

⁷ In the same text the author states that: “Esta distinción procede de la teología, y fue adoptada después por la antropología. En la teología se usa el calificativo saber de salvación para definir el saber que es propio de las sagradas escrituras, a fin de diferenciarlo del que es propio de las ciencias y la filosofía. Resulta particularmente claro si se considera, por ejemplo, que en las sagradas escrituras hebreas está incluida una parte considerable de la historia del pueblo de Israel, y no por eso la Biblia puede ser considerada sin más como un texto histórico como lo entiende hoy la ciencia de la Historia. Esto se entiende bien si se compara esta historia teológica hebrea con las célebres Historias de Herodoto. Este autor, considerado el padre de la Historia, hace la cuenta descriptiva del pasado de muchos pueblos, con el solo propósito de difundir ese conocimiento, en tanto que la Biblia aborda la historia del pasado del Pueblo de Israel solo desde el hecho de la irrucción de Dios en el destino del pueblo” [“This distinction comes from theology, and was later adopted by anthropology. In theology, the qualifier knowledge of salvation is used to define the knowledge that is proper for the sacred scriptures, in order to differentiate it from the knowledge that pertains to the sciences and philosophy. It is particularly clear if we consider, for example, that the Hebrew sacred scriptures contain a considerable part of the history of the people of Israel, and that the Bible cannot therefore be considered simply a historical text as historiography understands it today. This is well understood if we compare this Hebrew theological history with the famous *Histories* of Herodotus. This author, considered the father of History, gives a descriptive account of the past of many peoples, with the sole purpose of spreading this knowledge, while the Bible deals with the past of the People of Israel only because God is involved in their destiny”] (Soubllette 2017: 16).

rancia y sus consecuencias deriva el carácter de saber de salvación de la sabiduría” (Soublette 2017: 17).

[“experiential knowledge referring to the meaning of life. One can also use the term salvation comprehending that men must somehow access this knowledge in order to live sensibly, because there is a lawfulness inherent in human life, originally expressed in what we today could call the law of primitive societies, but taught, in all its depth, through heroic myths and tales, and later on in the teachings imparted directly by the wise men; knowledge that men is always in risk of losing, thus falling into foolishness and its serious consequences, for it happens that ignoring wisdom cannot be done with impunity, and from that ignorance and its consequences the character of wisdom’s salvation knowledge is derived” (Soublette 2017: 17).]

In this context then appear figures of the popular wise men who become “lords of the word”, anonymous narrators who are, in community contexts, sheltered in a long tradition, generating a process where the reception of metaphors without being explained penetrated in the collective unconscious, which is placed where, from this perspective and according to the author, the symbolic patterns reside. In this way, a knowledge of salvation was established through the wisdom contained in such stories.

The same author, in a book dedicated to proverbs, maintains that wisdom constitutes a type of superior and experiential knowledge through which the meaning of life is grasped. There he explicitly points out that “ciencia está bajo ella ya que solo se ocupa de los fenómenos” [“science is under it since it only deals with phenomena”] (Soublette 2009: 10). Hence, the theoretical and methodological approach is circumscribed to a long-standing humanist tradition rather than to science, since “con solo la ciencia el hombre no puede asumir su destino como ser humano, por esa vía será siempre sólo un testigo del acontecer. Pero la sabiduría trasciende la dimensión de los fenómenos y va más allá de la percepción ordinaria de los hechos y las cosas” [“with science alone, man cannot assume his destiny as a human being, he will always be only a witness of events. But wisdom transcends the dimension of phenomena and goes beyond the ordinary perception of facts and things”] (Soublette 2009: 10). Soublette points out that this wisdom emerges from an instance of human consciousness and spirituality that people precisely possessed, and that necessarily contradicts today’s dominant utilitarian, technological and economic knowledge. For example, while studying the proverbs in Chile, he argues that they have lost their validity in the country that has lost precisely that wisdom as a result of modernity. Therefore, this wisdom should share take its place in the field of humanities and social sci-

ences within university education, as a way of promoting a more cohesive society than the prevailing modern one, shaped by current happenings in the country. Hence also a concept reflected and developed from the Institute of Aesthetics of the Catholic University of Chile: Traditional Culture.

A Bridge in the Discourse of Folklorists: Projection

The synthesis of both conceptual perspectives is found in an approach previous to those exposed above and it may contradict them even in its epistemological scope. However, the discourse of folklorists elaborated a synthesis that has allowed the indistinct coexistence of concepts and visions in spite of the distinct meanings evoked by the concepts. The reason might be the relevance and pervasiveness in Chile of the Argentine author's, Augusto Raúl Cortázar's approach to folklore, in which allegedly authentic folkloric phenomena are being differentiated from others that lack this condition. His perspective stems from aprioristic conceptual efforts to define folklore, but such concepts have also coexisted, in an unproblematic way, in the use of Chilean folklorists, because they provide clarity for normative definition of what would or would not be folklore. Their perspective on the distinction between Folklore-life, projection of folklore became so relevant that in Chile a whole wave of artistic groups linked to folklore acquired the name *Conjuntos de Proyección Folklórica* [Folkloric Projection Ensembles]. This synthesis is achieved in the discourse of folklorists and in the spaces of cultural production linked to public, municipal and even communicational policies and is reproduced through formative exponents where folklorist teachers and managers of folkloric groups have been nurtured, thus orienting both the compilation practices and those linked to the artistic staging of expressions later typified as folkloric.

Augusto Raúl Cortázar proposed the existence of expressions that can be conceived as authentically folkloric with respect to others that lack this condition. This author proposes an approach that was later replicated in Chile in the academic production among those who were trained in the categories of folklore as a science as well as among those who received training from the aesthetic-philosophical reflection based on the notion of Traditional Culture. It is a phenomenological distinction that will constitute the element of union between the previous approaches and that will constitute the theoretical basis on which the symbolic wealth of "to know or not" about folklore is built among Chilean folklorists of the second half of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first century. The source is the distinction made by Augusto Raúl Cortázar between folklore itself and the projection of folklore (any staging that is outside the ethnographic context or, in the words

of Chilean folklorists, where “its context” is found, thus making a notion that has long been flexible in the humanities and social sciences more rigid). For Cortázar, the projection of folklore corresponds to the

“manifestaciones producidas fuera de su ambiente geográfico y cultural, por obra de personas determinadas o determinables, que se inspiran en la realidad folclórica cuyo estilo formal o carácter trasuntan y reelaboran en sus obras e interpretaciones destinadas al público general, preferentemente urbano, al cual se transmite por medios mecánicos e institucionalizados” (Cortázar 1976: 50).

[“expressions produced outside their geographical and cultural context, by determined or determinable people, who are inspired by the folkloric reality whose formal style or character they transposed and reelaborate in their works and interpretations destined to the general public, preferably urban, to which it is transmitted by mechanical and institutionalized means” (Cortázar 1976: 50).]

Exponents of Discursive Reproduction of the Previous Perspectives in the Second Half of the 20th Century

Proliferation of Folkloric Ensembles in Chile, by the second half of the 20th century brought about grouping in exponents such as the *Confederación Nacional de Conjuntos Folklóricos de Chile* (CONACOF), *la Asociación Metropolitana de Folklore* (AMFOLCHI), *el Festival Nacional de Folklore de San Bernardo*, which had a jury specialized in folklore that evaluated the level of performances based on field descriptions – or the *Federación de Folklore del Magisterio de Chile* (FEFOMACH), composed of teachers who were central agents in the reproduction of a folkloric repertoire, the creation of artistic folklore groups and the dissemination of concepts cultivated academically in this area in Chile.

The discursive reproduction took place through training exponents for folklorists where mainly primary and secondary school teachers in Chile participated and which allowed socializing in the different regions of the country and later in public tenets, concepts and discussions that circulated in academic spaces such as academic journals (*Revista Aisthesis* at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, or the *Revista de Investigaciones Folklóricas* in Argentina) and seminars. Among these exponents, crucial for the socialization of folklore cultural field beyond intellectual elite, that were crucial concerning concepts that today circulate around folklore, we can mention the following:

1) *Escuela Nacional de Folklore* (ENAF) [*National School of Folklore*]

Towards the 1980s with the support of the University of Concepción, 20 courses were planned giving life to ENAF, an institution that received Chilean folklorists among its students, mainly normalist teachers from all over the country who then replicated their learning in their respective regions. After some years the direction of ENAF was in charge of dr. Fidel Sepúlveda from the Institute of Aesthetics of the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile and some years later the director was dr. Manuel Danneman, at that time linked to the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chile. Prestigious teachers and folklorists in Chile participated in the National School of Folklore, such as the Mapuche intellectual and university academic Domingo Curaqueo, the anthropologist María Ester Grebe, the folklorists Oreste Plath, Raquel Barros, Carlos González, the ethnomusicologist Hiranio Chávez, among others. From Argentina, the participation of academics Félix Coluccio and Marta Blache, among others, is recalled. Continental Chile has a territory of 4,200 kilometers of coastline and the ENAF opened branches in cities in the north and south of Chile, so it counted on secondary offices that allowed the participation of folklorists and primary and secondary school teachers to be expanded even further.

2) *Jornadas de Arte y Cultura Tradicional* [*Days of Art and Traditional Culture*]

It arises around 1986 and was developed under the umbrella of the Institute of Aesthetics of the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. This workshop was attended by academics such as Fidel Sepúlveda, Hiranio Chávez, Juan Estanislao Pérez and Jorge Cáceres, among others. In the wake of these workshops, educational work was carried out with teachers from all over Chile and academic publications were also produced that helped to reinforce and disseminate the concept of Traditional Culture even further. Just as an example, we can cite that on the occasion of the Educational Reform that took place in Chile in the early 2000s, the book *Cultura Tradicional, Identidad y Reforma Educacional* [*Traditional Culture, Identity and Educational Reform*] was published as part of the collection of the Magazine of Aesthetics *Aisthesis* of the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile framed in the XVIII Season of Art and Traditional Culture of the same University. This text is only an example of the relevance of the theoretical perspective that authors such as Gastón Soublette and Fidel Sepúlveda developed mainly through this educational exponent.

In relation to the university programs that included the area of folklore, these were mainly concentrated in training programs for basic edu-

cation teachers, pedagogy in Musical Education and Pedagogy in Physical Education through different Chilean universities and that were dictated by university professors who, generally, participated directly or indirectly in educational exponents such as those mentioned above. For example, during the second half of the 20th century, dr. Manuel Danneman taught folklore in the anthropology program at the University of Chile. Also, in that department he developed the theoretical foundations of the Interfaculty Seminar called “Folklore as Culture”, where he reproduced these perspectives to students of different majors of the University, as well as through the extension courses organized by the *Ballet folclórico Antumapu* [Folkloric Ballet Antumapu] of that University, which mainly trains directors of new folkloric artistic groups and teachers in Chile. On the other hand, the impact of the work of the late dr. Fidel Sepúlveda is expressed in the presence of courses on Aesthetics and study programs in Traditional Culture at the Catholic University of Chile, as well as in the bachelor’s degree program in Aesthetics offered by the same University.

Final Reflections: Discursive Affinity – Conceptual Gap

Before concluding, it should be noted that in the cultural field of folklore in Chile other perspectives existed, as is the case of Chilean anthropologist María Ester Grebe who proposed a viewpoint anchored in structuralism, which has been mentioned, for example, by the Chilean folklorist Margot Loyola (Loyola and Cádiz 2014), the most recognized in the area of the so-called folkloric projection. However, dr. Grebe’s work has had resonance in circles linked to Chilean anthropology more than to the field of folklorists.

The 1980s was a decade in which a market-based economic model was installed in Chile through neoliberalism. This system was implemented in the midst of the civil-military dictatorship (1973–1990) in an extremely violent scenario for many folklorists coming from the popular world, such as Victor Jara, composer and theater director who was part of the *Conjunto Cuncumen* [Cuncumen Group], one of the first folkloric ensembles in Chile and who was violently murdered by the Pinochet dictatorship, as well as other folklorists. As a result of these circumstances, the dictatorship focused an instrumentalization strongly introducing the imaginary of national identity associated with folklore. With the return to a democratic regime after 1990, new cultural institutions began to be installed, which went from a Division of Culture of the Ministry of Education to the creation of a Ministry of Cultures, Arts and Heritage, as it exists today.

Through the Funds for proposals, concepts such as folkloric music or folkloric roots have been institutionalized to allude to creations that follow

musical forms considered as folkloric. The same happens with the concept of Traditional Culture that appears linked to that of Popular Culture in other funds coming from the State through the Ministry of Cultures already mentioned.

Mainly linked to the representation of dances and music, an artistic field has been generated that circulates through public exponents, festivals and summer seasons, recontextualizing terms such as folklore and traditional culture and incorporating in such concepts meanings more related to the artistic fields referred to than to the epistemological discussions in which they were held in Chile.

At university level, the study of folkloric manifestations has lost ground to the development of disciplines such as anthropology, cultural studies, communication studies, linguistics and semiotics and the approaches to heritage that have unified public policies referring to the material and immaterial. Epistemologically speaking, there is a lack of a scientific community that carries out research around an object and method, as well as publications exclusively in this field. In the Chilean scientific system, the field of folklore does not appear as a discipline financed for scientific research, nor as a sub-discipline of areas such as linguistics or anthropology. However, the artistic practice linked to folkloric expressions has remained a part of University Extension programs and a content of artistic training areas, both in fields linked to programs of Pedagogy in General Basic Education, Pedagogy in Musical Education and Pedagogy in Physical Education. However, the perspective on Traditional Culture from its philosophical and hermeneutic matrix does have a place through academic specialization programs at the Catholic University of Chile.

Folklore and/or Traditional Culture also appear in the names of international groups and institutions identified through acronyms such as *Consejo Internacional de Organizaciones de Festivales de Folklore y de las Artes Tradicionales* – CIOFF (International Council of Organizations of Folklore Festivals and Folk Arts), IOV World – *Organización Internacional de Arte Popular Internacional* (Organization of International Folk Art) or *Federación Internacional de Danzas* – FIDAF (Federation of International Dance Festivals), in which new generations of young people prone to artistic training participate and, in some cases, related to folklorists of the generation that was part of the formative exponents such as the National Folklore Schools. In this sense, there is an emptying of the theoretical content that the quoted authors rendered to these concepts, as well as pragmatic resignifications associated with general ideas such as cultural heritage or national identity.

Currently, there are also exponents linked to the area of university extension such as the *Academia Nacional de Cultura Tradicional Margot Loyola Palacios* (Margot Loyola Academy of Traditional Culture), created in 2009

and training in some municipalities throughout Chile such as the *Escuela de Cultura Tradicional de Chiloé* (The School of Traditional Culture) that since 2019 has been organized by the Municipality of Castro, Great Island of Chiloé. Similarly, concerning contemporary disciplinary space, the domain of popular knowledge and oral tradition constitutes a field that is studied from other theoretical and methodological perspectives closer to the social sciences.

Traditional Culture is perhaps the concept that today achieves greater use among those who circumscribe themselves to the historically typified as folkloric scope. Nevertheless, it is clear that the epistemological gap, regarding the concrete uses of these concepts in the framework of exponents of production, circulation and consumption of cultural expressions, is an issue that should continue to be approached from perspectives such as the political economy of communication and culture, cultural studies, anthropology, communication sciences and, naturally, the current perspectives of folkloric studies.

References

- Anderson, Benedict (1993). *Comunidades Imaginadas: reflexiones sobre el origen y difusión del nacionalismo*. México FCE.
- Blache, Martha & Dupey, Ana María (2007). Itinerarios de los estudios folklóricos en la Argentina. *Relaciones de la Sociedad Argentina de Antropología* XXXII, 299–317.
- Blache, Marta (1980). Conceptualización del Folklore en Hispanoamérica y en la Argentina En: Blache, Marta & Magariños de Morentin. *Síntesis crítica de la teoría del Folklore en Hispanoamérica*. Buenos Aires, Tekné.
- Cortázar, Augusto Raúl (1976). *Ciencia Folclórica Aplicada. Reseña teórica y experiencia argentina*. Argentina: Fondo Nacional de Las Artes.
- Danneman, Manuel (2007). *Cultura Folklórica de Chile*. Tomo I. Santiago: Editorial Universitaria.
- Danneman, Manuel & Barros, Raquel (2002/1960). Los problemas de la investigación del folklore musical chileno. *Revista Musical Chilena*, 14(71), 105–119. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0716-27902002005600015>
- Donoso Fritz, Karen (2009). Por el arte-vida del pueblo: Debates en torno al folclore en Chile 1973–1990. *Revista Musical Chilena*, 63(212), 29–50.
- Dégh, Linda (1994). *American Folklore and the Mass Media*. Indiana University Press.
- Dupey, Ana (2008). La estética en la constitución de las identidades folklóricas en el discurso de los folcloristas. *Revista Arte, Individuo y Sociedad*, 20: 7–20.
- Fischman, Fernando (2012). Folklore and Folklore Studies in Latin America. In Regina F. Bendix & Galit Hasan-Rokem (Eds.), *Companion to Folklore* (pp. 265–285). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- González, Juan Pablo, Ohlsen, Óscar & Rolle, Claudio (2009). *Historia Social de la Música Popular en Chile, 1950—1970*. Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.

- Loyola, Margot & **Cádiz, Osvaldo (2014)**. *50 danzas tradicionales y populares en Chile*. Ediciones Universitarias de Valparaíso: Valparaíso Chile.
- Luyen, Joseph (2016). Folkmedia: una nueva visión del folclore y la Folkcomunicación. In Cristian Yáñez Aguilar, Guilherme Moreira Fernandes, Rodrigo Browne Sartori, Víctor Hugo Valenzuela, Carlos Del Valle Rojas & José Marques de Melo (Eds.) *Folkcomunicación en América Latina: diálogos entre Chile y Brasil* (pp. 57–63). Temuco: Ediciones Universidad de La Frontera.
- Ortiz, Renato (1989). Notas Históricas sobre el concepto de cultura popular. *Diálogos de la Comunicación*, 23. http://www.infoamerica.org/documentos_pdf/ortiz03.pdf (03.03.2021).
- Ortiz, Renato (1998). *Otro Territorio. Ensayos sobre el mundo contemporáneo*. Santafé de Bogotá, Convenio Andrés Bello.
- Salas, Filomena (1945). El Instituto de Investigaciones del folclore musical. *Revista Musical Chilena*, 1(3), 19–27. <https://revistamusicalchilena.uchile.cl/index.php/RMCH/article/view/10812/11067> (03.03.2021).
- Sepúlveda, Fidel (2002). La cultura tradicional, identidad, globalización. In Fidel Sepúlveda Llanos, José Pablo Concha Lagos (Eds.) *Cultura tradicional, identidad y reforma educacional: programa de capacitación*. XVIII Temporada de Arte y Cultura Tradicional (pp. 7–20). Santiago de Chile: Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Vicerrectoría Académica.
- Soublette, Gastón (2009). *Sabiduría Chilena de Tradición Oral (Proverbios)*. Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.
- Soublette, Gastón, Robles, Marisol, & Veloz, Verónica (2017). *Sabiduría Chilena de Tradición Oral (Cuentos)*. Chile: Ediciones Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.
- Yáñez Aguilar, Cristian (2015). Cultores y folcloristas. Una aproximación a la dimensión musical de José Santos Lincoman Inaicheo en Chiloé. Ponencia presentada en el 6º *Seminario Chiloé: Historia del Contacto*. Historia de las Comunidades Indígenas, Museo Regional de Ancud, Chiloé, Chile.
- Yáñez Aguilar, Cristian (2020). Mercado, agentes y recontextualizaciones expresivas: Reflexiones sobre fiestas costumbristas en el contexto económico actual (a propósito del sur de Chile). In Ana María Dupey (Ed.) *Fronteras del Folklore: Identidades y territorialidades* (pp. 7–20). Ciudad Autónoma Buenos Aires: Argentina.
- Yáñez Aguilar, Cristian (2021). La huella del profesorado normalista en la configuración del campo folclórico en Chiloé: Maestros, cultores y folcloristas. *Revista Musical Chilena*, 75(236), 156–174. <https://revistas.uchile.cl/index.php/RMCH/article/view/54261/69735> (03.03.2021).

Cultura Tradicional y Folklore como ciencia: dos aproximaciones en el discurso de la construcción del campo cultural del folklore en Chile

Cristian Yáñez Aguilar

Resumen

El objetivo de este trabajo es presentar dos aproximaciones conceptuales que han sido relevantes en el discurso de las y los folkloristas en Chile durante las últimas décadas del siglo XX. Por una parte, se presenta una aproximación que busca legitimar el folklore como una ciencia con un objeto y método de estudio y, por la otra, una perspectiva cultivada desde el ámbito filosófico de la Estética que socializó ampliamente la noción de Cultura Tradicional como ámbito para interpretar, desde una vertiente mucho más humanista, ciertos valores éticos y formas de sabiduría presentes en las manifestaciones expresivas. Ambas concepciones fueron reproducidas a través de Escuelas de Folklore de las que participaron folkloristas y una enorme cantidad de docentes primarios y secundarios del país, facilitando así la reproducción de determinadas concepciones que hasta hoy forman parte del marco discursivo de los folkloristas más allá de las diferencias epistemológicas que estas conllevan. Cultura Tradicional, Folklore-Vida o Aplicación del Folklore conforman un cuerpo conceptual complejo, en algunas ocasiones contradictorio, que ha sido fundamental en la construcción social de lo que se entiende en Chile como "folklore". El abordaje también da cuenta de las instancias institucionales en que tales conceptos se reprodujeron y ayudan a institucionalizar lo que se concibe en Chile como un campo cultural del Folklore.

Palabras-clave: Discurso, Folklore, Cultura Tradicional, Ciencia del Folklore, Chile.

Традиционална култура и наука о фолклору: Два приступа у конструисању дискурса фолклора као области културе у Чилеу

Кристијан Јањез Агилар

Резиме

Циљ овог рада је да укаже на два концептуална приступа који су били врло значајни у конструисању дискурса фолклориста у Чилеу у другој половини 20. века. С једне стране је приступ који настоји да озакони фолклор као науку са утврђеним и одредивим предметом и методом, а с друге стране је приступ изникло из области естетике; он је увео појам традиционалне културе као оквир за интерпретацију из перспективе која је више хуманистичка и филозофска, с одређеним етичким вредностима и облицима традиционалног знања присутним у културним манифестацијама. Обе концепције биле су раширене посредством школа фолклора, у којима су учествовали наставници основних и, у мањој мери, средњих школа у Чилеу, и на тај начин олакшали су друштвену репродукцију извесних појмова и замисли који су данас део широко распрострањеног дискурса међу фолклористима: традиционална култура, народни живот, примена фолклора. Они данас чине разнолик, сложен корпус, каткад противречан, али он је био темељ у конструкцији дискурса фолклора као области културе у Чилеу. У истраживању које следи, приказаћемо историјски осврт на развој фолклора као области културе у Чилеу и, потом, размотрићемо оба приступа, њихове појмове, инстанце ширења и главне заговорнике.

Кључне речи: дискурс, фолклор, традиционална култура, наука о фолклору, фолклор у Чилеу.

Dr. Cristian Yáñez Aguilar
Austral University of Chile,
Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities
E-mail: cyanezaguil@gmail.com

Received: 06.07.2021.
Accepted: 25.12.2021.