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Learning from Venezuelan cultural spaces around which  
events comparable to those on Djamâa-El-Fna square take place

*Présentation des espaces culturels du Venezuela où se déroulent  
des manifestations similaires à celles de la place Jamaa' el-Fna*

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LEARNING FROM VENEZUELAN CULTURAL SPACES AROUND WHICH  
ACTIVITIES COMPARABLE TO THOSE HELD ON DJAMÂA-EL-FNA SQUARE  
TAKE PLACE \*

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Paper prepared for presentation in  
the Consultation of Experts on the case of the  
Djamâa-El-Fna Square and the Programme on  
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The presentation of this paper will be accompanied by the projection of slides  
taken from actual performances of Venezuelan traditional storytellers

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I am very impressed for the fortune of the inhabitants of Marrakech who have the privilege of enjoying both the aesthetic dimensions and cultural significance of the activities that take place in an emblematic place like the Djamâa-El-Fna Square. I am sure that protecting this Square will contribute to safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage that is permanently handed on and worked out in this place. This square seems to be a very special and unique place. At least, we do not have a similar place in Venezuela, in which comparable activities had taken place for generations. We have the historical central square of Caracas, built in the XVI Century as both market and square, remodeled several times since then, and named Plaza Bolívar since the end of the XIX Century. At that time also a monument to the national hero Simón Bolívar, usually named as the Liberator, was installed in the centre of the square. This square, as well as several others in Venezuela and in other Latin American countries, has been a privileged place for people to meet and talk about current and historical events, a place to seek and construct meaning. What is relatively original of the Bolívar Square of Caracas is that a group of retired men that by the end of

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last Century rented chairs from the City in order to seat in the square to chat has later on become institutionalized as the "Aide-de-Camps of the Liberator" ---more colloquially known as "The Old Men of Plaza Bolívar"--- and begun to receiving their chairs free of charge from the City. This group has permanently renewed itself since then and still exists. But they do not gather any audiences, and most people pass around without realizing their presence. From time to time it appears one of them that may be a more celebrated teller, but they are not performers comparable to the halaquis who are master storytellers capable of captivating an audience. We also have an anti-pirate Fort in Juan Griego Bay, in the Caribbean island of Margarita, which was built in 1,811, and in which children from the adjacent village tell visitors the story of the Fort. Some of them are good and manage to gather large audiences. This is becoming a "tradition" which may well evolve in interesting ways, but it was initiated only some thirty years ago.

Nevertheless, if what interests us are places in which Intangible Cultural Heritage is handed on and worked out, in the case of Venezuela we would better think in ---let us metaphorically and provocatively say--- "intangible places". That is to say, we have to think in "cultural spaces" that are not necessarily attached to any single and fixed physical place. Let me put an example, for the cases of the Yanomami, the Ye'kuana, the Wayúu, the Waraos, the Pemones, and the Kariñas, and of other indigenous peoples in Venezuela ---as well as for the cases of most Amazon Basin indigenous peoples--- telling stories (mythological or particularly significant lived experiences) and other forms of orally transmitted knowledge (e.g., ethnobotanical) is not associated to any place comparable to the Djamáa-El-Fna Square. Depending on the cases, the place may be as undetermined as any trail in their way to hunt, fish, or work the land, or as specific as any corner of their housing. If there is a place that has a particular importance, then usually it is the special place for social gatherings and ceremonies that their reduced or extended family housing have, which --depending on each of these indigenous peoples' case-- may be the central space of the large housing or a bower close to the main family house. But, many of these reduced or extended family housing exist at the same time. And, in addition, these kinds of housing are not designed to survive generation after generation. In other words, in the cases of these indigenous peoples the handed on and permanent reworking of their valuable and very often antique Intangible Heritage is not associated to any specific and safeguardable physical place. Nevertheless, there is an Intangible Heritage permanently handed on and reworked by specialized individuals --be they storytellers or shamans-- whose special capabilities or enchantment to transmit this Heritage is recognized by their

communities. The practices of these specialized individuals do have to be strengthened, because they are who may keep alive --and ever growing-- these cultural assets. This is to say, that based on the kinds of experiences of the indigenous peoples of Venezuela, as well as of others from the Amazon Basin, the object of our concern would not be just a place, neither would it be just certain corpus of stories --recordable and storageable as a frozen patrimony-- but a more intangible thing: the practices of certain individuals who are recognized by their communities, in the context of certain forms of social life. No doubt, this is a very complex issue to be addressed, but not impossible, and I will later on offer some research results and practical suggestions in this regard.

But before, let me point out that not only indigenous peoples living in their traditional territories have these kinds of specialists of the permanent handing on and reworking of Intangible Heritages. Also their brothers and sisters that currently leave in middle size and large cities have their own, who also have their own specialists and have found new social spaces, which, again, are not always attached to particular physical places. Moreover, these migrated indigenous communities are not the unique inhabitants of large and middle size cities, or small towns, who have this kind of specialists who permanently work out and reinvigorate elements of their Intangible Heritage in a certain multiplicity of places that constitute specially significant cultural spaces although not necessarily attached to any particular and historical physical place. Numerous communities of Mestizo and Afro-Venezuelan inhabitants of villages, towns, and cities of diverse size, also have their own specialists. The practice of diverse forms of storytelling and other forms of orally preserve and develop Intangible Heritage are alive and significant in Venezuela, but the safeguarding of the involved Cultural Heritage will not be assured just by preserving a place, because there is not a physical place comparable to the Djamâa-El-Fna Square. Because even when do exist places like the already named Plaza Bolívar, there have emerged other non-physically particular places which have become more important in terms of the number of people that is involved, and in some cases also significant and not permutable because of the peculiarities of the Heritage involved, for example that of particular groups of population, for example: indigenous peoples, the descendants of the old African, slaves, and women. This latter a very particular case, because in Venezuela --as in many other countries of the world-- public places are still more the spaces of men than of women, as I have corroborated through my fieldwork with storytellers.

If we consider all the former, then the issue of preserving Intangible Cultural Heritages

of my line of research. Let me emphasize that I am speaking of storytellers who are clearly recognized by their attendants as being "masters" in their art; and I am not speaking about what anthropologists name "informants", nor about just good "connoisseurs" of "the old stories", neither about occasional storytellers.

The collecting and publishing of tales, legends, and myths emerging from storytellers' performances may be an adequate strategy for establishing some partial aspects of a cultural dynamics, as well as for perpetuating them as frozen cultural heritages, ensuring their availability for posterity and for social groups with reading habits. These activities are currently associated with the idea of "rescue". The making of this collections do not require of identifying the best narrators, but the best connoisseurs of the old stories. Almost all the research in this subject in Latin America follows this orientation. In contrast, or perhaps as a complement, researching and analyzing the diverse ways of existence and appreciation of the art of storytelling, and of storytellers' techniques and ways of learning, may be useful for establishing a basis for the design of programs for the diffusion and development of this art, which I have essayed to do, and what have guided my research.

Therefore, and because of the purpose which has guided this research, it was necessary to leave aside conventional notions and research methods, and devices: the tape-recorder. So, it seemed convenient to begin by inquiring about the actual ways of existence and social appreciation of the phenomenon in diverse cultural frames within Venezuelan territory.

Some fundamental criteria of the research have been:

- a) To identify the social meaning and ways of existence of storytelling in each community, instead of assuming any pre-conceived image of the ways in which it exists.
- b) To identify the patterns of appreciation of storytelling in each community, instead of using others from different cultural frames.
- c) To identify the persons who are well known as storytellers in each community, instead of deciding this from external criteria.
- d) Not to believe the existence of some "true" circumstances and of others that are "not true". Every one which occurs is, by its mere existence, "true". Each "performance" acquires meaning in relationship to a kind of "event". Each kind of "event" acquires its meaning in relationship to a

certain cultural "context".

The interviews with performers and other people in each community have let me produce information about kind of uses, patterns of appreciation, genres of tales, styles of performance, etc.. The interviews with narrators also let me produce information about professional "secrets", processes of learning, relationship with print and audio-visual media, etc. A specially created socio-semiotic model has helped me to observe and make reports of the performances. This model has allowed me produce systematic and comparative descriptions of each performance in terms of types of tales and kinds of personal resources, such as: vocalization (imitation of voices and sounds, modulation, etc.), gesture (types and parts of the body involved in the different kinds of gestures, etc.), use of space, representation of characters, use of objects, management of interaction and exploitation of emerging circumstances.

The field research was carried during the period 1985-1987, and covered a total of 65 storytellers (male and female, indigenous, Afro-Venezuelan, peasant, "popular" and professional urban storytellers), in 37 settlements (of diverse sizes, rural and urban, including the city of Caracas) of twelve states of Venezuela. Given the objectives of the investigation no narratives were compiled. Instead, reports about performances, events, contexts and the narrators and their mastery were made (Mato, 1989). Time limitations makes necessary to restrict myself to just make some very specific remarks on the results:

#### **1) About the patterns of appreciation of the communities and the recognition of specialists**

In every community that was studied, certain individuals were recognized as having a special "don" (gift) of telling stories. For this reason they were chosen by their attendants and special attention was paid to their narrating. This gift was usually called: "gracia" (grace), "sabor" (flavour), "sal" (salt), "pimienta" (pepper), or "chispa" (spark).

When people were asked to explain these expressions, their answers -with a few exceptions- referred to the -so called-"non-verbal" aspects of the storyteller's art. I would like to emphasize that generally speaking the representation of characters, the gesticulation, the imitation of voices, and sounds, and the stage mastery were the most frequently mentioned. In a second place were also mentioned the inventiveness and the scope of the repertoire. With less frequency the importance of the "labia" (fluency of speaking) was emphasized, except in the Andean region (Western

Venezuela) where it receives primary importance. Some particular remarks about the two Indians groups included in the research are necessary. In this indigenous communities the knowledge of ethnic tales was especially valued. Apart from that, among the Wuayúu people the ability to imitate voices and different sounds is highly valued, while the importance given to gesture is in a certain way contradictory. Indeed, in the epic stories called "jaiechi", which are sung, no importance at all is given to gesture, but in other kind of stories gesture is privileged for some people, and "content" is emphasized for others. This diversity of opinions is also a significant feature among the Kariña people. We shall have opportunity of discussing this deeper through the comments about some photographs.

In any case, I am not trying to reduce the idea of having "grace" to the making of gestures and representations. This "grace" does not seem to be easily contrasted at an empiric level. Although it is related to the management of certain personal resources, these do not in themselves constitute the "grace". Displaying them is not necessarily an indication that the storyteller has "grace", neither does not showing them indicate the contrary. Furthermore, on some occasions, an hieratic attitude might indicate this particular gift. However, the majority of the narrators emphasized that the most important thing was not the story, but how it was told. Many of them insisted that there was no such thing as "bad stories and good stories". A bad narrator can murder the best story and a good narrator can do wonders with any tale.

## 2) Types of events

The types of storytelling events vary very little from one region of the country to another. In most small towns and villages they take place during: journeys of all sorts, working, family and other get-togethers, popular festivals, and meetings and "jousts" of narrators. Some storytellers expressed the view that this jousting with others was an important stimulus for their performances. Some attaching importance to the element of competition itself, and others said it helped their memories. This latter in many different regions is usually expressed by the formula: "cuento saca cuento" (one tale draws out another). In the particular case of Caracas narrators the spectrum of events includes those which take place in: festivals, theaters, museums, schools and other social places. A good part of these Caracas storytellers often perform in duets, trios and quartets.

### 3) Genres of tales

Most of the storytellers that were studied not only tell different kinds of folk tales which can be included in the famous Aarne-Thompson Index, but also others which can not be included in it. These are tales of animals, jokes and anecdotes, and historical tales related to political and military conflicts of their area. In addition to the anecdotes, the most widespread stories are those of the Tío Conejo cycle (literally Uncle Rabbit. Br'er Rabbit in the United States), with Tío Tigre (Uncle Tiger) as his favorite victim. This cycle, originating from Africa, is told in most of the regions of the country. In the region of "Los Andes" (in the West of the country) the cycle of Pedro Riales is the most widespread, this character originates from Spain. Tales of this cycle are also told in other regions of the country, but less frequently. Another widely disseminated cycle is one which has a principal character called Quevedo, also originates from Spain. The majority of the tales of this cycle are obscene. In different regions of the country tales from "The One Thousand And One Nights" are also told, as are tales about different kinds of ghosts, specters, and other supernatural phenomena.

### 4) The narration of mythological tales

My research excluded the narration of mythologies when occurring in ritual contexts. The study of this kind of phenomena should be approached from a different perspective. Nevertheless, the narration of tales of mythological characters was included when occurring in ordinary contexts. This phenomenon was particularly observed among the Wuayúu Indians. During the get-togethers held in the "enramadas" (bowers), the meeting place "par excellence" of their houses, they often tell tales referring to their mythological heroes. During the same event they also tell jokes, anecdotes and even a few folktales incorporated from their contact with creole people. It is even possible to observe that each of these genres has its own time during the event. In the same event it is also possible that a jaiechi (epic song) would be sung. But because of its length and other characteristics the Jaiechi is more usually performed during events on its own.

As it has been pointed out by other researchers the same tale is often told in different ways by different narrators. It is also known that this does not happen because some of them commit mistakes in telling a so called "original" tale. On the contrary, this happens because each storyteller is an "arranger" or "re-creator" of an orally transmitted text; but also a true "creator" from the point of view of the art of storytelling. Moreover, the research allows us to verify that the same narrator



tells the same tale in very different ways according to his personal and social circumstances (i.e. among male friends, at home, at a wake, etc.). This means that he (or she) recreates the tale each time, according to the context.

### **5) Narrators of different ages and from diverse social contexts**

Despite the widely held prejudice that storytellers are usually old people, the research established that many recognized storytellers are in fact younger people. Among those included in this research there are storytellers of all ages: 9 were older than 70 years, 13 older than 60, 17 older than 50, 12 older than 40, 5 older than 30, and the remaining 9 were between 20 and 29 years old.

Another prejudice related to this art is the belief that only among peasant and indigenous people can the best storytellers be found, and in addition they are illiterate. In the first place it was established that only a small proportion of the observed narrators were illiterate, although they live in areas which have a high rate of illiteracy.

The research included six storytellers from Caracas, who have learned their art through courses, that is not in what are usually named as "traditional" ways.

The other 59 narrators included in the research were from diverse communities in other parts of the country, 40 of them live in small towns, villages and cities of between 100 and 10.000 inhabitants. The majority of them are agricultural workers, but there were also store workers and owners, musicians, artisans, domestic workers, and building workers. In addition, this group includes: a witch-doctor, a policeman, a regional chronicler, and a librarian, this latter a woman who migrated from a German peasant village at the end of the Second World War. In addition, 6 of this group are indigenous: one is a Kariña indian, and the other five were Wuayúus, and only two of these were illiterate. Another six of this group are Afro-Venezuelan, five of them living in Afro-Venezuelan communities a long way apart, and the other one living in a mestizo community.

Another group of eleven storytellers live in cities with populations of between 10.001 and 30.000 individuals, and the other eight in state capitals of larger populations. This group includes: an economist; a maid; a Wuayúu teacher, who is also a writer and a well-known officer of the State Ministry of Education; musicians, artisans, and a full-time professional storyteller who learned his art through "traditional" ways, and who tell "traditional" stories. He has had two records made of his tales, has appeared on television, and frequently performs in folk festivals and clubs in many parts

of the country.

### **6) Storytellers' learning processes**

Practically all the interviewed storytellers said that they had begun their apprenticeship as children. Usually, they begin by observing adults in their family or social circle, and little by little practicing with their peers. Normally this process took a long time until they became recognized as storytellers in their own right. Generally speaking, it begins as an unconscious work by observing and listening consummated narrators. But, from a certain point in the time this process became more and more conscious. In some way this process is similar to those of learning everything in most not scholarized social media. I could observe the activities of apprentices observing and participating with their narrations on no less than a dozen cases. Often, some tellers would proudly introduce to us their apprentices.

Among the Wuayúus and the Kariñas there is no formalized process, but most adults pay a very special attention to stimulate children learning the tales of their ethnic tradition, and among the Wuayúus also those particular of their "clan". Some peasant storytellers pay particular attention to stimulating and facilitating the apprenticeship of a son, nephew, or even a young neighbour that they believe has a special talent. In contrast, in the particular case of Caracas, I have interviewed storytellers who had followed formal courses, which is remarkable difference respect to the rest of the storytellers of our research.

Most of the narrators told that this process usually consisted of learning first of all the plots and trying them out in front of their young friends. The style of performance usually was developed later, partly by imitating some of the devices of their model adults, and partly by introducing their own. But the learning process seems to be continuous, or, overlapped with the creative one, as an any artistic activity. Because, many adult and consummate narrators have told me that they still spend a lot of time analyzing audience reactions, and adjusting their styles accordingly. The exposure to situations of competence when jousting with other narrators has been specially mentioned as one which leads to learn and develop style even furthermore.

### **7) Personal motivations of the storytellers**

The most frequent causes of personal motivation are: to entertain, to give amusement and to be amused, the desire of sharing, of making people happy, of enjoying personal contacts, and other

kinds of emotions. In some cases other causes were revealed: the spreading of diverse kinds of knowledge, to put forward and to resolve interpersonal conflicts, to help motivate people at work, and to obtain payment.

The particular interest in the spreading of knowledge was especially observed among indigenous communities and some peasant communities, in some of which the preservation of cultural heritages was also referred to as a motivation. The use of storytelling to put forward and to resolve interpersonal conflicts was observed especially among narrators of "cachos" (see below) and among the Wuayúus.

### **8) About the Importance of the Representation of Characters and the Body Language in the Styles of Performance**

It seems very important to emphasize that the style of performance of each narrator shows not only cultural differences, but also personal ones; we will see some relevant examples in the photographs. Furthermore the same narrator not only tells the same tale in different ways accordingly to the event's variations, but also tells different kinds of tales, which of course calls for different styles. It is, however, possible to make some generalizations:

In the first place, almost all of the narrators used to keep eye contact with their attendants while performing. Though there are some very relevant exceptions. Usually, when they act the parts of their characters they stop to keep that eye contact. This allows them to look at relevant points of their "stage" which are imaginary representative of the scene in the story. This use of the narrators' looks is indicative of their imaginative work, at the same time that it stimulates spectators' imaginations. A very different kind of exception is the case of most of Wuayúus narrators, who have a tendency to look anywhere but at their audience when telling.

Second, almost all narrators frequently used onomatopoeia, imitated sounds, and altered their voices according to the needs of the story. But only about half of the studied narrators markedly imitated the voice and speaking manner of their characters. Others only slightly differentiated between the tones, and imitated the character's ways of speaking. But this is not only a matter of personal style. On the contrary, this imitating seems to be linked more with the genres of tales and the kinds of events.

Third, most narrators often made "expressive" and "indicative" gestures. In the semiotic model of observation I have called "expressive" to those gestures which have an undefined verbal meaning. "Self-contact gestures" of various sorts, a particular kind of the "expressive" gestures,

often indicated the "breakthrough into performance" of the narrator. I have called "indicative" those gestures that give information about place, time, manner, etc.. About a half of narrators also used "illustrative" gestures. This term describes any gesture which illustrates a specific action of a character. The majority of these storytellers involved almost their whole bodies to illustrate the actions that were called for, when the physical space and the social circumstances allowed. It was also observed that, in general, the same narrators that used to perform "illustrative" gestures also used to act the parts of their characters. The usage of these two devices seems to depend not only on the personal style of the storyteller, but also on the genres of tales and kind of events. Some genres, for example humorous tales, frequently call for the playing of the part of characters. It must be emphasized that between making "illustrative gestures" and acting the part of the characters there is a substantive difference in the function and imaginative work that the storyteller -and more generally speaking any person- plays.

Fourth, about two thirds of the storytellers remained standing during most of their performances or at least stood up when the narration called for this. They also made good meaningful use of "stage-space". Even those narrators who generally remained sitting during their performances eventually stood up when they had a particular need to illustrate or represent an action of a character. Some of these narrators would make fortuitous use of the chair they were sat on, for example, using the chair as a prop they could raise both legs at the same time.

Fifth, significant changes in general expressive behavior, particularly in gesture and use of "stage-space" were observed when narrators were performing at different kinds of events, and/or when telling different genres of tales. Some narrators confirmed explicitly this observation. For example, two afro-venezuelan female narrators in the East coast region when telling *märchen* to children would do so in a quiet, gentle manner while sitting and without acting the parts of characters, but simply using "illustrative" gesture. In complete contrast, the same narrators telling "cachos" to adults would adopt a much more energetic style, would play the parts of their characters, would stand up, and would make meaningful use of "stage-space".

Finally, the following additional generalizations can be drawn. Some narrators used different incidental objects during their performances to symbolically represent different things in the story they were narrating. Most narrators readily accepted or sometimes deliberately provoked verbal and/or physical interaction with their spectators. Some would skillfully blend these audience interventions into the story. Very few narrators included songs or recitations in their performances.

### 9) Imagination, Verisimilitude, and the Work of Inventing Stories:

The majority of the studied narrators, apart from narrating stories that they have learnt from others, create their own stories. Some of them, are completely fictional, but most of them are created arranging material from their careful observation of the daily life of the community, as well as from their personal experiences.

Many of these stories are generated from a visual image (i.e.: the way someone felt down, or the reaction to any kind of "susto" -scare- etc.). These visual images also give the narrator the opportunity for acting the part, of course exaggerating and deforming the circumstances, and also for imagining and adding new body images in the creative process. But, the importance of visual images in the work of narrators is not only confined to the generation of body images, they were also reported as having a key role in both generating "verbal" images and remembering and retelling stories.

The anecdotes usually refer to people who are well-known in the community, though they may also refer to others who presumably are known only by the storyteller. Anyway, both of them are usually created just restructuring and exaggerating actual circumstances, but in other cases a good deal of imagination is introduced. However, be they exaggerations or fabrications they have to seem true, they have to be verisimilar. In the majority of the communities that I visited, if the stories were not verisimilar, they would not be considered anecdotes.

The anecdotes are called "cachos" in "Oriente" (the East coast of the country) and in "Los Llanos Occidentales", two regions which are a long way from each other, and which are ethnically and culturally very different. In both areas the "cacho" is proudly assumed to be a treasure of regional heritage. Similarly in both areas many people "echa cachos" (tale anecdotes), and to be a well-known "cachero" (teller of anecdotes) is a very important social distinction, even within the highest socio-economic strata of the population. In the same way in Yaracuy State, which is not included in either of the two aforementioned regions, tales of this kind are very frequently told among Afro-Venezuelan communities. Here they are simply called "cuentos" (stories).

The "cachos" are usually funny tales, but, sometimes they can be tragic. Obviously, not only the denominations, but also the criteria of classification vary from one region to another, and eventually from one community to another. But, anyway, their verisimilitude is a significant differentiating factor between the "cacho", or the humorous anecdote, and the "chiste" (joke). This verisimilitude also distinguishes the anecdote from the "embuste" (innocent, intentional and extremely exaggerated lie). The "embuste" is a genre which is usually told by people who do not

tell tales of other genres. These people are called "embusteros" and they only tell "embustes", obstinately believing in their own lies. Nobody else believes their stories, but many people like to listen to their tales, sometimes even for hours.

#### 10) The storytelling and the print and audio-visual media:

The majority of the narrators stated that they had learnt their tales from other narrators or that they themselves had created them. In the particular case of Caracas tale collections' books were reported as being the main source of their repertoire. These were books of tales by both "literary" authors and collections of "oral literature" from various countries. As a secondary source these narrators mentioned their own creations.

The fact that urban and "modern" narrators used books as a source is hardly surprising. However, at least eleven of the non-urban storytellers used tales which came from books as part of their repertoire. An interesting feature was that some illiterate storytellers had learnt some of their stories from listening other people, usually a child, reading. Some of the tales learnt in this way were by Latin American authors, but others were from collections of "oral literature" from many different countries. But books are not the only sources of tales. There was one storyteller who used to tell a story which was his personal version of one "Br'er Rabbit" tale which had been included in a booklet of a fire prevention campaign.

Another used to tell a long tale which he called "El un sólo ojo" (The one eyed-man). The story was his own particular version of the life of the Greek hero Ulysses, and the title he used was a reference to the Cyclops. He told this tale with remarkable realism, as if he had been actually there. But, in fact, his source for this story was a movie that he had seen many years ago, on one of his infrequent visits to a nearby city. Another narrator used to tell some folktales that he had learnt from a cassette produced by a storyteller from another Latin American country. He had never been in this other country, nor even did he know which country it was. The cassette had been given to him as a present by a friend.

Four storytellers used to tell jokes which they had learnt from television programs. Another would narrate tales about national political history and aspects of the life of the Venezuelan national hero, Simon Bolívar. These he had learnt by listening to the radio. Finally, it should be emphasized that radio and television not only have influence on the content of the tales, but also on the styles of performances. Some narrators commented that they had learnt some of their gestural and/or vocal devices by the careful observation of television actors and/or radio performers.