CARLOS CHÁVEZ AND THE CORRIDO

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ABSTRACT

From his 1921 ballet *El Fuego Nuevo* to his triumphant *Sinfonía India* of 1936, Mexican composer Carlos Chávez was seen as a leader in the so-called “Aztec Renaissance.” This status, however, has overshadowed his work in other areas, notably that of Mexican popular song. In fact, his music is often restricted to the labels “Indianist” and “non-Mexican,” excluding works that draw from both tendencies as well as a third (Mexican popular) style. Such works include his 1934 choral works *Corrido de “El sol”* and *Llamadas: Sinfonía proletaria* in which he sought to create a national but universal art and communicate with the Mexican people, following the goals of the Mexican painters’ movement of the 1920s as well as his own art music aesthetic. For Chávez, Mexican national art entailed a fusion of popular and classical music that would elevate popular song to art and reach out to the Mexican people from a didactic posture. In 1928, he intended to redeem popular music, which he considered vulgar. Six years later, he wrote *Corrido de “El sol”* and *Llamadas*, both of which use preexisting songs from the popular Mexican genre known as the *corrido*.

Through musical analyses, this thesis shows how Chávez uses principles of the *corrido* alongside those of his Indianist and non-Mexican styles to raise the *corrido* to “art” and potentially benefit the cultural growth of the masses. Textual analyses of these works examine the variants between the lyrics of *Corrido de “El sol”* and *Llamadas* and the text of the *corridos* on which they are based. Alone, these analyses show that the
lyrics contributed to Chávez’s goals insofar as they were taken from the *corrido*, a form of mass-media that the Mexican people had already adopted as their own. However, I also relate the lyrics of *Corrido de “El sol”* and *Llamadas* to agrarian and labor reforms in Mexico. Through his polystylistic tendencies and sensitivity to the political climate, Chávez expanded the possibilities of the *corrido*, contributing to the genre’s adaptability as a soundtrack to current events.
To Symeon
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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

In 1921, during the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution, nationalistic sentiments swept the war-torn country, inspiring a new direction in the arts. Drawing on sources as diverse as the revolutionary ideology of social reform to Mexican folk culture to the golden age of pre-conquest Mexico, the arts celebrated the spirit of nationalism encouraged by the nascent administration of Álvaro Obregón while also promoting ideals of Western art music. Among the artists involved in this cultural rebirth was Carlos Chávez who, as an emerging young Mexican composer moved by Mexico’s indigenous heritage, would become renowned for his work in this nationalistic vein.

At the same time his passion for the so-called “Aztec Renaissance” was taking root, Chávez observed the works of contemporary artists, such as Diego Rivera, Jose Clemente Orozco, and David Alfaro Siqueiros, who were attempting to reach the people of Mexico through Mexican folk art, that is, art stemming from a blend of Indian and Hispanic cultures. Chávez, however, did not follow this trend until 1934 and of his involvement wrote

Not comparable in magnitude or importance, our attempt at a similar program in music took place some years after the Mexican painters had started their movement (1921)…This plan included the foundation of choral groups in a rather extended organization and the contributions of composers.1

Chávez contributed two choral works for this program based on pre-existing compositions from the genre known as the corrido: Corrido de “El sol” and Llamadas: Sinfonia proletaria.

To date, relatively few sources exist on Chávez. In his seminal work on Mexican music, Robert Stevenson includes general information concerning Chávez and his Indianist compositional style.2 Similarly, the late Gérard Béhague, in Music in Latin America: An Introduction, discusses Chávez’s Indianist works and style and provides an overview of his

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accomplishments as a writer, an educator, a composer, and a conductor. Mark Pedelty examines the patronage of the arts in post-revolutionary Mexico and its influence on the careers and philosophies of Chávez and other Mexican artists. Leonora Saavedra discusses Chávez’s career in relation to post-revolutionary ideology in Mexico as well as his style, arguing that the Indianist label so commonly ascribed to the composer and his works is unduly emphasized. Saavedra has also published articles on Chávez’s writings and his political thought. Only two scholars have written books devoted entirely to Chávez. Roberto García Morillo’s biography, Carlos Chávez: Vida y obra, surveys Chávez’s career and compositional output and includes quotes of Chávez from personal correspondence. Likewise, Robert L. Parker’s Carlos Chávez: Mexico’s Modern-Day Orpheus surveys Chávez’s life and compositions. Parker has also compiled a bibliography on Chávez and published articles on his career, compositions, and style.

Few scholars have addressed Corrido de “El sol” and Llamadas or Chávez’s use of corridos. Parker mentions Llamadas only in passing and limits his discussion of Corrido de “El sol” to textual sources and message, musical quotation, and characteristics of Mexican popular....

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song. In a somewhat more extended treatment, García Morillo emphasizes *Corrido de “El sol’s”* premiere, subsequent revisions, textual message, character, and musical style. Neither scholar delves into the original texts nor contextualizes these works in terms of the *corridos* on which they are based.

*Corrido* scholarship is chiefly derived from Vicente T. Mendoza’s classic *El romance español y el corrido mexicano: Estudio comparativo* and *El corrido mexicano*, which remain central to *corrido* studies. Both works define the *corrido*, provide examples of the genre, and discuss literary structure, subject matter, and history. The former is unique in that it examines the *corrido* as a musical form, recognizing musical attributes integral to the *corrido* and exploring each in detail (e.g., form, rhythm, etc.). Other scholars focus solely on the *corrido* as a literary form; Daniel Castañeda, for example, studies the poetic structure. Merle Simmons examines lyrics in relation to mass psychology in Mexico and explores the *corrido’s* ancestry, linking its narrative form to that of the Spanish *romance*. Américo Paredes, who also investigates the *corrido’s* history as a literary form, is mainly concerned with the genre’s appearance on the Texas-Mexican border. Recent scholarship continues to focus on the *corrido* as a literary form. For example, María Herrera-Sobek focuses on female archetypes

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10 Parker, *Orpheus*, 115-16.
11 García Morillo, *Vida y obra*, 78-84.
within the text of *corridos* in *The Mexican Corrido: A Feminist Analysis*. Herrera-Sobek has also written on the *corrido* as an additional source of information that reinforces themes or ideas in film.

This thesis will explore Chávez’s often stated goal to reach out to the Mexican people and elevate popular music to art music by using both the music and text of pre-existing *corridos* for *Corrido de “El sol”* and *Llamadas*. It will show how Chávez drew inspiration from and used styles other than those associated with his so-called Indianist approach, extending his image beyond this restrictive paradigm.

Chapter II will discuss the *corrido* as a literary and musical form. It will also address Chávez’s goals and how the *corrido* suited these. Chapters III and IV will analyze *Corrido de “El sol”* and *Llamadas*, respectively, in terms of music, text, and sources. As I will argue, Chávez’s harmonic language, formal designs, rhythmic figures, and other musical strategies result in a fusion of popular and art music. In addition, the adaptation of the lyrics of *Corrido de “El sol”* and *Llamadas* as a means of appealing to the masses reflects Chávez’s awareness of the prevailing political climate in Mexico, a phenomenon that has not been addressed in previous scholarship. Unless otherwise noted, all Spanish to English translations in Chapters II, III, and IV are mine. Finally, Chapter V will reflect on Chávez’s success in achieving his goals and contributing to the *corrido’s* tradition and evolution.

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CHAPTER II. REVOLUTION, CORRIDOS, AND CHÁVEZ

The Mexican Revolution

The most pervasive and monumental event to resonate with the people of Mexico during the twentieth century was the Mexican revolution. At its core were issues that had been intensifying throughout Mexico’s history.¹ From the time when the conquistadores usurped the Aztecs’ lands, the Mexican people had undergone several forced labor systems, which ultimately resulted in peonage (a form of indentured servitude) lasting until the regime of dictator Porfirio Diaz, known as the Porfiriato (1876-1911), was overthrown (for a time line of events, see Appendix A: Chronology, 1899-1978). During the Porfiriato, Mexico’s economy thrived. However, while the rich grew richer, the rural and working classes remained poor. At the same time that agrarian and industrial laborers were facing inflation, unemployment, and poor living conditions, the elite became aggravated by Mexico’s dependence on foreign economic powers such as the United States, viewing foreign competition as a threat to their social position and income. This social group was also dissatisfied with Mexico’s dictatorship since they now held to democratic ideals. Frustration led to action in 1910, when the elite, headed by Francisco Madero, a wealthy landowner, enacted a plan to overthrow Diaz. Madero turned to the lower class for support in this endeavor, promising workers the freedom to organize along with agrarian reforms that would redistribute land to peasants. Madero was aided by Francisco Villa and Emiliano Zapata, among others, who led their own troops, and in May 1911, the insurrection forced Diaz to resign.

Although Madero successfully supplanted Diaz, he failed to meet the demands of the lower classes and to pacify foreigners living in Mexico, who resented his leadership. In February 1913, General Victoriano Huerta unseated Madero and established a new administration supported by foreigners. Meanwhile, another group known as the Constitutionalists formed in opposition to Huerta. This group, led by Venustiano Carranza, included Villa and his troops and sought to reinstate the laws Huerta had breached. In July 1914, Carranza came to power and in October of the same year, he and other military leaders convened to outline a new government. Carranza and Villa could not agree, however, and Carranza rejected the new plan. The two factions eventually fought. General Álvaro Obregón, with the help of the United States, led the Constitutionalists who supported Carranza. On the other side were Villa’s troops, aided by Zapata’s forces. Although the latter faction was larger, the Constitutionalists won because of more advanced artillery. Thus, the convention’s government crumbled, and Carranza became president in 1917, at which time he drafted a new constitution. While fighting continued throughout Mexico, Carranza hoped to pacify the country through civilian rule. On the other hand, Obregón “wanted a civilized Mexico under a military government.”

In 1920, Carranza sought out a civilian for the presidency. However, Obregón overthrew Carranza and began his presidency in 1921.

Throughout the revolution and even at its end in 1921, the issue of agrarian reform was never resolved. In 1910, Madero inspired the people’s hope for a new way of life with his Plan de San Luis Potosí, which defined objectives of the revolution and mentioned returning lands to communities. When Madero’s presidency failed to produce improvements, Zapata and his followers, the zapatistas, announced their Plan de Ayala, which accused Madero of treason,

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3 Ibid., 255.
demanded his removal from office, and outlined agrarian reforms that would redistribute lands of large estates (*haciendas*) as small, independent, but communally unified properties (*ejidos*). The *zapatistas*’ motto “land and freedom” (*tierra y libertad*) appealed to the Mexican people, and by 1914, Carranza could no longer uphold the myth promulgated by Diaz that Mexico did not have land problems. On January 6, 1915 the National Agrarian Council was devised, but did not materialize until one year later. It was equally slow in taking action: until the 1917 Constitution, it divided only three *haciendas*. Although the Constitution gave ownership of the land to the nation, the economic recession following World War I encumbered governmental support of land programs throughout Obregón’s administration.

The *Corrido*

For the majority of Mexicans during the revolution, the most important form of media for spreading news about agrarian reform and other primary issues and events was the *corrido*. Historically, the *corrido* has treated an array of subjects from love to war, comedy to tragedy, and history to current events, as well as satire, politics, morality tales, unfortunate events, and epics about heroic deeds. Most *corridos* were transmitted through an oral tradition, one that spread to radio and records in the twentieth century. Nonetheless, many were preserved in broadsides, and scholars, such as Mendoza, have collected and transcribed *corridos*. In performance, *corridos* represented a type of media derived from and influencing mass psychology, as they were often the only source of information for the illiterate. While the

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information was not always accurate, the corrido embodied what the masses accepted as reality.\textsuperscript{8} Thus, the corrido encouraged solidarity, one of the genre’s most powerful attributes.

The hallmark of the corrido is flexibility, which has contributed to its survival. Principal characteristics include the division of text into quatrains (cuartetas) made up of octosyllabic lines with consonantal rhyme in a narrative design. Still, this basic scheme leaves ample room for variation. For example, the narrative design draws from a pool of features, which according to Armand Duvalier, consists of fourteen formulas, all of which are variable, independent, and may be used in any combination.\textsuperscript{9} Indeed, deviations from standard principles are abundant, and as Daniel Castañeda suggests, restricting the corrido to its most common form limits our understanding of the genre.\textsuperscript{10} Authors of corridos (corridistas) habitually allow for a variety of rhyme schemes, freeing the corrido from its traditional octosyllabic-cuartera structure.\textsuperscript{11} Thus, verses may be longer than four lines, each of which in turn may contain as few as five or as many as thirteen syllables. Such flexibility allows for individual expression. Indeed, the message of the corrido is more important than its adherence to a definitive form.

The freedom of the poetic structure invariably affects the music. Mainly, these syllabic variations engender metric diversity. Corridos are often based on 2/4, 3/4, 3/8, 6/8, and 9/8 meters. However, meters may alternate within a single corrido, and meters of 7/8 to 5/16 are also possible. Accents in the music vary according to the text. When the traditional octosyllabic structure occurs, the music follows a pattern of 32 sounds for each verse. These are divided by four accents, one at the beginning of each phrase, producing eight sounds for each line.

\textsuperscript{8} Simmons, \textit{The Mexican Corrido}, ix.
\textsuperscript{9} Armand Duvalier, “Romance y corrido,” Crisol, revista mensual publicada por el Bloque de Obreros Intelectuales de México 15 (September, 1937): 8-16; quoted in Simmons, \textit{The Mexican Corrido}, 17-18.
\textsuperscript{10} Castañeda, \textit{El corrido mexicano}, 94.
\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Ibid.}, 25.
Deviations from this standard may produce more or fewer sounds per accent depending on the number of syllables in each line. Rhythms are often syncopated and alternate between duple and triple subdivision. They may resemble rhythms commonly found in marches, polkas, or waltzes as well. The poetic structure also affects the formal design. In fact, there are at least thirty-two forms that can be distinguished by various combinations of the number of semi-periods (one to eight), the number of phrases (one to four), the meter, and the types of introductions, interludes, and refrains.¹²

Other musical features are less erratic. For example, although one voice may sing the melody, additional voices are common, harmonizing above the melody in parallel thirds and sixths over an accompaniment comprised of one instrument, such as a guitar or harp, or a group of instruments. Functional harmony predominates, emphasizing dominant and tonic sonorities. Also, the melody is usually arc-shaped or valley-shaped and often incorporates sequences. Although primarily diatonic, melodies may be pentatonic or modal as well.¹³ Most corridos use the major scale, and chromatic alterations are relatively infrequent.¹⁴

Many scholars believe that the corrido is derived from the romance, a traditional Spanish ballad brought to Mexico by the conquistadores during the sixteenth century.¹⁵ Granted, few of these romances are known and only fragments remain to link the sixteenth-century romance to the corrido.¹⁶ Even in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, few romances were written down, and consequently, tracing the development of the corrido from this period is problematic.

¹² Mendoza, El romance español y el corrido mexicano, 132-37.
¹³ Ibid., 142, 160-66, 172, 174-75, 180-81, 188.
¹⁵ Mendoza, El corrido mexicano, ix; Mendoza, El romance español y el corrido mexicano, 4, 116-17; Paredes, “The Mexican Corrido,” 129, 132-33, 139; Simmons, “The Ancestry of Mexico’s Corridos,” 1-2; and Simmons, The Mexican Corrido, 8-10.
¹⁶ Simmons, The Mexican Corrido, 9.
Still, structural and thematic similarities between the *romance* and the *corrido*, such as octosyllabic quatrains and epic subject matter, link the two genres.

The *corrido*’s emergence as a truly independent form has yet to be firmly established. While Simmons contends that its basic form was in place by the 1840s, Paredes identifies songs during the War of Reform and the French Invasion (1858-1867) as embracing the heroic spirit of the *corrido*. Mendoza, however, defines the *corrido* as a relatively modern phenomenon that appeared as an individual genre during the final quarter of the nineteenth century, at which time the *corrido* began glorifying heroes and their deeds. This eventually led to the *corrido*’s climactic stage, that is, the revolution itself, during which the *corrido* attained its greatest mass appeal.

One especially important theme of *corridos* during and after the revolution was agrarian reform. *Corridos* often glorified the exploits of Zapata, the crusader for peasants’ well-being, or narrated the struggle between communities and haciendas. For example, *El pronunciamiento del general Emiliano Zapata* exclaims, “long live our country and this requirement for peace, land, and liberty.” Post-revolutionary *corridos* celebrated the peasants’ victory over the landowners as in *La cucaracha agrarista*, based on the familiar revolutionary *La cucaracaha*:

> Los hacendados, los hacendados,  
> ya no tienen qué gastar,  
> porque les faltan, porque les fantan [sic]  
> campesinos que explotar.

> The landowners, the landowners,  
> they have nothing to use,  
> because they lack, because they lack peasants to exploit.

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17 Ibid., 17.
21 Ibid., 287.
22 Ibid., 354.
Two types of corridos exist: 1) those reflecting the *vox populi* and 2) those by learned composers. The former includes corridos such as *El pronunciamiento del general Emiliano Zapata* that are moderate in tone, involve a protagonist, and use vernacular vocabulary. Moreover, they are written by corridistas who themselves were of the masses, namely the lower echelons of society. Therefore, although often anonymous, these corridistas, such as Refugio Montes, Federico Becerra, and Samuel Lozano, spoke both to and for the Mexican people.²³ Such corridos have been labeled popular or authentic by scholars. Simmons, for example, uses both terms, while Mendoza combines the two with the label “authentically popular.” Popular and authentic are loose terms that often carry additional implications. Indeed, in this thesis, the term popular is associated with commercialization. Realizing more appropriate terminology, however, is beyond the scope of this paper. Thus, to avoid confusing popular with commercial music, this thesis will use authentic to describe corridos reflecting the *vox populi*.

The second type of corrido includes those by learned composers who attempt to imitate the style of authentic corridos. They are frankly propagandistic, and thus, tend to speak to, rather than for, the general public.²⁴ Propagandistic corridos use a learned rather than vernacular vocabulary;²⁵ however, a detailed study on the differences between these vocabularies has yet to be made. Further, propagandistic corridos tend to focus on ideas rather than a person or an event and contain bold, inflammatory verses distinct from the moderate tone of authentic corridos. These qualities emerge in the propagandistic corridos by agraristas, who, upon the death of Zapata, adopted a radical position concerning agrarian reform. For example, the compositions of Concha Michel and Carlos Gutiérrez Cruz, whose verses sympathize with the campesinos and

²³ Mendoza, *El romance español y el corrido mexicano*, 145.
condemn the wealthy elite, are pure agrarista propaganda.\footnote{Ibid., xi, 341-45.} Gutiérrez Cruz’s El treinta-treinta is a typical expression of radical agraristas, with verses exclaiming, “How poor we all are, without bread to eat; because our bread is wasted by the master for his pleasure…We suffer all, exploitation and war; and in this way they call us thieves because we ask for land!”\footnote{Ibid., 344.} Such a corrido would not likely be mistaken as authentic since a protagonist is absent and the verses angrily speak out against the elite and the unfair circumstances inflicted upon the Mexican people. As we will see, Chávez used propagandistic corridos that would affect the potential of his works to appeal to the masses.

The corrido continues to exist as a form of mass expression on social issues. Recent corridos carry on the tradition of portraying current events and the struggles of the Mexican people. One topic, Mexico’s ongoing drug trafficking, has even given rise to a subgenre, the narcocorrido, made popular by corridistas such as Paulino Vargas and chart-topping groups including Los Tigres del Norte. Like corridos written during prohibition narrating the illegal export of liquor across the border by tequileros, narcocorridos are about drugs, powerful drug lords, and the smugglers trying to eke out a living and escape their humble beginnings. For the most part, Mexicans view the controversial narcocorridos more as protests against authority rather than adulations to drugs, in which smugglers represent the struggle to triumph over a system that suppresses class advancement.\footnote{Elijah Wald, “Corridos,” Elijah Wald: Latin American Music Archive, http://www.elijahwald.com/latar98.html (accessed April 20, 2005).}

Recent corridos also focus on politicians. Former president, Carlos Salinas, and the Institutional Revolutionary Party are immortalized in the corrido El Sucesor. Others treat immigration. For example, Los Ilegales opposes Proposition 187, passed in California in 1994,
which denied benefits and public services, such as welfare, to illegal aliens. *Juala de Oro*, also on immigration, promotes traditional values as past *corridos* sometimes did. It warns that in exchange for wealth in the United States, Mexican heritage will be lost.\(^{29}\) While customary themes such as agrarian policy appear periodically, *corridos* on sports heroes or legends of the *Chupacabras* (a goat-sucking monster), along with those spreading local news, also flourish, as do those broadcasting national or world news, such as the murder of pop-singer Selena, the Lewinsky-Clinton scandal, and the anthrax scare.\(^ {30}\)

In keeping with tradition, *corridistas* express opinions and emotions in their renditions of events. The *corridos* *11 Negro* by Filogonio Contreras, *Tragedy in Manhattan* by Jose Alejandro Vega, and *El Terror del Siglo* by José Guadalupe Paredes lament the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in New York on 11 September 2001.\(^ {31}\) On the other hand, anti-U.S. sentiment often emerges. Rigoberto Cardenas’s *Bin Laden, el error de la CIA* criticizes the U.S. for training Bin Laden.\(^ {32}\) Andrés Contreras’s *Corrido de Osama Bin Laden* goes so far as to portray Bin Laden as a brave revolutionary hero whose terrorism exacted justice upon the U.S., “[one of] the most powerful empires of the world.”\(^ {33}\)

Especially noteworthy is the fact that authentic *corridos* are still written by individuals from the lower classes. For example, Vega, author of *Tragedy in Manhattan*, is a farmer in the Mexican town of General Teran, and Filogonio Contreras, who composed *11 Negro*, is a music

\(^ {29}\) Ibid.


\(^ {32}\) Wald, “Corrido Watch.”

\(^ {33}\) Ibid.
vendor with no formal education who learned to read and write on his own.\(^{34}\) Such corridistas persist in delivering the Mexican people’s “newspaper” and help create a mass psychology with – in the words of Vicente Mendoza – “a history by and for the public”\(^{35}\) that is always up to date.

Carlos Chávez

As we will see, the corrido tradition would affect Chávez’s music. First, however, a few words on his biography (see also Appendix A: Chronology, 1899-1978). Chávez was born in Mexico City on 13 June 1899.\(^{36}\) He began studying piano with his brother, Manuel, at the age of nine or ten. Chávez continued piano studies with Asunción Para and later, with composer Manuel Ponce from 1909-1913 and Pedro Luis Ogazón from 1915-1920. Although he had no formal composition instruction other than harmony lessons with Juan B. Fuentes (1917-1918), Chávez had been composing since childhood. His early compositions followed classical and romantic styles. He also arranged Mexican folk songs in works such as *Adelita y La Cucaracha* (1915), *Adiós, Adiós* (1919), and *Las Margaritas* (1919). During this time, he began writing for the journal *Gladios* as well, which he helped found in 1916.

In 1921, Chávez’s career began to flourish. First, he presented a public concert of his works. Second, he received a commission from José Vasconcelos, the minister of education, resulting in his Aztec ballet *El Fuego Nuevo* and propelling him into the music scene as a professional composer. After a brief stint in Europe, Chávez made the first of many visits to the United States where he collaborated with Aaron Copland, Henry Cowell, and Edgard Varèse,

\(^{34}\) Smith, “Corridos: Singing the News,” 5.
\(^{35}\) Mendoza, *El corrido mexicano*, ix.
among others, while amassing an ever-growing number of compositions and attracting critical attention. Between trips to the United States, he wrote for Mexico City’s newspaper, *El Universal*, and organized and programmed concerts. In 1928, Chávez was appointed director of both the *Orquesta Sinfónica de México* (OSM) and the National Conservatory of Music, holding the former position for twenty-one years and the latter from December 1928 to March 1933 and for eight months in 1934.

During the 1920s and 1930s, the styles most often associated with Chávez’s art music emerged: Indianist and non-Mexican. Chávez’s Indianist style first appeared in 1921 with his *El Fuego Nuevo*, mentioned above. It subscribes to what Chávez believed to be characteristics of indigenous music. Repetition was central to his Indianist ideal, and Chávez employed this strategy with ostinato patterns and in his melodic and rhythmic designs. He also used polyrhythms and dissonance as well as melodies based on modal or pentatonic scales harmonized or accompanied by quartal or quintal harmonies. Frequently, these melodies were Chávez’s own inventions, but in some of his Indianist works, such as *Los Cuatro Soles* (1925) and *Sinfonía India* (1936), he used pre-existing indigenous melodies. Chávez occasionally incorporated indigenous percussion instruments as well, including pitched drums called *teponaztles*, water gourds, rattles, strings of deer hoofs (*grijutian*), and strings of butterfly cocoons (*tenabari*), as found in his *Sinfonía India*.38

Scholars have identified all works that fall outside Chávez’s Indianist style as non-Mexican. Parker, for example, identifies Chávez’s works as either “Indianist” or “free from Mexican and Indian influences.”39 On the other hand, Saavedra disapprovingly refers to the

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conventional labels “non-nationalist” or “non-Mexican” versus “nationalist” or “Mexican” compositions, i.e., those that embrace an “Indianist” style. Distinguishing between these two styles is certainly a practical way to analyze Chávez’s music. For instance, Chávez’s early classic and romantic compositions can be considered non-Mexican, as can his works from the 1920s and 1930s that incorporate avant-garde techniques such as atonality, polytonality, pandiatonicism, and through-composition by nonrepetition. Other scholars have detected neoclassical elements in Chávez’s non-Mexican style given his penchant for counterpoint, including imitation, canon, fugue, and free counterpoint as well as his strong and vigorous rhythmic patterns. Yet whatever the convenience of theses two style categories, characteristics of Chávez’s Indianist and non-Mexican styles often overlap. Emphasis on percussion and liberal use of dissonance, for example, are present in both styles, as are polyrhythms and driving rhythmic figures. In short, Chávez’s art music blurs the distinction between these two musical languages into a single, personal voice.

At the same time he was developing his art music styles, Chávez was exploring Mexican popular music. He quoted well-known songs such as La Adelita in Obertura Republicana (1934) and, as discussed later, in Corrido de “El sol.” He also drew upon characteristics of the corrido mentioned above, such as syncopation, polyrhythms, and diatonic, pentatonic, or modal melodies harmonized in parallel thirds and sixths. In his study of Mexican music, Pedelty relates these techniques to populist tendencies but argues, “Chávez was not a simple populist.” This assessment is borne out by Chávez’s own views. For Chávez, popular music was not art.

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42 Pedelty, Musical Ritual, 207.
Rather, it was “vulgar” and “meant to incite the low passions.” He believed that Mexican popular music could only rise to the level of “art” through the skill of master composers native to Mexico who, with European training, could integrate an innate knowledge of their musical heritage into their expressive language. Thus, in surveying Chávez’s styles, we can add a third category: Mexican popular style. It prevails in his works, such as Corrido de “El sol” and Llamadas. As we will see, it was in these works that Chávez realized his vision of transforming popular music into “art” by merging Indianist and non-Mexican styles with Mexican qualities.

During the 1920s, the musical climate of Mexico affected Chávez, then in the process of formulating his musical goals. As Obregón’s administration took steps toward rebuilding post-revolutionary Mexico, funding this cultural renaissance was paramount. As Chávez recalls

In the year 1921 General Obregón, one of the leaders of the revolution, became President of Mexico. He was a man of a certain vision and wanted to face the important national problems. For the first time in the history of the country a huge budget was allotted to public education, and a man of high caliber, José Vasconcelos, was appointed Secretary. He attacked the basic problems of education, and did not forget to deal with cultural issues on a higher level. A group of painters – among them some of the best, Orozco, Siqueiros, and Rivera – were given the walls of the public buildings for mural painting.45

Chávez claims, “Vasconcelos, or the government, or the state, never imposed or dictated any theme or subject, let alone any technique, or style, or esthetic.” However, the post-revolutionary government was indeed fostering an ideology in its patronage of the arts, one that emphasized racial heritage and the mixing of cultures. This replaced the ideal of racial purity upheld by former regimes with an ideology of mestizaje. Indeed, Vasconcelos extolled miscegenation and articulated his anticipation of a “cosmic race” (a blend of European, African, Indian, and Asian cultures) in his 1925 La raza cósmica: Misión de la raza iberoamericana and

43 Chávez, Musical Thought, 97.
44 Ibid., 18.
46 Ibid., 96.
Indología: Una interpretación de la cultura iberoamericana. A more concise statement on “the cosmic race” is the motto he wrote for the National University, “Through my race the spirit will speak” (Por mi raza hablará el espíritu), which has served that institution since 1921.  

However, within the doctrine of mestizaje, the mixture of races was unbalanced, as can be seen in several aspects of Vasconcelos’s cultural program.

Surprisingly, perhaps, Vasconcelos promoted European art music as the ideal to which all music should aspire. Performances in Mexico City regularly featured works by French and German composers, especially Beethoven, Vasconcelos’s favorite. These masterpieces were applauded by audiences and critics alike. On the other hand, when music by Mexican composers was programmed, it was considered little more than a novelty, one that fell under the shadow of the European masters, and was seen as merely a commendable attempt to emulate geniuses. At the same time, Vasconcelos also championed Hispanic ethnicity, by which he meant Iberian culture. For Vasconcelos, Hispanic culture would unify the cosmic race to which all Mexicans belonged. He set out to Hispanicize Mexicans through his Cultura Estética program, intended to disseminate culture to the masses. He insisted that schools teach children music through a Hispanic repertoire and that performances include only songs in Spanish. Vasconcelos’s Cultura Estética downplayed indigenismo, that is, the promotion of everything indigenous or resembling ancient Mexico; indeed, it acknowledged indigenous culture as only an accessory in the creation of the cosmic race. The few performances that imitated native dances catered to curiosity about ancient Mexico rather than admiration for a great civilization. In fact, Vasconcelos believed indigenous culture was rooted in barbarism and that he, like the Spaniards whom he praised for bringing order to an uncivilized land, would offer redemption through Hispanic culture.

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47 Luis Marentes, José Vasconcelos and the Writing of the Mexican Revolution (New York: Twayne Publishers, 2000), 60-75.
Although Vasconcelos condemned the Aztecs’ way of life, he allowed indigenous culture to contribute to his idyllic race insofar as it related to Teotihuacán, early Maya, and Toltec cultures, which he viewed as responsible for Mexico’s “golden age.”

The ideologies encouraged by Vasconcelos and the government inevitably influenced artists involved with Mexico’s cultural renaissance. *Mestizaje* and European tendencies permeated works by Mexican composers. Manuel Ponce, for example, wrote arrangements of Mexican songs, including the *corridos*, and used popular elements within a style drawing upon neo-romanticism, impressionism, and neoclassicism. At the same time, muralists sought to make their art accessible to the public, paralleling Vasconcelos’s philosophy of education and culture for all. Chávez was no exception. During the twenties he cultivated his non-Mexican and Indianist art music styles. He traveled to Europe and the United States, composing non-Mexican works such as *Tres Exágones* (1923), *Sonatina for Piano* (1924), and *Energía* (1925). He composed three Indianist works for Mexico’s cultural project, including his *El Fuego Nuevo*, an untitled ballet derived from the Yaqui Pascola dance, and *Sinfonía de la Patria*. Chávez also developed his Mexican popular style, drawing upon Mexican songs and emphasizing their importance for Mexican composers. All the while, Chávez was developing educational and musical goals that supported Vasconcelos’s agenda.

Chávez’s visits to the United States during the 1920s were important here. While in New York, he collaborated with composers, such as Aaron Copland, who focused on encouraging young American composers to write and creating a sense of unity among them. He also began to conceive of music as a commodity bound to the basic economic principles of supply and

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49 Chávez; quoted in García Morillo, *Vida y obra*, 83.
demand. He explained that over time, “music developed into a custom, thus meeting a permanent demand. It was after this happened that it became a product – and then there arose all the problems of producing music.”

Upon returning to Mexico in 1928, Chávez recognized that Mexico needed an audience that would appreciate composers and professional musicians and thus, create demand for art music. In the same year, now as the director of the National Conservatory, Chávez reformed existing educational programs and established a new curriculum for composition students. Its objectives were as follows:

- to make musical practice alive;
- to direct the creative talent of the young in such a manner so that they develop their personality instead of annihilate it;
- to know all the living music – folk – of the country, so that it can be effectively placed in contact with all the country and to know it well;
- to catch up with what has happened musically in the world, which sadly, Mexico has ignored.

Chávez’s emphasis on educating the young composers of Mexico eventually led to his 1931 class on composition. In 1932, Chávez established an Academy of Investigation to research indigenous music. In accordance with Vasconcelos’s ideals, its findings were then disseminated throughout the public schools, educating children about Mexico’s musical heritage. From 1933 to 1934, Chávez taught music history, familiarizing his students with European history as well as Mexico’s musical heritage.

In 1934, before departing from the National Conservatory, Chávez explored another goal. He recalls

one more [point] had interested me: to write, myself, and to have the young composers write simple and noble music, at the same time with high qualities and in a Mexican style, all of which would be within the reach of the masses.

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53 Chávez; quoted in García Morillo, *Vida y obra*, 83.
55 Chávez; quoted in García Morillo, *Vida y obra*, 83.
This was part of a project, begun in 1928, that attempted to emulate the painters’ movement of the 1920s, which according to Chávez, had established two primary goals relevant to music: “1) that art must be national in character but universal in its foundations and 2) that it must reach the vast majority of the people.”\(^{56}\) For Chávez, reaching the public not only meant appealing to his audience but also educating the public, which he considered the primary reason for being an artist.\(^{57}\) This involved, in part, elevating popular music to art music. Recalling the 1928 project he wrote, “We felt a need to restore the heritage of honest feeling to our own popular songs such as ‘Adelita.’”\(^{58}\) By raising the level of artistic integrity of popular music, Chávez hoped to create music for the masses that “would eventually take the place of commercial, vulgar music then in great vogue, meant to incite the low passions.”\(^{59}\) To this end, Chávez’s first attempts focused on one of the most prevalent popular genres: the \textit{corrido}.

As a traditional Mexican song, the \textit{corrido} was conducive to creating an art that would be “national in character.”\(^{60}\) Chávez viewed the \textit{corrido} as a Mexican genre despite its Spanish roots, acknowledging, “In many cases, our popular music is basically Spanish, but traces of Indian character are enough to make it \textit{meztiza}, and Mexican.”\(^{61}\) Thus, the \textit{corrido} reflected the national ideology of \textit{mestizaje}. However, Chávez insisted that relying on existing music could not substitute for individual expression, nor would it warrant the status of “national art.” Chávez reasoned

To use folk material as a permanent expedient would be indeed limiting. Second, if the composer uses folk themes to the exclusion of his own, he will be giving up a very

\(^{57}\) Saavedra, “Los escritos periodísticos de Carlos Chávez,” 82.
\(^{58}\) Chávez, “Mexican Test Tube,” 8.
\(^{59}\) Chávez, \textit{Musical Thought}, 97.
\(^{60}\) Chávez, “Mexican Test Tube,” 8.
important part of his creative function. Third, the fact that a Mexican or Brazilian composer uses national folk themes does not guarantee his acquiring a style of his own, or even a “national” style.\(^{62}\)

Chávez sought to instill a folk-like character into *Corrido de “El sol”* and *Llamadas* by using the *corrido*’s musical attributes while retaining his own individuality. He believed that by juxtaposing elements of folk music with “superior” classical European forms to create universal art music, Mexican composers could “achieve a high degree of artistic realization”\(^{63}\) resulting in a “great national art”\(^{64}\) without eliminating their creativity. In this way, Mexican art music would also be “universal in its foundations.”\(^{65}\)

The *corrido* helped Chávez appeal to the public through texts relevant to prevailing issues. He acknowledged in a synopsis of the message of *Corrido de “El sol”* and *Llamadas* that both works are “of a social and political order”\(^{66}\) and that they reflect social injustices endured by the Mexican people, which he believed resonated with many:

> This country…has had a turbulent and difficult history, has suffered horrendous oppressions, and various times has been seriously threatened of losing its liberty. Fighting for our liberty and for an effective social justice have been ideas that since childhood have been imbedded in many hearts. They have been in mine as well.\(^{67}\)

Considering the prominence of agrarian reform in the political arena in 1934, it is not surprising that Chávez’s *Corrido de “El sol”* and *Llamadas* use *corridos* associated with the land problem, as will be explored in greater detail in Chapters III and IV. In any event, the *corrido* served Chávez’s mission to create nationally-oriented works for the masses in conjunction with aspects of art music. By uniting the popular, social, and artistic, Chávez offered a new type of

\(^{63}\) Chávez; quoted in Saavedra, “Los escritos periodísticos de Carlos Chávez,” 84.
\(^{64}\) Chávez, *La música mexicana*, 28.
\(^{65}\) Chávez, “Mexican Test Tube,” 8.
\(^{66}\) Chávez; quoted in García Morillo, *Vida y obra*, 83.
\(^{67}\) *Ibid.*, 83.
*corrido* for the benefit of Mexico’s popular culture that would not only reach the masses, but enlighten them as well.
CHAPTER III. **CORRIDO DE “EL SOL”**

On 17 July 1934 in the park La Bombilla of San Angel, where six years earlier Álvaro Obregón was assassinated, Chávez premiered his *Corrido de “El sol.”* The nationalistic and socio-political character of *Corrido de “El sol”* was undoubtedly reinforced by associations with Obregón’s administration as it was part of a memorial concert commemorating the anniversary of the former president’s untimely death. However, the external surroundings of the premiere remain secondary to the work itself, in which Chávez synthesizes popular, social, and artistic elements, drawing upon Indianist and non-Mexican styles and the creativity of *corridistas* to create Mexican art music and capture a social message – with political overtones of agrarian reform – that would resonate with the Mexican people of 1934.

There are three versions of Chávez’s *Corrido de “El sol,”* a piece, which, in turn, is based on the *corrido El sol* with music by Miguel Lerdo de Tejada and lyrics by Carlos Gutiérrez Cruz. The first is an arrangement by Mendoza of the melody with text underlay of *Corrido de “El sol,”* which he published in his 1939 *El romance español y el corrido mexicano,* crediting Chávez as the author, to show the *corrido’s* use in Mexican art music. The second is a 1956 Decca recording of the piece conducted by Chávez and performed by the OSM with the Conservatory Choir (*Coro del Conservatorio*) that was reissued from an earlier 78 rpm recording published by Anfion, possibly before 1945.¹ The Decca recording is similar to Mendoza’s version apart from being orchestrated and omitting the fifth quatrain of the original *corrido.* Finally, the third and best-known version is that for SATB choir and orchestra published by Mills Music in 1962; there is also an arrangement for SATB choir and piano. Like the Decca

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¹ Robert Parker, e-mail message to author, January 24, 2005. Anfion produced 78 rpm recordings in the 1940s of works composed or conducted by Chávez, including the records *Suite de ballet de la hija de colquide* and *Pedro y el lobo, cuenta sinfonico para niños.*
recording, the Mills score eliminates the text and music of the fifth quatrain. However, it also includes revisions made by Chávez in 1945. These change the musical content little, apart from the addition of a xylophone and minor rhythmic modifications allowing the music to adapt to the new lyrics. The following musical analysis relies primarily on the Mills score.

Musical Analysis

While the majority of the music in each rendition of Corrido de “El sol” is his own, Chávez freely uses preexisting materials. For example, he alludes to material derived from the first phrase of the original corrido El sol (ex. 3.1.).

Example 3.1 Lerdo de Tejada, El sol

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2 García Morillo, Vida y obra, 82.
3 Mendoza, El romance español y el corrido mexicano, 681-82. Mendoza credits the lyrics and music to Gutiérrez Cruz and Lerdo de Tejada, respectively.
In the opening of the 1962 version (ex. 3.2), Chávez repeats the melodic cell in mm. 1 and 2 of Lerdo de Tejada’s melody (ex. 3.1, bracket 1a) three times, slightly altered, until the first three-four measure (ex. 3.2, m. 6), at which point he alludes to mm. 3-4 of *El sol*. He uses diminution and augmentation of the initial rhythms, changing the dotted quarter and eighth notes in m. 1 and the second pair of eighth notes in m. 3 of *El sol* to quarter notes. Also, while Chávez retains the major second of the first interval of the bracketed measures (ex. 3.1, bracket 1a), he changes the last two eighth notes to form a descending third.

Example 3.2 Chávez, *Corrido de “El sol”* mm. 1-10

In mm. 231-240 (ex. 3.3), 282-290, and 291-298 (ex. 3.4), Chávez’s allusion to *El sol*’s melody is closer to Lerdo de Tejada’s original. In each of these passages, Chávez follows mm. 1-10 of Lerdo de Tejada’s *El sol* (bracket 1b, ex. 3.1), with the exception of the rhythm, changing the dotted-quarter and eighth note rhythm in mm. 1-2 of Lerdo de Tejada’s *El sol* to two quarter notes in mm. 232-233, 283-284, 291-292 of *Corrido de “El sol.”* Chávez also alters the repeated eighth-note pitches from mm. 1-2 of Lerdo de Tejada’s *El sol* to descending thirds, as found in mm. 232-234, 283-285, and 291-293 of *Corrido de “El sol.”*
Example 3.3 Chávez, *Corrido de “El sol”* mm. 231-240

Example 3.4 Chávez, *Corrido de “El sol”* mm. 282-298
Given these frequent allusions to Lerdo de Tejada’s melody, it is perhaps surprising that Parker contends, “All of the music is the composer’s own except the melody used for the final four verses of poetry.” He does not identify the preexisting melody or its author. Moreover, Chávez also alludes to the well-known *corrido* *La Adelita* (ex. 3.5) in mm. 203-218 of *Corrido de “El sol”* (ex. 3.6). In example 3.5, the melody of *La Adelita* is in the alto line and is accompanied in parallel thirds by the upper voice. This, as mentioned, is typical of *corrido* harmonization (see p. 9). In *Corrido de “El sol,”* however, Chávez brings out the melody of *La Adelita* by placing the first three measures of *La Adelita*’s melody in the soprano and tenor lines (mm. 204-206). He places the next four measures of the melody of *La Adelita* (mm. 4-7) in unison in the tenor and bass lines (mm. 207-210). The next four measures of *Corrido de “El sol”* (mm. 211-214) are not clearly related to the melody of *La Adelita*. However, the last four

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5 Mendoza, *El romance español y el corrido mexicano*, 142.
measures of this passage (mm. 215-218) complete the allusion to *La Adelita*. Here, Chávez doubles the last four measures of *La Adelita’s* melody (mm. 12, beat 2-15) in octaves in the sopranos. Granted, there are minor rhythmic alterations to accommodate the text as well as intervallic alterations. However, these intervals do not change the overall melodic contour or harmonic implications. In terms of orchestration, moreover, the piano trill (m. 203, a snare roll in the orchestral arrangement) that sounds the entrance to the theme of *La Adelita* reinforces the impression of an allusion to the popular song since Chávez uses this same snare-roll technique to announce his quotation of *La Adelita* in his *Obertura Republicana*, mentioned above.

Example 3.5 *La Adelita*

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6 *Ibid.*, 635.
Chávez’s Mexican popular style in Corrido de “El sol” is not limited to using pre-existing corridos, however. Other melodies in the piece resemble corridos in that they use syncopation and are diatonic or pentatonic. For example, the melody in mm. 42-68 (ex. 3.7) uses syncopation by juxtaposing duple and triple rhythms as in mm. 43-44. While triple meter
prevails in mm. 42-56, duple rhythms predominate in mm. 57-68 with hemiola. As for the mode, the melody is in F major. However, at m. 57, it presents a four-note motive (indicated with brackets), derived from Chávez’s 1932 choral work *Tierra Mojada* and found in many of his other works. It appears frequently throughout *Corrido de “El sol”* (mm. 27-34, 58-68, 166-170, 192-194, 242, 249, and 272-273), adding a pentatonic flavor that complements the two-bar opening of the melody of the original *El sol*, alluded to in mm. 231-233, 283-284, and 291-292 (see ex. 3.3 and 3.4). This quotation is a peculiarity of Chávez’s works, and its significance is little more than that it acts as a signature. In this work, however, he cleverly aligns the quotation of this motive with the words “*tierra mojada,*” reinforcing the origin of the motive.

Example 3.7 Chávez, *Corrido de “El sol”* soprano line, mm. 42-68

The melody of the following passage, mm. 78-100 (ex. 3.8), also in F major, uses a triple meter with some syncopation as in mm. 80-81 and 92-93. In mm. 78-100, Chávez uses an arc-shaped contour typical of *corridos*. This arc extends over mm. 78-89. The remainder of the passage presents a centric melody (focusing on D) similar to the contour of the recurring four-note motive.

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Example 3.8 Chávez, Corrido de “El sol” soprano line, mm. 78-100

While the melodies of Corrido de “El sol,” based on major, minor, and pentatonic scales, can be associated with corridos, they also resemble Chávez’s Indianist melodies, especially when they incorporate fourths and fifths. Measures 197-203 (ex. 3.9) embrace a pentatonic melody in the soprano line (with B-flat as the tonic) that sounds Indianist due to the accompanying alto line in parallel fourths over a drone of quartal/quintal harmony. Only the last two notes of the soprano line (m. 203) fall outside the B-flat pentatonic scale.

Example 3.9 Chávez, Corrido de “El sol” mm. 197-203
Throughout the work, functional harmony primarily occurs with allusions to Lerdo de Tejada’s *El sol*, as in mm. 231-240 (ex. 3.3) and mm. 283-290 and 291-298 (ex. 3.4). With each of these passages, the functional harmony becomes more pronounced. In example 3.4, Chávez reduces the dissonance found in example 3.3, gradually revealing the root and third of the chord in anticipation of m. 298, which cadences on a tonic sonority with a first-inversion B-flat major chord. Chávez, however, sought to depart from “a static music, equal and monotonous, accompanied by tonic and dominant chords,” which is how he saw Mexican popular music.8 Thus, non-functional harmony and dissonance prevail. Seconds permeate the chords in the first eight measures of the introduction (ex. 3.2). Melodies are often harmonized in fourths and sevenths, and at times, ninths outline chords. These intervals appear frequently throughout the work as in mm. 29-30 (ex. 3.10), which include seconds harmonized in fifths as well as stacked fourths contained within sevenths. Measures 60-78 (ex. 3.11) repeat the chords heard previously in mm. 29-30 and also incorporate tritones in mm. 73-78. Such brash dissonance is uncharacteristic of *corridos*, leaning more toward non-Mexican and Indianist tendencies.9 Indeed, this dissonance adds energy, driving the piece forward with non-functional harmony, especially at the end of the choir’s *fortissimo* statement, when the repeated chords shift up one octave. The four-note *Tierra Mojada* motive adds to this agitation. It is repeatedly pronounced through accented hemiolas in both the choir and accompaniment. Furthermore, in the accompaniment (mm. 61-71), each successive repetition intensifies by climbing in register and/or speed. By mm. 69-71, the motive is over an octave higher than and twice as fast as it had been in mm. 61-65. This passage exemplifies how Chávez uses elements of Indianist and non-Mexican styles to build tension.

8 Chávez; quoted in García Morillo, *Vida y obra*, 84.
9 Parker, *Orpheus*, 123.
Example 3.10 Chávez, *Corrido de “El sol”* mm. 29-30

Example 3.11 Chávez, *Corrido de “El sol”* mm. 60-78
As in the allusions to Mexican *corridos*, the rhythms throughout *Corrido de “El sol”* often involve syncopation and polyrhythms (primarily duple against triple), which are for the most part associated with Mexican song. In addition, Chávez uses the driving rhythms and ostinatos frequently found in his Indianist works. The instrumental section in mm. 116-173 (ex. 3.12), for example, is an amalgam of popular and Indianist rhythmic tendencies. As in *corridos*, Chávez uses syncopation in mm. 121-130 (with accents). Nonetheless, mm. 116-134 sound Indianist with a steady, driving stream of eighth notes. Starting in m. 134, Chávez introduces a Mexican-sounding melody by incorporating syncopation with ties (mm. 138-141, 148-150, and 152-158) and duple against triple rhythms (mm. 135 and 155) while harmonizing in parallel thirds. Beneath this melody, the accompaniment plays a two-measure ostinato with a syncopated rhythm reminiscent of Chávez’s Indianist style. However, the melody dominates in this passage due to its higher register and rhythmic variety, and thus, the Mexican popular style prevails.

Example 3.12 Chávez, *Corrido de “El sol”* mm. 116-173

As for the form of Corrido de “El sol,” Chávez incorporated non-Mexican formal designs within a traditional corrido form. He sought to “make out of the corrido a musical form modeled somewhat on the Rondo form, but with great variety and liberty.”\footnote{Chávez, quoted in García Morillo, Vida y obra, 84.} A point of departure was the original corrido, which belongs to the category of corridos with two instrumental interludes and two phrases of two semi-periods.\footnote{Mendoza, El romance español y el corrido mexicano, 681.} In Corrido de “El sol,” however, Chávez expands on this, employing a variety of musical material that cannot be restricted to two phrases. Still, he includes instrumental interludes, (three instead of two) and an instrumental introduction, not uncommon in corridos. Corrido de “El sol” is sectionalized according to melodic material. As shown in figure 3.1, the work opens with the principal melodic material in mm. 1-10. This is followed by a succession of new melodies, one of which alludes to La Adelita. After the second instrumental interlude, the principal melody returns in mm. 231-240, which is again followed by new material and the third instrumental interlude. The main melody returns yet again in mm. 283-290 and is repeated in mm. 291-298. The work ends with a short three-
measure coda. In this way, Chávez incorporates principles of rondo form. However, with several melodies making up the new material between the returns to the principal melody, along with two sections of new material (separated by instrumental interludes) preceding the first return of the primary material, Chávez avoids adhering to a strict rondo scheme (fig. 3.1).

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<tr>
<td>A</td>
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<td>D</td>
<td>mm. 101-115</td>
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<td>Instrumental Interlude</td>
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<td>mm. 174-186</td>
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<td>G</td>
<td>mm. 204-217 <em>La Adelita</em></td>
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<td>Instrumental Interlude</td>
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<td>mm. 248-254 (repeated)</td>
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<td>Instrumental Interlude</td>
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<td>mm. 272-82 (repeated with lyrics)</td>
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<td>mm. 283-90</td>
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<td>mm. 291-98 (repeated)</td>
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<td>Coda</td>
<td>mm. 299-301</td>
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Figure 3.1 Form of *Corrido de “El sol”*
Textual Analysis

Unlike the music, which changed relatively little after Chávez’s 1945 revisions, the text changed significantly. Although it is possible that these textual modifications resulted from the 1945 musical reworking, when and why the text was altered remains uncertain. What is clear, however, is that these textual changes affect the message of the lyrics, revealing a version that strays from the original message of *El sol*. Thus, I will discuss the texts of each rendition and their social implications separately.

*El sol*

Gutiérrez Cruz’s text, like his aforementioned *El treinta-treinta*, treats the suffering of the Mexican people. While *El treinta-treinta* is an enraged and bitter response to war and land problems, *El sol* is reserved, stressing a worker’s toils with the land and the injustice of unyielding servitude and poverty:

1) Sol redondo y colorado
como una rueda de cobre,
de diario me estás mirando
y diario me miras pobre.

2) Me miras con el arado,
luego con la rozadera
una vez en la llanura
y otra vez en la ladera.

3) Me miras lazando un toro,
me ves arreando un atajo;
pero siempre me ves pobre,
como todos los de abajo.

4) Sol, tú que eres tan parejo
para repartir tu luz,
habías de enseñar al amo
a ser lo mismo que tú.

you have had to teach the master
to be the same as you.

5) No que el amo nos hambrea,
y nos pega, y nos maltrata,
mientras en nosotros tiene
una minita de plata.

Not how the master exploits us,
and hits us, and mistreats us,
while in us he has
a small mine of silver.

6) Sol redondo y colorado
como una rueda de cobre,
de diario me estás mirando,
y a diario me miras pobre.13

Sun round and colorful
like a copper circle,
every day you are watching me,
and every day you see me poor.

Impoverished by a centuries-old peonage system, the worker turns to the sun, the
impassive listener who “every day [sees him] poor.” This text, like other corridos by Gutiérrez
Cruz, is propagandistic. Unlike authentic corridos, El sol is not associated with a particular
event. Nor does it have a protagonist other than an anonymous laborer and the sun, which is
simply an onlooker. El sol’s propagandistic nature is further apparent in the text’s fixation on an
idea (i.e., oppression of the peasants), which calls to mind the political issue of agrarian reform.

In 1934, agrarian reform was at the forefront of Mexican politics and increasingly in the
minds of the masses, due to the rise of Lázaro Cárdenas, a strong advocate for resolving
Mexico’s land problem. During the 1920’s, Cárdenas supported farmers and other laborers as
governor of Michoacán by founding the Michoacán Revolutionary Confederation of Labor with
the motto “Union, Land, Work.” This organization addressed the land problem as well as
workers’ rights.14 As a presidential candidate in 1934, Cárdenas expressed sympathy for the
workers and promised to return land to the peasants, planning to do for all of Mexico what he did
for Michoacán.15 As a result, the agraristas adopted him as their hero. Soon, an abundance of

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13 Gutiérrez Cruz; quoted in Mendoza, El romance español y el corrido mexicano, 681-2.
14 Krauze, Mexico: Biography of Power, 446.
15 Ibid., 456-57.
corridos championing his presidential campaign appeared, in which laborers proclaim their
certainty in Cárdenas, insisting “With Cárdenas we will be peasants and workers who see and
will feel ourselves to be the most important.”16 In 1934 Cárdenas was elected president and
immediately began providing a new direction for agrarian reform with the granting of ejidos.
This program began producing results quickly. In only six months, the amount of lands
distributed increased seven times over that of the previous year.17 Corridistas praised the
accomplishments of his administration, as in one corrido that proclaims, “now we [the
agraristas] are content: Long live the Organization!”18

Like Cárdenas, his followers, and Gutiérrez Cruz, Chávez believed that his countrymen
were passionate about agrarian reform.19 He emphasized that the text of his Corrido de “El sol”
touches upon past injustices inflicted upon the Mexican people, describing the lyrics as speaking
“on the one hand of the great and simple phenomena of nature and on the other of the injustices
to which the peon of the haciendas has been subjected.”20 Thus, Chávez’s views correspond to
the message of Gutiérrez Cruz’s original text of El sol.

Corrido de “El sol,” Mendoza’s Version

As for Mendoza’s version, which Chávez set, with a slight variation, the final six
strophes of Corrido de “El sol” are faithful to Gutiérrez Cruz’s original text. On the other hand,
the first six strophes are additional verses not found in Gutiérrez Cruz’s El sol. They are,

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16 Simmons, The Mexican Corrido, 351.
18 Simmons, The Mexican Corrido, 352. “La Organización” denotes the Cárdenas administration.
19 Chávez, quoted in García Morillo, Vida y obra, 83-4.
20 Ibid., 83-4.
The first three strophes are derived from the poem *La simiente roja*. Strophes four and five along with the first two lines of strophe six comprise the poem *Sol campesino*. The last four lines of the sixth strophe are taken from the last verse of the poem *Al compañero sol*.21

1) **Sol de la cabellera colorada**
   que te estás asomando por oriente,
   sube, para que pongas caliente
   la tierra mojada.
   
   Sun with colorful locks
   you are peeping out in the East,
   rise, to make warm
   the wet earth.

2) **Llovió toda la noche con furia desprendida,**
   a cántaros, como dice la gente,
   y está entumecida, casi congelada
   la simiente.
   
   It rained all night with terrible fury,
   like cats and dogs, as they say,
   and numb, almost frozen
   is the seed.

3) **Sol, calientálala para que brote**
   y haz que la flor
   venga22 toda pintada
   de tu color.
   
   Sun, heat it so that it sprouts
   and make the flower
   become all painted
   by your color.

4) **Sol redondo, colorado**
   y caliente;
   el labrador al23 arado
   y tú al oriente.
   
   Sun round, colorful
   and hot;
   the laborer at the plow
   and you in the East.

5) **Sol, mientras ellos aran, tú calientas la tierra,**
   y la tierra caliente
   fecunda la simiente
   que encierra.
   
   Sun, while the men plow, you heat
   the earth,
   and the warm earth
   fertilizes the seed
   that it envelops.

6) **Sol, trabajas en la tierra**
   y ves a los gañanes igualitariamente.
   Ahora serás mi compañero,
   porque proclamas la perfecta igualdad,
   y porque, como el hombre, eres también obrero
   
   Sun, you work in the earth
   and you see the peasants equally.
   Now you are my companion,
   since you proclaim perfect equality,
   and since, like man, you are also
   a worker

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22 In Mendoza’s rendition, he provides text underlay which differs slightly from his presentation of the text alone. “Venga” is replaced by “salga” in the text underlay.

23 Replaced by “su” in text underlay.
And you work every day like him.

These added strophes portray the sun as a protagonist who promotes justice and equality and works alongside the laborer by warming the earth to make the plants grow. Moreover, the sun “proclaims perfect equality.” Thus, the laborer identifies the sun as his comrade and partner, a sentiment that culminates in the line, “you are also a worker.”

The sun’s role as a helper and friend of the worker in this version of *Corrido de “El sol”* parallels the Mexican people’s view of Cárdenas, who portrayed himself as a friend of the masses. His electoral platform of compassion for workers’ rights and distribution of ejidos inspired renewed optimism in most Mexicans, which carried over into his presidential term. That this optimism was palpable can be seen in the words of Eyler Simpson, an American sociologist who lived in Mexico from 1927-1928 and studied its society, politics, and economy. Simpson declared of the 1934 agrarian reforms:

> There is a way out for Mexico. There is a sword which, wielded with strength and skill, will cut the knot of many a Mexican problem…I repeat, there is a way out for Mexico—and that way is the ejido!

Thus, it is possible that the additional strophes endorse Cárdenas. In this way, it would appeal to the many Mexicans who supported him. On the other hand, the final six strophes of Mendoza’s version (strophes 7-12, not shown) are the same as the lyrics of Gutiérrez Cruz’s *El sol* and comment on the present state of agrarian reform, in which the sun remains passive, and a

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solution to the land problem has yet to be found. Indeed, even at the end of Cárdenas’s presidency, agrarian problems persisted.

*Corrido de “El sol,” The Decca Recording*

The only difference between Mendoza’s version and the Decca recording is that in the Decca recording, the fifth quatrain of Gutiérrez Cruz’s *El sol*, which refers to hunger and exploitation (see p. 38), is eliminated. In its place, Chávez simply repeats the fourth quatrain of Gutiérrez Cruz’s *El sol*, in which the sun is the laborer’s friend. Thus, the Decca recording maintains the same number of strophes (twelve) as Mendoza’s rendition. While the absence of the fifth strophe of *El sol* does not alter the overall message of *Corrido de “El sol,”* it does temper the aggressive and bitter edge to the work by eliminating references to physical abuse by the landowners.

*Corrido de “El sol,” The Mills Score*

On the other hand, the Mills score presents a new outlook. Unlike the renditions discussed above, the Mills score includes lyrics teeming with alterations (source unknown) in which Gutiérrez Cruz’s original message of *El sol* is dramatically changed (substituted and eliminated text indicated in boldface). The following English translation of this altered text, by Noel Lindsay, is also included in the Mills score. Lindsay’s translation, however, is inconsistent with the Spanish text. For example, in the second line of the fourth quatrain below, Lindsay inserts “as red as summer apples,” which is not in the Spanish. Moreover, in the same quatrain, Lindsay reverses lines three and four. My translation of the first six strophes of *Corrido de “El*
sol,” presented above, offers an alternative interpretation, as do my footnotes (below) for the modified (boldface) text.

1) Sol de la cabellera colorada que te estás asomando por oriente, sube, para que pongas caliente la tierra mojada.
   O you red-headed sun, my golden shiner, peering out of your window in the Orient Rise and dazzle us, make the day finer, And warm our wet pastures.

2) Llovió toda la noche con furia destemplada, a cántaros, como dice la gente, y está entumecida, casi congelada la simiente.
   All night without a stop the rain pelted down with fury, Yes, cats and dogs, that’s the best way to put it. The seed is all rotting, sadden, Almost frozen hard as flintstones.

3) Sol, caliéntala para que reviente²⁷ y haz que la flor venga toda pintada de tu color.
   Sun, o warm me the seed until it ripens And make it to bear Flowers all of the color Of your bright hair.

4) Sol redondo, colorado y caliente; el labrador al arado y tú al oriente.
   O you round, warm sun, as red as summer apples, You looking out of the East, And the farmer aploughing.

5) Sol, mientras ellos aran, tú calientas la tierra, y la tierra caliente fecunda la simiente que encierra.
   Sun, while the men are ploughing, Fill this earth with your vigor, And the ploughland unfrozen Will quicken all the sowing it [e]ncloses.

6) Sol, tu siempre nos ayudas, y tu nos iluminas, dándonos el sustento.
   Sun, you are a benefactor, You shine on farm and farmer, Warming us all together.
   Ahora tu vienes con nosotros porque tenemos en conjunto una labor, O sun, come and walk my fields beside me, Because you know we have a common task to do;
   Tu eres campesino y tu también trabajas. Because you’re like a farmer, you love the green things growing,
   ¡Que la tierra nos rinda todo el bien!²⁸ And you shine from the dawn till darkness, sun!

²⁷ bursts
7) Sol redondo y colorado
como una rueda de cobre,
de diario me estás mirando
va la tierra das riqueza.29
O you round, red sun,
Bright as a copper pitcher,
Ev’ry day you light the fields
And help to make the brown earth richer.

8) Me miras con el arado,
 luego con la rozadera
 una vez en la llanura
 y otra vez en la ladera.
You see me when I am ploughing,
Then you see me work the harrow;
Sometimes in the sultry valley,
Sometimes on the stony hillside.

9) Me miras lazando un toro,
me ves arreando un atajo;
pero diario yo te pido
que no quites tu fuerza.30
You see me when I am roping,
You see me driving the yearlings,
Ev’ry day you see me hoping
For your blessing on my acres.

10,11) Sol, tú que eres amoroso
para darnos tu calor
fecunda toda nuestra tierra
y no nos quites tu luz.31
Sun you share your light among us;
sun, you’re always fair and true;
Sun, give our longing earth its increase.
Bless us and we shall bless you.

12) Sol redondo y colorado
como una rueda de cobre,
de diario me estás mirando,
va la tierra das riqueza.33
O you round, red sun,
Bright as a copper pitcher,
Ev’ry day you light the fields
And help to make the brown earth richer.34

All references of the original text to the oppression of the poverty-stricken laborer are
either eliminated or replaced by more positive lyrics, which create a cheerful homage to the sun
that reflects progress rather than stagnation. Lines three and four of the ninth strophe (derived

28 Sun you always help us, and you shine on us, giving sustenance. Now you come with us because we
have one job together, You are a farmer and you also work. So that the earth produces for us all that is good!
29 you make the earth richer.
30 but daily I ask that you do not take away your strength.
31 Sun you are loving to give us your warmth, you make all our earth fertile, and you do not take your light
from us.
32 quatrain eliminated
33 Carlos Chávez, El Sol: Mexican Ballad, lyrics by Carlos Gutiérrez Cruz, (New York: Mills Music, Inc.,
1962), 2-27. See also note 28.
34 Ibid., 2-27. English adaptation by Noel Lindsay.
from the third strophe of Gutiérrez Cruz’s *El sol*, which originally cried “but always you see me poor, like all those below”) no longer carry the pessimistic outlook of an eternal state of poverty. Instead, they praise the sun’s life-giving power, asking it to continue to help the crops grow. Similarly, the line “and every day you see me poor” (last lines of strophes 1 and 6 of Gutiérrez Cruz’s *El sol*) is replaced by the lyrics “you make the earth richer” (last lines of strophes 7 and 12 of the Mills score). Substituting “poor” with its antithesis reflects a renewal of hopes for agrarian reform. While the sun is passive in Gutiérrez Cruz’s text, it now takes on a more active role, creating a positive environment filled with abundance for all. Likewise, the line “to share your light” (strophe 4 of Gutiérrez Cruz’s *El sol*) has been changed to “to give us your warmth” (strophes 10 and 11 in the Mills score), signifying that the sun is no longer merely visible light; its presence is now physically felt. In addition, the new lyrics suggest the sun’s role as a care-giver.

The additional lyrics (strophes 1-6 of the Mills score), which are not found in Gutiérrez Cruz’s *El sol*, generally correspond to the first six strophes of Mendoza’s version (see p. 40). However, they provide the sun with a more active role. For example, the lyrics “Sun, you work in the earth and you see the peasants equally. Now you are my companion,” in the sixth strophe of Mendoza’s text are replaced by an elongated verse that explains the sun’s job. In Gutiérrez Cruz’s *El sol*, the sun is equated with the worker who toils all day and is in no position to change his grueling existence. However, the revised text again portrays the sun as a care-giver with the lines “Sun you always help us, and you shine on us, giving sustenance.” The sun is now given the ability to implant progress and allow the earth to yield benefits to the workers: “So that the earth produces for us all that is good!”
Chávez’s aforementioned synopsis of the text of Corrido de “El sol,” in which he refers to injustices, seems inimical to the optimistic text of the Mills score. Therefore, in his synopsis, Chávez was either referring to his 1934 work, even though the altered text already existed, or he had not yet made the textual revisions. This raises the questions: When and why did he revise the text? Chávez’s synopsis appeared in 1960 in García Morillo’s Carlos Chávez: Vida y obra while the Mills Score was published in 1962, suggesting that textual revisions were made after 1960. However, this is not consistent with his interests in the 1960s, which involved composing abstract (nonnationalistic) music.\(^{35}\) On the other hand, it is conceivable that the text was changed by Chávez at the same time he revised the music in 1945 (the date is established by García Morillo, as noted above). Certainly, this would have been convenient. Granted, the lyrics in the 1956 Decca recording are not those of the altered text of the Mills score. However, as mentioned, the Decca recording was reissued from an earlier one, most likely from the 1940s. The 1940s also presented a motive for Chávez to revise the text. During this time, Chávez overtly supported the administration of Manuel Ávila Camacho who succeeded Cárdenas in 1940 and instituted a new state and cultural program with ideals that were, as we will see, consistent with the altered lyrics of Corrido de “El sol.”

Upon assuming office, Ávila Camacho began to implement his program (avilacamachismo) to promote national unity and improve the reputation and position of Mexico worldwide. He encouraged conciliation among his cabinet members by including both left- and right-wing advocates. Also, in September 1942, he publicly reunited all former Mexican presidents to symbolize goodwill. As for international relations, he strengthened ties with the United States, signing an agreement in 1941 with Franklin D. Roosevelt resolving agrarian

\(^{35}\) Parker, *Orpheus*, 25.
disputes, permitting trade, and regulating negotiations.\textsuperscript{36} In 1943, he collaborated with Roosevelt to improve economic and military relations, which was only the second time in Mexico’s history that the incumbent presidents of Mexico and the United States had met.\textsuperscript{37}

Chávez was familiar with \textit{avilacamachismo}, and inclined to promote it. In 1943, he met at a private club with other supporters of Ávila Camacho’s program and applauded wartime unity.\textsuperscript{38} Chávez was also a friend of Ávila Camacho, who often entertained Chávez at his home.\textsuperscript{39} Furthermore, \textit{avilacamachismo} was invested in Mexico’s culture and used a variety of media to spread its ideal of unity, both nationally and internationally.\textsuperscript{40} Although Chávez’s support of Ávila Camacho’s agenda was probably genuine, state sponsorship of artists would have provided additional incentive. Whatever his motives, Chávez promoted \textit{avilacamachismo} by collaborating with American composers and international tours.

Chávez’s interest in public outreach during Ávila Camacho’s presidency parallels his intent to appeal to the masses with \textit{Corrido de “El sol.”} Thus, it is not surprising that he would revisit this work in the 1940s. The altered text reflects the political shift established by Ávila Camacho’s administration and upholds his state and cultural agenda. For example, as we have seen in Gutiérrez Cruz’s text, the sun and the worker are for the most part two separate entities with separate jobs. However, in the Mills score’s text, now altered, the sun and the worker “have a common task,” and thus, epitomize the unity promoted by \textit{avilacamachismo}. Likewise, it presents a new, optimistic outlook toward agrarian reform, reflecting the “can-do” attitude of the

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{37} Ibíd., 32.
\textsuperscript{38} Stephen R. Niblo, \textit{War, Diplomacy, and Development: The United States and Mexico 1938-1954} (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1995), 82.
\textsuperscript{39} Miller, \textit{Red, White, and Green}, 127.
\textsuperscript{40} Ibíd., 28.
\end{flushright}
Mexican government and the agrarian policy of Ávila Camacho, which promised to finally solve the land problem.

Cárdenas had merely distributed lands and did not consider the fact that once land was distributed, the owners did not have the freedoms that independent landowners enjoyed. In addition, the Ejidal Committee could appropriate lands at will. Consequently, Cárdenas, although well intentioned, in fact exacerbated the problem of agrarian reform. Ávila Camacho’s administration attempted a conservative approach by curtailing the amount of land distributed, allowing more land to be privatized, and guaranteeing more rights for small independent landowners while neglecting the peasants concerns.

In 1945, the government began a shift to right-wing policies. The conservative Minister of the Interior and presidential candidate Miguel Alemán (who succeeded Ávila Camacho in 1946) proposed a new institution supporting and governing the arts in Mexico. Chávez was chosen to head its creation, which resulted in the National Institute of Fine Arts and Literature. Chávez became director immediately following Alemán’s election. In his capacity as director, Chávez supported some of these right-wing policies. For example, after Alemán’s administration retracted its decision to exhibit Rivera’s mural The Nightmare and Dreams of Peace (which expressed sympathy toward communism) at an exhibit in Paris, Chávez refused to display the mural at the Palacio de las Bellas Artes in Mexico City.

Chávez’s right-wing preferences seem odd considering the leftist message of his Corrido de “El sol.” However, even in 1934, Chávez indicated right-wing partiality. When Cárdenas came to power in 1934, Chávez declared that he was leaving his post as head of the Department

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41 Krauze, Mexico: Biography of Power, 515.
42 Ibid., 516.
43 Parker, Orpheus, 18.
44 Niblo, War, Diplomacy, and Development, 286.
of Fine Arts and “the new regime’s ‘leftist policies’ to his successor, Muñoz Cota.”45 Thus, it seems that in 1934, Chávez intended to promote Cárdenas and leftist ideals in his Corrido de “El sol” simply to embrace popular opinion rather than show a particular political preference.

Given Chávez’s readiness to write a leftist work to appeal to public opinion in spite of his own right-wing tendencies, it is not surprising that he would revise the text to suit the atmosphere of the 1940s. That is, he perceived that the public (and perhaps wealthy patrons) supported right-wing policies at a time when the political climate shifted in that direction. Thus, in 1945, Chávez’s musical reworking of Corrido de “El sol” along with Mexico’s revised agrarian program and shift to right-wing policies provided both opportunity and motivation for altering the text.

CHAPTER IV. LLAMADAS

*Llamadas: Sinfonía proletaria* was first performed for a workers’ union in the Casa del Pueblo. Afterward, it was performed upon the workers’ request at the inaugural concert of the Palace of Fine Arts on 29 September 1934. Like *Corrido de “El sol,”* *Llamadas* embraces what Chávez identified as the goals of the 1920’s painters’ movement. It does so, however, even more explicitly by musically representing Diego Rivera’s mural of the Mexican revolution.

Rivera’s mural, painted on the walls of the third floor of the Secretariat of Education building (1923-1929), consists of forty-two panels that glorify soldiers and workers while condemning the wealthy elite. A single banner crowns the mural, spanning across and uniting the panels with the texts of *corridos* from the revolution. These include *Corrido de la revolución proletaria* and *Corrido de Emiliano Zapata* (both anonymous works). For *Llamadas,* Chávez derived a text from the lyrics of these two *corridos* that, despite alteration, embodies sentiments akin to Rivera’s. The connection between Chávez’s composition and Rivera’s mural is even more apparent when images of the mural are placed alongside the music, as in the 1934 score, arranged for choir and piano and published by the Department of Fine Arts in Mexico.

Although the lyrics of *Llamadas* borrow from the two anonymous *corridos,* both written before 1923, *Llamadas*’s text reflects the social and political climate of the 1930s, as the textual analysis below will show. Like *Corrido de “El sol,”* *Llamadas* embodies Chávez’s intent of creating a cultured music for the masses by combining the popular with the artistic through a mixture of his Mexican popular, Indianist, and non-Mexican styles.

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1 Parker, *Orpheus,* 114.
2 Peter Standish and Steven M. Bell, *Culture and Customs of Mexico* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 271.
Musical Analysis

As in *Corrido de “El sol,”* Chávez frequently quotes the four-note motive from his *Tierra Mojada* in *Llamadas,* which, as mentioned, is found in many of his other works as well.

This motive appears throughout the work in mm. 36-37 and 40-41 (ex. 4.1), 121-124, and 227-230, as well as in retrograde in mm. 114-116 (ex. 4.2).

Example 4.1 Chávez, *Llamadas* mm. 34-41

Example 4.2 Chávez, *Llamadas* mm. 114-116

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3 Musical analysis is based on Carlos Chávez, *Llamadas: Sinfonia proletaria,* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública, Departamento de Bellas Artes, 1934).

The motive in the above examples complements other pentatonic and diatonic melodies of *Llamadas* that reflect either Mexican popular or Indianist styles. As mentioned in Chapters II and III, pentatonicism and diatonicism are characteristic of both *corridos* and Chávez’s Indianist melodies. However, in *Llamadas*, it is the harmonic language that determines whether we hear these melodies as Mexican or Indianist. For example, the pentatonic melody of the introduction (mm. 3-7, ex. 4.3) is harmonized in parallel fourths, recalling Chávez’s Indianist style. Alternatively, the diatonic melody in mm. 238-243 (ex. 4.4) is harmonized in parallel thirds and sixths, like Mexican song. Other melodies in *Llamadas* are modal, that is, characteristically “Indian.” Nonetheless, in mm. 10-29 (ex. 4.5) Chávez mixes styles by harmonizing the melody in parallel thirds and sixths. Moreover, in mm. 10-13 of this passage, both the melody and accompaniment (doubling the melody) emphasize thirds, repeating a D to B-flat descent harmonized in parallel thirds. Similarly, in mm. 14-15 the melody and accompaniment descend from G to E-flat. In addition, a countermelody in mm. 17-19 consists of thirds. The accompaniment also outlines thirds in the quarter-note triplets in mm. 22, 23, and 25, as well as in the sixteenth notes spanning mm. 20-25. Over this, the melody highlights the interval C to A in mm. 21-29. The accompaniment can be broken down into fifths in mm. 20-25, which Chávez alternates within the space of a tritone. Thus, the harmony preserves an Indianist style while using modernist, that is, non-Mexican tendencies.

The subsequent passage, mm. 34-48 (ex. 4.6) further mixes Indianist and Mexican popular characteristics. In it, Chávez alternates between harmonizing in parallel fourths, and parallel thirds and sixths. While the passage opens with thirds in the melody (A to C in mm. 34-35, G to B-flat in m. 38, and D to B-flat in m. 39), it also emphasizes fourths. In mm. 37-38 and

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40-43, the accompaniment outlines a stepwise descent of a fourth. Further, the melody highlights this interval in the tessitura of the first phrase, while in the second phrase, it outlines fourths with the intervals D to A (mm. 40-41) and B-flat to E (mm. 42-43) in short repeated motives. Although mm. 34-48 blend Mexican and Indianist characteristics, the passage sounds predominately Indianist because of the open, drone-like pedal chords.

Example 4.3 Chávez, *Llamadas* mm. 3-7

Example 4.4 Chávez, *Llamadas* mm. 238-243
Example 4.5 Chávez, *Llamadas* mm. 10-29
Example 4.6 Chávez, *Llamadas* mm. 34-48

The contours of certain melodies in *Llamadas* are similar to the arc-shapes common in *corrido* melodies. Other melodies in *Llamadas* treat arc designs more liberally, resembling
Chávez’s Indianist style by interrupting the shape of the melody with repeated motives. For example, the melody in mm. 34-48 (ex. 4.6) begins with a gradual ascent in mm. 34-37 from A to D, reaches an E in m. 42, and ends with a stepwise descent from D to G (mm. 46-48).

Similarly, in the melody in mm. 55-72 (ex. 4.7), the first two phrases exhibit a shallow arc with a gradual stepwise ascent followed by descending thirds in mm. 62-63. However, while mm. 64-67 are almost identical to mm. 55-58, the final measures break completely with the previously established arc form with a repeated stepwise ascent from D to F. The melody in mm. 10-29 (ex. 4.5) dispenses with the arc design altogether. Instead, it emphasizes repeated motives and pitches characteristic of Chávez’s Indianist style, along with stepwise-centric motion within a third, which shifts throughout the section within areas stressing D to B-flat, G to E-flat, and C to A.

Example 4.7 Chávez, *Llamadas* soprano line mm. 55-72

As in *corridos*, Chávez alternates between duple and triple meters throughout *Llamadas*, often within or at the beginning of each new strophe or musical section. For instance, the instrumental section beginning in m. 132 begins with a shift to 2/4 from the previous 3/8 meter, and changes in almost every measure until bar 154. The abundance of syncopation and polyrhythms in *Llamadas*, particularly duple against triple rhythms, also recalls the influence of the *corrido*. For example, mm. 315-335 (ex. 4.8) use syncopation as well as duple and triple
rhythms both alternately and simultaneously. In mm. 283-291 (ex. 4.9), Chávez alternates between duple and triple rhythms by using meters such as 2/8 followed by 3/8; in 5/8 measures, he subdivides the five eighth notes into groups of twos or threes with accents. Throughout the work, other polyrhythms occur as well. For instance, in mm. 22-25 (ex. 4.5) quarter-note triplets are placed against running eighth notes, which are subdivided into sixteenth notes. Apart from rhythmic devices associated with corridos, other rhythms in Llamadas consist of short repetitive patterns, resembling those in Chávez’s Indianist works, in which he habitually employs rhythmic ostinatos. Measures 80-89 and 90-95 of Llamadas (ex. 4.10) use two separate rhythmic ostinatos that drive the music forward. The syncopation on the second and third beats of the first ostinato (mm. 80-89) propels one measure to the next. Although the choir sustains a single pitch in mm. 90-95, the second ostinato, starting in m. 90, boosts the momentum by using smaller note values than those in the first ostinato. Further, the repeated motive of the second ostinato comprises one-half measure of 2/4 as opposed to a full measure of 3/4.

Example 4.8 Chávez, Llamadas mm. 315-335
Example 4.9 Chávez, *Llamadas* mm. 283-291

283  Poco Mvindo

S

A

T

B

Pno.

Dan la u-na
dan las dos
yel ri-co siempre pen-
san-do
como leha-
rá su dis-ne-ro pa-ra que
ta va ya do-blan-do

Dan la u-na
dan las dos
yel ri-co siempre pen-
san-do
como leha-
rá su dis-ne-ro pa-ra que
ta va ya do-blan-do

Dan la u-na
dan las dos
yel ri-co siempre pen-
san-do
como leha-
rá su dis-ne-ro pa-ra que
ta va ya do-blan-do
As in *Corrido de “El sol,”* Chávez uses non-functional harmony and dissonance throughout *Llamadas,* reflecting both non-Mexican and Indianist styles, as well as Indianist open intervals. For instance, in mm. 1-10 (ex. 4.11), the tonal center is ambiguous from the beginning: an open fifth is followed by a dissonant tremolo and chord comprised of major seconds separated by a fourth (similar to the chords in the opening of *Corrido de “El sol”*). In m. 2, a tremolo of a major ninth is introduced. In m. 8, the octave tremolo, having acted as a pedal tone, ascends an augmented second from F to G-sharp, which against the D, creates a
diminished fifth, all of which contribute to an Indianist character. Moreover, the pedal tone creates a drone-like effect that supports a pentatonic line harmonized in parallel fourths and fifths in the voices. In this way, Chávez creates a triumphant fanfare that leaves the listener anticipating how its proclamation will unfold.

Example 4.11 Chávez, *Llamadas* mm. 1-10

The form of *Llamadas* is sectionalized according to the strophes of the text and only resembles the form of *corridos* by including an instrumental interlude approximately halfway through the work. Indeed, with ten separate themes (labeled A-J, fig. 4.1), the variety of melodic material in *Llamadas* is much greater than that of most *corridos*. Thus, *Llamadas* is more closely related to European formal designs in that it draws upon through-composition and rondo-like principles. In the work’s first half, Chávez introduces the first six themes successively as in through-composed works. He then repeats the sixth theme (F) after the first instrumental interlude, before presenting the seventh and eighth themes (G and H, respectively). A repeat of
the fourth section (D) is followed by the ninth theme (I) and its variation. After the tenth theme (J) is introduced, Chávez returns to the sixth theme (F), which in the second half of *Llamadas* has now become a principal subject, alternating with sections of new material as in a rondo.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Introduction mm. 1-9</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A mm. 10-29 theme 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>B mm. 34-48 theme 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C mm. 55-72 theme 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D mm. 79-89 theme 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E mm. 97-117 theme 5</td>
</tr>
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Through-composition

<table>
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<tr>
<th>rondo form begins</th>
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<tr>
<td>F mm. 118-131 theme 6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interlude</td>
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<tr>
<td>F mm. 224-237 theme 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G mm. 238-243 theme 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H mm. 244-268 theme 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D mm. 272-282 theme 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I mm. 283-290 theme 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J mm. 291-300 var.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J mm. 306-319 theme 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F mm. 321-333 theme 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coda mm. 334-335</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.1 Form of *Llamadas*

In short, *Llamadas*’s multi-thematic form and polystylistic tendencies reflect the montage of images in Rivera’s mural. The individual themes act as panels that comprise a single work of art. Similarly, the three musical styles juxtaposed within the work are, like the panels, distinct; however, they too merge into one. Thus, in *Llamadas*, Chávez converts visual panels to sound
panels, connecting them with a single text just as Rivera united each segment of his mural with a single banner of *corrido* texts.

Textual Analysis

As noted, the lyrics of *Llamadas* are based on *Corrido de la revolución proletaria* and *Corrido de Emiliano Zapata*. As for the relevance of these lyrics to the 1930s, they, like *Corrido de “El sol”*, allude to the issue of agrarian reform. Yet, while *Corrido de “El sol”* sympathizes with peasants, *Llamadas* speaks to a broader audience, addressing all workers.

*Corrido de la revolución proletaria*

In contrast to the disconsolate lyrics of Gutiérrez Cruz’s *El sol*, the text of *Corrido de la revolución proletaria* is a triumphant celebration of the workers’ victory over oppression. Although the date of this *corrido* is unspecified, it appeared before 1923. It reads as follows:

1) Son las voces del obrero rudo lo que puede darles mi laúd, es el canto sordo, pero puro, que se escapa de la multitud.

2) Ya la masa obrera y campesina sacudióse el yugo que sufría, ya quemó la cizaña maligna del burgués opreso que tenía.

3) Por cumplir del obrero los planes, no se vale que nadie se raje; se les dice a ricos y holgazanes: *El que quiera comer, que trabaje.*

4) Las industrias y grandes empresas

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*Simmons, The Mexican Corrido*, 564.
dirigidas ya son por obreros,
manejadas en cooperativas [sic],
sin patrones sobre sus cabezas.

5) Y la tierra ya está destinada para aquel que la quiera explotar;
se acabó la miseria pasada,
cualquier hombre puede cultivar.

6) La igualdad y justicia que hoy tienen se debió a un solo frente,
que hicieron en ciudades, poblados y ranchos,
campesinos, soldados y obreros.

7) Ahora tienen el pan para todos los desnudos, los hombres de abajo;
la igualdad, la justicia, el trabajo y han cambiado costumbres y modos.

8) Cuando el pueblo derrocó a los reyes y al gobierno burgués mercenario,
e instaló sus consejos y leyes y fundó su poder proletario.7

This text addresses an extensive audience of “peasants, soldiers, and workers” and lesser strata of society, such as the “naked” and “men at the bottom.” In addition, the agricultural community’s liberation from peonage is proclaimed (“it broke free of the yoke that it had suffered,” “the land is already destined for those who wish to exploit it”). That labor unions were similarly victorious emerges in the phrase “the industries and large companies are already managed by workers.”

This tribute to the progress of the common man affirms a new social order in which the working class gains rights and political power. For instance, the author praises the workers for defending their rights and bringing equality and justice to the working class. Now the worker

7 Mendoza, El romance español y el corrido mexicano, 767-69.
can be his own master and improve his standard of living. The author also criticizes the wealthy as lazy. He insists that now the rich, like the worker, must also work to eat. This new order is especially vivid in the final quatrain, in which the working class overthrows “the kings and the mercenary bourgeois government,” founding their own power.

As Simmons attests, *Corrido de la revolución proletaria* is propagandistic. It does not relate to any specific event or person. Instead, the text focuses on equality and the power of the people. As mentioned in Chapter II, the Mexican people often embraced propaganda, despite sometimes blatant partiality, since they depended on *corridos* for information on which to base their opinions. Like *Corrido de la revolución proletaria*, some “non-propagandistic” *corridos* written by lower-class individuals in the early to mid-1920s also condemn the wealthy elite. In addition, the stability envisioned in *Corrido de la revolución proletaria* catered to public opinion immediately following the revolution.

Exhausted by war, the Mexican people desired peace. In the early 1920s, *corridistas* supported Obregón, viewing him as a pacifist. Obregón helped fuel these feelings in his restoration efforts and encouraged the belief that stability was imminent. He maintained peace (as well as his political power) by buying the support of generals throughout Mexico who, in exchange for money, repaid their benefactor by keeping the peace with their troops. He also redistributed over 600,000 hectares of land during his first year as president and a total of more than 900,000 hectares by the end of his term to facilitate political stability, an exceptional improvement over previous administrations since this final amount was nearly five times the

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8 Simmons, *The Mexican Corrido*, 364.
9 Simmons, *The Mexican Corrido*, 364.
10 Ibid., 174-76.
12 Ibid., 94.
amount of land distributed by the two preceding presidents.\textsuperscript{13} Labor conditions improved as well under Obregón after his administration exercised the leading stipulations for labor relations outlined in Article 123 of the Constitution. In addition, the Regional Confederation of Mexican Workers, a labor organization, significantly increased its power.\textsuperscript{14}

In the 1930s, land and labor issues continued to be prominent. As we have seen, agrarian reform rose to the forefront of politics with the impending election of Cárdenas, who was also an advocate for labor reform. In addition, labor unions increased their demands and the General Confederation of Mexican Workers and Peasants grew powerful.\textsuperscript{15} Thus, Corrido de la revolución proletaria undoubtedly appealed to Chávez as a means to communicate with the public at this time. However, this corrido related to the celebratory atmosphere of the revolution’s aftermath in the early 1920s in which the Mexican people hastily declared victory over land and labor problems. It soon became clear, though, that victory had not yet been achieved. Although hope for a solution to the land and labor problems persisted, by the 1930s it was clear that while agrarian and labor reforms were within reach, they were not in hand. Thus, the overly optimistic atmosphere that followed the revolution was replaced by one of realistic hope for the future. Therefore, as we shall see, Chávez introduced changes that would further identify the text with the climate of the 1930s.

\textsuperscript{13} Krauze, \textit{Mexico: Biography of Power}, 395.
\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Ibid.}, 395.
\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Ibid.}, 432.
Corrido de Emiliano Zapata

Like Corrido de la revolución proletaria, Corrido de Emiliano Zapata is not precisely dated. However, Simmons places it in the first decade of the revolution.\(^\text{16}\) The text praises labor, equality, and the new “government of the worker,” which upholds “peace, justice, and liberty.” Although it refers to other workers besides farmers, the text speaks primarily to agrarian laborers, admiring the revolutionary hero of land reform, Zapata, in the first strophe, and frequently referring to land and nature in subsequent verses.

1) En Cuautla Morelos\(^\text{17}\) hubo un hombre muy singular, justo es ya que se los diga: hablándoles, pues en plata, era Emiliano Zapata muy querido por allá.

2) Todo es un mismo partido, ya no hay con quien pelear; compañeros, ya no hay guerra, vámonos a trabajar.

3) Ya se dieron garantías a todo el género humano, lo mismo que al propietario como para el artesano.

4) ¡Unión! que es la fuerza santa de todito el mundo entero, Paz, Justicia y Libertad y gobierno del obrero.

5) Así como los soldados han servido pa la guerra, que den fruto a la nación

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\(^\text{16}\) Simmons, *The Mexican Corrido*, 337-38.

\(^\text{17}\) Cuautla is the town in the state of Morelos where Zapata’s body was displayed after his assassination in 1919 by one of Carranza’s supporters. The town is also the site of annual memorials for Zapata. O’Malley, *The Myth of the Revolution*, 43.
y que trabajen la tierra. and work the land.

6) ¡Quién no se siente dichoso 
   cuando comienza a llover!
   Es señal muy evidente
   que tendremos qué comer. 
   
   Who does not feel happy 
   when it starts to rain! 
   It is a very evident sign 
   that we will have enough to eat.

7) Si los campos reverdecen 
   con la ayuda del tractor,
   es el premio del trabajo
   que nos da nuestro sudor. 
   
   If the fields become green again 
   with the help of the tractor, 
   it is the reward of the work 
   that gives us our sweat.

8) El oro, no vale nada 
   si no hay alimentación:
   es la cuerda del reloj 
   de nuestra generación.
   
   The gold, it is worth nothing 
   if there isn’t food: 
   it is the passing of time on the clock 
   of our generation.

9) Quisiera ser hombre sabio 
   de muchas sabidurías;
   pero más quiero tener 
   qué comer todos los días.
   
   I would like to be a learned man 
   of much knowledge; 
   but more I want to have 
   enough to eat every day.

10) Dan la una, dan las dos 
    y el rico siempre pensando 
    cómo le hará a su dinero 
    para que vaya doblando.
    
    The clocks strike one, they strike two 
    and the rich are always thinking about 
    how they will make their money 
    to go on doubling.

11) Dan las siete de la noche 
    y el pobre está recostado,
    duerme un sueño muy tranquilo 
    porque se encuentra cansado.
    
    The clocks strike seven at night 
    and the poor man is lying down, 
    he dreams a very tranquil dream 
    because he is tired.

12) ¡Dichoso el árbol que dá [sic] 
    frutos, pero muy maduros!
    Sí señores, vale más 
    que todos los pesos duros.
    
    Happy is the tree that gives 
    fruit, but very mature! 
    Yes gentlemen, it is worth more 
    than all the hard-earned pesos.

13) No quiere ya relumbrones 
    ni palabras sin sentido,
    quiere sólo garantías 
    para su hogar tan querido.
    
    He doesn’t want compliments 
    nor meaningless words, 
    he wants only guarantees 
    for his home so dear.

14) Es el mejor bienestar 
    que el mexicano desea:
    que lo dejen trabajar,
    
    It is the ultimate well-being 
    that Mexicans desire: 
    that they would leave it to work,
At first, *Corrido de Emiliano Zapata* seems non-propagandistic since the opening strophe introduces a protagonist, Zapata, as a much-loved hero. This description of Zapata, however, is inconsistent with the public opinion before the early 1920s, when the government mounted a pro-Zapata propaganda campaign. Before then, many Mexicans viewed Zapata as rough and crude, with lower-class *corridistas* focusing on Zapata’s deeds instead of praising his character. Clearly, the line describing Zapata as “much-loved” is propagandistic. Also, the strophes following the first quatrain declare Zapata’s ideals, such as “union,” “a government of the worker,” and “peace, justice, and liberty,” rather than emphasizing Zapata himself. The final nine strophes highlight life values, such as hard work and the knowledge that money does not bring happiness. Moreover, the *corrido’s* focus on Zapata’s philosophy relates to the propaganda spread by the government. For example, at the annual memorials commemorating Zapata’s assassination, begun in 1921, government speakers would praise Zapata and his principles to show the Mexican people that the Obregón administration was on the side of the peasants and farmers. For Obregón, promoting a positive image of Zapata was essential to ensure his political strength, even though the *zapatistas* posed a threat to his newly acquired power. Obregón sought a stronger political base by satisfying their desires and winning their support through offers of government positions and land.

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21 Obregón gave *Zapatistas* federal and military positions throughout Mexico as well as the government of Morelos, a state that produced more agrarian reforms than many other states in Mexico. *Ibid.*, 44, 45.
This *corrido* is particularly relevant both to agrarian reform and the political climate of the 1930s, when Cárdenas renewed hopes for successful agrarian reforms. Consequently, for *Corrido de Emiliiano Zapata*, Chávez may not have felt a need to change the lyrics to the extent that he changed those of *Corrido de la revolución proletaria*. Instead of including the entire *corrido*, however, Chávez highlighted the final nine strophes, revering nature in a fashion similar to that of *Corrido de “El sol.”*

**Llamadas: Sinfonía proletaria**

Chávez did not use either of the above *corridos* in their entirety in *Llamadas*. Its first five strophes are loosely derived from the sixth, seventh, third, fifth, and fourth strophes of *Corrido de la revolución proletaria*, respectively. The lines within each strophe are also rearranged. The remaining strophes (6-15) consist of the second and last nine quatrains from *Corrido de Emiliiano Zapata*. New and altered lyrics are indicated in boldface. The numbers beside each line for the first five strophes refer to the numbers of the strophe and line, respectively, that correspond to *Corrido de la revolución proletaria.*

1) **Así será la Revolución Proletaria.**

6,4 campesinos, soldados, obreros,
6,2 cuando nuestro frente llegue a dominar
6,3 en ciudades poblados y ranchos
6,1 habrá la justicia e igualdad.

The Proletarian Revolution will be like this. Peasants, soldiers, workers, when our front comes to dominate in cities, settlements and ranches there will be justice and equality.

2) **Cambiarán las costumbres y modos,**

7,4 no habrá hombres de arriba y de abajo,
7,3 la igualdad provendrá del trabajo
7,1 y tendremos el pan para todos.

They will change the customs and ways, there will not be men above and below, the equality will come from the work and we will have bread for all.

3) **Y los proletarios cumplirán sus planes,**

3,1 sin que nadie en la lucha se raje,
3,2 Y los proletarios cumplirán sus planes

And the people will carry out their plans without anyone in the fight backing out,
3,3 *y diremos* a los holgazanes:

3,4 *El que quiera comer, que trabaje.*

He who wishes to eat must work.

4) 5,1 La tierra **toda será**

5,2 para quien vaya a explotarla,

5,3 se acabó **toda** miseria,

5,4 **trabajar podrá todo** hombre.

All the land will be for whoever goes to exploit it, all misery is left behind, all men will be able to work.

5) 4,1 Las industrias y grandes empresas

4,2 dirigidas **serán** por obreros,

4,3 manejadas en cooperativas,

4,4 sin patrones sobre sus cabezas.

The industries and large companies will be managed by workers, managers in cooperatives, without bosses over their heads.

6) Todos un mismo partido

y nadie con quien pelear.

Compañeros, no habrá guerras, vámonos a trabajar.

All is a unified party and there are none with whom to fight. Companions, there will be no wars, let us go to work.

7) ¡Quién no se siente dichoso cuando comienza a llover!

Es señal muy evidente que tendremos qué comer.

Who does not feel happy when it starts to rain! It is a very evident sign that we will have enough to eat.

8) Si los campos reverdecen con la ayuda del tractor,

es el premio del trabajo que nos da nuestro sudor.

If the fields become green again with the help of the tractor, it is the reward of the work that gives us our sweat.

9) El oro, no vale nada si no hay alimentación:

es la cuerda del reloj de nuestra generación.

The gold, it is worth nothing if there isn’t food: it is the passing of time on the clock of our generation.

10) Quisiera ser hombre sabio de muchas sabidurías;

pero más quiero tener qué comer todos los días.

I would like to be a learned man of much knowledge; but more I want to have enough to eat every day.

11) Dan la una, dan las dos y el rico siempre pensando cómo le hará a su dinero para que vaya doblando.

The clocks strike one, they strike two and the rich are always thinking about how they will make their money to go on doubling.

12) Dan las siete de la noche y el pobre está recostado,

The clocks strike seven at night and the poor man is lying down,
duerme un sueño muy tranquilo porque se encuentra cansado.

he dreams a very tranquil dream because he is tired.

13) ¡Dichoso el árbol que dá [sic] frutos, pero muy maduros! Sí señores, vale más que todos los pesos duros.

Happy is the tree that gives fruit, but very mature! Yes gentlemen, it is worth more than all the hard-earned pesos.

14) No quiere ya relumbrones ni palabras sin sentido, quiere sólo garantías para su hogar tan querido.

He doesn’t want compliments nor meaningless words, he wants only guarantees for his home so dear.

15) Es el mejor bienestar que el mexicano desea: que lo dejen trabajar, para que feliz se vea.22

It is the ultimate well-being that Mexicans desire: that they would leave it to work, to find happiness.

Clearly, this text deviates from its original roots. Most significant is the change from the past and present tenses to the future. The first five strophes of Llamadas contend that traditional customs have not been changed, class divisions have not been eliminated, equality is not procured, nor do all people have bread. Yet the text offers hope that each of these injustices will be remedied, declaring that the people will be able to say “he who wishes to eat must work,” that the land will be for all, and the industries will be managed by workers. For example, the lines that once read “the equality and justice that they have today was due to a single front that they made” now read in the first strophe (lines 3-4), “when our front comes to dominate in cities, settlements and ranches there will be justice and equality,” indicating that a unified front has not yet been established. When formed, however, it will be rewarding as the second quatrain of Llamadas promises. The sixth strophe of Llamadas continues this optimistic message, by declaring that there will be no wars. Thus, the future tense changes the message of Llamadas from a celebratory declaration of victory to a cry of hope and determination for a better future.

22 Mendoza, El romance español y el corrido mexicano, 774-75.
However, beginning with the seventh quatrain, the remaining text of *Llamadas* offers a more reflective message than the preceding strophes, focusing on nature, land, and life values.

The change to future tense in *Llamadas* makes sense considering the political climate of the 1930s. Little progress had been made before 1934 toward solving the land problem. In 1934, however, land and labor reforms received attention as pillars of Cárdenas’s presidential campaign. As we have seen, Cárdenas renewed hope for achieving a society in which equality and justice prevail, as described by the lyrics of all three texts. With Cárdenas, a brighter future seemed within reach, even though he ultimately failed. In fact, his election was sufficient for the Mexican people to believe that improvements were surely forthcoming. Since land and labor reforms were still in progress in 1934, broadcasting the successful achievements of the Mexican people would not have resonated with the public. Thus, for *Llamadas*, Chávez used a text that observes Mexican workers from a pragmatic perspective relevant to the early half of the 1930s – one recognizing that the Mexican people were, once again, hopeful that the government would fulfill what they had long desired: “the ultimate well-being.”
As we have seen, Chávez wrote *Corrido de “El sol”* and *Llamadas* to achieve a goal based on his art music aesthetic. For Chávez, integrating the *corrido* with his Indianist and non-Mexican art tendencies allowed the popular and artistic to not only join in loose association but exist as equals on the same plane. Thus, popular song became art, exposing the Mexican people to the musical language of a learned professional composer. In this thesis, the musical analyses show how Chávez’s fusion of styles reinforces his aesthetic. However, they also reveal that his compositional style, as manifested in these works, is more complex than what the labels “Indianist,” “non-Mexican,” and “Mexican popular” allow. In fact, because of this stylistic flexibility, Chávez was able to mold all three into an integrated voice that can be analyzed according to individual style categories but cannot be restricted to just one, as is commonly done.

As for the text, the analyses in this thesis reveal variances between the lyrics of *Corrido de “El sol”* and *Llamadas* and those of the *corridos* on which they are based. An isolated examination of the text merely shows that the lyrics contributed to Chávez’s goals insofar as they were taken from the *corrido*, a form of mass-media for the Mexican people. However, in this thesis, I contextualize the lyrics of *Corrido de “El sol”* and *Llamadas* to show how these works communicated to the masses. Chávez was clearly aware of public opinion and Mexico’s political climate and recognized agrarian and labor reforms as issues that would appeal to Mexicans. The textual alterations in both works show his sensitivity to these issues as they related to political events in Mexico.

Indeed, with *Corrido de “El sol”* and *Llamadas*, Chávez contributed to the *corrido* tradition; by using preexisting *corridos*, moreover, he established a socio-political reference for his audience. Most significantly, he expanded the possibilities of the *corrido*. By using the
genre in his art music, Chávez enhanced both art and popular styles. He added even more
diversity to its flexible musical and literary designs to allow for his personal expression, one that
would eliminate the arbitrary boundary between the popular and the artistic. Thus, *Corrido de
“El sol”* and *Llamadas* were not only statements on current events, but on art as well. Like
corridos, they record a history that is always up to date. Like art, they strive to articulate the
abstract – Chávez’s own musical thought.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


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**APPENDIX A. CHRONOLOGY, 1899-1978**

Time Line of Significant Events. Items Pertaining Directly to Chávez are Indicated in Boldface.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>Chávez is born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908-1909</td>
<td>Chávez studies piano with his brother</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909-1913</td>
<td>Chávez studies piano with Manuel Ponce</td>
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<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Madero begins efforts to overthrow Diaz, revolution begins</td>
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<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Madero unveils <em>Plan de San Luis Potosí</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Diaz resigns; Madero comes to power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Huerta unseats Madero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Carranza comes to power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915-1920</td>
<td>Chávez studies piano with Pedro Luis Ogazón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>Chávez arranges <em>La Adelita y La Cucaracha</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>National Agrarian Council devised</td>
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<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Chávez begins writing for <em>Gladios</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>1917-1918</td>
<td>Chávez studies harmony with Juan B. Fuentes</td>
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<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Carranza becomes president</td>
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<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Chávez arranges <em>Adiós Adiós and Las Margaritas</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Obregón becomes president; revolution ends</td>
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<td>1921</td>
<td>Painters’ movement begins</td>
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<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>First public concert of Chávez’s music</td>
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<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Chávez composes <em>El Fuego Nuevo</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Chávez composes <em>Tres Exágonos</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Chávez’s first trip to New York City</td>
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<td>1924</td>
<td>Chávez returns to Mexico</td>
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<td>1924</td>
<td>Chávez composes <em>Sonatina for piano</em></td>
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<td>1925</td>
<td>Chávez composes <em>Energía</em></td>
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<td>1925</td>
<td>Chávez composes <em>Los Cuatro Soles</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Chávez’s second trip to New York City</td>
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<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Chávez returns to Mexico</td>
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<tr>
<td>1928-1934</td>
<td>Chávez is director of the National Conservatory of Music</td>
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<tr>
<td>1928-1949</td>
<td>Chávez is director of Orquestra Sinfónica de México (OSM)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Chávez begins project to emulate painters’ movement</td>
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<td>1931</td>
<td>Chávez teaches class on free composition</td>
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<td>1932</td>
<td>Chávez establishes Academy of Investigation</td>
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<td>1933</td>
<td>Chávez becomes head of the Department of Fine Arts</td>
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<td>1933-1934</td>
<td>Chávez teaches a course on music history</td>
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<td>1934</td>
<td>Chávez writes and premieres <em>Corrido de “El sol”</em></td>
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<td>1934</td>
<td>Chávez writes and premieres <em>Llamadas: Sinfonia proletaria</em></td>
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<td>1934</td>
<td>Chávez writes <em>Obertura Republicana</em></td>
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<td>1934</td>
<td>Lázaro Cárdenas becomes president</td>
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<td>1936</td>
<td>Chávez composes <em>Sinfonia India</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<td>------</td>
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<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>Mendoza publishes <em>El sol</em> (lyrics by Gutiérrez Cruz and music by Lerdo de Tejada) and Chávez’s <em>Corrido de “El sol”</em> in <em>El romance español y el corrido mexicano: Estudio comparativo.</em></td>
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<td>1940</td>
<td>Manuel Ávila Camacho becomes president</td>
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<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>Chávez revises <em>Corrido de “El sol”</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Miguel Alemán becomes president</td>
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<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Chávez becomes Director of National Institute of Fine Arts</td>
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<td>1956</td>
<td>Decca Recording publishes <em>Corrido de “El sol”</em> in <em>Music of Mexico</em></td>
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<td>1962</td>
<td>Mills Music publishes Chávez's <em>Corrido de “El sol”</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Chávez dies</td>
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