BLOOMSBURY ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
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VOLUME IX
GENRES: CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

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EDITED BY DAVID HORN AND JOHN SHEPHERD

VOLUME IX

GENRES: CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

EDITED BY
DAVID HORN, HEIDI FELDMAN,
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This book is dedicated
to the memory of
Jan Fairley (1949–2012)
scholar, friend and
inspiration

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- *Different genres with the same name in different countries or regions: Genre (Country), e.g., Bomba (Ecuador) and Bomba (Puerto Rico)*
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Introduction

The *Bloomsbury Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World* had its genesis in the International Association for the Study of Popular Music (IASPM) in the mid-1980s.

IASPM was established in the early 1980s as a response to the increasing number of scholars publishing in the field of popular music. These scholars needed an organization through which to share and comment on their work, advocate the legitimacy and desirability of work on popular music, and argue for the inclusion of popular music studies in the academy.

Early in the life of IASPM there was recognition of the need for a comprehensive and reliable reference work on popular music that would serve the needs of scholars, researchers, students, and information and media professionals, as well as the general public. The *Bloomsbury Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World* (the first eight volumes of which were published as the *Continuum Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World*) was planned as a response to that need. The first evidence of the progress of the project was *Popular Music Studies: A Select Preliminary Bibliography*, published in 1997.

Part 1 of the *Encyclopedia* was published in 2003 and comprises two volumes: Volume I, *Media, Industry and Society*; and Volume II, *Performance and Production*. Part 2 of the *Encyclopedia*, devoted to *Locations,* was published in 2005. It comprises five volumes: Volume III, *Caribbean and Latin America*; Volume IV, *North America*; Volume V, *Asia and Oceania*; Volume VI, *Africa and the Middle East*; and Volume VII, *Europe*.

The present volume is the second in Part 3: *Genres*. Volume VIII, *Genres: North America* was published in 2012, and is now followed by Volume IX, *Genres: Caribbean and Latin America*. The remainder of Part 3 will consist of Volume X, *Genres: Africa and the Middle East*; Volume XI, *Genres: Europe*; Volume XII, *Genres: International*; and Volume XIII, *Genres: Asia and Oceania.* (Please note that some regional combinations have been changed and some volumes have been renumbered since the publication of Volume VIII.)

When work on the *Encyclopedia* began, no model existed for this kind of comprehensive, scholarly reference work on popular music, and extensive research was undertaken to develop a systematic, subject-based taxonomy for such a new field of study. Throughout the *Encyclopedia*, subjects that would have been scattered arbitrarily by employing one single alphabetical sequence across a set of volumes are brought together and organized coherently to constitute an unprecedented body of knowledge. Because the volumes are arranged in this way it is important for the reader to be aware of the overall organization of the volumes, as outlined above, and to consult the Table of Contents at the beginning of each volume. Each volume also has its own index, making it easy to locate discussions of specific subjects across a range of entries. Volume XIII, *Genres: Asia and Oceania* will contain a combined index to all six volumes in Part 3: *Genres*.

The subject-based approach makes the *Encyclopedia*'s volumes distinctive among popular music reference works. They are also distinctive in covering the whole world rather than only specific regions, a motivation responsible for the genesis and character of the volumes in both Part 2 and Part 3. The volumes manifest their scholarly nature by drawing on the expertise of a great many of the world's leading popular music scholars. It is also evident in the detailed end matter that is provided for the great majority of entries: bibliographies, discographies, sheet music listings, filmographies and listings of important Internet sites and of other visual media.

The present volume has called on the services of over 130 contributors. While the majority are based in the Caribbean and Latin America, numerous contributions have also been made by scholars in North America, Europe and New Zealand. With scholars coming from a wide range of regions and traditions, it is perhaps inevitable that alert readers may note some disparate accounts or interpretations. The editors have not attempted to reconcile these, or indeed smooth them over, believing that, with the study of such a huge subject still in its relative infancy, such variations of approaches may be used in a constructive way.

Genres

In forming part of the overall taxonomy for the *Encyclopedia,* the volumes in Part 3, like those in Part 2, are organized geographically by volume, rather than being presented in a single alphabetical sequence. Popular music genres have, however, presented a number of additional challenges to the editors, taxonomical and otherwise. Several principles of arrangement were discussed, such as organization by function or character, but were deemed unworkable. It was decided that the only workable principle of arrangement was one in broad geographical divisions – and even that raised a number of issues. In the case of a majority of genres it is possible to determine a country or region where a given genre not only originated, but also where much of its 'life' was spent. We have judged it to be inadvisable, however, to attempt to make more narrowly focused geopolitical or geo-cultural sub-arrangements within broad areas, not only because identifiable points of origin are frequently region-wide rather than confined to one country, but also because the meaningful life of a given genre often takes place on a region-wide basis, leaving point of origin with limited significance.

At the same time, it is apparent that many genres have proved to have little respect for even broad geographical or geopolitical boundaries. The importance of international and transnational dimensions in the history of many genres is reflected both in the overall taxonomy for genres across the *Encyclopedia* and in the entries themselves. In addition to the five regional volumes there is a sixth volume for 'international' entries. The majority of entries in that volume will be for genres and forms which have demonstrated an international character from their inception. Two outstanding examples are film music and pop, which therefore have no entry in the present volume, but will be extensively covered in the *International* volume. In the case of genres that have clear regional origins and history and have developed significant international and transnational dimensions in the course of that history, these dimensions are covered either in the original entry for the genre, or, where this approach would allow insufficient scope, in additional entries for that genre in other volumes. So, for example, in this volume the international history of reggaeton is included within the single entry provided, while in the case of salsa additional entries will be found in both the *North America* and *International* volumes, and in that of *tango* in both the *International* and *Europe* volumes. In the instance of one or two genres whose progress from regional and national to international and transnational history is widely understood not only to be both complex and of major global significance, but to have had profound local impact, additional entries are also found both in the *International* and in the regional volumes. A particular example of this approach in the present volume is hip-hop, which is represented by entries in the *North America* and *International* volumes, and also in the present volume by a representative set of six regional entries. Rock is unique within the encyclopedia in being a genre that is regarded as originating and occurring simultaneously in more than one country – hence its designation as international – but which has also been given several additional regional entries to reflect its subsequent impact in other areas. In the present volume, for example, the reader will find a general entry on Rock in Latin America, as well entries on several national styles of rock, such as *BRock. rock nacional* and *punta rock*. Cross-references have been inserted to guide the reader.

The case of jazz has been treated slightly differently. While it would be perfectly possible to argue that jazz should be treated in much the same way as hip-hop – as having identifiable points of origin, a complex global history and local impact – the editors have adopted an alternative approach, seeing a difference in the way in which jazz, as a substantially instrumental music, does not become regionally and locally owned in quite the same way as does hip-hop, but retains more obvious links with – and often allegiance to – its points of origin and development. As a result of this conclusion, with which some readers may disagree in all places where it applies, the majority of jazz entries will be found in the *North America* and *International* volumes.

The concept of 'genre' itself also poses editorial challenges and the decision to use it as the defining term for the volumes in Part 3 was not taken without due consideration of the debates that have taken place on the use of the term in music and of the limitations that are characteristic of labelling systems. For the most part, the term is used in these volumes in a way that complies with the description given by Franco Fabbri and John Shepherd in the 'Genre' entry in Volume 1 of the *Encyclopedia*: 'In music, genres emerge as labels for defining similarities and recurrences that members of a community understand as pertinent to identifying and classifying musical events.' We have preferred to use 'genre' rather than 'style,' as despite the common use of the latter in English to invoke a wide range of meaning, it tends to prioritize attention to recurring musical features, while 'genre' invokes, as Fabbri and Shepherd say, 'the many activities above and beyond the purely musical that are involved in a musical event.' The use of 'genre' in these volumes also allows authors of entries to reflect where appropriate on issues of power and agency that are often fundamental to the ways in which popular music is categorized.

When identifying genres for inclusion – and in recognition of the importance of naming conventions – the editors have generally abided by the useful principle of 'no name, no genre.' In some instances, however, when a tight adherence to that principle would have meant overlooking a body of music with strong evidence of shared characteristics, we have bent our rule and supplied a generic term to enable the genre-type features of that body of music to be discussed. Examples in the present volume include 'Banda de Bronce' and 'Vodou Music.'

In addition to these two types of label – genres with specific individual names and supplied generic names – one further type has been used in the *Genres* volumes. These are the collective terms that are commonly used to refer to music with an identifiable function. Examples of this type are occupational song and protest song. Sometimes, as for example in the case of marches, pieces of music that share a function also have musical features in common, but this is by no means always the case. Comic songs, for example, do not necessarily share musical features with each other. Because this type of labelling is a transnational phenomenon with no identifiable starting point or dominant region, the majority of entries of this type are treated as transnational forms and will be found in the *International* volume. There are some exceptions. Because of the vast Caribbean and Latin American region's rich tradition of songs of protest and social commitment, which is expressed in a variety of terms, some of those terms that describe a body of music in straightforward terms as 'songs of protest' have been included (see, for example, *canção de protesto* and *canción de protesta venezelano*).

One further observation on genre applies to this volume perhaps more so than to others in the set. A single term can refer in practice to various things – a genre, an event, an instrumental ensemble, a dance and differing musical conceptions – depending on the region. We have done our best to make such overlaps, and the distinctions between them, clear.

A word is also necessary on dance music. A great deal of the music referred to by genre names is in part at least music for dancing, and whenever dancing is an important element in the makeup and use of a particular genre the entry has endeavored to cover that aspect. There are also many names that refer first and foremost to a specific form of dance. Names such as waltz and polka are among the best-known examples. The sheer numbers of these names around the world have made it impossible to attempt comprehensive coverage – that is indeed a project in its own right – but the various *Genres* volumes do include entries for major international dance forms that have distinctive musical characteristics and have been defining ingredients in other genres.

A further word of explanation is in order concerning the spelling of genre names. In many parts of the world, genre names were originally an aural-oral phenomenon. The manner in which such names were then rendered in written form frequently varied both within and between locations. Variation can also be found when names are transliterated into English. The editors have not seen it as their task to impose standardization and their policy therefore has been not to strive unduly for consistency, which could be misleading, but in most cases to accept the spelling supplied by the contributor.

Popular music genres are by their nature connected in their character and histories to a wide range of performative, sociocultural, technological, economic and other activities. Previous volumes of the *Encyclopedia* contain their own entries for such activities (Volume I, contains entries, for example, on sound recording, publishing, marketing and copyright, while Volume II contains entries, for example, on instruments and aspects of musical performance, and Volumes III–VII contain entries on popular musical activity in specific places). Readers are strongly advised to consult these to complement the information given in the volumes in Part 3. *Genres* entries often provide basic contextual information, for example, in terms of location, but do not duplicate information that has already been presented in a previous volume.

Translation

A considerable number of entries in the present volume were originally written in Spanish or Portuguese, and have been translated by a team of translators (to whom the editors are deeply grateful). It has also been an editorial policy to provide English translations of all song and record titles that appear in the texts of the entries, and of all non-English items in the Bibliographies.

End Matter

The *Bibliography* for any one entry contains information on virtually all publications referred to in the body of the entry. The Bibliographies are not only lists of references, but also contain wherever possible other published items of relevance to the subject of the entry, which, in the author's judgment, readers may wish to consult. Some listings of *Sheet Music* are also provided. These are normally limited to items referred to in the text, where it is clear that the reference is to a piece of printed music. Because the availability of reference sources for sheet music and their presence in library catalogues vary considerably around the world it has not always been possible to give all the necessary information, especially when the author of an entry does not have personal access to an item in question.

A similar situation pertains with regard to *discographical* information, which has in any case never been given the kind of attention commonly given to information for printed sources.

Because the role of sound recording in the history of popular music has been so considerable, it has been the editors' policy to include discographical details that are only partially complete rather than to leave items out.

Discographical information is provided in two ways. If a particular recording is referred to in the body of the entry, details of this recording are provided in a section for *Discographical References.* A lot of effort has been made to provide information about the original recording, in the form of record label and release number, date of issue and country of issue. It has become apparent, however, as work on the present volume has progressed, that the situation regarding the existence of historical discographical information varies hugely from country to country. Most entries also have a *Discography*, which offers a list of representative recordings of relevance to the subject of the entry. In this section the details given may be those of the original recording, but the majority are reissues that were available at the point at which the entry was signed off. The transient nature of the record market makes the release details more likely than the remainder of the information to become out of date in terms of commercial availability, but while acknowledging this the editors believe the policy of listing recommended titles remains a useful one, as there is often a likelihood that a recording will be issued again or will be available as a download.

Details of all films and visual recordings referred to in an entry are also given in the *Filmography* and/or *Audio-visual Media* section. Listings in the filmographies contain information on the director and the length of the film, plus notes on the type of film and the music.

The present volume also reflects a growing use by scholars of the visual resources provided by YouTube, and despite the sometimes transitory nature of these sites it was decided to include some listings that offer both visual and audio recordings of performances that are otherwise very elusive.

Popular Music

Editing a comprehensive reference work of the world's popular music inevitably involves a consideration of what counts as popular music: in other words, of the criteria according to which topics should be included in the *Encyclopedia*. The definition of popular music is an issue which continues to be debated. As with previous volumes, the editors have resisted the temptation to attempt a precise definition, both when identifying terms for inclusion on entry lists and when offering guidance to contributors, recognizing that as terms that are discursive in character, 'popular,' 'classical' and 'folk' are used to refer to changing products of historical, social, political and cultural forces, rather than as designations of easily distinguishable musics. The question of where 'the popular' ends and 'the folk' begins has proved particularly difficult. The advice given to contributors has been that music created and disseminated in rural situations in an exclusively oral-aural fashion with little or no currency outside its location of origin does not constitute a prime focus for these volumes. It does not follow from this, however, that such music should not be discussed if it is commonly accepted as 'popular,' or if it forms a significant source for later styles or genres commonly accepted as 'popular.' While the principal emphasis of the *Encyclopedia* is on the urban, the commodified and the mass-disseminated rather than on the rural, the oral-aural and the restrictedly local, therefore, this emphasis is far from exclusive. The principal test for including music as 'popular' has been whether it has been so regarded by communities of practitioners or users. The tendency has therefore been to be inclusive rather than exclusive.

The Editors
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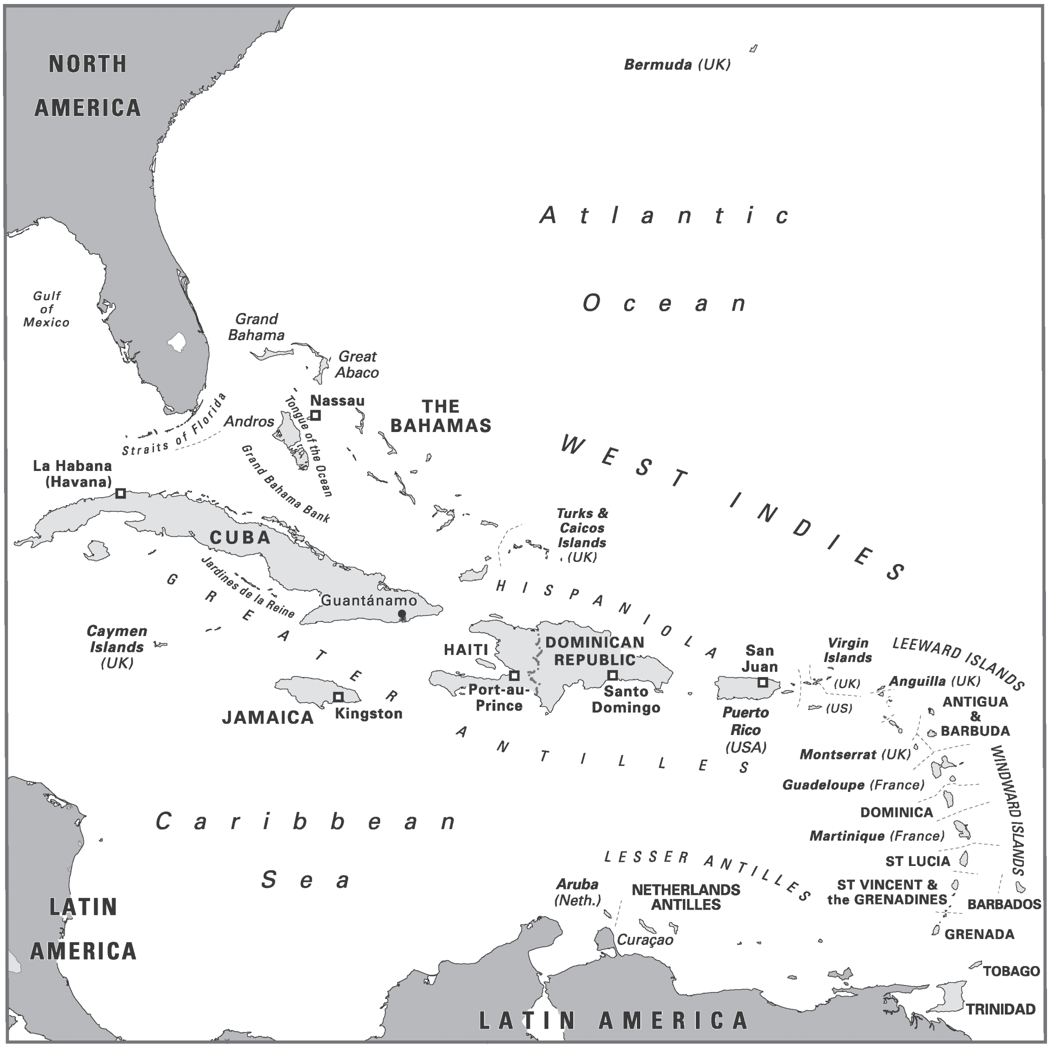
Maps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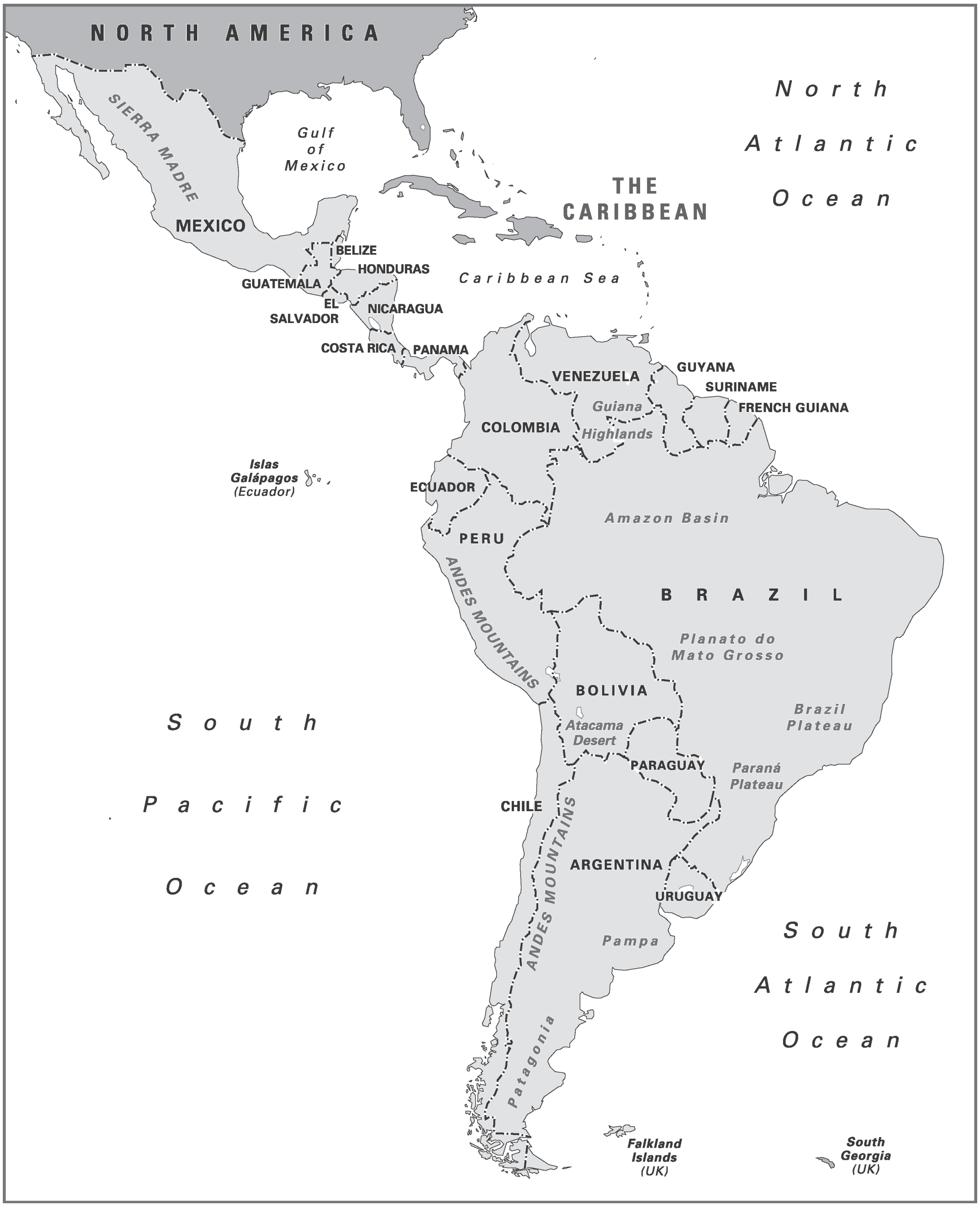
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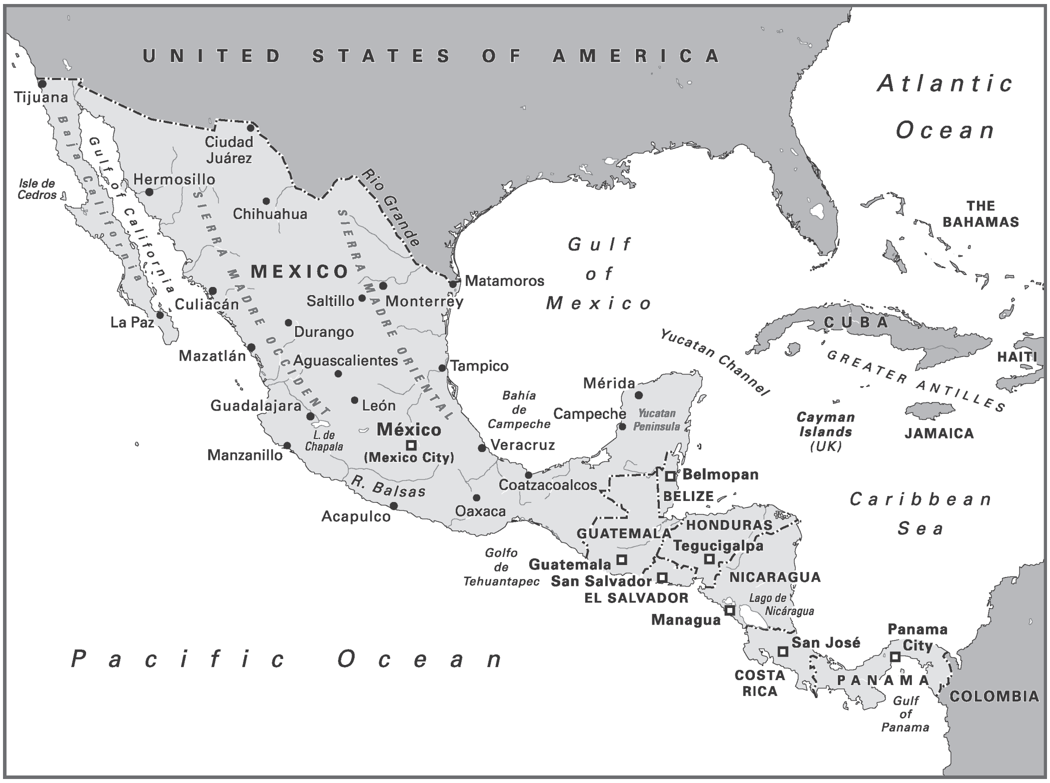
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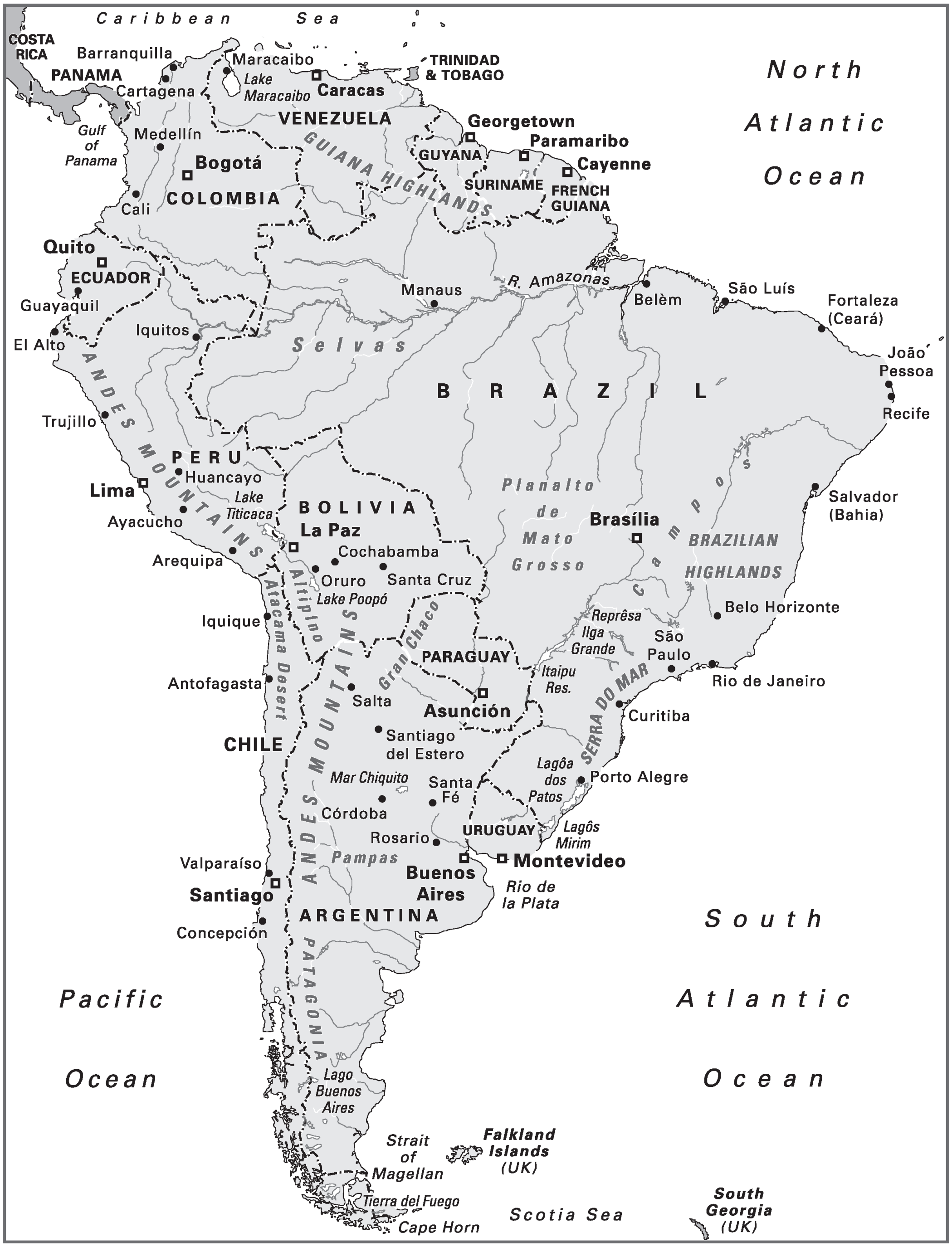
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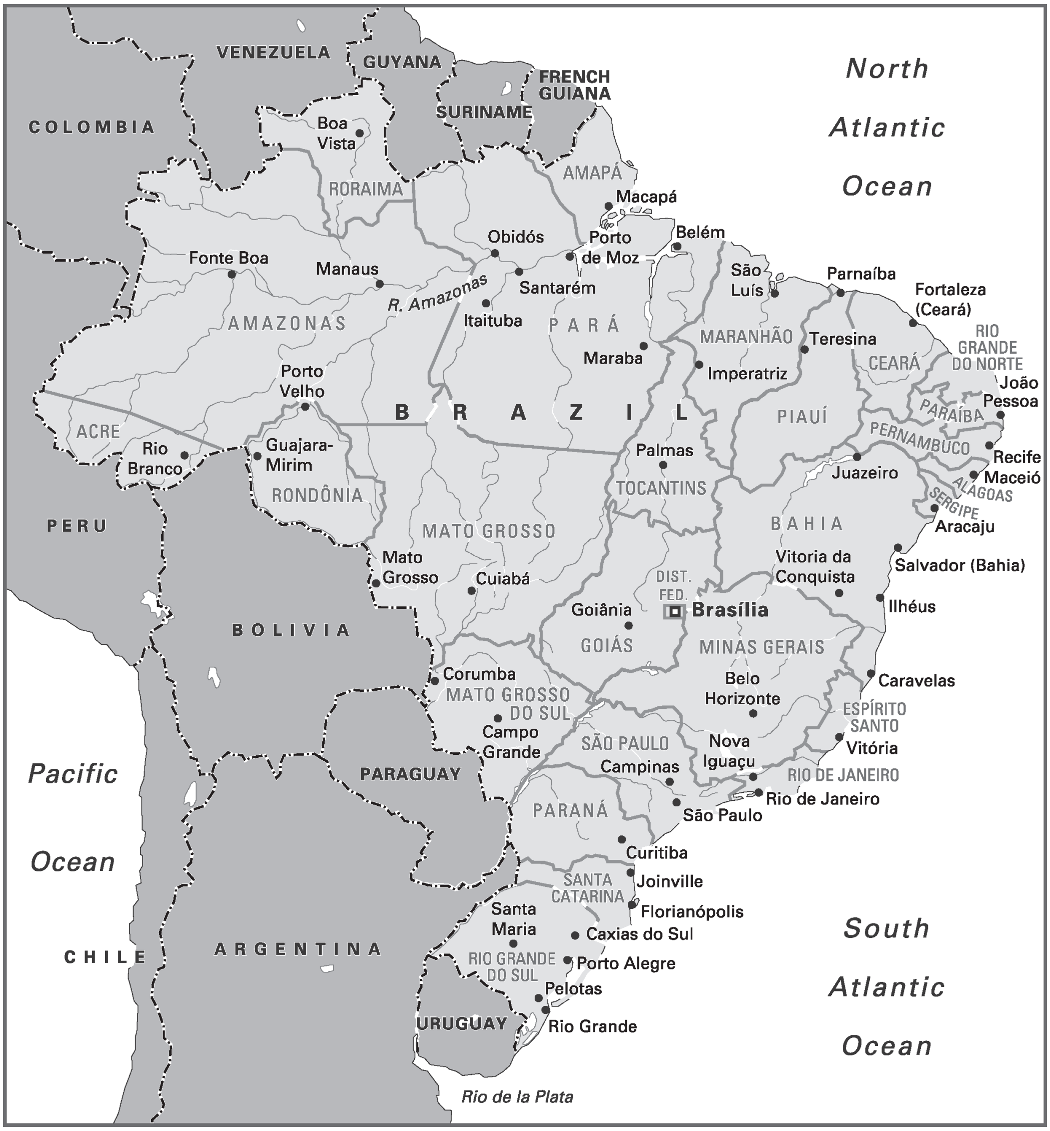
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Genres: Caribbean and Latin America

Afoxé

The term *afoxé* is intrinsically connected to the Afro-Brazilian cultural context and has various interrelated meanings. It designates a musical idiophone in the *xequerê* family, made of a calabash covered with a net and shells, beads or seeds; it also denotes a Carnival procession with its own distinctive rhythm, reflecting the history and context of certain Afro-Brazilian religious traditions, especially those of the Brazilian North-east. Although it is not known for certain when this Yoruba-derived word became linked with these religious traditions, this connotation has been prominent since the beginning of the twentieth century (Artur Ramos, cited in Carneiro 1982, 102).

According to Risério (1981, 12), the term *afoxé* means 'the power of speech, of the spoken word' (author's translation) and reflects the importance of oral expression in the context of Afro-Brazilian religions such as *candomblé* in Bahia and *xangô* in Recife. Some authors (Carneiro 1982; Guerra-Peixe 1980) draw a kinship link between *maracatus*, the traditional Carnival groups of Recife, and *afoxés*, citing the observations of earlier researchers. The majority of sources point out that *afoxés* carry elements taken from the religious, ritualistic sphere into the profane context of the Bahian and Pernambucan Carnivals. For this reason, *afoxés* were derogatorily called 'itinerant *candomblés*' in Bahia and thus were likened to earlier groups such as the *clubes africanos* and *batuques*, mentioned by Nina Rodrigues (1977), Manuel Querino (1938) and newspapers around the turn of the twentieth century.

Composed primarily of black adherents to Brazilian religions, the *batuques* and *afoxés* were consistently viewed at this time as bothersome gatherings by other social classes who frequented Carnival balls based on European models. The religious and corporal elements of the *afoxés* together with their percussive intrusiveness were seen as threatening and disruptive in the urban setting. All the Carnival groups with fundamental ties to the Afro-Brazilian religious sphere were subject to persecution and prohibition, just as the religions themselves were. Even so, in the last decades of the twentieth century the formerly vilified musical and symbolic characteristics of these groups became powerful expressions of identity for those of African descent. Together with the music and activities of the *blocos afro*, these groups represented a movement of resistance, self-affirmation and innovation that involved people of diverse social spheres.

Yet, in contrast to the *blocos afro*, the *afoxés* have continued to preserve the same instrumentation as is found in the *candomblé terreiros* (places of worship) of Yoruba tradition, namely, the *ilus* (small, double-headed, cylindrical drums) and *atabaques* (elongated, barrel-shaped drums) accompanied by *agogôs* (double bells) and *xequerês*. Their characteristic rhythmic pattern is known as *ijexá* and is traditionally played only with the hands (for a transcription, see Crook 2005, 140). The rhythm, which is associated with the female *orixá* (Yoruba deity) Oxum, became emblematic for many people, who tend to confuse the name of the rhythm with that of the group that plays it. Thus, the *ijexá* rhythm is sometimes referred to as *afoxé*. The words are always sung in Yoruba, with a very few exceptions, and to this day belong to the religious sphere. While countless *clubes africanos*, *batuques* and *afoxés* have come and gone, one of the oldest and most renowned *afoxés* that continues to participate in early twenty-first Carnival in Salvador is the group Filhos de Gandhi, founded in 1949 and comprised exclusively of men. Other groups, like the legendary *afoxé* Badauê, can be of mixed gender and are generally smaller and more intimate. These groups have a less business-oriented character than many of the groups that take part in modern Carnival festivities. Due to their cultural and symbolic importance, many *afoxés* became the subject of the lyrics of Brazilian popular songs such as 'Filhos de Gandhi' and 'Patuscada de Gandhi' by Gilberto Gil (who was a member of the Filhos de Gandhi in the 1970s, parading with them at Carnival in 1976) and 'Sim/Não' and 'O Bater do Tambor' by Caetano Veloso, among many others.

Given this historical trajectory, twenty-first-century *afoxés* and their forerunners represent one of the oldest and, at the same time, the most dynamic and beautiful manifestations of Carnival in Salvador da Bahia. There are also newer *afoxés*, not only in Salvador but also in Recife and Rio de Jaineiro, which thus give continuity to the close link between religious expression and Carnival processions using specific instruments and striking rhythms.

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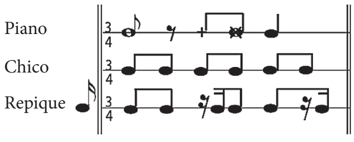
ANGELA LÜHNING

Afro

Afro is a genre found in the repertoire of Afro-Uruguayan Carnival associations. Like *candombe* and *milongón*, which these associations ('comparsas') present in popular theaters, *afro* is played by a group of the best drummers (trio, quartet or quintet), who interact with dancers as part of a prerehearsed act. *Afro* has a different musical structure from *candombe* and *milongón*, however, and unlike them is not very often sung. In the past, *afros* were not played during carnival marches but only in popular theaters, where at least one *afro* was arranged and choreographed by each *comparsa* every Carnival. In the early twenty-first century, however, it is not unusual to see big *candombe* drum orchestras stop the *candombe* drumming and the march in the street for a while by playing an *afro* (examples can be heard on recordings by Kanela y su Barakutanga [1999] and Yambo Kenia [1999]).

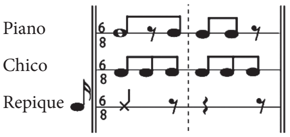
Afro is also a term used loosely by popular urban musicians and dancers in Uruguay, Argentina and the southern states of Brazil, to give a name to a music whose structure is similar to that of the Afro-Uruguayan *afro* (see below). It refers to drumming in 6/8 and 12/8 measures using mostly Afro-Cuban popular drums ('tumbadoras'), sometimes combined with jazz/rock drums and bass, guitar and keyboard ('Afro' by Jorge Trasante [1975] is a good example). It has also developed in northeast Brazil, notably in Salvador in the state of Bahia, since the 1960s and 1970s (Oliveira 1991). In Buenos Aires the 'afro dance' is an all-embracing cultural category, though based mainly on those same music structures and percussion instruments, framed by the Afro-Brazilian Orixas mythology and dances (Frigerio 2000; Balmaceda 2006).

There are four species of *afro* in the Afro-Uruguayan tradition, each one characterized by distinct musical structures (Ferreira 1997). The first structure may be represented in a single measure of 3/4 as three groups of two eighth notes each. The strokes are all made with the bare hands: open hand stroke (●); muted hand stroke (+); and closed slap stroke (X). On the big drum *Piano* (bass), a closed left-hand palm stroke (○) is followed by a closed fingers stroke (⊗) by the same hand:



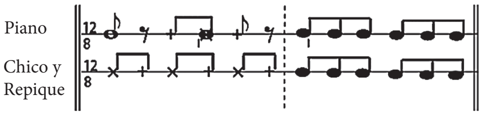
Example 1: First structure

The second structure may be represented in a faster 6/8 measure organized in two groups of three eighth notes each:



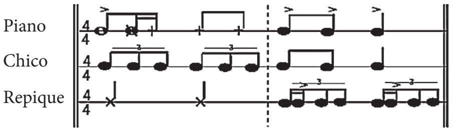
Example 2: Second structure

The third structure extends the first and second in a 12/8 measure, the first half emphasizing a two/two/two metric organization, and the second half a three/three organization. Some older drummers call this last form 'afro-macumba.'



Example 3: Third structure

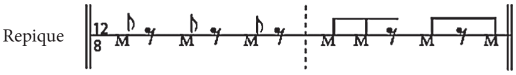
The fourth structure may be represented as a slow 4/4 measure, over which medium drum improvisation superimposes triplets and sextuplets, alternating with syncopated and non-syncopated eighth notes.



Example 4: Fourth structure

These four musical structures (illustrated on *Candombe for Export*, 1983) have formal similarities with some of the homonymous *afros* recorded in the 1950s by the Sonora Matancera orchestra, featuring Celia Cruz singing a repertoire dedicated to West African divinities in Cuba (e.g., on the recording *Tributo a los Orishás*). It is possible that these and other Afro-Cuban records influenced Afro-Uruguayan *candombe* drummers as part of the cultural flow of music (musicians, records and orchestras) circulating in the Caribbean and across the southern continent.

Nevertheless, local forms, continuities and transformations must not be disregarded. In the 2000s there is an Afro-Cuban pattern – performed either by all three drum types or by the *Repique* middle drums only, while the other two types play the 6/8 or the 12/8 structure – played with *madera* (wood) strokes, beating the stick on the wood box of the drum (M represents *madera*):



Example 5: *Repique* drum pattern

In spite of the fact that there are formal similarities between these musical structures and those of the Congados in the state of Minas Gerais, Brazil (studied by Lucas 2002), there is no verifiable connection with the *afros* from Uruguay and other regions of Brazil. Besides, according to the memory of some Afro-Uruguayan expert drummers such as Benjamín Arrascaeta, Fernando 'Lobo' Núñez and Eduardo 'Cacho' Giménez, *afros* were known to them and their predecessors at least as early as the 1950s, so they cannot be associated with the influence of the drumming patterns of Afro-Brazilian religions, which spread to Uruguay in the second half of the twentieth century (Ferreira 1997). However, since the end of the 1990s the influence from these religions on the *afro* musical and dance patterns played by the *candombe* drumming groups of many *comparsas* has been very real.

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Filmography

Memorias de una hija de Oshun [Memories of a Daughter of Oshun], dir. Maria Torrellas. 2009. Spain. 75 mins. Documentary. Homage to María Farías, an Afro-Uruguayan who was enslaved in the mid-twentieth century and who found in dancing the *afro* a form of resistance and a pathway to liberation.

LUIS FERREIRA

Afro-Cuban Jazz, *see* Latin Jazz (Volume VIII, North America) and Jazz – Latin America (Volume XII, International)

Afro-Dominican Fusion

Afro-Dominican fusion is a musical movement which arose in the Dominican Republic in the late 1970s, and continues with transnational dimensions in the new millennium. Fueled by an intellectual and artistic counterculture and a wave of folklore studies of rural Afro-Dominican ritual traditions, it is characterized by the blending of existing popular genres with elements of traditional *palos*, *salves*, *Gagá*, *congo* and rural Afro-Dominican themes. With a desire for musical innovation and a self-reflexive critique of Eurocentric Dominican identity, pioneers of the movement incorporated research, teaching and collaborations with rural musicians into their creative work. In overall terms, a concept of fusion based on a reflexive relationship with traditional music formed a loose common thread among the musicians involved, who varied considerably in their approaches to integrating ritual music or rural themes and in their use of popular genres ranging from rock, blues, funk and roots reggae to Latin jazz, *merengue*, *bachata* and Haitian *kompa*. Recording opportunities for Afro-Dominican fusion have consistently been very poor, as the music industry has continued to promote commercial *merengue* and *bachata.* Since the late 1990s, however, support for Dominican folklore and the development of Afro-Dominican fusion groups in New York City have created a transnational music scene which is gathering a broader audience and starting to revitalize the creative energy of this musical movement.

Seeds of the fusion movement were planted in the early 1970s when a few folklorists and anthropologists began turning their attention to Afro-Dominican ritual traditions, inciting several urban dancers and musicians to join them in field research and to establish the artist-collective Convite, led by sociologist Dagoberto Tejeda and singer/guitarist Luis Días. From these initial collaborative efforts the repertoire and visibility of staged folklore performance evolved and the annual Festival de Atabales was organized, presenting to the public a variety of the *palos* and *salves* groups who normally play in Afro-Dominican ceremonial contexts. Rock-influenced arrangements of traditional songs and new songs addressing rural and working-class themes were composed by Convite, including 'Obrero acepta mi mano' (Worker, Accept My Hand), which became the official theme of the 1974 Festival Internacional de la Nueva Canción. After Convite disbanded in 1978, several members and newcomers who were to become the key exponents of the genre continued the fusion experiment in the band Palemba. These early activities, coupled with the bohemian spirit of Dominican *nueva canción,* substantially nurtured and inspired the subsequent work and careers of key musicians, including David Almengod, Luis Días, José Duluc, Xiomara Fortuna, Roldán Marmol, Irka Mateo, Boni Raposo, Edis Sánchez, Toni Vicioso as well as several others since the turn of the millennium.

Luis 'Terror' Días is well known both as a Dominican lyricist and composer, whose many songs have been popularized by other singers and bands, and as a pioneer in the birth of Dominican rock, thanks to his prolific repertoire and innovative blending of rock, blues and jazz guitar patterns with a great variety of Dominican and Haitian rhythms. Among the dozens of artists and bands who have recorded his songs are Sergio Vargas, Wilfredo Vargas, Sonia Silvestre, Fernando Villalona and Marc Anthony. After the demise of Convite, Días continued to borrow melodies, song lyrics and themes from Afro-Dominican rituals and working life, weaving them into the repertoire of his rock-oriented band Transporte Urbano and later projects. An unforgettable personality who always defended black Dominican traditions and vehemently attacked racism and political corruption in his own country and abroad, Días was an inspiration for activists and Afro-Dominican fusion artists alike until his death in December 2009 at the age of 57.

Several original fusion bands were born in the later 1980s, including Irka Mateo's Irka con Bohuti, Toni Vicioso and Xiomara Fortuna's Kaliumbe, and Los Guerrero Del Fuego, which united José Duluc, Edis Sanchez and Toni Vicioso among others. Irka con Bohuti continued to explore the possibilities of rock-oriented fusion in original compositions, using a variety of Dominican percussion instruments and rhythms, a female chorus of traditional *salves* singers, electric guitar and bass. Since 2007 Irka Mateo has lived in New York, has produced the album *Anacaona* (2009) which, along a tribute to Afro-Dominican culture, is representative of her cosmopolitan identity, love of Brazilian music and personal identification with indigenous *Taíno* lifeways and history. Xiomara Fortuna's project Kaliumbe pioneered the blending of jazz harmonies and bluesy vocals with a wide variety of Afro-Dominican songs and rhythms as well as other Afro-Caribbean sounds. Jazz musician and composer Toni Vicioso later launched Asa Dife in New York City, while Fortuna continued in Kaliumbe and more recent projects such as *Balbuceos* (1994) and *Kumbajei* (2001) to define her jazz-inflected Afro-Caribbean sound. A local Santo Domingo hit until 1992, Los Guerrero Del Fuego began the move away from purely rock-, blues- and jazz-oriented fusions toward Caribbean genres that inspired Duluc and Fortuna's later work, as well as a new generation of fusion bands. After Los Guerrero Del Fuego disbanded in the early 1990s, member Edis Sánchez returned his focus to folklore research and education, and started teaching Afro-Dominican genres at the National Conservatory. With a group of student and professional musicians, he also performs his original compositions and arrangements for percussion and voice which stay close to the tradition while blending rhythms, adding ensemble breaks and virtuosic soloing.

Formed in the mid-1990s, the band José Duluc y Domini-Can was the fruit of collaboration between traditional and popular musicians. Together they created a new sound using keyboards, steely *bachata*-like guitar arpeggios, *merengue*-based horn arrangements, *palos* percussion, and vocals that wove together Duluc's poetic consciousness and melodic sensibility with traditional song lyrics and Afro-Dominican themes. This band's work is represented on *Pánico* (1995) and *A quien le creo* (2002) (Whom Should I Believe). Several of José Duluc's songs have gathered national and international attention, including: 'La Ciguapa,' recorded by Chichí Peralta; the 1997 official carnival theme 'Carnaval para gozar' (Carnival to Enjoy), recorded on *Música de Carnaval* (Carnival Music) and later interpreted by Sergio Vargas; 'Pega 'o de qué' (Stuck to What), interpreted by Diómedes y El Grupo Mío; and Duluc's own recording of 'El caminante' (The Wayfarer), heard on *Música raíz Vol. 1*. In 1998, after Duluc moved to Japan, he formed the band Ga'Caribe with Japanese musicians, recorded locally and toured for several years in Japan and internationally. This band pioneered the introduction of Afro-Dominican music to Japan, and even helped stimulate efforts to promote Japanese cultural tourism in the Dominican Republic, including a Japanese-language documentary series on the country and its traditional culture. Eager to return to the place of his cultural roots after several years in Japan and a brief period in the United States, Duluc set up residence again in Santo Domingo. There he has continued his collaborations with Marmol, Fortuna, Vicioso and others, while also playing his original compositions with a new generation of Afro-Dominican fusion musicians in a group dubbed 'Los Guerreros del Fuego' (Fire Warriors) after the band from the 1980s, but with a new lineup and the addition of electric violin.

Since 2001 the group Marassa, headed by Magic Mejía, has assembled a team of talented musicians with exceptional rhythmic skills, powerful male vocals and harmonies, and a deep understanding of Afro-Dominican folklore. Their early work on *Santeria! Música de raíz – palo* already demonstrates their superb musicianship, sensitivity to dynamic contrasts and attention to song arrangements for male vocals and percussion in a mix of *Vodú* songs, secular *palos* repertoire and originals. Since the turn of the century, Marassa have composed numerous other originals often adding to the ensemble members of the band Palotres on electric guitar, bass and drum kit. Songs such as 'Fiesta del Cristo' (Celebration of the Christ), 'La gotera' (The Drip) and 'Voy pa lla' (I'm Going There) also integrate female vocals and in the latter case tight dance-band horn arrangements and piano *montunos* that are clearly inspired by *salsa* and *merengue,* while still maintaining Afro-Dominican grooves and hand percussion. On the instrumental 'La negra' (The Black Woman), Marassa experiments with fusing *Gagá*-inspired electronic beats with guitar, keyboards and tasteful addition of acoustic percussion sounds.

Through Fundación Cultural Bayahonda and Tereke Productions, former Palemba member Roldán Marmol spearheaded several recordings and festivals representing both traditional and fusion-oriented music, including his own original fusions of *Gagá* in *merengue*-oriented compositions. The compilation *Música raíz Vol. 1* (1997) includes singles by Almengod, Duluc, Fortuna and Marmol, as well as a sampling of traditional *salves, palos, congos* and *Gagá*.

Música de Carnival (2001) includes work by Días, Duluc, Almengod, Kinito Méndez, Sánchez, Marmol and others, mostly in *merengue*-heavy arrangements incorporating carnival *comparsa* drumming, and in some cases *Gagá* rhythms and instruments or *palos* drums. *Si Gagá* (2008) contains four tracks of *Gagá* ensembles along with eight songs combining participation of Días, Fortuna, Duluc, Marassa singer Magic Mejía and others in a fusion potpourri that stretches from *merengue* to *bachata* and electronic music.

The massive emigration of Dominicans to New York City that followed the severe economic crisis on the island in the late 1980s and early 1990s, along with increasing interest in Afro-Dominican roots and identity, led to the formation of several musical fusion projects in the city, which also stimulated the movement back in Santo Domingo. Toni Vicioso's presence in New York with Asa Dife and that of Boni Raposo with La 21 Division were both pivotal in the 1990s in sharing knowledge of traditional music and stimulating other fusion projects. Asa Dife combined traditional drumming with modern guitars, bass and keyboard in an experimental jazz-infused sound, whereas Boni Raposo's group presented modern arrangements of the *salves* tradition using instruments and repertoires from several regional styles along with contemporary *Vodú* songs. In the late 1990s William Alemán formed EcoCumbé, a 'world beat' ensemble of a dozen or more musicians and dancers including some members from Asa Dife, Boni y La 21 Division and former Convite. With original melodies and innovative arrangements for voice, traditional percussion, guitars and piano and lyrics synthesizing diverse elements of Dominican culture, EcoCumbé creates a distinct blend of Caribbean/Dominican popular music and dance inspired by traditional forms including *palo, Gagá, congo, salves, bachata* and *merengue.* Since 1998 Osvaldo Sánchez has led the project Pa' lo Monte which, like many of the other Afro-Dominican music groups in New York, is not only dedicated to performance but also to cultural activism, education and support of local Afro-Dominican religious practice. While they typically perform many *Vodú* songs and traditional *palos* repertoire using a hybrid *palos-salves* ensemble of four *palos* drums, several *panderos* (small round frame drums), *güiro* scraper and sometimes *balsié* friction drum, in their 2010 production *Back to the Root* they team up with producer and rapper Chuck D to create an urban roots music sound which is refreshingly different. Accompanied by slick music videos, lyrics drawing upon the daily life and identity of urban Dominicans, a variety of Dominican and Haitian folklore percussion, influences of rap and Jamaican dancehall and eclectic arrangements incorporating keyboards and electronics, harmonica, brass and guitars, *Back to the Root* affirms the African heritage and black identity of Dominicans while also suggesting some new directions for Afro-Dominican fusion.

Having witnessed the complete lack of interest in Afro-Dominican fusion on the part of the music industry, very few highly successful commercial artists took the step of breaking conventional genre boundaries and making explicit reference to *palos, Gagá, salves* and related traditions. A rare exception was *merengue* mega-star Kinito Méndez's 2001 recording *A palo limpio* (and an earlier single), on which songs for *Vodú* spirits performed by a local female *salves* group appear on several tracks, integrated into Méndez's dance-band arrangements. The album was nominated for a 2002 Latin Grammy Award. Thereafter, original *palos* recordings could occasionally be heard in Dominican dance clubs, and during 2008 carnival season the electronic 'Mambo-Gagá,' made in a home-studio and quickly pirated throughout the country, became a top party hit. In addition to appropriation of the 'Mambo-Gagá' track by Dominican rap and reggaeton artists (e.g., Pacheman y Griselito's 'Pa Ke Suden lo' Cachetes' [To Make You Sweat]), Diómedes y El Grupo Mío arranged the 'Mambo-Gagá' groove for *merengue* orchestra in an unreleased remix of 'Estoy enamorado' (I'm in Love). Diómedes Núñez frequently blends Haitian *konpa* rhythms into his *merengues,* and also incorporated *palos* instruments and rhythms in his highly popular interpretation of 'Esto se encendió' (This Is Hot), which subsequently became a Carnival hit. Amarfis y La Banda de Atakke also have a song 'Merengue con gagá' on their 2009 album *7ma sinfonía del mambo* (Seventh Symphony of Mambo). Along with a broad palette of international influences, Juan Luís Guerra has also drawn upon Dominican folklore rhythms and themes to help create his unique and innovative *merengue* and *bachata* sound.

Among the newest generation of artists in Santo Domingo, a few creative projects influenced by the Afro-Dominican fusion movement have emerged from the experimental fringes of the Dominican rock and jazz scene. Since 2003 El Batey (assembled from members of the band Batey Cero which formed a few years earlier, then separated) have drawn heavily from traditional rhythms and songs but in contrast to earlier bands have fused these with influences of roots-reggae, soul and funk-rock. Also with a reggae, funk and rock foundation, the group Son Abril (formed in 2005) are less explicit and self-reflexive in their incorporation of Dominican folklore, but more cosmopolitan in their fusion of international popular rhythms and genres. Both have created local followings in Santo Domingo, and in 2009 Son Abril recorded the album *Libranos*. Among the most exciting contemporary musical projects to emerge from the Dominican Republic in the new millennium is the Afro-Dominican jazz group Yasser Tejeda y Palotre, whose 2009 album *Mezclansa* is a masterful synthesis of a wide variety of genres born from their dedication to musical study, exuberant creativity and instrumental virtuosity. Before *Mezclansa,* the members of the quartet Palotre formed the band for singer Xiomara Fortuna, for years have participated in Marassa, and regularly backed up Roldán Marmol, Tony Vicioso and other elder leaders of Afro-Dominican popular music and jazz. With their phenomenal rhythmic precision, artful manipulation of multiple grooves and lively musical dialogue between guitar, drums, percussion and electric bass, the young musicians of Palotre transcend their apprenticeship of Caribbean roots and Latin-jazz to surge ahead on an innovative path of their own.

Overall, the strength of Afro-Dominican fusion–eclectic blendings with Afro-Dominican traditional music – can be seen to have also been its Achilles heel. The genre has suffered from a lack of unified stylistic boundaries and a music industry monoculture focused on *merengue* and *bachata*, as well as continued widespread prejudice against Afro-Dominican rural and ritual traditions. The overwhelming majority of the Dominican elite and the urban middle-class continue to view *palos, salves* and *Gagá* as undignified rural music associated with superstitious beliefs, sorcery and Haitian 'infiltration.' Given generations of totalitarian Dominican government which propagated anti-Haitian sentiments and a whitened, Catholic and Hispanic national identity, there are many Dominicans who (despite being of African descent) have a hard time identifying with the Afro-Dominican fusion artists and their music. The island's black working-class are far more receptive to the promotion of *palos* drumming, but thus far have not been the primary audience for Afro-Dominican fusion – which tends to appeal in its eclectic musical references and progressive politics to the bohemian middle class, and to some extent a broader audience of urban Dominican-Americans. In the fusion of the younger generation, there is less feeling of political urgency and drive to 'investigate' traditional culture, but the desire for creative experimentation is certainly alive, along with a generalized identification with African-Diaspora music and culture. Although their audiences have been limited, the musical and political significance of this lineage of artists is substantial. Their insistence on consciously and often reverently incorporating a culturally rich but rejected part of Dominican culture into urban popular music has created innovative sounds and alternative messages which cut against the grain of commercial dominance and ingrained Dominican assumptions about race, class and gender.

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Aguinaldo

Aguinaldo is one of the two most prominent genres of the rural or *jíbaro* music of Puerto Rico (the other being *seis*). It developed from old Spanish *villancicos* and *folías*. 'Aguinaldo' means 'gift' in most Spanish-speaking countries, and is usually linked to the Christmas–New Year season (a very important time of year in Puerto Rico), but only in Puerto Rico and Venezuela, and in places influenced by the music of these two countries, does the word also refer to a musical genre. *Aguinaldo* is not always danceable. The lyrics are composed of two variants: one with a variety of antiphonal (verse and refrain) *coplas* (*cuartetas*, quatrains) similar to the *zéjels árabes,* and another of *decimillas* (hexasyllabic verse) with *rima espinela* (see below).

Historical Outline

According to Francisco López Cruz (2011 [1956]), *aguinaldo* as a genre evolved from Spanish Christmas *villancicos.* From its origins in Spain, the precise meaning of the word 'aguinaldo,' together with its variants 'aguilnaldo,' 'aguilando,' and 'equiland,' is 'New Year's gift.' It is a mix of Celtic and Arabic terms associated with solstice festivities and with Roman festivities in honor of Saturn. Writing of its links to *villancico*, Luis Manuel Álvarez (1988) observes:

> The *villancico* is one of those phenomena archived in our folkloric memory. It reappears in our Christmas music, secretly preserving its zéjelian structure and its popular-classical dichotomy, as well as the melodic, harmonic and rhythmic elements that I have been able to discover in many *aguinaldos* and *seises*. These genres, together with their poetic structure, the décima, constitute the spine of the *jíbaro* Christmas tradition. The *zéjel* or old *villancico* is also a precursor to glosas in the form of quatrains, distichs, or of *pie forzado* [the obligatory final line that improvising singers have to include] that serves as a base for the décima. (online version, 8)

Today, *aguinaldo* is one of the foundations of Puerto Rican *jíbaro* music, a tradition that is fundamental to Puerto Rican culture. The basic instrumentation includes Puerto Rican *cuatro*, guitar, *güiro* and *bongó*. Earlier versions utilized *tiples*, *bordonúa*, *vihuelas*, *maracas*, *güícharo* and *bombo* (a percussion instrument similar to the *tambora* that is a remnant of old Spanish military drums). *Bombo* is still used in some of the *promesas de Reyes* that are celebrated in the western regions of the country (see YouTube sites below). (*Promesas de Reyes* are celebrations of Epiphany in which devotees – often families – make pledges to the Magi in return for their intervention in time of need; the music used for *promesas* is the *aguinaldo*.) In the early twentieth century the sinfonia or button accordion from Germany was added, introduced by sailors on commercial boats. (This instrument is widely used in *plenas*.)

From the 1600s to the 1710s chroniclers, clerics and scientists described the customs of the music of Puerto Rico, but there is no mention of anything resembling *aguinaldo* at least until the first years of the eighteenth century, when reports from various clerics mentioned the *cánticos* and sung rosaries, the *promesas* to the Magi and other ecclesiastical festivities (e.g., the celebration of the Virgen del Carmen, who is associated with fishermen and seamen), where religious activities such as prayer and the singing of the rosary were followed by a celebration (López Cantos 1990). Since then, these festivities and rosaries do not appear to have changed much in essence. Interviews with people whose families have sung rosaries for many generations have revealed that this tradition has not altered in the last 150 years. To this we can add the literary chronicles that were produced in the nineteenth century as a revival by a stream of writers who utilized the genre as a 'gift,' when they published the books *Aguinaldo Puerto-Riqueño* in 1843 and 1846 (two different books) and *Almanaque-Aguinaldo de la Isla de Puerto Rico* in 1857.

In *El gíbaro* (1849) by Manuel Alonso, a *costumbrista* work depicting life in nineteenth-century Puerto Rico and 'the island's first universally acknowledged Creole classic' (Márquez 2007, 70), one of the scenes or chapters is entitled 'Aguinaldos.' In it Alonso writes: '*Aguinaldos* belong to those customs that have little or nothing to highlight, and so much that deserves praise …' (1849, 129). In the scene, Alonso recalls a *trulla* in which he participated (*trulla* or *parranda* denotes the activity of a group of friends or family members who appear unannounced at a neighbor's door during Christmas to sing *aguinaldos*; *parranderos* are akin to carol singers):

> We didn't take long to arrive at the first house; we stood up, and we positioned ourselves at the bottom of the stairs: a rural music accompanied those intoning the new *aguinaldo*, whose verses were by one of the singers, reduced to the customary greetings to the masters of the house to wish upon them all kinds of prosperities, if they gave us sweets, white caramel, cakes, and a thousand more things. Once the singing was over the family appeared at the top *of* the stairs, the head of the household descended and invited us to come up to drink some refreshments, which we did with great pleasure. (132–3)

Jose Escabí (N.d.) has noted that *aguinaldo* and *villancico* are often confused, but that the two can be clearly distinguished. *Aguinaldo* 'has a 2/4 time signature; it uses as poetic medium the hexasyllabic *décima* (although at times the *copla* is utilized); it is never choral; it is performed with traditional instruments; it is of rural tradition and has no title since it is identified by the genre; performers are *trovadores* and it is not danced to.' By contrast, 'the *villancico*, which is equally not danceable, can be set in any time signature; uses any poetic form; may be choral; has no limitations on instrumentation; is urban and is identified by a title.'

Present-day *aguinaldos* differ in geographical location, the style of singing and the events at which they are performed. The popular *trullas* are accompanied by these same canticles (López Cruz [2011 (1956)] calls these *aguinaldos* 'villancicos'), where a family is given a 'serenade' but with a Christmas or religious theme alluding to Christ's birth, the Magi or the New Year. Although *aguinaldo* has been associated with the Christmas season since its beginnings, due to its proper meaning, *aguinaldos* referred to as *aguinaldos de la pasión* (Aguinaldos of the Passion) are also sung during Lent.

Singers usually improvise the *coplas* (i.e., stanza of four hexasyllabic lines), which are combined with a refrain and which have their origin in Arabic *zéjels* (strophic compositions comprising a short stanza or refrain [*estribillo*] and a variable number of three-line, monorhyme stanzas, followed by another line rhyming with the opening refrain, for example, aa-bbba). *Aguinaldos* may be sung in two ways: with *coplas responsoriales* (hexasyllabic quatrains with refrain responses) like *zéjels*, or with a *decimilla espinela* (ten hexasyllabic lines with rhyme scheme abbaccddc).

Examples of *Aguinaldo*

The 'Aguinaldo jíbaro' is one of the oldest *aguinaldos*. It has an infinite number of variants; these variants have kept the same harmonic progression but may have changed the melody, added lyrics, altered the rhythm, etc. The variants may be called 'Aguinaldo jibaro' or some other name, such as 'Aguinaldo de Cayey,' 'Aguinaldo de Aibonito and so on. Historically, there is a strong link between 'Aguinaldo jibaro' and the *folia* – a musical theme that first appeared as a dance in fifteenth-century Europe; it is normally in triple meter and in the minor mode. In a modern performance by Jordi Savall and Hesperion XX of a particular Spanish *folia*, 'Rodrigo Martínez' (compiled in 1493 by Juan del Encina in his *Cancionero de Palacios*), we can see evidence of this link. The opening section of the *folía* corresponds to the harmonic movement i-III-VI-V7 of 'Aguinaldo jíbaro' but resolves at the end of the second half while 'Aguinaldo jíbaro' does not, remaining on the dominant. We can understand that the impact that *folías* had in Europe was also felt in the Americas as a dance and musical genre. As late as the 1800s composers such as Fernando Sor and Mauro Giuliani were writing variations over Spanish *folías*.

The 'Aguinaldo jíbaro' appears in a notated version as 'Marche de Gibaros' in the composition 'Souvenir de Porto Rico' (op. 31) (Memories of Puerto Rico), written in 1857–88 by the US composer and pianist Louis Moreau Gottschalk during his visit to Puerto Rico, accompanying the famous soprano Adelina Patti. Gottschalk was known for collecting rhythms and genres from the places he visited and for writing pieces influenced by them. The 'Marche de Gibaros' is like a theme and variation of the melody of the 'Aguinaldo jíbaro' (Thompson 1970).

Another incarnation of 'Aguinaldo jíbaro' is 'Los reyes que llegaron a Belén' (The Kings Who Came to Bethlehem), also called 'Estrella del Oriente' (Star of the East). Under the latter title it was recorded by the most prolific group in the early commercial recording of Puerto Rican music, Los Jardineros, for Okeh Records (under the name of Sexteto Okeh) in 1931. This *aguinaldo* differs from other versions in being more dance-like, having a structure of *paseo* (short introduction in slow, deliberate tempo) and *merengue,* a form which also appears in the 1893 suite 'Aires del país' by Juan Morel Campos.

A similar case is the 'Aguinaldo de pastorcillos' (Aguinaldo of the Little Shepherds), another variant. It is only sung on Christmas Eve in the region of Peñuelas and was captured in *Aguinaldo viejo*, a recording coordinated by researcher and folklorist Juan Carlos 'Kacho' Montalvo, which brought together traditional singers and studio musicians.

In Puerto Rico there are many versions of 'Aguinaldo jíbaro' that have what is known as 'Andalusian cadence' (i-VII-VI-V7), which is used frequently in *fandangos* and which can also be found in Juan Morel Campos's 'Aires del país.' For this reason, 'Aguinaldo jíbaro' can be said to be one of the oldest among all these examples, which also explains why it has so many variants: 'Aguinaldo viejo,' 'villaldeño,' 'de Adjuntas,' 'de Cayey,' 'de Cidra,' 'de Aibonito,' de Villalba' and 'de Ciales' (all but the first relate to the names of towns in Puerto Rico), among many others.

Some of the most famous Puerto Rican composers were connoisseurs of the old *aguinaldos* and included them in their repertoires; among them, in addition to Juan Morel Campos, we find Braulio Dueño Colon, José Ignacio Quintón, Pedro Flores, Rafael Hernández Marín, Claudio Ferrer and Felipe Rosario Goyco (Don Felo).

One of the oldest musical references to *aguinaldos* is 'Puerto Rico de la Puebla' (from the *Códice de Saldivar*, 'Método de Cítara de Sebastián de Aguirre' ca. 1670 (as performed by Mexican Ensamble Continuo and also by Los Otros). In this work the harmonic progression of another *aguinaldo*, the 'Aguinaldo cagüeño' (IV-I-V7-I) (named after the town of Caguas), is clearly heard. In earlier times this progression was known as a dance: the Porto Rico. Like 'Aguinaldo cagüeño,' 'Aguinaldo orocoveño' is named after a town (Orocovis). The two are similar in their harmonies, but the former is in the major mode, while the latter is in the minor mode (iv-i-V7), with different melodies. (For examples of particular *aguinaldo* melodies, see Gleason 2003, 66ff.)

Cadenas (chains) is considered a style of *aguinaldo* from the nineteenth century in which *coplas responsoriales* or *de controversia* (competition) are sung by two or more singers. Initially, carters would use these *cadenas* as a sort of alert system – if one carter failed to sing a response, the caravan would stop to check that he was all right. *Cadenas* were also sung at funerals to salute the departed, and women would sing *cadenas* on various subjects while doing laundry near the river. On occasion, the topics the women chose to sing about would cause fights to break out. Many recordings of *cadenas* by *jíbaro* singers make mention of doing laundry at the river. As Nydia Ríos Remigio remembered (interview 1989): 'Estas son las cadenas del ochocientos, las cantaba mi madre cuendo lavaba' (These are the cadenas of the eighteenth century, which my mother used to sing while doing the laundry).

Finally, *aguinaldos de Reyes* or *promesas* are the oldest *aguinaldos* in which the *copla* is used and which are also antiphonal. These *aguinaldos* were already mentioned in texts dating from the 1650s.

Aguinaldo and Salsa

Around 1970 Willie Colon, Héctor Lavoe and Yomo Toro recorded what may be the first attempt at fusing contemporary urban styles with the peasant genres of Puerto Rico. *Asalto Navideño* (Christmas Assault), followed in 1973 by the second part of the set, *Asalto Navideño 2* (1973) were made in New York City for Fania Records label, and not only are widely considered to be classic salsa, but also showcase *aguinaldos* and *seises*, traditional Puerto Rican Christmas music. An important feature of the recordings is the use of the Puerto Rican *cuatro* as a main instrument, performing the part that would have normally been taken by guitar. Willie Colon himself was not familiar with the tradition of Puerto Rican *cuatro*; however, singer Héctor Lavoe was a fan and follower of the most prominent interpreters of *jíbaro* music such as Ramito, Chuíto el de Bayamón and Germán Rosario among others. In the recordings, the *cuatro* was played by Yomo Toro. Among the versions of *aguinaldos* included in this album were 'Cagüeño,' 'Jíbaro' ('Viejo'), 'de Bayamón,' 'Orocoveño,' 'de los Reyes' (style of Puerto Rican dance ca. 1875), and a variant of 'Aguas Buenas.' The recording also included traditional *seises*, the *seis chorreao*, *seis* with *décimas*, 'Fajardeño' and 'Mapayé.'

The album was hugely popular. In 1977 Colon's album *El baquiné de los angelitos negros* also featured traditional *baquiné aguinaldo* melodies (*baquiné* refers to the marking of the premature death of an infant), specifically tracks 8 and 10.

Aguinaldo Today

In 2013 we can classify almost 150 different styles of *aguinaldos*. Some are named after their geographical location (Cayey, Adjuntas, Cidra, Aibonito, Ciales, Aguas Buenas, Bayamon, Toas Alta, Naranjito, Cagüeño, Orocoveño, Mayagüezano, Isabelino, Costanero, Yumac [Camuy in reverse] and others); others by a generic name (*aguinaldo jíbaro*, *aguinaldo lamento*, *aguinaldo lorenzillo* and *aguinaldo* *viejo*); and others by the event at which they are sung (de Fiestas de Inocentes, Baquiné or Velorio de angelito, de Pastorcillos, Romería, de San Martin de Porres, del Nacimiento, los Mandamientos (Corozal) and de Rosarios Cantandos [by neighborhood], or by the region in which a *promesa de Reyes* takes place [Añasco, Moca, San Germán, Peñuelas, Cabo Rojo, Aguada, Isabela, Quebradillas (Membrillo), Mayagüez, Humacao and San Sebastián]).

Modern-day *aguinaldos* exist in various contexts. There are two *trovador* contests that foster improvisation using *decimillas* as rhymes and *aguinaldos* as a musical frame. These competitions are held in the towns of Ciales and San Lorenzo, the latter being the most prominent. *Trovadores* continue to record *aguinaldos de decimilla* and, during Christmas, a large number of *aguinaldos de trullas* or *cuartetas responsoriales* on religious or profane themes are recorded, mostly in towns located on the west coast of the island. In addition, each house or park that celebrates a *promesa* or a *velorio de Reyes* features old and well-known *aguinaldos*, a practice which has lasted over 300 years. Although there have been many changes in *parrandas* in urban areas, with a broadening of the repertoire and some commercialization, *aguinaldos* remain fundamental to the tradition.

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ORLANDO LAUREANO (TRANSLATED BY PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

Aire típico

The *aire típico* is a mestizo (mixed Hispanic and indigenous) musical genre of lively character that emerged in the late nineteenth century. Popular in the highland region of Ecuador, it is characterized by a pentatonic-based melody, a *sesquiáltera* meter (alternation of 3/4 and 6/8 meters), preeminence of the minor mode and harmonic progressions based on simple sequences of I-IV-V-I. Because of melodic and rhythmic similarities, the *aire típico* is often considered a variation of the *albazo* and the *alza que te han visto,* two Ecuadorian musical genres derived from the Spanish *fandango*. The differences between them reside in the guitar-strumming patterns, which introduce different types of accents and syncopated rhythms through various combinations of hand movements such as downstrokes, upstrokes, stopping the strings with the strumming hand, and drawing the fingers across the strings.

The *aire típico* is considered part of the *música nacional* anthology, a selected repertoire deemed to represent the Ecuadorian national identity. Also known as *capishca* in the central and southern highland regions, the *aire típico* is usually played to the accompaniment of a guitar or guitar ensemble, though versions for wind ensembles such as military bands and *bandas de pueblo* (town brass bands) are also popular at *retretas* (open air concerts). The dance is non-embraced; the man usually waves a handkerchief, whereas the woman holds her skirt on both sides or claps her hands while dancing graciously around her partner. The lyrics are set in *coplas* (rhymed verses) and usually make humorous references to economic hardship and drinking as a way of healing the pains of love. Typical song titles include

'Sin dinero' (Without Money), 'Compadre, péguese un trago' (My Fellow, Drink a Sip) and 'Chumadito cualquiera' (Drunk, Anyone) by Guillermo Garzón Ubidia (1902–75). Other renowned composers of *aire típico* include Jorge Araújo Chiriboga (1892–1970) and Carlos Rubira Infante (b. 1921). Academic composers, such as Luis Humberto Salgado (1903–77) and Segundo Luis Moreno (1882–1972), stylized and included this dance in their nationalist compositions for symphony orchestra, especially in the Ecuadorian suite, a cyclic musical form combining Ecuadorian folk dances of different characters and tempos. Although popular in the mid-twentieth century, the *aire típico* has lost popularity and has become limited to the occasional performances by national music singers on the concert stage as evocations of Ecuadorian tradition. Few *aire típicos* have been composed since the 1980s, partly due to the emergence of new styles of music associated with the rural peasants who migrated to the city.

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KETTY WONG

Albazo

The *albazo* is an urban song-dance genre of lively character popular in the coastal and highland regions of Ecuador. Most *albazos* are considered to be part of the *música nacional* anthology, a selected repertoire of Ecuadorian songs composed between the 1920s and 1950s. The *albazo* derives from the Spanish *alborada*, a music performed during the early morning hours in the context of religious festivities. In the eighteenth century government authorities prohibited performances of *albazos* due to the cheerful and noisy atmosphere they generated. The *albazo* was also played in serenades that people brought to their beloved ones.

A *mestizo* expression, the *albazo* combines musical elements from the Spanish and Amerindian cultures. It is considered a fast-tempo *yaraví*, which alternates 3/4 and 6/8 meters (*sesquiáltera*) in complex guitar-strumming patterns. These guitar patterns are formed by different combinations of hand movements – downstrokes, upstrokes, stopping the strings with the strumming hand and drawing the fingers across the strings – producing syncopated rhythms and the accentuation of specific beats. Despite its lively tempo, the *albazo* has a melancholy character due to the pentatonic flavor of its melodies and prominence of the minor mode. Other forms of *albazo* are known by the Quichua names *saltashpa*, *cachullapi* and *capishca*, terms that otherwise have no specific translation or meaning in Quichua. Usually sung to the accompaniment of a guitar, *albazos* are also played by different musical ensembles such as *bandas de pueblo* (town brass bands) and military bands.

Most *albazos* can be recognized by the song lyrics written in *coplas* or short verses that often include expressions of pain or complaint such as '*ayayay*.' The lyrical content varies from unrequited love to mischievous topics, with most centered on disappointment in love. The most popular *albazos* include 'Avecilla' (Little Bird), 'Dolencias' (Pains), 'Morena la ingratitud' (Ungrateful Dark-Skinned Woman) and 'Si tú me olvidas' (If You Forget Me). The title of the latter, originally composed by Jorge Araújo Chiriboga in 1942, was changed to 'Ésta mi tierra linda' (This My Beautiful Land), and the lyrics rewritten to praise the beauty of Ecuador's landscapes and people. This song often precedes a medley of songs devoted to various Ecuadorian cities and provinces. Famous interpreters of *albazos* in the twentieth century include Carlota Jaramillo, Dúo Benítez-Valencia, Trío Los Brillantes and Hermanos Miño-Naranjo. Academic composers such as Luis Humberto Salgado and Segundo Luis Moreno stylized the *albazo* in their nationalist compositions for piano and orchestra.

The *albazo* is danced as a non-embraced dance of short steps. The man usually dances with a handkerchief in his hand, while the woman dances clapping her hands or clutching her skirt at the sides. As a song/dance, the *albazo* is more appealing to older people than to younger generations, who find this music old-fashioned. All *albazo*s known today were composed between the 1930s and 1950s.

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KETTY WONG

Alcatraz

The *alcatraz* is a Peruvian courtship dance believed to date from the end of the slave era (mid-1800s) or earlier (Tompkins 1981, 270). Slaves performed the dance for after-hours recreation in their quarters. Since the leaders of the Afro-Peruvian music revival in the 1960s and 1970s recreated the forgotten music and dance of black Peru on Lima's theatrical stages (see Feldman 2006; Romero 1994), the *alcatraz* has been a staple novelty dance in staged folklore shows.

There is some debate over the name 'alcatraz' (V. Santa Cruz 1995; Tompkins 1981, 272). The Spanish term means 'pelican,' and one theory holds that the dance emulates that bird's movements. However, many Peruvians affirm that the word *alcatraz* is a distortion of *alcartaz* (paper cone). This explanation makes sense given the choreography performed in contemporary folklore shows, in which dancers affix a small paper or cloth 'tail' to their rear ends. Dancing in male–female couples, each partner tries in turn to burn the other's 'tail' with a lit candle, while the other moves his or her pelvis and hips rapidly (Feldman 2006, 64, 135–6). According to Tompkins, in the older version of the dance couples took turns performing generally free choreography in a circle of spectators (Tompkins 1981, 270; 1998, 496–7). There is disagreement regarding whether the woman traditionally pursued the man or vice versa (see Tompkins 1981, 273).

Only a few songs are performed to accompany the *alcatraz*: the traditional 'Al son de la tambora' ('To the Beat of the Drum') (Freundt 1995; Gonzáles 1998; Rivas 1998; N. Santa Cruz y su Conjunto Cumanana 2001) and two newer songs composed by eminent Afro-Peruvian revival musicians – 'Prendeme la vela' ('Light My Candle') by Abelardo Vásquez (A. Vásquez 1995, 1998; Los Vásquez 1998) and 'Alcatraz quema tú' ('Alcatraz Burn You') by Carlos 'Caitro' Soto (Perú Negro 1998 and 2003; Soto 1995). Afro-Peruvian revival leader Victoria Santa Cruz also composed an *alcatraz* entitled 'A que muevan la cola' ('How the Tail Moves') (V. Santa Cruz 1995). On recordings, these songs are often simply identified as '*alcatraz*' rather than by their titles, and some recordings present medleys mixing lyrics from two or more songs (e.g., Aviles, Campos, Cavero n.d.; Hermanos Santa Cruz 1995). All *alcatraz* songs contain lyrics that describe the dance. 'Al son de la tambora' also refers to musical accompaniment provided by a *tambora* and a *clarin*, but it is unknown whether these instruments were originally used to accompany the dance and, if so, how they were played (Tompkins 1981, 270–1).

Peruvian musicians disagree on whether the *alcatraz* is a genre in its own right or a sub-style of the *festejo*. In performances since the 1970s, instrumentation is typically identical to that used in the *festejo* (*cajón* and sometimes congas, guitar, *güiro* or *quijada*, vocals and handclaps), and the *cajón* and guitar patterns are very similar to those in the *festejo* (and the related *ingá*) (León Quirós 2003, 169). These patterns are generally felt in 6/8, with a playful tension between triple and duple subdivisions that is characteristic of Afro-Peruvian revival music. Late Afro-Peruvian revival leader Nicomedes Santa Cruz and ethnomusicologist Javier León Quirós have both maintained that the only contemporary differences between a *festejo* and an *alcatraz* are the choreography and the lyrics that allude to that choreography (see León Quirós 2003, 169, 171–2; Santa Cruz Gamarra 1975, 22). However, some performers, perhaps influenced by its unique choreographic and thematic identity, affirm that the *alcatraz* is a separate genre. Regardless of its classification, the *alcatraz* is one of the most popular and enduring of the dances staged during the Afro-Peruvian revival.

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HEIDI CAROLYN FELDMAN

Aleke

Aleke is a drum-based dance music associated with the Ndyuka Maroons, who occupy the border between Suriname and French Guyana. The Ndyuka are one of six subgroups of Maroons in this region. The term Maroon (and likewise the indigenous term Businengee) is used to denote those who escaped slavery in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, fleeing the coastal region to establish their own communities in the dense jungle interior, as well as their descendants. This group is one of two populations in Suriname and French Guyana of African ancestry; their counterparts are the Creoles, who are the descendants of enslaved plantation workers.

Aleke is, by and large, a recreational music, although it is also incorporated into funerals and other ceremonial occasions. It emerged in the 1950s and early 1960s in dialogue with musical styles from the coastal regions of the two countries, particularly the predominantly Creole genres *kaseko*, *kawina* and *bigi poku*. Increased interest in gold mining led many Creoles to pursue work in Suriname's jungle interior – including the Cottica River area, which is generally considered the birthplace of *aleke*. These working conditions put Maroons and Creoles in close dialogue, sparking a lively exchange of musical ideas and experimentation. The combination of this musical dialogue with important musical forebears *loonsei*, *maselo* and *lama* (themselves the products of previous fusions of Maroon music and outside influences) created the foundation for *aleke* music.

According to most local accounts, the name *aleke* arose as a shortening of the name Alexander, in tribute to Alexander Grandisson, a Creole gold worker who would join the Ndyuka workers in their music-making after work, sharing with them many of the Creole music styles that were used to inflect the Ndyuka-based drumming. Several years later, an *aleke* musician, also named Alexander, or '*Baa Aleke*,' rose to prominence among the Ndyuka, further strengthening the connection between this new style and its name. As *aleke* gained popularity, it spread to the neighboring Aluku and Paramaka subgroups of the Businengee, who by the early twenty-first century were among the ranks of musicians and fans of the style.

Aleke features three large, cylindrical drums, called *aleke* drums (*aleke doon*), which were developed in the 1970s. They are a modification of the *apinti* drums commonly employed in sacred and secular music among the Ndyuka. (The term *apinti* is, first and foremost, the name of the 'drum language' used to communicate messages through these drums. Some drums are used solely to play *apinti* and go through special rituals throughout their construction. All other drums of this shape are referred to as *doon* [drum], rather than *apinti*.) Like the *apinti*, the *aleke* drum is fashioned from a single log, its head fastened by a series of pegs. The short, squat *apinti* was elongated to a height of approximately one meter (three feet), with an appearance similar to that of the *conga* drum (which is often found in the more multiethnic coastal areas). The *aleke* drum allowed musicians to play standing, instead of semi-standing or seated, as they had done with the *apinti*. However, beyond practical motivations for the change, to many the drum also came to represent modernization (see Bilby 2001). Furthermore, the decoration of these drums has allowed groups another way to express themselves creatively within a range of ideological and musical influences. For instance, various groups have painted people, animals or characteristically Maroon geometrical patterns (*tembee*) on the sides of their drums.

The other drum particular to *aleke* is the *djas* (from 'jazz'), a bass drum that is played in combination with the hi-hat and occasionally a ride cymbal, modeled after a Western drum set. The instrumental ensemble is completed with shakers (*saka*) and a bell (*bongo*). Although the singers garner most of an audience's attention, the drumming patterns are crucial in distinguishing a group's signature style and establishing a rhythmic feel suitable for dancing.

The singing typically consists of a lead singer with backup singers (*koor*), who usually respond to the lead in close harmony. Call-and-response patterns feature prominently. Singing styles vary widely, from a largely pentatonic tonal palette similar to that found in Maroon ceremonial settings, and a traditional style of trill/vibrato known as *loli*, to largely diatonic songs that betray more of a Western influence.

Common themes for songs include romantic relationships and social issues (to give one example, during the 1990s the group Bigi Ting wrote 'Condoom,' a song about safe sex that became very popular). Other popular themes include politics and spirituality. Groups tend to be comprised exclusively of male musicians, the female singer Mien from the group Boifu a Ting being one of the few notable exceptions. As with other popular musical styles in Suriname and French Guyana, there is a lively musical community in the Netherlands as well. Lyrics are generally sung in Aukanes, the main dialect of the Ndyuka, and less often in French, Portuguese or English. *Aleke* music is circulated through CD sales and radio broadcasts as well as through live performance.

Above all, *aleke* is a dance music. The form, tempo and content of a given song are crafted so as to encourage the audience to move. Several bands have incorporated dancing into their performances, either by having dancers that tour with the band or by having the musicians showcase their own dancing abilities. The group Fondering has distinguished itself by choreographing a series of dances that the lead singers perform to their more popular hits.

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CORINNA CAMPBELL

Antillean Waltz

The Antillean waltz originated on the island of Curaçao and is popular today in Aruba and Bonaire as well. Its history begins in the 1880s, when Curaçao's Dutch began importing a type of German mechanical barrel organ – called the *ka'i orgel* – to the island for use at home dance parties. The *ka'i orgel* quickly became a symbol of prestige, sought by the island's upper-class Sephardic Jews and Venezuelans (who had relocated to the Curaçao decades earlier). The Dutch, Sephardics and Venezuelans all imported organ cylinders reflecting their own musical preferences: the Dutch tended to purchase Germanic dance cylinders, the Sephardics imported cylinders featuring *quadrille* and the Venezuelans preferred cylinders containing the music of Spain. Taken as a whole, a wide variety of *ka'i orgel* cylinders found their way to Curaçao, establishing an environment reflecting eventual intercultural exchange. Instrumental in this exchange were the Afro-Curaçaoans, an economically marginalized community generally unable to afford personally owning a *ka'i orgel*, but whose interests in the barrel organ's potential developed and was maintained through their hired participation at upper-class dance parties. Expected to crank the organ at parties, the island's blacks added the *wiri* as accompaniment, an indigenous Afro-Curaçaoan instrument consisting of a long piece of serrated metal over which a thin metal stick is scraped. Its raspy timbre thickened the *ka'i orgel*'s texture of sound, its rhythms enhancing the otherwise strict pulse of the mechanical organ. The *wiri* became – and remains today – the standard accompaniment.

Native-born composers began writing original waltzes for the *ka'i orgel*, their earliest attempts simply deliberate imitations of European waltz favorites. The first to move beyond the European model was Jan Gerard Palm (1857–1907) who, in 1889, introduced syncopated waltz melodies that created rhythmic shifts in the familiar 'oom-pah-pah' pulse pattern. Later that same year, composer Abraham Capriles (1862–1936) heralded another bold technique: adding repetitive eighth-note bass lines that enabled chords to change on unexpected offbeats. This approach became standard among virtually all Curaçaoan composers of the late nineteenth century. Representing clear separation from the European waltz, these newly composed compositions acquired the name 'Antillean Waltz,' reflecting how the genre was catching on elsewhere in the Netherlands Antilles. Another compositional change occurred in the mid-twentieth century, when Edgar Palm (1905–97), the grandson of Jan Gerard Palm, established a bass line that accentuated the offbeats without the repetitive eighth-notes. This technique has remained the primary writing style used by Curaçaoans composing Antillean waltzes.

Since the mid-twentieth century, the piano has become the instrument of choice among Curaçao's elite, and the *ka'i orgel*, once a symbol of prestige, has been relegated to the lower class. In the early 2000s the *ka'i orgel* may be heard in local bars and restaurants, where audience expectations differ decidedly from those of audiences at elite piano recitals. Audiences for *ka'i orgel* performances come to dance and socialize; at piano recitals, they sit quietly, listening in silent reflection. Interestingly, the *wiri* has remained an optional accompanying instrument at the piano waltz recitals, the *wiri* musician standing politely behind the pianist, careful not to overpower the soloist rhythmically or dynamically; the *wiri*, however, is a requirement at modern *ka'i orgel* performances, functioning in a musically equal role.

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NANETTE DE JONG

Avanzada

Created and developed by Paraguayan composer Oscar Nelson Safuán (1943–2007), the *avanzada* combines the rhythmic pattern of the Paraguayan *galopa* with that of the *guarania* in a 2:1 (*galopa/guarania*) measure ratio, resulting in a hybrid rhythmic structure in compound duple meter that can be applied to both instrumental and vocal music.

In the 1970s, while developing the concept of the *avanzada*, Safuán, an accomplished guitarist, harpist and *requinto* performer – and who was eventually to become a *viola caipira* player – was living in São Paulo, Brazil, where he worked as an arranger and studio musician for Paraguayan traditional music *conjuntos* and Brazilian *música sertaneja* groups recording in Brazil. Searching for a way to update the style of Paraguayan traditional music – mainly with reference to genres such as the *galopa*, the *guarania* and the *polca paraguaya* – Safuán experimented in the early 1970s with the rhythmic structure of the *guarania* and in so doing discovered a new rhythm when he placed two measures of the fast compound duple meter Paraguayan *galopa* within one measure of the slow compound duple *guarania* (Safuán 2006, 39).

According to Safuán, the sources of inspiration for the *avanzada* were essentially the rhythmic structure of the lively Paraguayan *galopa* and the melodic and harmonic principles of the *guarania* (personal interview 2002). Safuán's intention with the *avanzada* was not only to offer a new way to compose Paraguayan music based on the fusion of two distinctively Paraguayan musical genres, but also to expand further the existing harmonic vocabulary of traditional music by adding augmented, diminished and dominant seventh chords in the new genre. Thus the designation *avanzada* (which comes from the verb 'avanzar,' meaning to advance) became the composer's way to explain his innovative – and advancing – techniques as applied to Paraguayan music. Safuán also encouraged the inclusion of acoustic, electronic (electric bass, guitar, synthesizer) and percussion instruments (bongos, congas, shakers) in *avanzada* compositions. For instance, in 'Tema paraguayo' (Paraguayan Theme), Safuán uses the *arpín* – an instrument developed after the psaltery by harpist Luis Bordón (1926–2007) – acoustic (Spanish) and electric guitars, electric bass, percussion, synthesizer and violins. Although Safuán's works are cultivated by a limited group of local musicians, their appeal has been spread to the main urban centers and festivals of Paraguayan popular music. In addition to Oscar Nelson Safuán, Paraguayan composers who have *avanzada* compositions include harpists Papi Galán (b. 1939) and Francisco Giménez (b. 1972), and conductor and trombonist Remigio Pereira (b. 1961).

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ALFREDO COLMAN

Axé-Music

Axé-music is a hybrid genre from the state of Bahia in northeastern Brazil that fuses the music typically performed on *trios elétricos* (trucks fitted with powerful sound systems and carrying music groups during Carnival) with that of the *blocos afro* (Afro-centric Carnival fraternities): that is, the harmonic vocabulary of Bahian *frevo* with the percussive sonorities of *samba-reggae*. This blend was originally created by *trio elétrico* bands attracted to the high profile and musical innovation of *samba-reggae*.

The language of *axé-music* is the result of the alchemy that takes place in recording studios, when the electronic equipment is used to incorporate a *samba-reggae* rhythmic base, either by means of a sampler or by the recording of live percussionists in the studio, together with the studio-recorded harmony instruments of keyboard, bass and guitar.

In addition to combining harmonic and percussive sounds, the *trio elétrico* groups also record songs of the *blocos afro,* laden with antiracist messages; the result is a kind of pop/electronic version of *samba-reggae*. This harmonic-percussive fusion, emanating from the outskirts of the city of Salvador de Bahia, found favor with the middle- to upper-class population who followed the *trios elétrico* but who had previously paid little heed to the music of the *blocos afro*.

Axé-music ushered in a new way of making music in Salvador. Commenting on the process, the founder and guitarist of the group Bloco Cheiro de Amor remarked:

> Styles began changing. In the past they were more instrumental. Then people started finding inspiration in the roots of African culture, fusing *frevo* and *salsa* with *samba-reggae*. From that point many bands began recording. That percussion thing with the harmony instruments: it was really cool, it worked, and it is still there today. (Guerreiro 2000, 134)

By the end of the 1980s the sales of *axé-music* albums were easily passing the 400,000 mark. The music garnered considerable exposure on Brazilian FM radio, as a result of powerful marketing campaigns underwritten by the record companies that also control the radio programming. Performances put on by Bahian bands attracted very large crowds to concert halls throughout Brazil.

At the same time as *axé-music* bands were making their presence felt on the Brazilian charts, the *blocos afro* and their *samba-reggae* rhythms, while never reaching high figures in commercial terms, came to be disseminated nationally, largely through the work of Ara Ketu and Olodum, the first *blocos afro* to target the Brazilian market. In this way, their work, while regional in outlook, expanded into the national market.

The expression '*axé-music*' first appeared in the Bahian press in 1987, specifically in the column of journalist and critic Hagamenon Brito, who coined the term to designate the new style. According to Brito, 'Bahian rockers called this type of music *axé*. It really was a derogatory thing. I decided to call it *axé-music* and the rest of the press followed suit' (Guerreiro 2000, 137). The term '*axé*' is a Yoruba word, specific to *candomblé* (the main Afro-Brazilian religion), meaning strength, energy and power. The national media applied the expression '*axé-music*' to both *samba-reggae* and the music created by *trio eléctrico* bands.

In the 1990s *axé-music* became all the rage in Brazilian show business. The press along the Rio de Janeiro-São Paulo axis traveled to Salvador to investigate the new Bahian musical movement. Newspaper and magazine articles drew parallels between the new musical movement and earlier movements that had transformed Brazilian music such as *bossa nova* and *Tropicália*, the latter also led by Bahians (such as João Gilberto, Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil).

The singer Daniela Mercury, known as the 'Queen of *Axé-Music*,' is a key figure of the movement. In 1992, after singing for a few years in *trio elétrico* groups, she released the album *O canto da cidade* (The Song of the City), reaching national prominence with a repertoire mainly consisting of compositions from the most famous *blocos afro* in Salvador. She retained the defining element of drum and percussion of these *samba-reggae* songs, stamping them with a solid pop aesthetic.

Claiming to be 'a neguinha mais branquinha da Bahia' (the whitest little blackie in Bahia), Mercury set herself apart with an important point of difference. Unlike other bands that used a sampler for the *samba-reggae* parts, she worked with live drummers in her recording sessions at WR Studios, capturing the sounds of the *surdos*, *repiques*, *tárois* and *timbaus* (the various drums of the *blocos afro* ensemble) and getting them to work in harmony with those of the guitar, bass and keyboard. Mercury's first big hit single, 'O canto da cidade,' was arranged by Neguinho do Samba, the great master of *samba-reggae*.

Besides recording songs that were either composed by the *blocos afro* or evoked them and cast them in a positive light, Mercury drew inspiration from *blocos afro* dances for her own choreographies. The video for her version of the song 'O mais belo dos belos' (The Most Beautiful of the Beautiful) was recorded in Ladeira do Curuzu, home of the *bloco afro* Ilê Aiyê, from whom she got the song. According to Carlos Albuquerque, 'The most solid evidence of the strength (and pop appeal) of *samba-reggae* would come with *O canto da cidade*, Daniela Mercury's million-dollar album' (Guerreiro 2000, 138). The album sold a million copies, the highest ever total for an album by a Bahia musician. Mercury's concert schedule took her nationwide. It was through her work that the world of Afro-Bahian percussion started to interact directly with the musical production of bands connected to the sphere of the *trios elétricos*.

Many *blocos afro* groups have also pursued a blend of harmony and percussion instruments, which translates into a reduction in the number of drummers. The volume of the drums naturally dampens the sound of the harmony instruments used in *samba-reggae*, such as guitar, bass, keyboard and saxophone. Capturing the different instruments through the use of electronic equipment is, in fact, the only way to reconcile the contrasting worlds of sound that gave rise to *axé-music*.

This dialogue of sounds, already achieved in contemporary African music, came to be part of the musical language of the majority of the artists from Salvador who attained national and international success, such as Margareth Menezes, Ivete Sangalo and

Netinho. In the early twenty-first century *axé-music* is well established as an aesthetic model and continues to play a significant role in Salvador's Carnival, its biggest showcase.

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GOLI GUERREIRO (TRANSLATED BY DARA MURPHY)

Bachata

Bachata is a popular guitar-based music from the Dominican Republic that arose in the early 1960s in the urban shantytowns of the nation's capital, Santo Domingo. Long associated with the poorest and most uneducated members of society, with its production relegated to the margins, *bachata* music has only enjoyed success across class and national borders since the 1980s.

Historical and Political Background

A discussion of the modern music of the Dominican Republic is impossible without considering the profound effect of the 31-year dictatorship of Rafael Trujillo (1930–61). During his rule, Trujillo controlled every aspect of Dominican life, including music. To consolidate his power, he actively worked to create a solid national identity, and he co-opted the *merengue* genre to transmit that identity. A playful music in 4/4 time, *merengue* was highly popular among the poor although the Dominican elite shunned it. Trujillo astutely took advantage of *merengue*'s large fan base among the lower classes and began to associate himself with it from his first campaign. Later, he commissioned musicians to write and perform a more sophisticated *merengue de orquesta* style (arranged for big band instrumentation) to appeal to the middle and upper classes, while the traditional *merengue típico* with its instrumentation of accordion, drum and *güira* continued to thrive among the masses. In addition to creating a sense of solidarity, the lyrics of new compositions praised the dictator, thus spreading the message of his benefit throughout the country. During the three decades of Trujillo's rule, literally hundreds of *merengues* were written in his honor.

The Trujillo family also dominated music through mass media. Trujillo's brother, Petán, launched his own radio station, La Voz del Yuna (later renamed La Voz Dominicana). An avid fan of live music, Petán invited performers of *both merengue típico* and *merengue de orquesta* to perform on his show. These artists worked for Petán exclusively, and as a result, were not allowed to record and produce their own music independently.

Following Trujillo's assassination in 1961, Dominican society and music experienced a new-found freedom. Despite its association with the dictatorship, *merengue* continued to be popular and retained its status as the national music and a symbol of national identity. The genre continued to grow and flourish in the aftermath of dictatorship, the ensuing political jockeying and the 1965 civil war. At this time *merengue* was opened to outside influences and began to adapt them into a faster, showier style.

After the death of Trujillo, rural *campesinos* began to migrate in previously unequaled numbers to the cities. This was, in part, the result of the loss of productive agricultural land that Trujillo had expropriated for the state in 1953. It was also one branch of a trend toward national and international migration resulting from the lifting of strict restrictions both within and outside the country's borders. Dominicans migrated and continue to migrate to their primary country of destination, the United States. These Dominican Americans constitute a transnational community with a continual flow of people and goods in both directions and with a malleable sense of identity that adapts to changing locations and circumstances. As these immigrants experienced feelings of alienation, music – primarily *merengue* – continued to serve as a strong marker of identity. In addition to embracing music from home, Dominican Americans produced their own music, at times adapting genres to represent their dual identity through a blend of languages and musical forms.

Bachata's Beginnings

In the political and social upheaval that followed the end of the 30-year dictatorship, the mass migration to the nation's cities, the ensuing civil war in 1965 and continued political repression, *bachata* served as a language for articulating the harsh realities faced by the poor and uneducated in the wilderness of the urban shantytowns. In addition to painting a picture of these realities, *bachata* lyrics also served as examples of how to cope with and survive in an unfamiliar landscape.

The music that is known today as *bachata* grew out of a long tradition of romantic guitar music prevalent throughout Latin America. *Bachata*'s instrumentation includes one or two guitars and percussion supplied by *bongos* and *maracas* or *güira*. It is a romantic, ballad-style music in 4/4 time. *Bachata* lyrics are emotionally charged and the singer dramatically relates a story – usually of unrequited love – in the common, quotidian vernacular of the streets. The singer's tone and instrumentation reflect the sentiment of the lyrics, interlacing the music with emotion. This underlying bitterness in most *bachata* has contributed to its epithet, *música de amargue* (music of bitterness). Because of its content, style and humble origins, *bachata* has often been compared to North American blues music.

In fact, *bachata*'s closest relative is the Cuban *bolero*, whose similar instrumentation and romantic themes carried over into the first *bachatas*. The *bolero*'s format was particularly appealing to people of the countryside where autodidactic musicians learned to play the guitar and songs were passed on as part of the rural oral tradition. These local artists performed in public places and get-togethers in the countryside, and later carried these traditions with them to the cities.

Bachata was not originally distinguished as a separate genre within a broader musical grouping described simply as guitar music or rural *bolero*. The word *bachata* dates back to the nineteenth century when the term referred to informal parties or a fun, carefree time. In its emergence as a separate musical genre in the twentieth century, early names included *música cachivache* (knickknack music) and *música de guardia* (guard music); the latter referred to military men of low rank who spent their money in cheap brothels and bars where this type of music was played. Eventually, the middle class began to refer to the music as *bachata*. No longer did this term innocently describe a get-together; rather, its new usage charged the word with a significance denoting poverty, lack of education and low quality.

In 1962 José Manuel Calderón recorded and released the first single of the rural, guitar-based music that was later to be known as *bachata*. Friends of Calderón who worked as announcers on the Voz del Trópico radio station in Santo Domingo gave airtime to this song, 'Condena' (Conviction or Sentence), also known as '¿Qué será de mí?' (What Will Become of Me?), and soon it was being requested. Calderón was then invited to rerecord 'Condena,' along with another single, at the better-equipped studio of Radio Televisión Dominicana. At this time the music was simply considered guitar music and was not yet stigmatized.

Bachata had none of the preestablished popularity and fan base that *merengue* enjoyed, nor the support and means with which to create a product of the quality that could compete with the *merengue* stars of the day. *Merengue* had long enjoyed the advantage of state support and its official representation of the national music of the Dominican Republic added to its popularity. The different types of *merengue* – *merengue típico* and *merengue de orquesta* – also allowed the genre to reach across class divisions. In contrast, *bachata* was associated with only the lowest, least-educated and most impoverished classes. Rejected by the middle and upper classes, *bachata* was relegated to being played on records or jukeboxes in bars, brothels and *colmados* – small, neighborhood grocery stores that served as places to congregate for sharing news, playing dominoes and listening to music. Live performances consisted of small venues such as bars and parties.

Similarly, *bachata* was produced, promoted and performed entirely within the informal sector. Musicians paid to rent time and space in a recording studio, laying down the song on a single track. Because musicians paid out of their own pockets for this studio time, they tended to release singles; only rarely were LPs produced. These inexpensive *bachata* records were sold primarily on street corners or by the musicians themselves. *Colmado* and bar owners purchased the most popular songs, playing them in the background for their clients or including them in jukeboxes. Unlike the big recording stars of the socially acceptable *merengue*, *bachateros* received no royalties and only a one-time, meagre payment for their productions. Because *bachata* was also denied access to both television and the press, musicians had to rely almost exclusively on the small payment they earned from live performances in small venues.

Given the economic realities of music production, *bachateros*' exclusion from the formal music industry, and the limited economic means of *bachata* consumers, *bachata* was recorded on vinyl much longer than was the popular *merengue*. It was not until the last years of the 1980s that cassette productions of *bachata* outnumbered vinyl records. One unfortunate outcome of this form of production is that many of the *bachatas* produced on vinyl prior to the 1990s are not available to the general public.

Radio Guarachita and *Bachata*

Radhamés Aracena became one of the most influential promoters of *bachata* through his radio station, Radio Guarachita. A Dominican disc jockey and record producer with a keen sense of self-promotion and business as well as an acute understanding of Dominican tastes and idiosyncrasies, Aracena originally refused to include *bachata* on his radio shows, deeming it of poor production quality and equally poor grammar. Soon, Aracena realized that *bachata*'s popularity was growing and the music was selling better than the records he imported and produced. Aracena decided not only to play the guitar-based music on his station but also to record *bachata* artists. Astutely, he manipulated airtime to play only those artists whose releases he produced and those productions to which he held distribution rights, in this way both creating a demand and supplying the need.

Aracena controlled each step of the production and promotion of the music he produced. Hopeful *bachateros* played for him, and he recorded their songs on cassettes. If he was interested in pursuing an act, he typed up the lyrics, correcting the grammatical errors, regionalisms or linguistic indicators of class. The artist was required to relearn the song in its corrected form before recording it for release.

Radio Guarachita also served as a link between people in the urban *barrios* and the countryside. On a very concrete level, Aracena encouraged and promoted interaction between his listeners and Radio Guarachita's announcers by including a telephone in the booth so listeners could call in requests or send messages via the radio to friends and loved ones far away. At a time when the country had a limited telecommunications infrastructure and questionable service, these so-called public service announcements served to join listeners across geographical boundaries and to fill the alienating void of family felt by many urban migrants. Similarly, Radio Guarachita contributed to a sense of community transcending geographical limitations among rural and urban citizens by allowing these groups in different locations to listen to the same programming, including *bachata*.

Evolution and Acceptance of *Bachata*

In the late 1970s and the early 1980s, the lyrics of *bachata* became increasingly racy as more songs were filled with sexual *double entendre*. Although many musicians continued on in the romantic vein, others began to introduce the harsher language and images of the urban shantytown streets. Tony Santos, Blas Durán and Julio Angel were highly popular musicians of the popular *double entendre bachatas*.

Bachata of the 1980s continued to portray the realities of its producers and consumers by reflecting societal shifts. The increasingly poor economy of this decade found greater numbers of women migrating to the cities, where they often found work more easily than men did. These economically independent women often supported men, a pattern that broke with male-dominant patterns and norms. As a result, many men found themselves adrift in the new social configuration. *Bachata* of the 1980s depicted these changes. Although disillusion and betrayal still appeared as themes, lyrics increasingly found men seeking solace in alcohol and the informal, no-strings-attached encounters of the brothels. Similarly, *bachata* portrayed more and more men grieving to their friends in a bar over romantic losses. It was at this time that *bachata*'s lyrics oozed with such bitterness that the genre began to be known as *música de amargue* – music of bitterness.

The first step in *bachata*'s acceptance into mainstream society began slowly in 1983 with Luis Segura's 1983 record, *Pena por ti* (Grief Because of You), often referred to merely as *Pena*. This album brought *bachata* into the broader public eye, albeit temporarily, for the space of approximately two years. So successful was Segura that the students of the Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo invited him to perform a concert. Although a second concert was scheduled, the dean of the university deemed it improper for a prestigious university and forbade it. The resulting scandal gave *bachata* the press it had long been denied, but, by 1984, *bachata* had faded into the background once again.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s the sound and production of *bachata* began to change. Blas Durán's 1987 'Consejo a las mujeres' (Advice to Women) marked a milestone in the evolution of the genre. This *bachata* represents the first effort at recording in multiple tracks and was also the first one to include an electric guitar as lead. A newcomer, Luis Vargas, stepped into the limelight in 1990 with daring, bawdy lyrics and above all an innovative musical style. In addition to an accelerated *bachata*, Vargas replaced the *maracas* with the *güira* and abandoned nylon-strung guitars for steel-strung ones, inserting a microphone into the sound hole of the instrument to produce a stronger, sharper sound. These innovations and adaptations were embraced by other *bachateros*, above all those first entering the business.

Bachata began to make inroads into the mainstream again in 1989 when composer Luis Dias and the well-known and popular singer Sonia Silvestre collaborated with musician Jorge Tejada to produce *Yo quiero andar*, an album that included five *bachatas*. In addition to the better recording conditions available to Silvestre, the album featured the extensive use of synthesizers in place of most instruments, with only the guitars and *bongos* being actually played. For this reason, Silvestre called the type of *bachata* on this new album *techno-bachata*. This innovative production paved the way toward *bachata*'s eventual acceptance and success.

Bachata's fate changed completely in 1990 when the popular *merengue* artist Juan Luis Guerra released *Bachata rosa*, an album that included four *bachatas* in the synthesized techno style that Silvestre had made successful. Guerra, with his formal music education, refined lyrics and established success in the *merengue* industry, gave a new face to *bachata* steeped in the genre's traditional instrumentation and rhythm. Although Guerra's *bachatas* still included *double entendre*, their poetic lyrics made the edges less rough and more easily acceptable. *Bachata rosa* was not only a national hit that crossed class lines, but an international phenomenon as well. In 1992, *Bachata rosa* was awarded a Grammy in the Latin Tropical category.

Well-known singer-songwriter Víctor Víctor also contributed to the growing popularity and acceptance of this once-shunned genre in the 1990s. In addition to releasing a well-received *bachata* single, Víctor Víctor organized two concerts in December of 1993 entitled 'De bachata en bachata.' Held in Santo Domingo and the Dominican Republic's second largest city, Santiago de los Caballeros, these concerts included not only Víctor Víctor and Silvia Silvestre, but also traditional *bachateros* who had dedicated their careers to the genre, such as Luis Segura and Raulín Rodríguez. Selections highlighted popular *bachatas* across the decades as well as the highly popular *techno-bachatas* of the moment. In this way, the concerts served to united *bachateros* of both veins and to provide the traditional *bachateros* with a larger venue than they had previously known.

Together, these successes and activities opened the doors to *bachata*'s broad acceptance, and new and established *bachatero*s now had more opportunities to produce and perform. Now, bachateros received media coverage and could be heard on FM stations across the country. *Bachata* began to be recorded on cassette and eventually CD, and producers began to pay more attention to marketing, image and overall quality. Three young musicians, Luis Vargas, Antony Santos and Raulín Rodríguez, exemplified this new outlook with their strong voices, confident singing style and youthful image. Antony Santos became the first traditional *bachatero* to penetrate mainstream music following Guerra's success with *Bachata rosa*, and others followed.

***Bachata* of the Diaspora**

In the early twenty-first century, *bachata*'s role as an urban music has continued among the large group of Dominican transnational immigrants, above all the Dominican Americans. In the United States, the music, true to its migrant and urban roots, has evolved to express the realities of Dominican American immigrants. The group Aventura represents this expression through both image and music. Composed of four Dominican American artists, Aventura is the first *bachata* boy band. Their music represents a fusion of languages – lyrics include both Spanish and English – and musical influences through the fusion of *bachata* with blues. Similarly, these 'Kings of Bachata' introduced a contemporary style to the genre by dressing in jeans, T-shirts and hoodies, thus achieving a look more akin to hip-hop than traditional *bachata*. It is perhaps this look, so reminiscent of North American urban musicians, that has led some to term their style of *bachata* 'urban *bachata*.'

In addition to a fresh approach to music and image, Aventura has also achieved another first for *bachata* by playing in the largest venues, including being the first *bachata* group to play Madison Square Garden (2007), where the show was sold out. Since Aventura scored its first hit in 2002 with 'Obsesión,' others have adopted their approach and look. Bands such as Óptimo and Xtreme and singers Toby Love and Prince Royce have forged a similar union of languages and styles.

Conclusion

Bachata has continued to adapt to the changing situations of both those who interpret the genre and those who listen to it. Its eventual acceptance across class and national borders has provided *bachata* musicians with access to better modes of production and distribution as well as a space in prominent venues. From its roots in rural guitar-based music to its status as the music of preference in the Dominican shantytowns and its shunning by elites to the urban *bachata* produced by Dominican Americans, this music has served as a poignant form of expression for the realities of those who produce and consume it.

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Baguala

Baguala is the name assigned by convention to a type of song traditionally sung by Indians and *criollos* (i.e., people of Spanish or mestizo descent) in northwest Argentina, based on a three-note scale approximating to the pitches of a major triad. Other local names for it include *vidala*, *vidalita*, *coplas*, *tono* and *tonada*, but the needs of the urban, media-transmitted folklore market have dictated the dismissal of such ambiguities, common in the oral-tradition repertoire. The alternative names now serve to designate other genres.

In its rural settings, *baguala* is performed by a solo vocalist, loudly singing to the accompaniment of a *caja* (rustic snare drum). The feast of *Carnaval* (Mardi Gras) is held to be the essential (or sometimes the only) occasion for the performance of *bagualas*: there is an idealized image of the *coplero* (*baguala* singer) marking his slow stroll on the *caja* as he comes down from the mountains where he dwells into the towns where *Carnaval* will be celebrated. However, in the provinces of Jujuy, Salta and La Rioja *ruedas de copleros* (*baguala*-singers' rings) are held all through the summer. In them, amateur singers sit for hours, taking turns to perform their stanzas, in friendly *contrapunto* (competition). They sing both traditional lyrics and their own improvised or semi-improvised verses. The tune is usually always the same for each singer, reflecting the tradition of his family or of a small region. The subjects are amatory, humorous, philosophical or political.

The revaluation of local native and Indian traditions has moved local governments and organizations to celebrate larger and more institutionalized *encuentros* (meetings) of *copleros*, which in some cases attract national and international tourists; best known is the one at Purmamarca which in 2009 was holding its 26th consecutive annual edition. Although it is an activity shared by men and women, it is the latter, the *copleras*, who have captured most national attention. Starting in the 1950s Buenos Aires-born performer and amateur musicologist Leda Valladares collected a large number of *bagualas* and initiated an unsuccessful crusade to introduce them in schools all over Argentina as a main method in the study of music. Since the 1990s some *copleras*, such as Mariana Carrizo, have been making successful appearances in the national media and in *folclore* festivals.

The singing of *baguala* prominently features *kenko,* a kind of vocal ornament akin to yodeling. Although textbooks describe the *baguala* mostly as being in binary or free rhythms (and it is performed thus by amateur and professional *copleros*), in its circulation in urban milieus it tends to employ the *vidala*'s metric (3/4) and rhythmic patterns. Keeping the slow and ponderous *caja*-beating of the *copleros*, urban practitioners transfer its heaviness to the singing style. In this they diverge from traditional performances, where the voice often resorts to gay, graceful and picaresque delivery.

As a self-standing song, the *baguala* has seldom been employed in popular *folclore* (some of the nearest examples are 'La bagualera' [recorded, for example, by Mercedes Sosa in 1966] and 'El seclanteño' [recorded by Suna Rocha in 2000] both by Ariel Petrocelli), but its distinctive scale and profile have often been included in other genres as symbols connotating region and race, as well as the idea of personal loneliness. 'Zamba del silbador' by Gustavo Leguizamón and Manuel Castilla (recorded by Duo Salteño in 2000), for example, does not, as is usual in *zamba,* repeat the music for the last two verses of each stanza: instead, it sets them to a new melody in *baguala* style when the words '*se vuelve baguala*' ('turns into *baguala*') occur. 'Vidala de la copla' (Chango Rodríguez, recorded by Los Andariegos, for example, in 1979), an impassioned assertion of regional musical identity, begins straight away in *baguala* style, with the words 'Vidala tengo una copla, no me la vais a quitar' ('I have a *vidala*, a *copla*, and no one will take it away from me').

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Baião

Baião is a genre of music with roots in the music of the rural north-east of Brazil that became hugely popular with a countrywide urban audience in the 1940s through the radio and recorded performances of Luiz Gonzaga and Humberto Teixeira in particular. By the late twentieth century it was included under the broader umbrella term of *forró.*

In the form in which it was promoted in the 1940s *baião* emerged from an encounter between accordionist Gonzaga (1917–89) and poet and composer Teixeira (1915–79). Gonzaga, who was by that time already established in the world of radio and phonograph records, had sought a partnership with Teixeira.

Both planned to carry out a joint project that would better represent the musical culture of their native Brazilian North-east and would encourage the diffusion of that tradition, which was then unrepresented in the record and radio industries, despite the large-scale migration of north-easterners to the southern cities of Rio and São Paulo.

The two men belonged to different social strata: Gonzaga (originally from the town of Exu, in the state of Pernambuco) had acquired some musical knowledge from his family experience – learned from oral tradition – which formed the basis of his transformation into a professional singer, accordionist and composer. Teixeira (born in Iguatu, in the state of Ceará) had formal schooling, practiced law and had also become a poet and amateur musician. From the fortunate encounter between these two, the song and dance 'Baião' was born – the first poetical and musical piece produced by this duo and one which made a great impact on Rio de Janeiro culture because of its originality. The first version of 'Baião,' recorded in 1946 by a group calling themselves Quatro Ases e um Curinga (Four Aces and a Joker), spread throughout Brazil and to other Latin American countries such as Cuba, Argentina and Peru (the lyrics of 'Abraço do baião' (The Embrace of Baião), recorded by Caco Velho in 1952, testify to the widespread popularity of *baião* throughout Latin America). In addition to Teixeira, other musicians and lyricists joined Gonzaga. One of the most outstanding of these was the Pernambuco-born physician Zé Dantas (1921–62), whose partnership with Gonzaga resulted in the creation of the most representative works of the repertoire.

The Term 'Baião'

The history of the term is a complex one. The terms *baiano, baiana, baianá, baião* maintain an etymological relationship with the northeastern state of Bahia. Presumably, *baião* is a contraction of *baiano* (adj. = from Bahia, that is, *baiano/baiana* = born in Bahia). *Baião* is also a regional version of *bailão* (a big ball). However, *baião* is a more specific term than *baiano* or *baiana*, since it indicates a music genre. Nonetheless, in order to define the term *baião*, it is also necessary to review the relevant definitions of *baiano*. In the most reliable source for such meanings, the *Dicionário do folclore brasileiro* (Dictionary of Brazilian Folklore; 1954), Câmara Cascudo describes *baiano* as a lively dance, requiring a high degree of improvisation and agility of movement of the dancers' feet and body. Further on, he defines *baiano* as being danced by different social classes in grand public festivities at the end of the nineteenth century. A contemporary of Cascudo, Sílvio Romero (1951, 72–3) relates *baiano* to music and dance that precede the *desafio* of the *cantadores* (improvisational musician-poets' challenge; for more on this subject see *cantoria-de-viola*). Romero highlights the presence of components from the three main ethnic matrices that are the foundations of the Brazilian racial mix (Amerindian, European and African). In turn, Baptista Siqueira (1951, 72–3) associates the term *baião* with the *caboclo* (term used to describe a mix of European and Brazilian Amerindian descent) culture in the northeastern *sertão* (backlands) by characterizing the intermezzo-style of the *violeiros* (viola's [guitar-like] players), as well as to the rhythmical patterns of instrumental groups of the region. The nationalist composer Guerra Peixe (1955, 2–3) suggests a more comprehensive definition of the term *baião*, emphasizing the characteristics of 'joy, variation and liveliness,' which achieve the same level as the other popular manifestations called *samba* and *batuque*.

From this evidence we can conclude that *baião* and *baiano* are widely defined, with an emphasis on music and/or dance, and with a particular association with entertainment from the Brazilian countryside. In some of their music, Luiz Gonzaga and his partner Zé Dantas make allusions to this, as, for example, in this passage from the lyrics of 'Tudo é baião' (All Is *Baião*, 1952):

Andam dizendo que o baião é invenção	It's said that *baião* is an invention
Quem disse isso nunca foi no meu sertão	Who said this has never been in my *sertão*
Pra ver o/os cego nesse ritmo cantando	To see the blind beggars singing in this rhythm
E o violeiro, no baião improvisando	And the *violeiro* improvising in *baião* [rhythm]

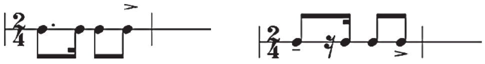
The Emergence of *Baião*

The process by which the traditional songs and rhythms of the Brazilian North-east became urbanized – of which baião is a prime example – will always be linked to the individual persona of Luiz Gonzaga. Gonzaga moved to Rio and began his appearances during the period of Getúlio Vargas's dictatorship (1937–45); according to Antônio Cândido (1987, 181), in spite of the political and cultural restrictions that were imposed at the time, a great expansion of intellectual and artistic culture occurred, in which literature and radio played leading roles. Within popular music, says Cândido, the process of cultural expansion followed a different trajectory from that which took place in other areas: it emerged from the grassroots and moved toward the higher social strata. An important element in this process was the role of the media, particularly the radio (mainly the nationwide Radio Nacional and Radio Tamoio) and record industry, which opened the market for popular musicians, enabling them to become professionals. The majority of Luiz Gonzaga's recordings were made for RCA, although he eventually joined other record companies. In order to reproduce low-cost records, mainly to reach the pockets of his fans – a great majority of whom were migrants – RCA created popular labels: Camden and Vik, for instance. Gonzaga made nearly 633 recordings (wax, vinyl, CD and DVD), a number today multiplied even further thanks to remastered versions. Nowadays Gonzaga's discography comprises circa 1,900 recordings.

These factors were crucial for the success with which Gonzaga and his partners introduced northeastern repertoire not only into Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo society in the 1940s and 1950s but all over the country. With his outstanding audacity and talent, Gonzaga was the one who designed the components of this musical genre, integrating the intrinsic poetical and musical conception – content of lyrics, melodic design, stanza structure, harmonic sequences, rhythmical standards, instrumentation – with the extrinsic aspects such as type of vocal style and costume, to name just two.

Musical Characteristics

Gonzaga's repertoire reveals the genre's essential characteristics. There is a close relationship between intonation of melody and speech itself. *Baião* is practically a recited song: its music originates from rhythm and from the content of verses, just as happened with the *cantadores* from the north-east and would later characterize rap artists. The *baião* song also has a didactic motive, in the sense that its verses teach listeners how the dance is to be performed. Its rhythm, derived from the lively dances of the *sertão* (the backlands of northeastern Brazil), acquired a new configuration through the emblematic presence of the accordion and the traditional percussion instruments such as the triangle and *zabumba* (a big drum). In terms of rhythm, not only in *baião* but in other similar dances, such as *xaxado, xote, xamego, embolada, coco* or even *toada*, the basic rhythm inserted into a binary measure has its main stress on the second beat:



Example 1: Basic rhythm of *baião*

This characteristic is widely found elsewhere, from the *habanera* to the Charleston, suggesting the influence of African music (Appleby 1983, 73–80). However, what distinguishes these examples is the variety of rhythmic combinations and stresses distributed in a frame of binary measures reinforced by different durations, which often makes precise transcription into musical notation almost impossible.

Various aspects of the performance of *baião* became hallmarks of the style, contributing to its prestige. Chief among these was Gonzaga's nasal delivery. Also emblematic was the clothing chosen by him for live performances in auditoriums and public squares, which included a combination of the typical apparel of the two main idols of the *sertão*: the *vaqueiro* (a kind of 'cowboy') and Lampião (the symbolic figure of northeastern banditry). From the former Gonzaga chose the leather jacket, and from the latter the sandals and hat. All these resources – the rhythmic characteristics, the 'tissue' of the melody and the other elements mentioned above – are basic features of the musical language of the northeastern *sertão*, which was disseminated throughout Brazil through the power of the main radio station, the nationwide *Radio Nacional.* Another important component in that dissemination was the adherence, in the 1950s, of the singer Carmélia Alves (b. 1923), who was crowned 'queen of the *baião*' (*rainha do baião*) by Gonzaga. She became the ambassador of the *baião* genre at the main show houses attended by the Rio de Janeiro elite.

Later History

The process which Gonzaga and others unleashed, whereby northeastern popular music moved to the center of Brazilian music, was continued in various ways by those simple re-producers of his style and his typical group – nameless professionals who breathed life into *forró* dances in the remotest small towns; those who produced more refined work by maintaining the 'musical accent' of the north-east, such as Dominguinhos (b. 1941) and the young Waldonis (b. 1972); and those who boldly combined Gonzaga's influence with other sources, producing a fusion of new styles and new technologies, as in the case of the *Tropicalistas* (1970s). Gonzaga himself, toward the end of his artistic life (in the 1980s), knew how to be flexible and to accept the changes resulting from the different readings of his repertoire, incorporating some of that influence into his own music, a development which contributed to the emergence of new versions of the traditional *baiões, xaxados, chamegos* and so on becoming part of the contemporary *forró* style.

Most of Gonzaga's albums from the 1980s mention the word *forró* on their covers as the main title.

The 1999 compilation *Baião de Viramundo*: *Tributo a Luiz Gonzaga,* featuring groups from Brazil and abroad, offers a good sample of the continuity of *baião* when it is no longer limited to the faithful reproduction of its matrices. Alternatively, one might say that it demonstrates an updating of a tradition resulting in a new language. Contemporary musicians include Gonzaga in their memory banks, which encompass both globalized musical standards and those matrices that originated from their own cultural experience. They represent that category of individuals who traverse transculturality, with freedom from restraint. They are the new *mestiços* who, in Nouss's view (2002, 104–14), exercise crossbreeding as a means of building their tomorrow. In the same way that *baião* originated from a true anthropophagic process with regard to the cultural elements that preceded it, its absorption by the new generations has solidified *forró* as a genre, and it has renewed itself, as can be seen in other varieties of songs and dance.

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ELBA BRAGA RAMALHO

Bailanta

Bailanta is used to refer to two highly related but different things: a musical genre that encompasses what in Argentina is considered *música tropical*, and the physical place where people go to dance those styles of music. In the first usage, people (often derogatorily) refer to *música tropical* as *música de bailanta* (*bailanta* music). *Música de bailanta* includes *cumbia, merengue,* salsa, reggaeton and a local hybrid called *cuarteto cordobés* (which mixes variously Spanish *pasodobles* and Italian genres with *merengue, salsa* and other Latin genres).

From the 1930s *bailantas* were the dance halls where rural migrants living in Buenos Aires (most of them from indigenous backgrounds – the Argentine *negros*) gathered to dance their choreographies (usually *chamamé* from the provinces neighboring Paraguay and Brazil). In other words, in its derogatory usage what the word *bailanta* and the noun *bailantero/a* does is to address the migrant character of *música tropical* artists and followers.

Within white, middle-class discourse, *música de bailanta* is viewed as lower-class 'black' music (*música de negros*), where often *negro* and *bailantero* are considered synonymous (alongside the other derogatory name this population is usually given: *villero* [the inhabitant of the shanty towns]). In this context, *negro* does not refer to people of African ancestry (who supposedly do not exist in Argentina – a myth quite widespread in the country), but to mestizos, that is, to the racial and cultural admixture of indigenous people and Europeans that forms the majority of Latin American populations. Followers of *música tropical* often proclaim their *bailantero*, *villero* pride by adopting and then reversing stigmatizing labels, such as *negro*. *Música de bailanta* is also the music of choice of many immigrants from Bolivia and Paraguay.

Although different *música tropical* genres are played at the *bailantas*, since the late 1980s *cumbia* is, without a doubt, the music most people dance to in these dance halls. In the late 1980s and early 1990s the most important *bailanteros* were singers such as Alcides, Miguel 'Conejito' Alejandro, Pocho la Pantera, Ricky Maravilla, Sebastián, Los Cartageneros, Grupo Sombras, Grupo Cali, Gladys 'la bomba tucumana,' Lía Crucet, Koli Arce y su Quinteto Imperial, Adrián and his Black Dice, Malagata, Karicia, Green and Red. All of them were of humble origins and, at least at the beginning of their careers, they still worked part-time in other jobs, such as waiters, electricians, construction workers. Although *bailanta* music is clearly dominated by men (most of the producers, musicians and owners of dance halls are male), there are some female figures who were and still are quite important. One of them in particular, Gilda, acquired a saint-like status after her tragic death in an automobile accident in 1996. Such accidents are not infrequent given that *bailanta* groups often travel rapidly between venues, sometimes miles away from each other. *Bailanta* groups usually offer short sets (of about 20 minutes each) and play in several *bailantas* (5 or 6 on average) per night. They travel in minivans and are often followed by some of their (usually female) fans who move with them from one *bailanta* to the next. Rodrigo, one of the most important *bailanteros* of the 1990s, died in one of those frequent car accidents.

By the late 1990s the most important *bailanteros* were Daniel Agostini, Comanche, Los Chakales, Ráfaga, Tambó Tambó, Amar Azul, Los Charros, La Nueva Luna and Leo Mattioli (the last ones representative of the 'romantic' variant of *cumbia* from Santa Fé).

Cumbia romántica encompasses various instrumentations, with the common trend to perform a romantic repertoire. There are several varieties of 'romantic' *cumbia* including Colombian *cumbia*, *cumbia norteña, cumbia santafecina* and *cumbia saniagueña*. As Alejandra Cragnolini (1998) suggests, *cumbia norteña* is characterized by the use of syncopated rhythms that come from Andean *huaynos* and *carnavalitos*. Its lyrics tend to encompass romantic topics. The most important instruments are keyboards, electric guitar, electric bass, drums, *cencerro* and *tumbadora*. While *cumbia peruana* is very similar to *cumbia norteña* in terms of rhythms, instrumentation and romantic topics, *cumbia peruana* involves more complex percussion parts in its songs. *Cumbia santafecina* is a little different in terms of instrumentation, because the accordion predominates and sometimes trumpets and trombones are incorporated. *Cumbia santiagueña* adds keyboards to the accordion and keeps the other basic instruments as well (guitar, bass, cowbells and so forth). It mixes the genre of *cumbia* with *guarachas* and *merengues*. Several *cumbia santafecina* bands were formed in the mid-1990s and became famous by the end of that decade: Los Leales, Los Lamas, Los Cadiz and Los del Bohio. However, by the late 1990s *bailantas* were witnessing the appearance and success of a new *cumbia* subgenre: *cumbia villera*.

Cumbia villera has several distinctive features. The groove is basically the same as the Colombian *cumbia*, but it is often played at a slower tempo. This characteristic gives the style a relaxed pace and feeling that is mildly reminiscent of Jamaican reggae. In terms of instrumentation, drum machines and electronic or sampled percussion are used in combination with acoustic percussion instruments. Nevertheless, perhaps the single most important characteristic in the instrumentation of *cumbia villera* is the use of the lead synthesizer taking the melodic role (that had hitherto been taken by the accordion). The performance technique on the synthesizer makes extensive use of the pitch bend control. This feature allows the keyboard player to 'bend' the notes expressively (like rock guitarists). In terms of its melodies, *cumbia villera* uses a limited register – generally a fifth – and is very accessible to untrained voices. The binary meter supports, in a moderate tempo, two rhythmic levels: the quarter-eight-eight figures that represent the Andean element which, at the same time, serve as a background for the rhythmic intervention of the Afro-Colombian level – a splutter of syncopated rhythms performed by the Latin percussion. All these musical resources are enveloped by the sophisticated electronic sound that plays a major role in severing many popular musics from their places of origin, and to making them apt not only for their international circulation, but also for their local re-territorialization, as is demonstrated by *cumbia villera*. In the case of the development of the genre in Argentina, a very important nonmusical element – the lyrics – helps to confer on *cumbia* its local specificity, because the topics of violence, drugs and hard-core sex are unique characteristics of *cumbia villera*.

The popularity of *cumbia villera* between 2000 and 2006 was immense, declining for a couple of years from 2006 to 2008, before increasing again. Middle-class audiences continued to look upon *bailantas* negatively, but with the advent of *cumbia villera* the stigma of being *bailantero*, *negro* and *villero* became enshrined as positive characteristics by some musicians and the working-class public. In this way *cumbia villera* seeks to make explicit the condition of poverty and social problems of its constituency denouncing the stigma at the same time. Accordingly, *cumbia villera* does not hide the characteristics associated with poverty, unemployment, illicit activities like robberies and drug use, but rather transforms them into lyrics that constitute an aesthetic ideal. The sexism that is sometimes rampant among *bailantas*' male constituency is also enshrined in *cumbia villera* lyrics. At the same time, young females have an ambiguous relationship with those same lyrics, ranging from totally disliking them to enjoying them because they portray sexually empowered women. Yet most young females are somehow in the middle of these extreme positions, claiming that the lyrics do not portray them but 'other females,' accepting the lyrics only as jokes, and the like.

The most important groups of this *bailanta* genre are Flor de Piedra, Damas Gratis, Los Pibes Chorros, Yerba Brava, SupermerK2, Meta Guacha, La Piba, Altos Cumbieros, La Base Musical, La Repandilla, El traidor y los pibes and Una de Kal. While *cumbia villera* eclipsed all other varieties of *cumbia* in terms of mass-media exposure for several years, those other varieties in general, and the different versions of *cumbia romántica* in particular (*santafecina*, *norteña*, *colombiana*), never disappeared in the *bailanta*. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, there is a trend toward a kind of 'romanticization' of some bands or soloists, who previously played only *cumbia villera*, but keeping the musical base of *villera*, insert romantic lyrics into the format. The most important artists of this trend are Néstor en Bloque, El Polaco, El Original and Los chicos de la vía.

The more popular 'romantic' representatives of the *bailanta* movement in 2008–9 were Amistad o Nada, Sebastián Mendoza, Uriel Lozano, Jambao, Karina and the Mexican bands Los Ángeles de Charly, Rayito Colombiano and Los Ángeles Azules. Other bands, such as Agrupación Marilyn, La Banda del Lechuga, El Empuje, El Tecla and 18 Kilates, mixed *cumbia villera* with romantic *cumbia* and, sometimes, politically inclined lyrics.

The culture industry and promotion networks related to *cumbia villera* are dominated by two Argentine record companies, Magenta and Leader, although since the 2000s others have begun to enter the market. Magenta and Leader have 'invented' several soloists and groups, and marketed them unremittingly in the television program they are related to and the *bailantas* they own. In general, the songs and musical arrangements of these 'invented' new artists are created by a musical-producer who then 'constructs' a group with the personal characteristics appropriate to the repertoire and the 'image' he wants to convey.

Finally it is worth mentioning that immigrants from Paraguay, Bolivia and Peru have their own *bailantas*, mostly in Greater Buenos Aires, where they enjoy *música tropical* with the regional twist of their own countries of origin.

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PABLO VILA AND MALVINA SILBA

Bailecito

The *bailecito coya* is a folkoric genre representative of the provinces of Jujuy and Salta in northwestern Argentina. Its name differentiates it from the *bailecito norteño* which is typical of the Santiago del Estero and the northcenter regions of the country. Although both use the same music, during the early part of the twentieth century the latter incorporated figures and gestures (*saludito*) appropriate to salon dances.

Originally from the Bolivian high plateau, the term *bailecito* was given during the nineteenth century to the majority of picaresque dances in Peru and Bolivia, creating confusion because – as reported by musicologist Carlos Vega – even the *gato* and *carnavalito* were known by this name. In the early twenty-first century the *bailecito* is recognized as a distinct expressive form, marked by its gentle character, moderate tempo and delicately simple display. In its traditional versions, the structural and stylist components (musical sonorities, choreographies, morphologies and metric) are relatively fixed or crystallized.

The typical sonority of the region is formed by the convergence of *charango*, *bombo* and *quena*, together with solo singing or two voices in parallel thirds. This *criollo* repertory is characterized by a bi-rhythm resulting from the superimposition of 6/8 and 3/4 meters, in simultaneous and successive forms.

Most *bailecitos* are in the minor mode; however, within the general harmonic context it is perceived as ambiguous, due to the oscillation between the tonal and modal systems of chord arrangements. This produces an effect of estrangement when listening to the particular introduction: VII III V Im, a sensation that is reinforced by the use of South American scales like the bimodal minor scale and other mestizo modes derived from Andean notation.

In the dance, the use of the handkerchief constitutes a special courtship language with its ability to sustain a bodily dialogue between dancing couples. Throughout the dance, the public provides accompaniment in the form of rhythmical hand-clapping and refrains fashioned by popular and peasant culture.

The literary content and the sociocultural representations of the *bailecito* include ancient as well as modern texts of a picaresque or humorous nature. Among them is worth noting the masculine aim of avoiding marital commitments, as in 'Casi casi' (anonymous) or committing infidelities, as in 'El picha picha' (W. Villagarcía/Jorge y Rolando Jiménez). Reference is also made to the *sirviñacu* (a trial marriage, in Kolla-Aymara culture).

The most popular of the *bailecitos*, 'Viva Jujuy' (anonymous) evokes the landscape of the puna – the high plateau – while others tell of promiscuous situations that occur during Carnival or of the painful separations caused by the working conditions characteristic of the region.

Since the 1960s prestigious authors have appealed to other emotional registers; for instance, 'La Huarmillita' (Jaime Dávalos and Eduardo Falú; the title comes from the Quechua 'warmi' meaning 'woman' and 'warmilla' meaning 'good, nurturing woman') highlights the identity and importance of the *coya* woman, while the feminine point of view is represented by the Salta composer Sara Mamaní in 'Noches de San Lorenzo' (San Lorenzo Nights) and 'Corazón de arena' (Sand Heart). Also, Enrique Benavídez in 'Abra del Zenta' makes explicit the prevailing social inequality of the region by paying homage to the shepherd boys who freeze to death in the mountains. Another distinctive feature denoting the mestizo origins of the *bailecito* derives from the mixing of Quechua words and *gaucho* speech expressions.

During the last 40 or so years the *bailecito* has been included in the major festivals of popular and folkloric music, like those of Cosquín and Baradero, that are broadcast throughout the country on television and radio. Similarly, international dance festivals have featured the *bailecito* followed by the *carnavalito* and the *cueca,* as signature numbers of the Argentine Northwest. As a result, national record labels have been interested in capturing the genre in live situations in folklore *peñas* (public spaces featuring dance and songs) and neighborhood cultural centers. Within education, the teaching of the *bailecito* is included in the official curriculum of upper-level and university education establishments, such as the Escuela de Música Popular de Avellaneda and the Departments of Folklore and Musical and Sound Arts of the National University Institute of Art.

Some young composers regard the *bailecito* as music to be listened to and have created ensembles that require a more demanding technical execution on the part of performers, include innovative instrumental additions such as the *bandoneón*, clarinet and transverse flute, and break with the standard, harmonic and stanza models.

The traditional instrumental formations include *quenas* or *pincullos*, *bombo criollo*, *charango* and guitar, although occasionally one of these instruments can be omitted or replaced by another. In the Santiago del Estero region, the interpretation frequently includes the indigenous harp or the violin. It is worth nothing that the expression *aire de bailecito* ('in the style of bailecito' or 'like a bailecito') is issued in sheet music and recordings of folkloric nature.

Twentieth-century composers and performers whose work has included *bailecitos* for piano or in chamber music arrangements include Gustavo Leguizamón, Waldo de los Ríos, Remo Pignoni, Uña Ramos, Melania Pérez, Dúo Salteño, Tomás Lipán and Bruno Arias.

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NANCY M. SÁNCHEZ (TRANSLATED BY CRISTINA FUERTES GOTH WITH PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ).

Balada

Balada is a cosmopolitan and transnational genre of pop music in Spanish. A hybrid of Mexican *bolero romántico,* Italian and French orchestrated love songs and early rock 'n' roll ballads, *balada* emerged simultaneously in Spain and throughout the Americas in the late 1960s. *Balada* is most often performed by a solo singer accompanied either by a rock ensemble or a studio orchestra. The tempo is slow to moderate, and the voice is foregrounded in the musical texture (Stigberg 1985). *Balada* lyrics are invariably about love and lack references to sociopolitical issues and local events.

Balada arose in the late 1960s as a modernized alternative to the by-then old-fashioned *bolero*. It was developed at around the same time in several countries: with Carlos Lico and Armando Manzanero in Mexico, with La Lupe in the United States, with Raphael and Julio Iglesias in Spain, with Roberto Carlos in Brazil, with Leonardo Favio and Sandro in Argentina, and with Los Ángeles Negros in Chile.

Mexican Armando Manzanero is a key transitional figure between *bolero* and *balada*. He began his career in the mid-1950s as composer and piano accompanist for major *bolero moderno* stars, such as Lucho Gatica and Marco Antonio Muñiz. His first solo album *A mi amor … con mi amor* (1967) included *boleros* he had composed for other artists as well as new songs, which were recorded with modernized orchestral arrangements. The arrangements, by Eduardo Magallanes, evidence the influence of early rock 'n' roll, as they incorporate the use of electric guitar, drum set and 12/8 meter. The impact of rock 'n' roll can also be found in Manzanero's lyrics. Addressing the newfound teenage audience, his songs tell stories of naive and happy – though still sexual – love, quite unlike classic *bolero*'s adult topics.

Raphael, one of the first *baladistas* and the first Spanish singer to target a teenage mass audience successfully, became an international sensation after his successful participation in the 1966 edition of the Eurovision Song Contest. In Pacini Hernández's words, Raphael's music 'emphasized sophisticated production and lush, densely textured arrangements, setting a new standard for romantic song' (1997, 102). Raphael's signature sound was developed in collaboration with Spanish composer, arranger and producer Manuel Alejandro. Madrid-based Alejandro is the most influential songwriter/producer of *balada*, having collaborated with the best Spanish and Latin American artists, such as Julio Iglesias, Rocío Jurado and José Luis Rodríguez. Through the mid-1980s Alejandro continued to score huge successes as composer, arranger and producer for Emmanuel's *Íntimamente* and José José's *Secretos*, both Mexican singers. The flux of musicians within Latin America and between Latin America and Spain helped to give *balada* an international quality, devoid of local markers (Stigberg 1985).

Following in the footsteps of Raphael, the international career of Spain's Julio Iglesias began after he won the Benidorm Song Festival in 1968 with the *balada* 'La vida sigue igual' (Life Remains the Same). Although often regarded as less gifted vocally than Raphael, Iglesias was to go on to become the best-selling Spanish singer of all time, and his performance style and aesthetics defined the standards for *baladistas* in the 1970s. He performed with an almost static posture, holding the microphone at eye level with one hand, with his head tilted upward and his eyes closed. Iglesias's elegant and sophisticated dress code – designer tuxedos and suits – made him distinct from contemporary rock stars.

The 1970s are often considered *balada*'s golden age. In Mexico, the first crop of romantic crooners with no background in *bolero* emerged, including José José and Juan Gabriel (Geirola 1993). Brazilian Roberto Carlos abandoned an early stint as a rock 'n' roller and adopted *balada* (Araújo 1988). Singing in Portuguese and Spanish, Carlos became one of the most successful *baladistas* of the decade (Araújo 1988; Ulhôa 2000).

The *balada* of the 1970s has a characteristic lush sound, resulting from sophisticated orchestral arrangements and studio wizardry. This much sought-after sound was developed by producer Rafael Trabucchelli – known as the Spanish Phil Spector – and arranger Waldo de los Ríos while working for the Spanish label Hispavox. Hispavox Studio was based on Torrelaguna Street in Madrid; thus, their sound was known as 'Torrelaguna Sound.' Two albums that exemplify the 'Torrelaguna Sound' are Spanish José Luis Perales' *Para vosotros canto* (Song for You, 1975) and Mexican Yuri's *Llena de dulzura* (Full of Sweetness, 1982). Other important producer/composers of the decade include Juan Carlos Calderón, Luis Gómez Escolar and Danilo Vaona.

As *boleristas* had utilized the new technology of radio 30 years earlier, so *baladistas* embraced television. Both then and later, *baladistas* were frequent guests on TV talk shows throughout Latin America. Moreover, *balada* has been the soundtrack to many Latin American *telenovelas* (soap operas) since the 1970s, and many *baladistas*, for example José Luis Rodríguez, Chayanne and Daniela Romo, have played roles in *telenovelas*.

The 1980s saw the largest number of female *baladistas* up to that point in history, including artists such as Spanish Paloma San Basilio, Massiel, Ángela Carrasco; Mexican Ana Gabriel, Lucía Méndez, Yuri, Lucero;

Argentine María Marta Serra Lima; and Cuban-American Gloria Estefan. *Balada* has allowed female singers to voice their position on issues of gender, sexuality, love and infidelity (Foster 2000). Male singers, however, have continued to dominate the genre. As Pacini Hernández suggests, 'male singers and points of view predominate; yet *baladas* suggest the more sensitive, emotional side of men, clearly appealing to women, *balada*'s most important consumers' (1997, 103; see also Tupinambá de Ulhôa 2000).

The most significant development in *balada* during the 1980s was the concentration of *balada* production in Miami, Florida, a development that affected every aspect of the genre, from sound to distribution to reception. The *balada* industry was one of many enterprises that chose Miami for their Latin-American headquarters. Along with the corporations' business offices, people engaged at every level of *balada* production also moved to Miami. Singers Julio Iglesias and Venezuelan José Luis Rodríguez were among the first to make Miami their home. Once in Miami, *balada* as a genre was absorbed by the rising Latin Pop category. The most noticeable change involved in the 'miamization' of *balada* is that Latin Pop albums are not limited to slow romantic ballads, but they also include up-tempo, dance-oriented tracks (Party 2008).

Since its emergence in the late 1960s, *balada* has enjoyed a mixed reputation. On the one hand, millions of fans have made it 'the most widely consumed and commercially successful music in Spanish America' (Pacini Hernández 1997, 103). On the other hand, *balada* has been harshly criticized by intellectuals and music historians for its mass-produced quality, uninspired lyrics and predictable music (see, for example, Acosta 1988; Évora 2001; González 2000; Monsiváis 1988, 1995). These criticisms most often present *balada* as a watered-down, commercialized and North-Americanized copy of *bolero*.

Balada has also been criticized for its alleged ties to authoritarian regimes during the 1970s and 1980s. Although cases of *baladistas* explicitly supporting Latin American dictatorships are rare, *balada*'s apolitical quality gave it easy access to radio and TV, taking over spaces left by music and musicians who were censored by the regimes. A paradigmatic example is the annual Chilean Viña del Mar song festival, one of the most visible outlets for Latin American and Spanish *baladistas* since the late 1960s. The festival reached its peak in the early 1980s as a result of the support provided by General Augusto Pinochet's regime –the roster of guest artists for the 1981 edition included Julio Iglesias, Camilo Sesto, Miguel Bosé and José Luis Rodríguez, all at career-high moments (Party 2009).

In the mid-1990s a revival movement of classic *balada* was begun, including *balada* radio shows, live and TV appearances by *baladistas*, and the release of CD compilations and cover albums by contemporary rock artists. The revival was spearheaded by the generation of Latin Americans born around 1970 that had grown up with *balada*. For the first time musicians of this generation began acknowledging publicly the influence of *balada* in their music. Because of *balada*'s negative reputation, outlined above, these artists' adoption of *balada* was a self-conscious transgressive act. Across Latin America tribute albums were recorded as homage either to one *baladista*, such as *Volcán: Tributo a José José* (1998) in Mexico, *Tributo a Sandro: Un disco de rock* (1999) in Argentina and *Rei*, a homage to Roberto Carlos in Brazil (1994); or to the genre as a whole, such as *AM*, a cover album by Chilean band Javiera y Los Imposibles. The revival can be interpreted as a generation's search for an alternative to the divisive, polarized political binaries of the 1970s that were still present in the 1990s through official memory (Pino-Ojeda 2004; Party 2009).

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DANIEL PARTY

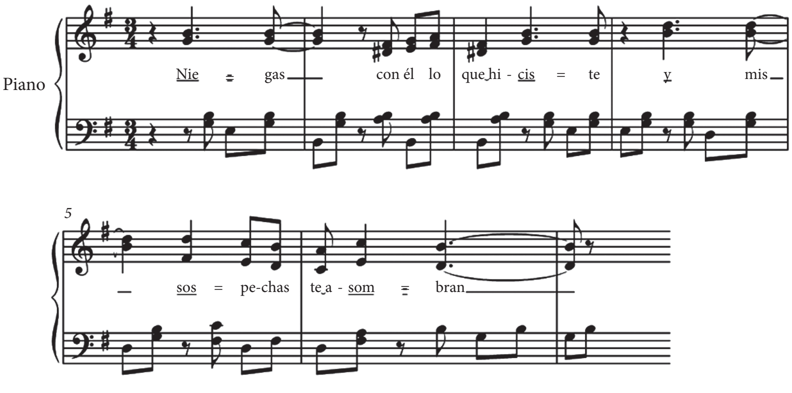
Bambuco

The *bambuco* is the most widespread traditional music genre of the Andean region of Colombia, the country's most populated region, where the largest urban centers, the political administration and the industrial hubs are all located. Although mainly regarded as an instrumental genre involving string duets or trios comprising guitar, *tiple* (a small twelve-string guitar with four-courses, which provides a percussive chordal accompaniment) and *bandola* (a fourteen or sixteen-string mandolin related to the Spanish *bandurria,* used as leading melodic instrument), *bambuco* can be performed by a large variety of vocal and instrumental formats. In rural contexts in the Cauca *departamento* (province), for example, *bambuco* continues to be performed in the early twenty-first century by small bands of winds and drums, while in urban centers it has developed into a popular song as well as an instrumental genre performed at upper- and middle-class music venues such as concert halls.

Historical data indicate that the most likely origins of *bambuco* lie around the late 1800s in the south-west of Colombia, in the culturally heterogeneous area of the nineteenth-century Greater Cauca province, where distinct indigenous groups persisted alongside an opulent slave-owner aristocracy. Such cultural and racial diversity explains *bambuco*'s endurance in the wind-and-drums repertoire of the Nasa or Paeces peoples, in the Afro-Colombian marimba ensembles (where it is known as 'currulao' or 'bambuco viejo') and in the mestizo European-influenced traditional string trio. The diffusion of *bambuco* throughout the Colombian Andes coincided with the movement of patriot troops during the wars of independence (1810–19), an indication of its inclusion in the repertoire of military bands. Probably it was that early connection with partisan politics that brought *bambuco* to the forefront in the construction of national identity during the second half of the nineteenth century. By the 1850s *bambuco* had already entered refined salons in Bogotá both as dance music and as a stylized piece for piano. A few years later the struggles around *bambuco*'s racial identity began, stirred up by the publication of *María* (1867), a Romantic national novel by Caucan aristocrat Jorge Isaacs, who described *bambuco* being performed by black slaves. The 'whitening' of *bambuco* was fundamental for its consecration as a national symbol, hence the significance given to its racial status in the literature about the genre produced up to the 1980s. Racial politics have continued to play a role in the conception of *bambuco* and *currulao* as two distinct and historically disconnected musical traditions. In spite of elitist debates on identity politics, after the late 1800s *bambuco* spread out as rural dance music through the Andes, reaching areas in Venezuela and Ecuador also.

Composer and accomplished *bandola* performer Pedro Morales Pino (1863–1926) was a key figure in gaining the acceptance of urban audiences for Andean traditional music genres, including *bambuco*, *pasillo* and *danza.* He was the first trained musician to try to convey *bambuco*'s intricate syncopation in staff notation; his choice of a 3/4 signature over one in 6/8 is still very controversial. In the 1890s Morales Pino conceived a chamber instrumental ensemble called *Lira* or *Estudiantina,* which combined modern European instruments such as violin, cello and flute with guitars, *tiples* and *bandolas*. His famous *bambuco*-song 'Cuatro preguntas' ('Four Questions,' 1914) became a paradigm for popular composers and songwriters as well. *Bambuco*'s national status was at the core of intense aesthetic debates between art-music and popular music composers in Bogotá and Medellín between the 1910s and 1930s. Although they did so uneasily, the former group admitted *bambuco* as a compositional source for national art music, but were hostile to any idea of recognizing artistic value in the work of the latter. In spite of this, popular composers and performers obtained some modest commercial success with *bambuco* song up to the mid-1930s, when the popularity of foreign genres such as tango-song and *bolero* curtailed any further expansion. Nevertheless, from the 1940s to the 1960s *bambuco*-song duets maintained their own niche in radio broadcasting and the recording industry. With the success of tropical dance genres from the Caribbean coast such as *cumbia* and *porro* in the 1950s, some Andean urban performers attempted to recover the rural usage of *bambuco* as dance music, labeling it as 'bambuco fiestero.' This exclusively instrumental and very fast type of *bambuco* in 3/4 time was very popular in the central *departamentos* of Tolima and Huila.

The syncopation found in *bambuco* has provoked many discussions among Andean musicians since the time of Morales Pino. Its rhythmic pattern features a *sesquialtera*, common in other Latin American rhythmic patterns, and usually notated either in 3/4 or 6/8. However, the uniqueness of *bambuco* lies in an apparent dislocation, or rather, a superposition of two metric accents: phrases and articulations in the melody (favoring the accents in the poetry in *bambuco*-song) rarely if ever coincide with accents in the bass and with the harmonic rhythm. Consequently, when transcribing *bambuco*, one has to choose what accent has to be represented as the first beat, a difficult task since the melodic flow constantly evades falling on strong beats. A good example of this ambiguity can be seen in the first phrase of Morales Pino's *bambuco*-song 'Cuatro preguntas,' in which the piano imitates the *tiple*'s strumming (see Example 1).


Piano
Nie = gas con él lo que hi - cis = te y mis
5
sos = pe-chas te a - som = bran

Example 1: The first phrase of 'Cuatro preguntas,' by Morales Pino

Even though problematic from the point of view of the transcriber, such ambiguity is a central part of the richness of *bambuco* in live performance; musicians learn to jump from one accentuation to the other in the middle of a piece, for example, emphasizing the 3 to indicate important steps for the dancers.

Although chamber *estudiantinas* ensembles have become rare, Morales Pino's instrumental tradition has been maintained by numerous performers mostly gathered in smaller groups such as trios and quartets. In spite of their technical and harmonic sophistication, most instrumental *bambuco* arrangements are not notated. Oral tradition is very strong among Andean performers, who regularly come together in festival circuits created to preserve the tradition; the Festival del Mono Núñez (Ginebra, Valle del Cauca) is the most important venue for Andean traditional music. Festivals are also very important markets for the distribution of (mostly) self-produced recordings.

Although the performance of *bambuco* has attained a certain level of standardization throughout the Colombian Andes due to recordings and festivals, local scholars have pointed out the need to study its regional varieties. Ironically, this would be a good way to question the nineteenth-century construction of *bambuco* as a unique, whitened symbol of a *mestizo* nation, a nation that nonetheless still maintains its great cultural diversity.

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CAROLINA SANTAMARÍA DELGADO

Banda (Mexico), *see* **Banda (Volume II, Performance and Production)**

Banda de Bronce

Music for *bandas de bronce* (brass bands) is found in many town squares throughout Latin America and the Caribbean, for example in Mexico, Cuba, Peru and Bolivia. Many of the bands are municipal bands, such as Mexico's Zapotec Banda Musical de la Ciudad Netzahualcoyotl and de Santa Caterina Albarradas, and other such groups notably around Oaxaca Mexico; or those found in each city in Cuba, such as La Banda Municipal de Santiago de Cuba. Most armed services and police forces maintain brass bands, which are usually all-male. At times up to 3,000 musicians of such orchestras have met up in Mexico alone, representing numerous community and language groups.

While many brass band players have learned to play their instruments during military service, in the twenty-first century music schools increasingly run by orchestras guarantee the ongoing tradition, and some public schools have brass band education. In Cuba most local musicians in a given region are brought together in Municipal Bands, playing a common and popular repertoire emblematic of the country and region, including national hymns and other such celebratory musics. In Mexico this will include *sones* and *jarabes*; in Peru *yaravis* and *huaynos*; in Cuba classic *son*, *danzón*, *habaneras*, *boleros*, *congas, trova, chachachá, mambo* and other popular styles. Some bands have reported an active repertoire of over 180 pieces. Performances frequently take place on Sunday afternoons in the central town squares, for the benefit of all, with all members of the band wearing uniform shirts: in Santiago de Cuba they all wear the 'guayabera' shirt (the shirt of the guava gatherers, with its sewed-in pleats and pockets and button-down front) popular throughout the Americas and Spain.

Bands include trumpets, clarinets, trombones, baritone, alto, soprano and tenor saxophones, cornets, tubas and usually some percussion instruments including *timbales*, *bombo* drums and metal castanets called *platillos* and more. While members of such bands are professional in their approach and skills, they are most often *aficionados* who are usually unpaid and work at other day jobs. They rehearse regularly and learn their repertoire from scores, which in procession in Peru are often pinned to the back of each player in line. They may pay their own membership fees and may receive hospitality and minor payments for certain performances. They may own their own instruments or the band itself may own the larger instruments. In Cuba members of such bands are salaried by the state and will work in other local ensembles, teaching and playing to all members of the community. Cuban town bands have included musicians who have later become famous, notably *trova* musician Compay Segundo (1907–2003) who played clarinet in a municipal band in Santiago early in his career in 1939. Most brass bands play for town fiestas, municipal and calendar events, for the annual Carnival, in churches on occasion, and in Mexico are often found playing in town squares at weekends. Members of such bands often form smaller groups, such as Cuba's Cuarteto de Saxofones de Santiago.

A more detailed account of the *bandas de bronce* in one particular country, Bolivia, is offered below, to demonstrate how the ensemble and its musical repertoire take on a character of their own, in response to a variety of historical, social and cultural factors within that country.

Banda de Bronce (Bolivia)

Bandas de bronce are the most prevalent type of musical ensembles featured in popular and religious festivities across Bolivia. The success of this type of ensemble has eclipsed the presence of traditional Andean instruments in the most important urban festivities since the mid-twentieth century. Brass bands are also inseparable from folk dance fraternities (*diablada*, *morenada*, *caporales*, *llamerada*, *tobas* and others) that perform during the 'entradas folklóricas,' dance processions that are part of popular festivities such as the Oruro Carnival, *Entrada del Gran Poder* ('Entrance of the Great Power') and the *Fiesta de la Virgen de Urkupiña.*

The origin of popular *bandas de bronce* is connected to the emergence of the Bolivian army and of military brass bands. During the Bolivian War of Independence (1810–25), the army became one of the main avenues for the improvement of one's social standing. Thus, the occupation of ensemble musicians in a war band enjoyed widespread social acceptance and recognition. In the War of Independence all battles were fought alongside brass bands, with drums and cornets playing a crucial role in the communication between the troops. Julio Sanjinés (1989) asserts that the first military band in Bolivia belonged to war commander José Miguel Lanza and was made up of 'twenty volunteer musicians from the provinces of Ayopaya, Inquivisi and Yungas who were given flutes and drums' (Sanjinés 1989, 30). This band, along with the Second Infantry Battalion, occupied the city of La Paz on 29 January 1825. Brass bands played an important role in keeping up the morale of the combatants during wartime. They also became sources of employment for children and youths living in poverty by allowing them to join a band at an early age as drummers and to become professional musicians as they entered adulthood.

While military bands were active during the first governments of the new Bolivian republic, by 1840 the quality of small military bands had decreased. President José Ballivián, a hero of the Ingavi Battle (1841), hired Italian composer Leopoldo Benedetto Vincenti to reform the military band system, which the composer labeled as 'calamitous.' Vincenti's vision was to found a military music school to 'benefit low-income families and contribute to their children's acquiring of an honorable profession' (Escuela Militar de Música del Ejército [online] 2012). Under these incentives, musician soldiers would soon enjoy social respect, and music by brass bands would become a sign of distinction among popular social classes in Bolivia. During the government of José María de Achá (1861–4), performances by military bands during Thursday, Sunday and Holiday retreats became official; this move cemented the popularity of military bands, which were an important component of the social and festive life in the main cities of Bolivia. Musical retreats featured works belonging to the national repertoire as well as works that were in fashion. Julio Sanjinés writes: 'retreats in those times were, in practicality, the only entertainment available in cities and villages, around which families gathered bringing food and drinks to share with the musicians, a custom that became expressly forbidden after the Pacific War' (Sanjinés 1989, 32). In cities such as Sucre retreats were maintained without alteration until the 1970s, which may explain why the sound of brass bands is so popular in this city. The history and tradition of brass bands in Bolivia lie behind the people's predilection for music by this type of ensemble.

The Academy of Military Music was founded in the altiplanic village of Viacha in 1889 under the presidency of Aniceto Arce (1888–92). During this time the state sought to professionalize the Bolivian army, which caused the training of military band musicians to become strictly regulated. In the following decades (1899–1920) liberal governments advocated military formation as a civilizing agent for natives and mestizos. Through mandatory military service, the state believed natives could be 'civilized' by way of military tutoring, which would provide them with patriotic values and the required discipline to become righteous men (see Quintana 1998, 33; Sanchez Patzy 2006). However, the implementation of mandatory military service in 1907 only strengthened social hierarchies between natives, mestizos and *criollos* (i.e., locals of pure Spanish ancestry). On the other hand, Bolivian authorities placed most army regiments in the altiplanic areas of Oruro and La Paz to crush indigenous revolts by the Aymaras in the late nineteenth century. The obligatory enlisting of indigenous peoples in the army allowed for many of them to receive musical training and to become proficient in military band instruments. As they returned to their villages and communities they brought with them a taste for brass instruments, which led some natives and Aymara and Quechua *cholos* to create their own popular brass bands. These bands, with more or less stable memberships, performed during local festivities and rituals and were hired by the 'pasantes,' people who would personally carry all the expenses related to a specific festivity. Band music became a profitable activity that complemented the Aymara mestizo's regular occupation as farmer or artisan.

In the Quechuan cultural arena, the teaching of military band brass instruments became centralized in the School of Music of Tarata (Cochabamba), which was founded in 1909. According to Walter Sánchez (2000, 141–3), starting in the twentieth-century brass bands performed popular music that was fashionable in retreats as well as 'music of the land,' or *criollo* music, in order to entertain the population while projecting a positive image of the army. The important presence of bands helped shape popular taste for the sound of brass, which was adapted to fit the aesthetics of mestizo music.

The first popular brass bands in Bolivia were formed by musicians returning from boot camp or from the Chaco War (1932–5) to accompany dancers during *fiestas patronales* (i.e., patron saint festivals) in altiplanic regions, Andean valleys and tropical plains of Bolivia. Slowly, these bands became institutionalized and their operations became stable and more organized. Brass bands replaced traditional wind ensembles such as *sikus*, *lichiguayus*, *mohoceños* and *tarkas* in the accompaniment of mestizo or indigenous dances such as the *cullaguada*, *morenada*, *waca waca* and *diablada*, among others. Many of these dances are so inextricably connected to brass bands that without them their identity would be lost. The predilection for brass bands over traditional wind ensembles in the performance of Andean dances resulted from the triumph of the tastes of the mestizo-*cholo* population over those of indigenous peoples.

It is possible that during the Virgin of Candelaria of Oruro festival (which was later merged with the Oruro Carnival) in 1900 the *diablos*, *mineritos* and other dances were accompanied by small brass bands. Similarly, army bands in the 1920s were influenced by traditional Andean music to the point that in 1928 the Banda de la Séptima Compañía del Regimiento Pérez 3 de Infantería, led by musician Adrián Patiño, recorded songs using an ensemble of *zampoñas* (pan flutes) for the Victor label. The flexible boundaries that existed between military music and traditional Bolivian repertoires allowed for both to shape the country's taste for the sound of brass bands performing music with an Andean flavor. During the Chaco War, brass bands carried out similar tasks as the bands in earlier wars: encouraging soldiers who were being deployed and collecting funds. According to band director Rigoberto Sainz Castro, writing in 1945, bands in combat 'contributed to the exaltation of a nationalistic sentiment, transporting warring men from Chaco to the limits of paroxysm from which heroic actions are born, the fruit of exacerbation, mysticism, a mix of supreme courage and supreme resignation' (Sainz Castro 2002, 13). The nascent spirit of nationalism found in military bands and in the sound of brass a tool with which to plant the seed of a national mystic in all Bolivians.

In the 1940s and 1950s *bandas de bronce* became consolidated among the indigenous and mestizo populations as complements to their religious and social festivities. This consolidation came hand in hand with the adaptation of the formal characteristics of war bands by popular Andean bands. The music performed by *bandas de bronce* is an amalgam of Western musical elements with a peculiar Andean sensibility. For instance and as a general rule, brass band musicians can read sheet music without difficulty. However, their interpretation cannot be reduced to the correct execution of the written notes; *cholo* musicians of Quechuan or Aymaran descent do not use perfect intonation in the attack of a note, but rather they approach attacks using varying levels of pitch precision. When trumpets, trombones, tubas and helicons play together, the effect is strident; this effect has been studied by ethnomusicologist Gérard Arnaud (2002, 481–95) in the specific case of traditional Andean wind instruments. Musicians in wind ensembles such as *sikus*, *pinkillos*, *tarkas*, *lecheguayos* and others, blow with diverse intonation, which generates an unpleasant dissonance if one listens to each instrument individually, or a brilliant and tense sound if one listens to the sound as a whole. A similar attitude could be present in the execution of brass instruments: notes need not have a perfect, well-tempered tuning in the attack of notes as Western ears require, because their strength lies in these small harmonic variations. On the other hand, *bandas de bronce* perform music for dancing during *entradas religiosas* for many blocks and sometimes even for days. Thus, melodies follow a question-and-answer binary model in which theme A is played by the trumpets, while theme B is the answer played by the trombones and tubas. This simple structure, which is similar to the antiphonal performance by *siku* Andean ensembles, has allowed musicians to play for hours while walking and even dancing along with folk dance fraternities. Their endurance and their dancing have turned brass bands into attractions in and of themselves.

The most important brass bands in Oruro and La Paz were created in the 1960s. Bands from Oruro were among the first to organize themselves as stable enterprises; bands from *Gran Poder* celebrations in La Paz soon followed. From Oruro, the Banda Pagador de Oruro, founded in 1964 by Gumercindo Licidio and Demetrio Choque, is the most important. Other important bands from Oruro (see Sánchez C. 2000, 143) are Real Imperial, Super Imperial, Poopó, Alianza, Ases Gitanos, 25 de julio, 10 de febrero (who participated in the inauguration of the 1994 FIFA World Cup), Collas Andinos, Ases Diamantes, among many others. In La Paz, bands are divided into two categories: heavy (corresponding to the more expensive dances *morenada* and *diablada*) and light (corresponding to dances which are less expensive or with simpler costumes such as *caporales*). Among the heavy bands are Super Rebeldes, a band that by 1995 had recorded nine LPs (see Martínez 1996, 10); Super Explosión; Intercontinental de Sonido Latino Marisma Mundial, which was very famous in the 1970s; Unión Magistral; and Los Intocables, who are characterized by their 1920s Chicago mobster attire. Among the light bands are Mayas Amantes del Folklore, Mirlos Nacientes del Folklore, Destellos, Gallardos, Raimis del Folklore and Caporales Centralistas de La Paz. There also exist many others in Santa Cruz, Cochabamba, Sucre and Potosí, although their styles are very different.

Attesting to their popularity, some of these bands acquire long-term contracts for religious festivities in Peru, Chile and Argentina, where devotees to a specific saint or holiday fight over the best bands from Oruro and La Paz. Lázaro Huampu, in his mid-1990s research on the festivities of La Tirana in Chile, writes:

> *Prestes* (i.e. festivity sponsors) are present and in a day of celebration the assisting bands are concentrated in a large field. The dance competition begins in tandem with the band competition, and all ensembles strive to perform their best. They also compete to hire the best Bolivian bands – Chileans prefer to pay up to double to be able to dance well with the bands that come from Bolivia to this place (Huampu, quoted in Martínez 1996, 10).

Bolivian *bandas de bronce* are also very successful in the south of Peru. Huampu asserts that one of the ensembles to be featured in the Tacna festival of 1995 is the band Real Imperial de Oruro, which was hired six months in advance. 'There the *prestes* are present and they prefer Bolivian bands because they play in a professional manner' (ibid.). Bolivian bands are exported for celebrations; with them, the characteristic sonority of Bolivian religious festivities arrives in other countries and is appropriated by tourism and with nationalist interest by the host country.

In large Bolivian *entradas folklóricas*, part of a dance fraternity's status is measured by the type of band that accompanies it, or by the number of bands. These may involve from 30 to more than 100 musicians, or 'operarios' (operators) as they are commonly known. This is the case of the Banda Pagador de Oruro, one of the most famous bands. When it was founded in 1964 it was made up of 20 musicians; by 2006 the band had 102 (*La Prensa*, 10 February 2005). Naturally, the larger the number of operators involved, the higher the cost (and splendor) of the band.

In 2012 it was still common to see recruits, army men and police spending their time playing in popular bands. In the Banda Pagador, there are at least 20 police members and military personnel who, according to Silvestre Martínez, a member of the Banda Pagador, 'ask for permission (from their superiors) because they like to participate in the Carnival' (*La Prensa*, 10 February 2005). Martínez, who plays the helicon, says: 'when I was young I also did that, but then I dedicated myself only to the band, because they increased the number of musicians and the commitments; we traveled to Peru, Chile, and Argentina' (ibid.). In the space of Bolivian festivities, the relationship between the military and civil spheres is fluid.

In summary, popular Bolivian *bandas de bronce* are another way in which the mestizo culture produces a visual and aural spectacle that is magnificent and startling, where people are shaken up by the bands as they parade through the streets on the day of the *Entrada*. Brass bands follow the aesthetic of excess wherein lies their great vitality: they cause music to penetrate the body, they make music and rhythm to awaken the body in a collective trance ritual that is both religious and sensual.

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MAURICIO SÁNCHEZ PATZY (BOLIVIA)
(TRANSLATED BY PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)
WITH JAN FAIRLEY (INTRODUCTION)

Banda de Pífanos

The *banda de pífanos* (fife and drum band) is a traditional instrumental ensemble that has historically occurred throughout the north-east of Brazil, providing music for both religious and secular occasions of the *caboclo* (mixed Indian and European) and mestizo populations, especially in the countryside and the small towns. It has its own repertoire, but will also interpret other appropriate music, both religious and secular.

The ensemble generally comprises two transverse cane fifes of the same size (*pífanos*, or *pifes* as abbreviated in local usage), *zabumba* (a type of double-headed bass drum) and a *tarol* (a type of snare drum). Other instruments are added, such as a *surdo* (a type of tenor drum) and a pair of *pratos* (clash cymbals); sometimes a triangle replaces the clash cymbals or is simply added to the ensemble. This ensemble may be known under several names: *zabumba* (bass drum band), *banda cabaçal* (gourd band), *terno* (trio), *terno de zabumba* or *terno de pífanos*, (bass drum or fife trio), *banda tabocal* (bamboo band), *banda de couro* (band of leather), *banda de negro* (black band), *esquenta-mulher* (warm-up woman band – jokingly used), *carapeba* (a type of fish), *quebra-resguardo* (break the 'post-pregnancy care period' band) and *mutilada* (mutilated, these last three being pejorative terms), among numerous other regional variations.

The sound of *bandas de pífanos* is characterized particularly by the acute tones of a pair of flutes playing in parallel and modally. Although this is considered by Brazilians from different regions of the country (including the band members themselves) to be an indication of traditional musicianship, regionalism, folklore, purity, primitiveness, naiveté and cultural wealth, among other positive notions, as well as a source of pride, all these concepts also have their derogatory counterpart, which is expressed (mainly by the urban population) through a widespread impression that the music performed by *bandas de pífanos* is systematically out of tune, and that their musical culture, when not a vestige of musical practices of the past, is only a parody of modern urban models. The derogatory terms used to describe the band usually refer to the technical skills of its performers, which are regarded as inferior to urban standards, each band sounding like it is following its own rules. They are seen to have subordinate status, by virtue of being small-scale rural workers, poor, mestizos, blacks or of indigenous descent.

Researchers propose three types of hypotheses about the emergence of the bands (and the fifes) in Brazil: an indigenous origin, because of the great importance and spread of the flutes in indigenous culture (Cajazeira 1998; Caneca 1993; Crook 1991); a Portuguese colonial import, mostly because of the strategies used to convert the indigenous population to Catholicism through music, as well as the organological similarity of the bands with Portuguese *bombo* groups and *zé-pereira* groups (Cascudo 1972; Crook 1991; Oliveira Pinto 1997); traces of African musical practices, be it by a similarity to instrumental ensembles from the São Tomé and Príncipe islands, by the presence of the bands in festivities and religious rituals of blacks in the north-east of Brazil, or by the participation of Afro-Brazilians as musicians in fife-and-drum bands or similar groups (Cajazeira 1998; Duarte 1974; Oliveira Pinto 1997). However, research analyzing acoustic frequencies emitted by the fifes (Pires 2005) shows that they originate from the European baroque transverse flute, which helps to strengthen the theory of Portuguese origin. The geographical spread of the bands varies with time, mainly because of intermittent population migration.

The musicians of the *bandas de pífanos* generally come from the lower working classes of the rural and urban inland north-east and tend to be mestizo. The musical culture developed by this population consists of two basic types: music provided for to adaptations of Roman Catholic rituals such as novenas, prayers, processions, feast days of saints and pilgrimages; and music for secular activities such as dancing. The religious musical genres are based on the music for the saints, which is devotional and accompanies canticles: hymns and praise songs. For the strictly instrumental religious music – that of the novena – the genres are *marcha*, *dobrado*, *agalopada*, *baiano* and *valsa* (waltz). The secular genres are those of the northeastern dance music *abaianada*, *baião*, *forró*, *arrasta-pé*, *xote*, *xaxado, frevo, chorinho, côco, samba, rancheira* (fast waltz), *martelo, galope, mazurca*, *polca*, *quadrilha*, *bolero*, Brazilian *tango*, *música romântica*, or any other popular genre or form distributed by means of mass communication that appeals to *pifeiros* (fife players), and which can be transformed into their own sound. They are played at events such as seasonal festivals of St John, in Carnival, in civic festivals, band concerts in public squares, stage presentations or private celebrations (baptisms, birthdays, weddings). A small number of fife bands play an indigenous repertoire, either mestizo (*caboclo* music – a generic term covering many types of pure or hybridized indigenous repertoires) or original compositions. There are also rare reports of bands participating in Umbanda rites (a syncretic Afro-Brazilian religion, see Oliveira Pinto 1997).

Most of the secular music provided by the *bandas* is of the f*orró* complex and repertoire adapted from mass media broadcasting. There is generally little difference in the way religious repertoires are performed compared to secular ones. Their sound tends to be stable in amplitude given that, in situations where the instruments are not amplified (as is generally the case when the bands appear on stages erected in public squares), the intention is to command as much attention as possible from passers-by, for example, when performing acoustically outdoors or participating in street processions. Because of this, the *pifeiros* favor the higher ranges of their instrument and blow as hard as possible (which explains their preference for the smaller, higher-pitched instruments – the three-quarter and half-size versions – requiring less effort to achieve the desired effect). On the other hand, rhythms tend to differ between the two repertoires, with the religious tending toward slower, simpler rhythms coinciding with the marching of the feet, and the secular favoring faster, more syncopated rhythms appropriate for dancing.

Teaching and learning methods and the fabrication of instruments are usually done by observation, imitation, experimentation, self-education and oral transmission (family, between neighbors or friends) in a nonformal way. The degree of technical mastery of musical knowledge is entirely dependent upon the interest and insight of the musician to learn or uncover the hidden features of the instruments or the extension (and invention) of repertoires.

Instruments may be hand crafted, but the construction of percussion in particular is becoming industrialized. All fifes are handmade by the *pifeiros* or ordered from others. Currently there are four types of flutes: *regra* or *régua inteira* (standard full-sized), *três-quartos de regra* (three-quarter size, primarily used today), *meia regra* (half size) and *aproveito* (the smallest size, literally meaning 'taken advantage,' named after the way that the *pifeiro* takes advantage of scrap material to craft a smaller instrument). They are used in pairs of equal size according to the timbre preference of the *pifeiros*, the expertise of each *pifeiro* and the repertoire (Pires 2005). These flutes are traditionally fashioned out of various types of gramineous plants (bamboo), PVC (polyvinyl chloride) or metal pipes. The flutes making up each pair are not tuned to exactly the same frequency.

Each type of transverse flute has its own tuning system due to anthropometric and nonindustrial methods of construction. Acoustic measurements of the frequencies emitted by fifes show that the basic scale system is true to the system of equal temperament, with subtle variations. The northeastern scale (the major mode with a raised fourth degree and a lowered seventh) has no direct relationship with the fifes' own frequencies, but is derived from an unconventional use of modes and is a nationalistic ideological Brazilian construction (Pires 2005). The 'dissonant' sound of the fifes is caused by these 'interval accents' from the variant of the well-tempered system that is recurrent in the musical culture of *pifeiros*. This goes to show that the city dweller's stubbornly held view that the *bandas* are out of tune is due not so much to an actual technical deficiency on the part of the musicians, but rather to the fact that their tuning system is alien to the musical system pervasive in the urban environment.

Although *bandas de pífanos* are present throughout the Brazilian North-east, especially in the interior, their importance to, and influence on, other musical genres has not been sufficiently studied. Those who have looked into the subject generally agree (see, for example, Guerra-Peixe 1970) that *bandas de pífanos* were modeled on military bands, virtually omnipresent in every northeastern city at least by the nineteenth century. *Pifeiro* Egildo Vieira (Pires 2005) opined that *bandas de pífanos* view themselves as playing the same musical role as military bands on the bandstands of small centers: that of being the local orchestra. This spread through rural contexts and peripheral urban areas where the people have limited financial means. For the urban population, the sound of these bands is one of the elements that make up the northeastern musical soundscape (Oliveira Pinto 1997), especially the music of the backcountry, which is where folkloric culture from this part of Brazil originated. This soundscape, especially the sound of the fifes, has been imitated music of a diverse array of artists and aesthetic trends, from the influence of Mário de Andrade up to the present times, in order to evoke feelings of nationalism and ancestry. This influence was manifested in the recorded works of various urban artists of both regional and national stature (such as Mestre Ambrósio from Movimento Mangue, Carlos Malta [contemporary instrumental music], César Guerra-Peixe, Cussy de Almeida, Clóvis Pereira from Movimento Armorial), in literal or adapted form, using direct or indirect means, and exploring modal melodies or timbre, for example, in classical, semiclassical (as part of the Movimento Armorial, a cultural movement that aimed to create high art based on vernacular culture) and popular (MPB, *Tropicália*, regionalism, *mangue*, post-*mangue*) genres. The use of folkloric elements in the creation of a national classical music has always been a touchstone for nationalist aesthetic movements in Brazil, from late Romanticism up until the post-*mangue* period of the present day, with greater or lesser degrees of emphasis, conscious or otherwise. In this way, the influence of the *bandas de pifanos* on other music has most frequently been to quote or evoke a particular type of Brazilianness, However, with the exception of the work of Rio de Janeiro musician Carlos Malta, the founder of Pife Muderno, an instrumental group that features this type of flute as lead instrument, inserting passages and developing the musicality of the instrument in a nontraditional manner, the bands themselves, and the artists closely derived from them, continue to restrict themselves to traditional musical practices – sticking with small contracts, remaining within the ambit of small local radio stations, independent recordings, the support of individuals and government and the urban populace's view of them as a kind of folkloric curiosity or as musically obsolete. This situation is only partially overcome by the virtuosity of the *pifeiros* of a very small number of groups, for example the Banda de Pífanos Dois Irmãos, based in the city of Caruaru and led by João do Pife, which tours frequently throughout the country and has performed in more than 22 countries.

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Cussy de Almeida: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A3--0DqtCrI&feature=related.

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Mestre Ambrósio: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gc0EWl8cN7w&feature=related. Mulambo Instrumental Group: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Tj3r9n-WYzQ.

Pé de Mulambo e Júnior Caboclo: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7G48CyXVFPE.

HUGO PORDEUS
(TRANSLATED BY DARA MURPHY)

Bele

Bele is a widespread term in the Creole-speaking Caribbean, and refers to a number of folk or traditional dances and their associated music found from Trinidad to Grenada, Carriacou, St Lucia, Martinique, Dominica and St Thomas (Gerstin 2010). The dances may be accompanied by a variety of instruments, often drums, sticks played on bamboo or the side of drums, shakers, triangle, scrapers and call-and-response singing. As folk styles, these dances have had little direct impact on popular music – less than has been reported in much of the literature – but are of great historical and artistic interest in themselves.

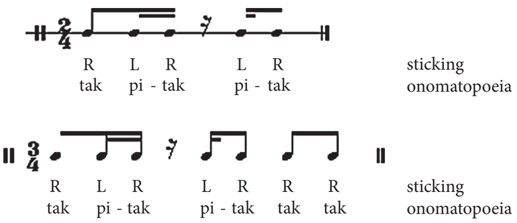
The name *bele* appears in numerous variant spellings: *bèlè*, *bélé*, *bélè* and the French *belair* ('pretty tune'). Most *bele* styles seem to have crystallized during the height of the slave era; there are few references to the name before the late 1700s or early 1800s. The various dances share several characteristics. They are secular, and are largely sung in Creole. Dancing involves flirtatious display by a succession of couples in the center of a dance circle, or competition between dancers and drummers, who must match the dancers' steps. In several places, such as Trinidad and northeastern Martinique, *bele* has syncretized with contradance and quadrille, which were introduced to the Caribbean beginning in the early 1700s. In St Lucia and Dominica, by contrast, *bele* and quadrille are separate genres; Dominicans consider them 'African' and 'European' respectively (Guilbault and Embert 2007; Wason 2010).

Musically, many *bele* dances are accompanied by large-bellied goatskin drums (fatter and shorter than the congas that are widely used across the Caribbean and elsewhere), plus sticks beating a timeline on the drum's side or on a piece of bamboo. In some styles drummers may lay the drum on its side, sit on it and use their heel to change the pitch, a technique likely of Kongo or Angolan origin. On most islands, women's costume for *bele* is the French colonial-era outfit of long skirts and petticoats, a madras plaid waistcloth, lace-trimmed blouse and madras headscarf. Men's costume often includes the madras worn as a belt, plus a high-crowned straw hat. All of these details suggest that *bele* represents a creolization one step removed from more directly African-derived New World dances.

The *bele* continuum overlaps with other widespread colonial Caribbean dances, notably *djouba* and *bamboula*. For example, Trinidadian *bele* is also known as *juba* (Herskovits and Herskovits 1964, 159), and *bélé juba* is one of several *bele* dances in Dominica (Guilbault 1998, 841). In Haiti, the *djouba* ensemble is also known as *tanbou matinik* (Martinican drum), and features a large-bellied goatskin drum turned on its side and heeled; this ensemble plays for contradances, as in Martinique. On Guadeloupe, a similar type of drum and drumming, known as *gwoka*, was formerly known as *bamboula*. Puerto Rican *bomba* also features this drum type, as well as a timeline played by sticks and competitive display dancing; one *bomba* variation is known as *belén*. Such overlapping is indicative of the historical and cultural connections between Creole-speaking islands, and the importance of French colonial influence throughout the region.

The many dances named *bele* vary from place to place, but it is worthwhile looking at one of these in more detail. In northeastern Martinique, *bele* adopted quadrille choreography during the first half of the 1800s. Several related substyles exist today: *bèlè*, *bidjin bèlè*, *bèlia*, *gran bèlè*, *bèlè pitché*, plus a few others in certain towns or among certain families. Each substyle has its own songs, drum rhythms and dance steps, but they share a general choreography. Four couples enter the dance space in a counterclockwise circle, then split into two squares (*kwadril*, quadrilles). The dancers in the first quadrille go through a sequence of dancing together and changing places; then the second quadrille dances. Next, each couple in turn shows off its best moves, dancing toward one another and then toward the drum. At the end, the dancers return to their counterclockwise circle. The African circles enclosing the European quadrille make this version of *bele* a wonderful symbol of creolization.

The *tibwa* stick patterns are considered the basic rhythm of the dance. The two most frequent *tibwa* patterns are shown in Example 1:



Example 1

The binary (2/4) pattern is quite widespread in Africa and the African diaspora, and is often called *cinquillo* in the Spanish-speaking Caribbean.

Bele songs may be about relationships between the sexes, gossip or political and social events. Some songs persist for generations, while others are topical and more short-lived. *Bele* songs are in call-and-response form. While anyone may join the chorus, 'good' lead singing requires a large repertoire and the ability to improvise lyrics in Creole, adjusting songs to current events or to the performance itself as it unfolds. For instance, at an early 1990s event where the elderly drummer Féfé Maholany, who had not performed for several years, played one song, singer Siméline Rangon altered the chorus of the song 'Bélia manmay-la' ('Bélia of the People') to 'Bélia temps Féfé' (Bélia in Féfé's Time'). The chorus immediately picked up the new response, and Rangon improvised lines honoring Maholany: 'Temps Fèfè man kontan wé-ou/Temps Fèfè ou sa majô/Pou nou bat tanbou-a/Pou mwen dansé bèlè' (In Fèfè's time, I'm happy to see you/In Fèfè's time, you're a great one/ Play the drum for us/So I can dance bèlè).

Bele in Martinique remained a rural style well into the twentieth century, kept alive mainly by a network of subsistence-farming families. After World War II rural agriculture went into steep decline, and many people departed for the capital of Fort-de-France and for metropolitan France, threatening *bele*'s continuance, since the dance was rarely performed in urban settings. In the early 1980s a younger generation began to take pride in and revitalize its own 'heritage.' At the beginning of the twenty-first century, a number of grassroots non-profit organizations such as the Association Mi Mes Manmay Matinik, run by *bele* aficionados in Fort-de-France and smaller towns, strive to teach, document and promote *bele* and other local arts. At a contemporary *swaré bèlè* (evening of *bele*), you may find up to 200 people gathered to enjoy the skills of the performers. Dancing, percussion and lead singing are specialized skills, and only those with the requisite knowledge will join in. Singing the chorus, on the other hand, is open to anyone who wants to participate.

Returning to Martinique, some authors have claimed that *bele* is the origin of the popular dance *biguine*, but this connection needs to be clarified. The binary *tibwa* pattern is common to both *bele* and *biguine*, but *bele* and *biguine* share only one dance step, and the signature drum patterns of *bele* do not appear in *biguine*. If there is a connection, it is in the secular context of songs. French colonials used '*belair*' (presumably the origin of the Creole term '*bele*') to refer to folk and popular melodies and lyrics, that is, songs of the black and Creole poor, both rural and urban. In Martinique rural and urban life have long interconnected, and influences have flowed in both directions: *bele* songs became *biguines*, and urban *biguines* became *beles*. So it is too simple to say that one was the source for the other.

A similar misconception arises in connection with the late twentieth-century dance style *zouk*. Many popular journalists have mentioned *bele* as a source of *zouk*, but this claim is a romanticization, seeking out local roots that the evidence does not justify. In the present author's view not one of the thousands upon thousands of *zouk* recordings in existence uses a *bele* drum, nor even the rhythms of *bele* drumming adapted to other instruments. If a *zouk* song includes a local hand drum, it is invariably the *gwoka* drum of Guadeloupe. The *tibwa* timeline appears in *zouk*, but it came there from *biguine*, not *bele*. Moreover, many *zouk* songs do not use *tibwa*; they use the 3-3-2 timeline known in Spanish as *tresillo*.

Before *zouk* emerged in the 1980s, a few Martinican musicians did adapt *bele* into popular music. The 1960s–1970s singer Francisco added a *bele* drum and Cuban-style *son* accompaniment to his *biguine*-based melodies. His sound was considered revolutionary simply because it included the drum, at that time held in low status. In the 1970s and 1980s singer/flautist Eugene Mona expanded his early repertoire of rural *biguines* into music that included a *bele* drum as well as other local percussion, incorporated genres such as blues, reggae and rock, and featured outspoken lyrics about politics, race and spirituality. Many Martinicans found Mona's music profound, yet neither he nor Francisco had much direct impact on the larger commercial phenomena of *zouk* or today's ragga. The only group today adapting *bele* music to a modern setting is the band Bèlènou, whose leftist political songs have a small but devoted following. One compilation CD, *Bèlè Boum Bap (*2005), combined *bele* singers and samples with rapping in a ragga/hip-hop setting. CDs such as *Les Maîtres du Bèlè, Vol. 1 & 2* reach a small audience interested in folkloric music and are only available locally.

Daniels' contributions (2009, 2010), while not focused specifically on *bele*, provide an excellent perspective on the panorama of Caribbean contradance-related styles, with their intricate overlapping histories. Authoritative discussions of Martinican *bele* in English include work by Cyrille (2002, 2007, 2009) and Gerstin (2000, 2001). Gerstin 1998 provides music and dance analysis. Liner notes to *Les Frères Rastocle* and the two volumes of *Les Maîtres du Bèlè*, while lacking contextualization, provide lyrics in Creole with French translations. For other islands, see Guilbault (1998) and Guilbault and Charles (2007) regarding Dominica and St Lucia, and Herskovits and Herskovits (1964 [1947]) on Trinidad. In addition, liner notes to Alan Lomax's recordings in the *Caribbean Voyage* series and Jocelyne Guilbault's notes to *Musical Traditions of St Lucia, West Indies* (1993) provide a wealth of information.

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Bigi Poku

Bigi poku (spelled *bigi pokoe* in Dutch) is a secular Surinamese music developed by the Creoles, the descendants of African slaves, who live primarily along the country's more populous northern coastline. The genre was developed in the 1930s by instrumentalists who played in military and police bands and would congregate after hours to experiment with new styles. It is also enjoyed and performed by many Maroons, the descendants of African slaves who escaped into the rainforest interior. Besides Suriname, *bigi poku* can be found in neighboring French Guyana, as well as among the Creole and Maroon populations abroad, most notably the Netherlands. Lyrics are most commonly sung in Sranan, Suriname's lingua franca or one of the other regional dialects. English, Dutch and French are used less often.

Early musical influences on the formation of *bigi poku* included local styles *winti* and *kawina*, with New Orleans-style brass band music also playing a key role in the genre's development. Besides the brass instruments, *bigi poku* bands of the 1930s typically consisted of a lead vocalist, backup vocalists (*koor*), guitar or *cuatro*, snare drum and a percussion instrument developed in conjunction with *bigi poku* called *skratjie* (also known as *skrantjie*). The *skratjie* is a bass drum with a hand cymbal attached to the top of the drum frame. It is played with a padded mallet and a small hand cymbal. Together with the snare drum, the *skratjie* sets up a driving syncopated rhythm that propels the song forward.

While most Afro-Surinamers agree about the genre's origins and early instrumentation, there are varying opinions about the characteristics of its modern form. In early twenty-first-century Suriname, the term *bigi poku* is used to classify a wide range of music, some of which retains the brass-based sound of earlier groups, while others are more directly influenced by contemporary musical styles including pop ballads and *kaseko*.

The older brass-based sound is primarily performed live, most often for celebrations such as landmark birthdays and anniversaries. Often, the music will be interspersed with short speeches, in which event participants impart a *bosikopu* – a message or bit of advice appropriate to the occasion at hand. The music is usually played by an ad hoc group of experienced players assembled for a particular event, rather than by a group with a relatively consistent membership. For the most part, the core repertoire of this style of *bigi poku* remains fairly stable, consisting of well-known songs that have been passed down from the genre's earliest decades. This music is associated with older generations (people upward of 40 years). Recordings are rare, and seldom aired on Surinamese television or radio.

Alternatively, the name *bigi poku* has been applied to contemporary popular music styles with influences ranging from *kaseko* to pop ballads. Brass instruments may be included in these bands; however, they do not characterize the overall sound as in 1930s *bigi poku*. Many bands use brass effects on a keyboard rather than actual brass instruments. The *skratjie* drum remains, a mainstay of both *bigi poku* and *kaseko* music. In fact, *kaseko* and this version of *bigi poku* share so many characteristics that many people use the two names interchangeably. Others claim that *bigi poku* has a slower tempo than does *kaseko*, and although the former maintains a danceable groove, it is not as closely associated with dance as the latter – *bigi poku* is also well suited for quiet enjoyment and appreciation of the lyrics.

As with the *kaseko* and pop music that influences these bands, it is the lead singers in this style of *bigi poku* who tend to attract the most attention. Contemporary concerts and recordings will often advertise the singer with little to no mention of the band with which they perform. One example of this trend is the 2008 compilation CD *Pump It* and the subsequent concert tour, in which the lead vocalists – Damaru, Timothy, Chano, Brio and Koloni – were the only musicians to receive recognition in print. Indeed, with the help of a knowledgeable sound engineer, a recording can be made without any live instrumentalists at all. Musicians are constantly creating new songs, drawing their subject matter from situations in everyday life and romantic relationships.

The two interpretations of *bigi poku* vary in the ways in which they reach their audience. Whereas the brass-based music is predominantly heard live, the latter is widely recorded within the country and disseminated through radio and television broadcasts, to be consumed by a younger audience. In live performance, the latter might be performed alongside such locally popular styles as reggae, *kaseko* or *aleke*.

Sabakoe is a successful Netherlands-based *bigi poku* band that features a considerable brass section; popular singers in the more electronified contemporary style include Damaru, Prince Koloni, Timothy, Chano and Brio. The latter perform with *kaseko* bands Aptijd (Timothy) and Ghabiang Boys (Chano and Brio).

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CORINNA CAMPBELL

Biguine

The *biguine* is the most renowned dance music of French Guiana, Guadeloupe and Martinique, three overseas departments of France located in the Caribbean. In this region, the term 'biguine' denotes an urban song of social comment and dance music in 2/4, performed primarily at popular festivals and cultural events.

In Martinique, *biguine* is additionally a rhythmic sequence played on the *tibwa* or the drumset. (The term '*tibwa*' refers to a pair of sticks and is also the name of the rhythmic ostinato that sets the tempo in all the musical genres of Martinique. In the *bele* traditions of northern Martinique, the *tibwa* is played on the side of the *bele* drum. In the rest of the island, however, the *tibwa* is struck against a bamboo branch.) Southeastern Martinicans also call 'biguine' a European-derived dance music to which they perform *haute-taille*, a set dance introduced by French planters in the late eighteenth century. Rural counterparts to the *biguines* are the *bidjin bele* of northern Martinique, the *toumblak* (a.k.a. *boulawon*), a *gwoka* rhythm from Guadeloupe and the *débòt* in French Guiana. *Débòt* is also found in St Lucia, an island nation that neighbors Martinique. All these rural drummed genres are characterized by the same rhythmic ostinato as the urban *biguines*. Other dance music based on comparable rhythmic ostinati exists throughout the Caribbean: the Puerto Rican *plena* and the *danzon* from Cuba are but two examples.

The Development of the *Biguine*

The origins of the *biguine* and the exact moment of its emergence remain uncertain. Oral history recorded in Martinique by members of the *Association Mi Mès Manmay Matnik*, an association for the preservation and transmission of Martinique music and dance traditions, links the genre to old-time African-derived *calendas*. (In Martinique, there are three types of drummed dances called 'calenda.' Members of the *Association Mi Mès Manmay Matnik* propose that the *biguine* may be a variation of yet another *calenda* that is no longer practiced.) In Guadeloupe, on the other hand, an article written by ethnomusicologist Marie-Céline Lafontaine on the local music repertoires mentions *sobo* as the local African-derived antecedent to the *biguine* (Lafontaine 1983, 2155; see also Lafontaine 1986). (*Sobo* is an African-derived drummed dance that used to be part of the Guadeloupean *gwoka* suite.) However, in her study of the European-derived repertoires of Martinique, Dominique Cyrille has also suggested a connection with turn-of-the-nineteenth-century French *contredanse* (Cyrille 1988). All these possibilities appear equally plausible, and further research is needed to elucidate the early developments of the *biguine*.

The genre seems to have emerged in urban areas of the French Caribbean in the mid-nineteenth century, when thousands of newly freed blacks left the plantations to look for employment in the cities. It was then associated with the drum dances and public celebrations that marked the abolition of slavery in 1848. The name 'biguine' appeared in an account of life in St-Pierre (the former capital of colonial Martinique) between 1870 and 1902, authored by the Martinican writer Virgile 'Salavina' Savane (Salavina 1986) to designate both a popular dance style and a type of satirical song frequently heard in St-Pierre. The eruption of Mount Pele, which completely destroyed St-Pierre in 1902, brought the golden era of the Martinican *biguine* to an abrupt end.

Up to the 1950s, however, *biguines* remained part of daily life in the French Caribbean. They were often sung in the streets and in marketplaces to spread both serious news and gossip. Because many French-Caribbean musicians then traveled between the Caribbean and Paris, the music trends that were developing in the French capital at the same time also made an impact on the evolution of the *biguine*. After World War I, indeed, many middle-class blacks left the Caribbean to pursue their college education in Paris. Some of these French Caribbeans played music as a side activity while others were full-time musicians. A number of musicians settled in Paris where they performed in cabarets and dance halls, while others preferred to stay in the Caribbean and traveled to Paris only when they had to represent the islands at the 1931 Exposition Coloniale or at the 1937 Exposition Internationale, for example. However, no matter how long they stayed in Paris, they all seized the opportunity to play music with performers from the United States and other Caribbean islands.

Documents published by Louis Garaud (1895) and by Salavina (1986) reveal that *biguines* were commonly performed with small ensembles of three to five musical instruments. In St-Pierre of the late nineteenth century, popular balls were at times led by a trombone and clarinet accompanied by a large military drum. At other times, a violin or an accordion superimposed their lively melody to a polyrhythmic accompaniment of triangle, tambourine and *chacha*. (The *chacha* or shak-shak is a shaker made out of a metallic tube closed at both ends and filled with grains or small nails. The *chacha* plays rhythmic ostinati throughout the traditional *biguines* and *mazouks*.) There was no limitation, on the other hand, to the number of instruments that constituted the street bands performing biguine during the Carnival parades.

In the 1920s, the Martinican-born clarinetist Fructueux Alexandre, 'Stellio' (1885–1939) introduced traditional *biguines* of the St-Pierre style to Parisian audiences. Also a member of the Parisian jazz scene, Stellio was familiar with the jazz style that the French liked. He thus replaced the tambourine with a drumset and gave the clarinet a leading role in his orchestrations of instrumental *biguines*. Until then, the clarinet had been primarily an accompanying instrument. Nevertheless, Stellio perpetuated the traditional use of melodic instruments such as the guitar, banjo, piano and violin as contributors to the overall rhythm of the *biguine*. Each played its own highly rhythmic countermelody, some of them in *détaché* style, to accompany the melody played by the clarinet. On the other hand, in Stellio's sung *biguines*, the role of the clarinet was often limited to playing only an introductory segment called 'ritournelle,' and to short melodic transitions in between the sung verses. For about two decades, Stellio's band and orchestrations remained a model followed by most bands playing the *biguine*.

The *biguine* entered the next phase of its development in the late 1950s. Cuban music had been dominating the French-Caribbean soundscape for some time when Frantz 'Francisco' Charles-Denis, a Martinican pianist and composer, proposed innovations that put the *biguine* back into the repertoire of fashionable dances. Francisco replaced the superimposed countermelodies that were Stellio's trademark with rumba-like accompaniments played on the piano. He also added the Cuban *conga* drum and the Martinican *bele* drum to the traditional *biguine* band and relegated the banjo and violin to providing occasional backup. Meanwhile, in Paris, Guadeloupean trombonist Al Lirvat (b. 1916) was enjoying a certain success with the *biguine wabap*, a new variant he had created. As Lirvat explained in a television documentary broadcast by RFO (Réseau France Outre-mer – French Overseas Network), the national French television network in Guadeloupe in 2004, the term '*wabap*' is an onomatopoiea meant to evoke a rhythmic break that Josephine Baker had introduced in her choreography of the *biguine*. Indeed, as perhaps an influence from the Cuban dance music of which Parisians were found in the 1950s, a break occurs every four bars in the refrain section of *biguine wabaps*. *Biguine* musicians nonetheless view *biguine wabap* as resulting from the influence of bebop. This is because Al Lirvat found inspiration for the *biguine wabap* after he heard Dizzie Gillespie in a Parisian concert hall in the late 1940s. In addition to the breaks that are reminiscent of the rhythm of a Cuban *conga* dance, *biguine wabap* is characterized by bebop-like rhythms uttered on the drumset in the central section of the piece. The rhythmic hybridity of *biguine wabap*, however, failed to seduce audiences in the French-Caribbean islands.

International Impact of the *Biguine*

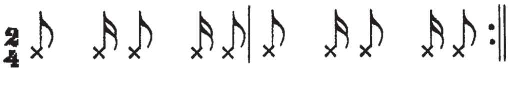
The 1930s witnessed the golden era of the Parisian *biguine*. The arrival of musicians from the French Caribbean coincided with the introduction of jazz to Paris. Soon afterward, Cuban sounds also appeared in Parisian nightclubs. From the late 1920s until the early 1960s, Parisians craved exotic sounds so much that fashionable nightclubs often hired two bands each night: one a US band, the other from the Caribbean. During this time, French-Antillean musicians were in high demand. They played jazz in US bands, Latin music with Cubans, and their own *biguines* in bands made up of French-Antillean artists. This is how, for example, Guadeloupean *biguine* composer Félix Valvert became famous as a Cuban *rumba* musician and Robert Mavounzy came to play the saxophone with Bill Coleman in Paris. Adding to this, *biguine* musicians played an important role in the nascent French music industry. From Stellio and Honoré Coppett, who made several recordings with the Odeon label, to Sam Castendet, who signed with Columbia and Eugène Delouche, who recorded at Pathé in the late 1920s and 1930s, the *biguine* was so fashionable that all the recording studios wanted to secure contracts with French-Antillean musicians. Furthermore, given their versatility, which allowed them to perform their own music as well as jazz and Cuban genres, Martinican and Guadeloupean *biguine* musicians were featured in the large majority of jazz and Cuban music recordings that were made in Paris during the first half of the twentieth century.

However, despite the strong impact of the *biguine* in Paris during the first half of the twentieth century, very few musicians outside the French-Antillean sphere composed and recorded *biguines*. While many songs from the mid-twentieth century in France and the United States were entitled 'beguine,' none fits the description of a *biguine* except for 'Biguine à bongo,' recorded by French singer Charles Trenet in 1938. For example, 'Beguine Erotic,' recorded by Sven Gyldmark in 1969, J. Bock's 'Boston Beguine,' Joe Loco's 'Grenada Beguine' and Cole Porter's 'Begin the Beguine' were all slow-tempo love songs, most of them in the style of Cuban boleros. At this time, 'biguine' seemed to be a generic term to signify Caribbean music propitious for a romantic or amorous mood. Yet, many of the musicians who composed such 'beguines' had worked with French-Antillean biguine composers. Another exception is provided by a suite for two pianos entitled *Le bal martiniquais*, composed by Darius Milhaud in 1943. In this suite, in addition to the melodic lines that were borrowed from traditional songs of Martinique, the second piece of the suite, entitled 'Biguine,' is a stylized version of a popular Martinican *biguine*.

The emergence of *zouk* in the 1980s marked another step in the history of the *biguine*. *Zouk*, which immediately received full support from the music industry, conquered audiences worldwide and precipitated the disappearance of the *biguine* from the dance repertoire. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, learned French-Caribbean musicians such as Alain Jean-Marie and Mario Canonge were composing new *biguines* that were not destined for the dance floor but for the concert hall. Their compositions generally adopt the structure of what Martinicans call 'classic' *biguine*, and are not sung.

Stylistic Features

Classic *biguines* in Stellio's time often began in a manner somewhat similar to that of the rural *bele* and *sobo* dances to which they have been linked. The band joined in after a soloist had introduced the piece with a short phrase called '*ritournelle*,' sometimes based on the characteristic rhythm of the biguine. These *ritournelles* usually began on the downbeat and sometimes borrowed their melodic lines from the refrain. Modern *ritournelles* generally incorporate the rhythm of the *biguine* (see Example 1).



Example 1: Characteristic *tibwa biguine* (a rhythmic ostinato common to all biguines)

Biguines are generally made up of two sections, A and B, which are repeated. Section A and section B are sometimes contrasting. They consist of segments that last approximately 4–8 bars. These sections correspond to the refrain and couplet of the sung *biguines*. In sung *biguines*, however, stanzas can last up to 12 bars to accommodate the text. In addition, purely instrumental *biguines* in Stellio's style frequently alternate leading instruments. Stellio's 'Paris Biguine' or 'En sens unique, s'il vous plaît,' for example, follow this pattern closely.

The short melodic transition that was previously played before the return of sections A and B in Stellio's time has since become a fully developed central section which musicians often take as an opportunity to improvise new variations of the main themes. A short conclusion sometimes ends the *biguine*, but most pieces end with the last occurrence of section B. 'Sérénade,' a *biguine* composed and recorded by Alain Jean-Marie in the 1990s, illustrates the recent evolution of the genre.

Biguine Lyrics

Biguines are part of the long tradition of songs of social comment that were brought to the Caribbean by enslaved Africans although, at the turn of the twenty-first century, many *biguine* composers created purely instrumental pieces. The topics that they cover range from lovers' disputes, as in 'Jilo fout ou jalou,' recorded by Orphélien, to community events, as Stellio demonstrates in 'En sens unique, s'il vous plaît' and national politics, as in, for example, 'Voici les loups' by Djo Dézormo. While some *biguine* lyrics carry beautiful love poems, such as Al Lirvat's 'Doudou pa pléré,' most are satirical lampoons of ambitious politicians, betrayed lovers or gossipmongers. No matter the topic they address, however, *biguine* lyrics are most frequently in the Creole language, and often contain *double entendre*. Antilleans often use words in an oblique fashion in satirical *biguines*, because the real message is not supposed to be understood by children or people outside the community to which the message is addressed. Songs with a comparable function are mentioned in Father Labat's 1695 descriptions of Martinique, as well as in other travelogues of past centuries, such as Thibault de Chanvallon's *Voyage à la Martinique*, written in 1751, or father Dutertre's *Histoire Générale*, written 100 years earlier. Lafcadio Hearn's *Two Years in the French West Indies*, a book which he wrote between 1887 and 1889 while residing in Martinique, provides lively descriptions of the everyday use of these songs at the end of the nineteenth century. Although Hearn did not use the word 'biguine,' many of the excerpts he quotes come from *biguines* that were still sung in Martinique and Guadeloupe in the early years of the twenty-first century. On the other hand, Martinican writers of the late nineteenth century did use the term 'biguine' in their accounts. It is in addition in their chronicles that the reasons why specific *biguines* were created can be found. Salavina, for example, described the 1881 political scandal that led to the making of the biguine, 'La Défense ka vini fol' (1986, 107–22; 257–8). Victor Coridun wrote a transcription of this song which can be found in Léona Gabriel-Soïme's *Ça c'est la Martinique* (1966, 117). In another chapter of his memoirs, Salavina (1986, 251–63) recounted the ways in which the turpitudes of several well-known people of St-Pierre were ridiculed in *biguines* that have now become part of the traditional repertoire of Martinique. 'Mana,' one of the *biguines* that Salavina quotes (1986, 254–5), is also featured in Léona Gariel-Soïme's book under the title 'Marca' (1966, 115). In keeping with this tradition, many *biguines* composed during the twentieth century are comparable in their subject matter.

Biguine lyrics adopt one of two main forms, depending on the occasion for which the song was created. When *biguines* are destined for the dance hall or for the marketplace, they usually adopt the form of the French chanson with stanzas that are four–eight lines long, followed by a chorus of equivalent length. When *biguines* are created for Carnival street parades, on the other hand, the refrain section of the song usually comprises short phrases in call-and-response form, and are sung by the lead singer and chorus or crowd, as illustrated in the song 'Léchel poul,' which Stellio recorded in the early 1930s.

Conclusion

At the beginning of the twenty-first century *biguines* were making a timid comeback in Martinican functions. Although most adults have continued to appreciate the *biguine*, it has had a limited appeal for French-Caribbean young people and has not, therefore, been a viable commercial product. As musicians have turned to the more profitable *zouk*, only a handful of newly composed biguines have been recorded each year. The *biguine* has been more frequently heard in concert halls than in popular ballrooms. However, the rhythmic basis of *zouk* comes from the Carnival variant called *biguine-vidé*. The rhythm of the *biguine-vidé* is like a *tibwa biguine* ostinato, in which the second half note is not played, thus accentuating the resemblance of the *biguine* to the Puertorican *plena*. Hence, far from disappearing, the rhythm of *biguine* has continued to drive popular dance parties worldwide.

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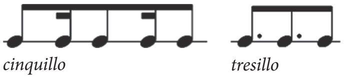
Bolero

Bolero is the quintessential Latin American romantic song of the twentieth century. From its starting point in Santiago de Cuba, *bolero* evolved into a cosmopolitan and international style taking full advantage of the new technologies of recording, radio and film. Between 1930 and 1960 it enjoyed ubiquitous presence in each and every Spanish-speaking country – the only Latin American genre to enjoy such popularity. As a result of its wide diffusion and the privileged position which it occupies across the Spanish-speaking world, *bolero* is the most studied of all Latin American popular music genres.

Cuban Origins

Bolero first appeared in Santiago de Cuba in the late nineteenth century. A hybrid of *criollo* and Afro-Cuban musics, *bolero* was originally a duple-meter dance song in binary form. Performance of *bolero* occurred in a troubadour-like style with two voices in thirds or sixths, accompanied with two guitars. One guitar would strum the *cinquillo* rhythm and the other pluck a *tresillo* (see Example 1). Most historians agree that Cuban *bolero* is unrelated to Spanish *bolero* (Kahl and Katz 2001; Pineda Franco 1996). The musical characteristics of early Cuban *bolero* and its manner of performance marked it as a low-class dance genre. Most performers were Afro-Cuban men; the middle class regarded the guitar as a low-class instrument; the elites considered the *cinquillo* rhythmical pattern as a 'savage Africanism' (Béhague and Moore 2001); and as *bolero* composers often forced the verses to match the *cinquillo*, sometimes altering the natural rhythm of the text in the process, the middle class considered its lyrics 'poor' and 'outlandish' (Pineda Franco 1996).



Example 1: *Cinquillo* rhythmic pattern and *tresillo* rhythmic pattern

José Sánchez, a member of a group of composers and performers later known as *Vieja Trova*, wrote the first published *bolero*, 'Un beso' (A Kiss) (aka 'Tristezas'), in 1885. At the turn of the twentieth century many *trovadores* migrated to Havana, taking *bolero* with them. A sign of *bolero*'s popularity in Havana is the 1906 production of a show titled 'The Triumph of *Bolero*' (*El triunfo del bolero*) at the Teatro Alhambra (Rico Salazar 2000). In the 1920s the popularity of *son* relegated *bolero* to a secondary role. Although many outstanding and lasting Cuban *boleros* were composed during the 1920s and 1930s – such as Eusebio Delfín's '¿Y tú qué has hecho?,' María Teresa Vera's 'Veinte años' and Miguel Matamoros's 'Lágrimas negras' (a *bolero–son* hybrid) – it was a series of Mexican composers who were the most influential *bolero* authors in the second quarter of the century.

Bolero in Mexico

Bolero first arrived in the Mexican province of Yucatán in the 1910s, most likely taken to Mexico by Cuban artists and circus troupes who crossed the 135-mile-long strait between the two countries (Torres 2002). By the mid-1920s musicians from Yucatán had embraced the genre and began adapting it to local taste. *Boleros yucatecos* featured a slower tempo and gave more emphasis to the romantic quality of the text. Rather than writing their own lyrics, *bolero* composers from Yucatán followed a local tradition of setting texts by poets or professional lyricists. Thus, Yucatán *boleros* show a strong influence from modernist poetry and its imagery.

The most important early Mexican *bolero* composer was the Yucatecan Guty Cárdenas (1905–32). Like many other musicians of the time, Cárdenas migrated to Mexico City in search of better opportunities, including the possibility of working in the emerging medium of radio (Bazán Bonfil 2001). In 1930 RCA (Radio Corporation of America) founded the radio station XEW, 'The Voice of Latin America,' where Cárdenas performed in a show called *Calendario Artístico*. The strong XEW signals could be heard as far away as Guadalajara, Texas, Cuba and Colombia, where musicians eagerly awaited each new song. Upon listening, they would transcribe the melodies and, soon after, premiere them locally.

Agustín Lara

The untimely death of Guty Cárdenas at the peak of his popularity – he was killed in a brawl at age 27 – allowed Agustín Lara (1900–70), another well-known XEW composer, to take center stage. Lara, widely considered the most influential *bolero* composer of all time, developed an urban variant of the genre, quite different from the regional style of Cárdenas and his predecessors. Lara had worked as a cabaret piano player in the 1920s, and his new urban *bolero* can be traced to his interest in Mexico City's nightlife of cabarets and brothels. In his lyrics, Lara replaced the muse of early *bolero*, the unapproachable virgin, with the unapproachable prostitute. Some examples include songs such as 'Imposible' (1928), 'Aventurera' (1930) ('Sell your love at a high price, dear'), 'Santa' (1931) and 'Pecadora' (1947) ('Why did destiny turn you into a sinner if you don't know how to sell your heart?'). Mexican author Guadalupe Loaeza suggests that Lara's popularity lies in part in '[treating] ladies like prostitutes and prostitutes like ladies' (quoted in Velazquez and Vaughan 2002).

In Lara's world, the woman is never a friend, always an unreliable lover. Iris Zavala posits that, 'Lara plays on the archetype of the modernist femme fatale, and on the traumatic woman of black cinema, the woman who with her capricious demands wrecks man, who hates and loves her' (Zavala 2000, 129). From Lara onward, *bolero* came to be known as a genre of lovelorn songs. Rodrigo Bazán Bonfil argues that with Lara '*bolero* abandons the cult of a sublimating love and adopts a taste for suffering and crying in and of themselves' (Bazán Bonfil 2001, 33).

Lara's early *bolero*s, starting with 'Imposible' (1928), show a clear influence of the Yucatán – provincial – style of Guty Cárdenas. Characteristic are the adaptation of Afro-Cuban rhythms at the piano and the choice of Caribbean settings for the lyrics, for example, 'Lamento jarocho' (1933) and 'Oración caribe' (1934). By the end of the decade, Lara's songwriting and arranging had become more and more cosmopolitan, devoid of regional traits. The piano or an ensemble replaced the guitar as accompaniment, the *cinquillo* disappeared, and a slower 4/4 replaced the original 2/4 meter. In terms of tonal structure, Lara favored *bolero*s that open with 16 bars in minor (verse) and then modulate to major for the following 16 bars (chorus), (see for example his 'Noche de Ronda'). In the bass line, Lara frequently uses a rhythmic pattern consisting of a half note and two quarter notes, accenting the first and third beats of every measure (Pineda Franco 1996, 124). His *bolero*s redefined the genre and became a compositional model for future *bolero* composers.

Lara was a pioneer in mass distribution of popular music in Mexico: his music was listened to by all social strata, and for the first time in Mexican history, 'a standard selection of songs became popular simultaneously across the country' (Moreno Rivas 1989, 142). Moreover, Lara was part of the first generation of Latin American composers and performers who worked in radio and movies, recorded songs and toured the continent. Lara hosted his own radio show, 'Agustín Lara's Intimate Hour' (*La hora íntima de Agustín Lara*) at XEW station; he personally chose his own singers, such as Pedro Vargas and Toña la Negra; his *bolero*s provided plots and titles for films, in some of which he played roles or himself (e.g., *Pecadora*, 1947 and *Perdida*, 1950); and he was even censored by the Secretaría de Educación Pública for his rowdy lyrics (Pedelty 1999, 50). This combination of factors resulted in an impressive popularity, unimaginable before the 1930s.

Trios

The most important development in *bolero* performance during the 1940s was the popularization of the trio style. Since the early 1940s it was common practice to perform *bolero*s in a *serenata* (serenade) style, with two or three voices, and two or three guitars. This ensemble was known as a *trio*, and in less than a decade it became the standard and most recognizable sound of *bolero*. To a large extent, the popularization of the trio sound is due to the international popularity of Los Panchos, a trio of two Mexicans (Alfredo Gil and Chucho Navarro) and a Puerto Rican (Hernando Avilés), formed in New York City in 1944 (Fernández 2005).

The importance of Los Panchos for the development of *bolero*'s performance practice cannot be overstated. George Torres confers on them an importance equal to Agustín Lara: 'If Agustín Lara was responsible for defining a standard for *bolero* composition, then Los Panchos were responsible for defining the standard for *bolero* performance in the 1940s and '50s' (Torres 2002, 160). Los Panchos popularized sophisticated three-part vocal arrangements, accompanied by two guitars, a *requinto* (a smaller guitar tuned a fifth higher) and a percussion section consisting of claves, maracas and bongos.

Los Panchos were the first trio to move beyond the serenade and bar scenes into middle- and upper-class spaces (Moreno Rivas 1989, 162). This was achieved through a 'detropicalization' of *bolero*'s sound. By downplaying the role of Afro-Cuban percussion – which was prominent in much, though not all, of Lara's music – and bringing to the fore a virtuosic guitar technique, Los Panchos were able to reach the higher strata of Latin American society (Bazán Bonfil 2001, 67). Following the footsteps of Los Panchos, *bolero* trios mushroomed throughout Latin America. Some of the most important are Los Tres Diamantes, Los Tres Ases and Los Tres Caballeros.

Jazz Influence and Crooners

In the mid- to late 1940s, first in Cuba and then in Mexico, *bolero* composers and musicians began incorporating elements of US jazz, such as extended harmonies, chromaticism and more complex melodies, into *bolero*. This hybrid style is known as *filin* in Cuba and *bolero moderno* in Mexico. In terms of lyrics, this jazz-inflected *bolero* moved away from the topics of idealized love and unapproachable lovers common in earlier *bolero*s and instead focused on the pain cause by separation from a partner.

American-style big bands were very popular in Mexico City in the 1940s, and *bolero*s were arranged to follow this trend, distancing the *bolero* still further from the provincial styles of the early 1930s. Moreno Rivas argues that it is this more international sound, devoid of 'local color,' that made *bolero* exportable to foreign countries (Moreno Rivas 1989, 130–1). Songs such as Lara's 'Solamente una vez' (Only Once, 1941), Alberto Domínguez' 'Perfidia' (Treachery) and 'Frenesí' (Frenzy) (both 1939) and Consuelo Velázquez' 'Bésame mucho' (Kiss Me a Lot, 1941), were the first worldwide hits of the *bolero* tradition. They were recorded in English and also performed instrumentally by bands in the United States, Europe and all over Latin America. 'Frenesí' was recorded by the big bands of Benny Goodman, Jimmy Dorsey, Glenn Miller and Artie Shaw, who took it to the number one position of the Billboard Singles chart in 1940; and 'Perfidia' was played in the dancing scene at Rick's café in the 1942 film *Casablanca*.

Along with the use of orchestral arrangements came the emergence of the *bolero* crooners. The first Mexican crooner was Fernando Fernández (1916–99), whose singing style was described as a unique way of 'saying songs' (*decir las canciones*) (Rico Salazar 2000, 440). In Latin American genres that were community based, such as Chilean *cueca* and Argentine *tango*, the singing style stayed relatively unchanged by the arrival of microphone amplification, but as happened with popular singing elsewhere in these years (e.g., in the United States), *bolero* crooners' creative use of new technology effected a profound change in the vocal performance of *bolero*, making it more intimate and colloquial (González 2000). Crooning, as exemplified by the style of Lucho Gatica (1928), eventually superceded the previous generation's bel canto technique of tenors such as Juan Arvizú (1900–85), Ortiz Tirado (1893–1960) and Pedro Vargas (1906–89).

Internationalization

In the 1950s singers from all over Latin America traveled to Mexico and Cuba to record with famous *bolero* bands and orchestras. This international roster of *bolero* singers, which included Chilean Lucho Gatica, Argentine Leo Marini and Bolivian Raúl Shaw Moreno, contributed to the perception that *bolero* belonged to all Latin Americans. Unlike other contemporary popular genres, such as *ranchera*, *tango*, *chachachá* and *mambo*, which evoked a nation or region, *bolero* in the 1950s tended to avoid textual or musical references to specific locales. The continental popularity of trio, big-band and orchestral *bolero*, thanks in part to a transnational music industry, transformed *bolero* into an international genre.

An important countercurrent to *bolero*'s internationalization is the development of the Mexican *bolero ranchero*, a commercially successful hybrid of *bolero* and *ranchera* that was very popular during the 1950s. At first, *bolero ranchero* was simply a *bolero* composition sung accompanied by a *mariachi* ensemble, such as the 1949 recordings of Mexican film star Pedro Infante. As composers such as Rubén Fuentes and José Alfredo Jiménez began to write specifically in this new style, *bolero ranchero* became a distinct genre characterized by its straightforward, unpretentious lyrics and preference for the major mode. *Bolero ranchero* songs, such as Fuentes' 'Cien años' (A Hundred Years) and Jiménez's 'Un mundo raro' (A Strange World), can be considered a return to the provincial roots of Mexican *bolero* pre-Agustín Lara.

Rock 'n' Roll and Armando Manzanero

In the late 1950s *bolero*'s footprint can be found in early rock 'n' roll ballads, such as Frankie Avalon's 'Venus' (1959) and Bobby Darin's self-penned 'Dream Lover' (1959) (Torres 2002). *Bolero* borrowing is even more explicit in the Beatles' 'And I Love Her,' from the soundtrack of the movie *A Hard Day's Night* (1964), which features Ringo Starr on bongos and George Harrison playing *claves* and a Ramírez classical guitar.

Latin American middle-class youth embraced rock 'n' roll as a symbol of first world modernity, and as a result, *bolero* became démodé. The only *bolero* singer/songwriter who was able to compete with the strong presence of music in English was the Yucatecan Armando Manzanero (b. 1935). Manzanero modernized *bolero* and made it appealing to a younger generation, as exemplified in his first solo album *A mi amor … con mi amor* (1967) (To My Love … with My Love), in which he sang and played the piano with Eduardo Magallanes's orchestra. Magallanes's orchestral arrangements incorporated the instrumentation of rock 'n' roll, such as drum set instead of Afro-Caribbean percussion and electric instead of acoustic guitar. There was not a single *requinto* solo that would remind people of the 1950s trio Los Panchos on this album. The arrangements sound less like an orchestrated *bolero à la* Lucho Gatica, and more like a mid-1960s Anglo pop ballad by Brenda Lee (e.g., 'Losing You,' 1963), Tom Jones, Dusty Springfield or Paul Anka.

Manzanero's innovations, which also include the use of lighter, teen-friendly lyrics, made his music appealing to a new generation, and thus he became a transitional figure between *bolero* and the new genre of *balada* (Moreno Rivas 1989). Musicologist Juan Pablo González argues that *bolero* 'phenomena produced [after Manzanero] are revivals, rather than renovations' (González 2000, 37; author's translation). González blames Latin American music's 'excessive commercialization' in the 1970s and 'Western music's growing deterritorialization' for the demise of *bolero* at the hands of *balada*. At the time, however, genre distinctions between *bolero* and *balada* were less clear than most *bolero* histories seem to suggest (Party 2006).

Revival

In the 1990s *bolero* experienced a strong comeback, with old *boleros* being newly recorded and updated for a new generation. The origins of the *bolero* revival can be traced to 1985's *Primer Festival del Bolero*, celebrated in Miami (Évora 2001, 21). Similar festivals followed in Cuba (1987), Mexico (1987) and Venezuela (1994). The watershed event in the revival was the unexpected success of Mexican *baladista* Luis Miguel's album of classic *bolero*s entitled *Romance* (1991). Labeled by Luis Miguel as a 'transition record,' *Romance* became an overnight sensation in the Spanish-speaking world, selling 4.5 million copies worldwide. After *Romance*, countless artists recorded modern versions of older *bolero*s, among them Mijares, Lucero, Ana Gabriel, Linda Ronstadt, José Feliciano, Gloria Estefan, Celia Cruz, José Luis Rodríguez and Spanish tenor Plácido Domingo.

Bolero's main figures, song titles and lyrics have found a secure place in popular and *avant-garde* culture internationally, ranging from the soundtracks of Pedro Almodóvar's films such as *Tacones Lejanos* (High Heels) to postmodern novels such as Manuel Puig's *El Beso de la Mujer Araña* (Kiss of the Spider Woman) and Luis Rafael Sánchez' *La Importancia de Llamarse Daniel Santos* (The Importance of Being Daniel Santos) (Knights 2002). In the twenty-first century the *bolero* repertoire is still a staple of live music making, from serenades in restaurants to house parties throughout Latin America.

(All translations by the author)

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DANIEL PARTY

Bolero Moderno

Bolero moderno is a jazz-influenced style of Latin American *bolero* composition that developed in Mexico in the 1950s. The new sound of *bolero* was immediately perceived as an attempt at modernizing the by then old-fashioned genre, *bolero*, hence its name. Among the jazz features of *bolero moderno,* each of which played a part in distinguishing *bolero moderno* from its predecessor, are extended harmonic language, slower tempi, greater use of rubato and melodic chromaticism. The most important *bolero moderno* composers are Vicente Garrido (1924–2003) ('No me platiques' [Don't Tell Me], 1952, 'Todo y nada' [Everything and Nothing], 1958, 'Una semana sin Ti' [A Week Without You'], 1948), Álvaro Carrillo (1921–69) ('Amor mío' [My Love], 1956, 'Sabor a mí' [Taste of Me], 1959, 'Un poco más' [A Little More], 1961, 'La mentira' [The Lie], 1965), Roberto Cantoral (1930–2010) ('El preso no. 9' [Prisoner no. 9], 1955, 'El reloj' [The Clock], 1957. 'La barca' [The Boat], 1957, 'Regálame esta noche' [Give Me Tonight], 1958) and Luis Demetrio (1931–2008) ('La puerta' [The Door], 1957).

Bolero scholars, such as Cuban Leonardo Acosta and Mexican Dueñas Herrera, suggest that *bolero moderno* is not an original Mexican development, but rather an extension of Cuban *filin* (Acosta 2001; Dueñas Herrera 1993). Composer Vicente Garrido, however, claims that the two styles developed independently as musicians in Cuba and Mexico adopted American jazz harmonies in their compositions (Garrido 2001; Contreras 2002).

Like Cuban *filin*, *bolero moderno* presents a more optimistic view of love and relationships than the one often found in the work of Agustín Lara, the principal composer of *boleros*. Notably, the topics of prostitutes and low life, emblematic of the world often evoked by Lara's songs and some of the films for which he wrote the scores, were abandoned. *Bolero moderno* changes the focus from idealized love and unapproachable lovers, both so common in earlier *boleros*, to the pain caused by the separation from a partner (e.g., 'El reloj' and 'La mentira'). More so than earlier *bolero*, *bolero moderno* texts avoid gender specificity by favoring the neutral second person 'tú' (you).

The preeminent representative of *bolero moderno* performance style is Chilean singer Lucho Gatica (b. 1928), who relocated to Mexico in the late 1950s. Gatica discovered the *filin* repertoire by way of Cuban Olga Guillot, whom he met in Chile in 1949 (González 2000). Thereafter, Gatica specialized in *filin* and *bolero moderno*, with only a few incursions into earlier *bolero* repertoire. The characteristics of Lucho Gatica's *bolero* recordings are exemplary of the style: first, a very slow tempo, rendering *bolero* almost undanceable; second, arrangements for string orchestra and winds, in the manner of Frank Sinatra's performances; third, an anguished vocal delivery; and fourth, a mastery of the use of the microphone to achieve expressive effects (e.g., Gatica's 1957 recording of 'Encadenados' [Chained] by Carlos Arturo Briz) (González 2000).

The popularity of *bolero moderno* declined in the face of the rock 'n' roll invasion of the 1960s. *Bolero moderno* singer/songwriter Armando Manzanero (b. 1935), however, was responsible for hybridizing *bolero* songwriting with rock arrangements to develop the genre that would eventually replace *bolero* as the ubiquitous Latin American love song: the *balada*.

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DANIEL PARTY

Bomba (Ecuador)

In Ecuador, the term *bomba* denotes a musical genre that identifies the Afro-Ecuadorian population from the Chota Valley in the northern highland provinces of Imbabura and Carchi. It is also the name of the musical ensemble that plays this music, a particular type of drum that is part of this ensemble, and the couple dance that this music accompanies. With regard to its origin, it is generally agreed that the song-dance emerged during the colonial period among the slave population at the sugar plantations owned by the Jesuits. As a genre, the *bomba* synthesizes musical elements from Ecuador's tri-ethnic heritage – Spanish, Amerindian and African – which is observed in the use of guitars and rhymed verses, pentatonic melodies and percussion instruments, respectively. The choreography resembles a courting scene in which the woman, carrying a glass bottle on top of her head, avoids the man's advances with strong hip movements that keep him away from her. The *bomba*'s rhythmic pattern alternates 3/4 and 6/8 rhythms (*sesquiáltera*). The basic pattern can be rendered in 3/4 meter as quarter note, eighth note, accentuated eighth note, quarter note. As an instrument, the *bomba* is a middle-sized, double-headed drum held between the knees and played with the hands. The instrumental ensemble, called '*conjunto de bomba*,' is made up of a *bomba*, a guitar, a *requinto* (small five-stringed guitar) and a metal *güiro* (scraper). Although *bomba* lyrics have traditionally dealt with themes of love, contemporary lyrics also deal with economic and political concerns such as migration, lack of employment and disillusionment with the government. The *bomba* 'Carpuela' by Milton Tadeo, for example, talks about the need to look for work in other regions of the country because a river flood devastated the town of Carpuela.

The most popular composers and performers of *bomba* are the Hermanos Congo and Milton Tadeo. Although the *bomba* is not considered a national music genre *per se*, since the late 1990s it has entered the repertoire of Ecuadorian singers who are associated with national music. Segundo Rosero's recordings of *bombas* in the late 1990s have given the *bomba* commercial visibility at the national level, such as 'Sabor a miel' (Taste of Honey) and 'Pasito Tun-Tun' (A Dance Step Called Tun-Tun). Since the early 2000s *tecnocumbia* singers from the middle-lower classes have mixed the *bomba* with the *tecnocumbia* rhythm. Unlike the Chota Valley *bomba* ensemble, the commercial *bomba* is arranged for synthesizers, electric guitars, *requinto* and a drum set. Because the *bomba* is usually performed and listened to by working-class people, Ecuadorian music scholars tend to regard it as *música rocolera*, a style of music associated with drunkenness. The *bomba* is the emblematic music of the Afro-Ecuadorian population of the highland region, and as such is markedly distinguished from the Afro-Ecuadorian *marimba* music of the coastal region.

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KETTY WONG

Bomba (Puerto Rico)

Bomba is an African-derived drum-dance tradition from Puerto Rico that incorporates call-and-response singing, polyrhythmic drumming and a distinctively percussive dance style. For more than 300 years, *bomba* has provided the foundation, or template, on which Puerto Rican music and dance have continued to evolve. Like its kindred African diasporic dance music genres elsewhere in the Caribbean, *bomba* developed in the lowland plains of the island where sugarcane was cultivated. The labor-intensive process of cutting, hauling and refining the cane created a huge demand for workers, many of whom were brought over as slaves from West Africa, a great proportion coming from the Bantu-Kongo cultural area of Central West Africa. These coastal areas became population centers where an increasingly mixed group of workers with African, Spanish and Island-Arawak ancestry brought together their talents for singing, drumming and dancing in the birth of Puerto Rican *bomba*.

Historical Overview

The first written reports of *bomba* date back to the early 1700s. Sporadic mentions of *bomba*, often referring to it as a 'congo' dance, continued among travel writers throughout the slavery period, which ended when slavery was abolished in 1873. Because *bomba* was largely associated with enslaved Africans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and was performed immediately prior to several insurrections, the genre was tightly regulated by the colonial government and in some cases banned outright in certain municipalities. Moreover, no one was writing about *bomba* as an autochthonous Puerto Rican genre of popular music in the nineteenth century, and this widespread prejudice and rejection of *bomba* was fairly constant up until the mid-twentieth century.

An early twentieth-century offshoot of *bomba*, called *plena*, became popular among the island working class and Manuel 'Canario' Jimenez (1895–1975) gained some commercial success in recording this music in the 1930s. Bomba is closely related to *plena* and musical recordings of *bomba* are often linked to *plena*, to the point that they are often mentioned in the same breath (*bomba y plena*). The genres are quite distinct, however, and use different instrumentation, rhythms, lyrical structures and dance steps. Nevertheless, the few *bomba* songs that were recorded in the 1930s and 1940s were arranged and listed as *plenas* in the repertoires of artists such as Canario and César Concepción (1909–74). In these arrangements, they also replaced the traditional goatskin '*barriles*' (barrel drums) with congas. The popularity of the *plena* recordings, however, paved the way for *bomba* songs to be performed and recorded as part of a stage concert repertoire.

The emergence of '*bomba de salón*' (ballroom *bomba*) in the 1950s and early 1960s coincided with the ascendance of Rafael Cortijo y su Combo as the most commercially successful interpreters of the genre. As musical director and arranger, Rafael Cortijo (1928–82) incorporated *bomba* (and *plena*) songs into the popular *conjunto*-style, Afro-Cuban format popularized by Arsenio Rodriguez. While Cortijo's arrangements also used congas instead of *bomba* drums, he greatly expanded the market for this music as a distinct genre. His magnificent lead singer and collaborator, Ismael 'Maelo' Rivera (1931–87), also known as 'El Sonero Mayor' (The Master Singer), breathed new life into old *bomba* songs (some composed by the *bomba* 'Patriarch' Rafael Cepeda [1910–96]; others in public domain). Also during this time *plenero* Mon Rivera (1899–1978) had success with several *bomba* recordings in a similar vein from the late 1950s through the mid-1960s. These groups laid the groundwork for the salsa boom of the 1960s in which Puerto Rican artists such as El Gran Combo (founded and directed by Cortijo's former pianist Rafael Ithier in 1962) prominently included and listed *bomba* songs in their albums for the first time.

The 'folkloric' period of *bomba* began in the 1950s when *bomba* finally became recognized as a genre worthy of institutional recognition by the Institute of Culture. In folkloric presentations, *bomba* drums came to be used on stage for the first time. Unfortunately, on the rare occasions that folkloric *bomba* was visible it was also being represented as a picturesque vestige from the past, both quaint and exotic. Yet even then, *bomba* was vastly underrepresented in stage presentations of Puerto Rican folklore. During the 1960s and 1970s *bomberos* such as Félix Romero of Teatro Otra Cosa in New York agitated for the inclusion of *bomba* in folk festivals and community events, with some success. Today, the image of folkloric *bomba*, evoking the fashions of the late nineteenth-century Puerto Rico, has continued as 'formal wear' in many stage representations, especially in tourist venues and folk festivals.

Throughout *bomba* history, the genre has been passed down through oral traditions of families and their extended relations. The two most well-known families are the Cepedas and Ayalas, representing the areas of Santurce and Loíza, respectively. (The Discography below reflects this history.) Meanwhile, enthusiasm for the genre beyond these family networks has been stoked not only by commercial recordings of the music but also by awareness of kindred genres throughout the Caribbean cultural area.

Since the 1980s *bomba* songs have become part of pan-Caribbean repertoires (Tacuafán, Batacumbele, Anthony Carrillo, AfriCaribe et al.), that is, in ways that both defy the 'folkloric' label and go beyond the salsa category. Since the late 1990s *bomba* has also been embraced by Puerto Rican jazz musicians such as William Cepeda and David Sánchez, not to mention reggaeton artists such as Tego Calderón. These artists have returned to the use of the goatskin barrel drums in place of congas. In doing so, they have not only drawn attention to, and shown respect for, *bomba* in its traditional format, but have also expanded the market for this music.

Since the early 1990s a 'post-folkloric' period has come into the picture as young people from inside and outside the already established folkloric groups have created their own groups and have recast the genre with contemporary meaning alongside other popular-commercial genres. This new energy fed into and drew inspiration from the CICRE Bombazo Project (1998–2002), led by the present author and José Emmanuelli and supported by dozens of young *bomberos* in the San Juan Area. This project also spawned additional groups and non-profit organizations such as Restauración Cultural (led by Pablo Luis Rivera) that have been dedicated to organizing and promoting '*bombazos*' (community drum-dances where all are invited to participate). The result has been an island-wide and mainland '*bombazo* movement' that has continued into the second decade of the twenty-first century and has been well documented (Barton 2000, 2002, 2004; Cartagena 2004; Ferreras 2005; López 2009; Rivera 2010). By returning *bomba* to its roots as a drum-dance tradition worthy of being embraced and appreciated on its own merits, the 1990s generation of *bomba* performers have created their own markets for the music, one that extends beyond those that already exist for *plena*, *rumba*, *merengue* and salsa. This process has been accelerated in the early twenty-first century through the use of digital reproductions (audio and video), communications technologies (email and text messaging) as well as social networking (Facebook, Myspace, etc.), newsgroups, websites (see below) and Youtube videos. These technologies have enabled more people to get involved, keep in touch with each other, spread news about events, stay informed and increase participation.

Concurrent with these developments, several documentaries on *bomba* and its contemporary resurgence in the form of *bombazos* have been produced (see Filmography). These films also include discussion of the reactions *bomba* provokes among people of different social backgrounds about subjects such as the gender, race and class aspects of *bomba* performance.

Bomba as Music

While *bomba* songs are most commonly heard in salsa repertoires, especially among Puerto Rican musicians, the genre in its fullest expression is much more extensive. The historical and regional continuities of *bomba* may be complex, but there are a few constants that most can agree on, such as that any *bomba* tradition worthy of the name must include certain features in order to be recognizable as *bomba* by most practitioners. The basic elements of *bomba* music are songs, instruments, rhythms, protocols/conventions, improvisations and markings.

Singing

Call-and-response singing is the norm, mostly on a pentatonic scale. The lyrical 'call' tends to be focused on common everyday themes that emphasize the dignity, self-respect and aspirations of the singers. Once the lead vocalist introduces the main theme and announces the refrain to be sung, they will often improvise lyrically and melodically around the central theme and refrain. While comedic put-downs and romance are occasional themes, sexuality in the form of explicit references or *double entendres* is conspicuously absent compared with more commercialized genres such as salsa and *merengue*. The choral refrains that alternate with each verse tend to be relatively short (setting a mood rather than telling a story as in *plena*), and many have a short and percussive, chant-like chorus.

Bomba singing includes *coro* (what the chorus sings: a refrain) and *voz* (what the lead sings: verses on a theme dictated by the *coro*). The lead singer, who traditionally plays the maraca to announce the tempo, starts with the chorus of a song (the 'call,' which may be either a known song or improvised on the spot), and in the space of that chorus the drummers (in a *bombazo* context) are challenged to identify and play the rhythm given by the *metrica*, or characteristic swing, of the lyrics. The drummers and chorus come in at the same time, followed by the lead singer in the next sequence. The lead singer will often start with a few well-known verses before venturing off into lyrical and melodic improvisation. *Bomba* songs are mostly in Spanish, but often mix in words and phrases of Afro-French *kreyol* and some in Bantu-related Kongo dialects (LaSalle 2007).

On rare occasions, a *bomba* song may start with an opening litany; some variants (e.g., *calindá*) have refrains that are short, suggestive, percussive and chant-like while other variants (e.g., *cuembé*) have refrains that are longer and more flowing, lyrical and melodious. *Bomba* singing most often uses simple melodies on a pentatonic scale and may, or may not, include vocal harmonizing. In the south (Ponce and Guayama), it is customary for a woman to sing lead vocal (Dufrasne 1994); elsewhere, anyone who is able may sing.

The most difficult part of *bomba* to learn in depth is undoubtedly the lyrical aspect. Highly skilled lead vocalists, who have a large repertoire of songs and are able to improvise lyrically and melodically, are almost always in short supply. Moreover, an effective interpreter of *bomba* songs must go beyond both vocal skill and the ability to time elocution in the heat of performance. To be an effective lead vocalist in *bomba* also requires an in-depth knowledge of the lyrics, their contexts and their meaning. Lead vocalists such as Modesto Cepeda of Cimiento Puertorriqueño, José Emmanuelli of Bombazo de Puerto Rico and Alexander Vale LaSalle of Alma Moyó, each have *bomba* repertoires that consist of several hundred songs across over a dozen rhythmic variations (*seises*).

In stark contrast to the more explicit social commentary to be found in *plena*, *bomba* lyrics do not easily lend themselves to interpretation, even by respected local experts (see Dufrasne 1994, 36–43). This aspect of *bomba* is only beginning to be widely understood among *bomberos*. Leading the way in the early 2000s is a younger generation of *bomberos*, mostly under 40, who are more inquisitive and embracing of *bomba*'s translocal, transcultural, transnational and multilingual origins. Many traditional *bomba* songs are recited without knowing the meanings or the stories behind the songs. Through conversations with multilingual *bomberos* such as Tato Conrad, Yvan Francois, Miguel Sierra, Pedro 'Unico' Noguet and Alexander Vale LaSalle, the present author has become aware that to reconstruct the lost meanings of these songs would require multiple fluencies and an understanding of not only local and regional vernacular dialects but also of Afro-French *kreyol* and Congolese. For many years, the literal meanings of songs such as 'Anaízo' and 'Deloyé' have been referred to by folklorists as 'nonsensical,' or more generally 'African,' that is, words that are no longer understood by people in the *bomba* community. Through cultural-historical and linguistic research, hypotheses about the meanings of the traditional songs are slowly being developed (Lasalle 2007).

Instrumentation

Bomba comprises a three-part basic instrumentation: at least two goatskin barrel drums, one *cuá*, or stick drum and one large gourd maraca. The barrel drums include at least one *buleador* (low drum, from the verb 'bulear,' to play the drum) which repeats an ostinato rhythmic phrase (sometimes called *bomba larga*) and one *primo* (high drum) or *subidor* (from the verb 'subir,' to raise up) which improvises on top of, and in conversation with, the basic rhythm played by the *buleador*. The *subidor* is also used to interpret a solo dancer's movements sonically (see below). The *cuá* uses two sticks on a hollow bamboo log, on the side of a skinless drum, or on the side of a *buleador* played horizontally in the typical Kongo style. The *cuá* plays a pattern that corresponds to the basic rhythm of the *buleador*. The gourd maraca keeps the basic pulse corresponding to each rhythm. In professional ensembles there are usually three drums being played (i.e., two *buleadores*), whereas in a community bomba dance called a *bombazo* there can be many more. In 2010 there was even a contest to have a *bombazo* with the greatest number of *barriles* (over 100).

Polyrhythmic Drumming

Bomba consists of three basic rhythm complexes, of which there are over a dozen extant variations across all three categories. These rhythms also vary according to region, some variations being more highly developed in particular places. The most established lexicon for talking about rhythms was developed by the great *bomba* master, Don Rafael Cepeda. His children, students and followers have further elaborated on this system to be more inclusive of regional variations.

Bomba's polyrhythmic drumming comprises variants of 2/4, 4/4, 6/8 and 12/8, with interlocking and multilayered rhythms formed by the three-part basic instrumentation and the percussive call-and-response vocal ensemble. The rhythms and their variants may be grouped into three main rhythmic complexes – the *sicá* and *holandés* groups in 2/4 and 4/4 time and the *yubá* group in 6/8 and 12/8 time. Because skilled drummers and singers have a highly developed sense of polyrhythm, some songs may be performed in a variety of different rhythms, or the drum rhythm may be switched in mid-song, depending on the context. Also, in Mayaguez, some *yubá* songs, for instance, may also have deeply personal or spiritual meanings for participants and would be performed in public using a more public or 'secular' rhythm such as *guembé*. In these situations, the lead vocal will still sing in 6/8 or 12/8 time but over a 2/4 or 4/4 drum pattern.

There are a total of at least 16 variations called *seises* or *sones* (in the south) that are still known and performed in the twenty-first century. Alvarez Nazario (1971 [1961]) in his magnum opus on the African presence in Puerto Rican Spanish also listed several others which were already unknown by the late 1950s. The *seises* within each rhythm complex refer to a distinct metric of composition (e.g., the characteristic swing of the chorus) and performance style (whether *piquetes* are performed, whether sticks are used, when it is performed and how fast or slow).

- The *sicá* complex is the largest. The basic rhythm is the most familiar to salsa aficionados and is often referred to as 'bomba' – it consists of at least 12 variants or *seises*: *paulé* (the slowest), *sicá* (the namesake), *gracimá, danué, calindá, cunyá, balancé* (traditionally danced without *piquetes*; pure *paseo* with *repiques*), *cocobalé* (danced with sticks similar to Brazilian *maculele*), *bambulaé* (the fastest in this group), *cuembé* or *güembé* (in the south) and finally *belén* (the 'last dance,' also played in honor of those who have passed away). In Loíza, which has its own distinct traditional *bomba* style, the corresponding rhythm in the *sicá* family is *seis corrido*, played similarly to *cuembé* but at lightning speed in the modern version that the Ayalas developed in the 1960s.
- The *yubá* complex refers to all *bomba* songs in 6/8 and 12/8 time: *leró* (slowest), *yubá* (faster), and in Loíza, the *corvé* or *corbé* (fastest), also called *rul* or *roulé*. The *yubá* rhythm complex is not to be taken lightly, it is performed with an extra air of seriousness, and therefore is known for having the most 'character' (as Alba Cepeda states in the film *Bomba: Dancing the Drum*). The best and most experienced dancers in any group or gathering often can be found jockeying for position to dance the *yubá*, the highlight of most group repertoires.
- *Holandés* is its own rhythmic complex – it is the fastest of all the rhythms and the most challenging to play. This complex is most fully developed in Mayaguez where there are as many as a dozen existing variations. Because the Mayaguez region is one of the richest, yet least popularized, *bomba* traditions, there is little agreement, between and even within groups, as to the actual number of variations, their names and what they signify. The CICRE Bombazo Project first drew attention to the depth of the Mayaguez *holandés* tradition in its collaboration with the late Don Felix Alduén that resulted in his stunning performance in the 'Raices' Banco Popular 2001 Christmas special and on tour with AfroRican jazz pioneer, William Cepeda. In 2010 his grandson, Machito, and a newly assembled group of Mayaguez veterans, Grupo Yagúembe, began bringing their regional style and rhythms to the public's attention. *Holandés* is also heard frequently in Cataño and Santurce but with only one variant. This complex is less common in the southern region (Ponce, Guayama, Arroyo), and virtually unheard in Loíza.

Dance as Music

Dance is integral to *bomba*; hence, dancers have been fundamental to the growth of the genre. Through the drum-dance dialogue, dancers perform as musicians.

In *bomba*, the role of the lead drummer is not only to play inspired combinations on the drum that motivate dancers; the lead drummer's task is also to 'mark' the dancer's movement, that is, to read the dancing body as a musical text to be interpreted and make sounds on the drum that correspond to particular movements of the dancer. The dance, which invariably is the focus of attention in live *bomba* performance, consists of basic steps that correspond to the basic rhythms being played. Dancers may approach the lead drummer as individuals, pairs or even groups, and take turns challenging the lead drummer to make beats on the drum that correspond to the dancer's movements. While the improvised dance steps ('*piquetes*') may vary a great deal, they generally follow certain established protocols and conventions that emphasize grace and elegance rather than raw sexuality.

The best dancers know how to create exciting music on the drum. The early twenty-first-century resurgence of *bomba* in Puerto Rico is significant for musicians as well as for dancers. Rarely have popular music and social dance been so intertwined.

Bomba Research

Although *bomba* has been in Puerto Rico for several hundred years, very little scholarly attention was paid to the genre until the later twentieth century. Doctoral dissertations about *bomba* by scholars such as McCoy (1968), Vega-Drouet (1979), Dufrasne-González (1985), Barton (1995) and Ferreras (2005) laid down a basic structure from which research has proceeded. While much of this work is in English, since the 1980s there have been several publications in Spanish that deal with the basic aspects of *bomba* performance, and a few articles in newspapers on the island. But many major developments in *bomba* scholarship have occurred since the late 1990s as interest in the genre has expanded beyond its primary social origins.

Conferences (based on academic/practitioner collaborations) that highlight *bomba* have been taking place in the United States since at least 1998 when Long Island University in Brooklyn, New York, sponsored such an event. Since that year LIU has also hosted an annual 'Gran Bombazo' that has regularly drawn hundreds of participants throughout New York City and the North-east. Since 2002 Hostos Community College in the Bronx has hosted a biannual 'Bomplenazo' (*bomb*a and *plena* workshop and performance series). And a community-based event sponsored by the Puerto Rican Organization for the Performing Arts (PROPA) has created a Bomba Research Conference in Chicago that has met biannually since 2005. In Puerto Rico itself, local universities have sponsored occasional symposia dealing with *bomba*, but the first island-wide *bomba* congress was formed in 2004 as an annual event, primarily aimed at disseminating knowledge of the genre to performers and educators. These events, taken as a whole, have not only furthered appreciation of the genre, but have also led to greater awareness of and mutual respect for regional variations, a development from which all groups benefit, not to mention the general public.

Conclusion

Whether *bomba* is thriving or vanishing in the second decade of the twenty-first century depends to some degree on how the genre is defined. *Bomba* performance can vary a great deal in sound and appearance, depending on the context. The main distinction has to do with where the music is performed. For most of the past 50 years *bomba* has been performed mostly on a concert stage as a presentation of Puerto Rican folklore. Starting in the early 1990s, the stage form (special costumes, separation of performers and audience, etc.) has largely receded and become arguably supplanted by the 'street' form in which all the lines that separate the public from the musicians are blurred if not obliterated. As a result, even in stage presentations the public expects audience participation. *Bomba* groups in the pubs and clubs of San Juan, New York and Chicago always make sure that there is space (a *soberao)* in front of the ensemble for a drum-dance exchange between musicians and dancers. This process has been extensively documented, a rich resource for the next generation of *bomberos*. As a result, popular enthusiasm for *bomba* music and dance has become very widespread, in the street and on the web, and the genre enjoys perhaps the greatest popularity it has ever had.

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HALBERT BARTON

Bossa Nova

Bossa nova developed in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, during the second half of the 1950s and was transformed into a musical movement that modernized Brazilian popular music. Thus, it acquired great historical importance and is seen by many people as an independent genre (Marcondes 2003; Castro 2001). *Bossa nova*, however, is better viewed as a specific way of playing *samba*, with many changed elements. *Bossa nova* is a subgenre of *samba* characterized by the expressive economy of its vocal style and instrumentation when compared with other *samba* subgenres. Unlike many *samba* subgenres, such as *samba-canção* and the *partido alto*, *bossa nova* is sung with a vibrato-free and 'low' (quiet) vocal style (compared to these *samba* subgenres, the vocal style of *bossa nova* is almost a whisper) and its instrumentation does not feature strong percussion. *Bossa nova* instrumentation, centered around solo acoustic guitar or small ensembles of piano, bass and drums, is more closely related to US jazz than it is to traditional *samba*.

Bossa nova's importance, besides transforming *samba*, is that it provided a musical expression of a discourse about Brazilian music that surfaced in the 1960s and was centered around MPB – *Música Popular Brasileira* – a movement within Brazilian popular music. This discourse proposed that the modernization of Brazilian popular music should begin with the confluence between *bossa nova* – with its international connections – and Brazilian traditional genres. This confluence is the basis of MPB and it is central to understanding the field (Bourdieu 1993) as a space of symbolic struggles in popular music in Brazil between the 1960s and 1980s.

Musical Elements: Description and Analysis

Some of the musical elements that describe *bossa nova* and its relationship with *samba* and other Brazilian music of the 1940s and 1950s include the following:

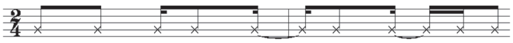
1. A Softer Singing Style

Bossa nova is known for a soft, low and vibrato-free style of singing. This approach opposed the singing style predominant in Brazilian music throughout the 1950s: a loud style with a heavy use of vibrato influenced by *bolero*. This more aggressive style was very popular beginning in the 1940s and was cultivated by important Brazilian singers at that time: Nelson Gonçalves, Linda Batista, Ângela Maria, Cauby Peixoto and others. Many people have observed that the more economical style of *bossa nova* may have been influenced by jazz, chiefly the more sophisticated jazz styles of the 1950s, such as cool jazz (Castro 2001). However, it is interesting to note that it was American crooners of popular song that were popular in Brazil throughout the 1940s and 1950s. Bing Crosby, Frank Sinatra and Nat King Cole, for example, were more popular than jazz singer and horn player Chet Baker (who is often cited as an example of the cool jazz influence on the *bossa nova* singing style), and many Brazilian singers in the 1950s, such as Lúcio Alves, Dick Farney or Tito Madi, were influenced by the crooning style. Furthermore, some singing styles within *samba* were less influenced by *bolero* (Caldeira 1987). For example, singers such as Ciro Monteiro and Orlando Silva, very popular in Brazil in the 1940s, sang more softly than *bolero* singers, but not as softly as *bossa nova* singers João Gilberto, Nara Leão or Silvinha Telles, whose style was described as 'singing very low.'

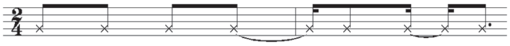
2. A New Way to Play *Samba*

Bossa nova introduced a new way to play *samba*, described by musicians as the '*bossa nova* beat.' This beat can be observed in the right-hand pattern of acoustic guitar players – the central instrument of *bossa nova*. The *bossa nova* beat simplified traditional *samba*'s rhythm patterns and minimized its accents, eliminating the sense of movement typical of *samba*. Unlike other types of *samba* such as *samba-enredo* or *samba-do-morro* (both strongly marked by the presence of percussion instruments), *bossa nova* did not involve dance.

Bossa nova is marked by the work of guitarist João Gilberto, seen as the creator of the so-called *bossa nova* beat. In many of his records, one can listen to this beat and study its differences from rhythm patterns of traditional *samba* (see Example 1). One example is 'Eu vim da Bahia' [I Came from Bahia], a *samba* recorded by João Gilberto in 1973. Example 2 demonstrates the rhythmic work of João Gilberto.

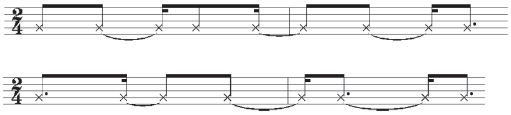


Example 1: A rhythm pattern of *tamborim* [tambourine] in the *samba-do-morro*



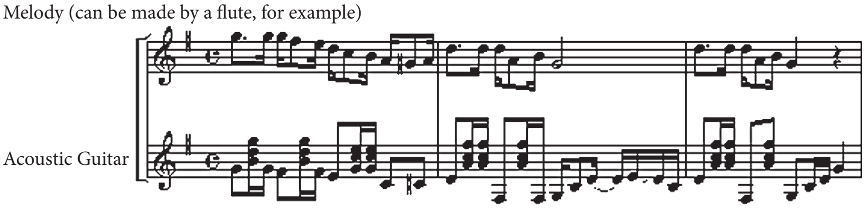
Example 2: A rhythm pattern from João Gilberto's recording 'Eu vim da Bahia' (1973)

Other authors have documented other rhythmic patterns, all variations of traditional *samba* patterns. Behague (1973), for example, cited some variations that can be heard in *bossa nova*, presented in Example 3.



Example 3: Some *bossa nova* rhythms cited by Behague (1973)

An important feature of *bossa nova* guitar style is the absence of *baixaria* – a kind of movement of bass notes (called *baixos*) in the acoustic guitar that is very common in *choro* (which employs a seven-string guitar with an added bass string) and *samba-do-morro* and characterized by a very strong sense of movement (Taborda 1995, see Example 4, measure 2). João Gilberto played without *baixaria,* and for many *samba* musicians this was a striking difference. Therefore, *bossa nova* created a new style in acoustic guitar in Brazil, very different from other traditions related to *choro*. In fact, many *choro* musicians described *bossa nova* as a way to play *samba* with no groove, inspiring a controversy among musicians and critics that was discussed in the press (Tinhorão 1966; Brito 1968).



Example 4: Example of *baixaria*, typical of *choro* tradition (Becker 1996)

3. New Instrumentation

Compared to instrumental patterns common in the *samba* of the 1950s, *bossa nova* is a more economical style (Naves 2000). In the 1950s four types of instrumentation were used in *samba*. The most traditional type was related to *choro* and its classical instrumentation: *violão* (acoustic guitar), *cavaquinho* (a small acoustic guitar with four strings), *flauta* (flute) and percussion (often represented by a kind of tambourine called a *pandeiro*). The second type was represented by brass bands, very popular in Brazilian music since the 1930s. In the 1940s this style became more popular under the name *gafieira* – a kind of dance hall where these orchestras played. The third type was represented by orchestras in which the stringed instruments, such as violins and violas, held a central position. This was the instrumentation typically used for *samba-canção*, the *samba* style influenced by *bolero*, and the orchestra's sonority was perceived to give a romantic flavor to the music. The fourth type was more related to carnival and very marked by percussion instruments, bringing its sonority closer to that of the *samba* schools of Rio de Janeiro. An example of this type was found in the work of Monsueto Menezes, an important *samba* artist of the 1950s.

Bossa nova either avoided these instrumental combinations or used them with great economy. The song 'Corcovado' (Tom Jobim), recorded by João Gilberto in 1960, is an example of typical *bossa nova* instrumentation. There is an acoustic guitar, played by João Gilberto, drums, played *pianissimo* and emphasizing cymbals and an orchestra of violins and violas, with minimal interventions by the strings. Sometimes bass and piano are employed, but like the drums and the orchestra, their interventions are minimal. Compared to traditional *samba*, *bossa nova* sounded less percussive and, in comparison with *samba-canção* and *bolero*, less effusive.

The central instrument of *bossa nova* was the acoustic guitar, João Gilberto's instrument. Castro (2001) wrote that *bossa nova* was responsible for the popularization of acoustic guitar among the middle class and the elite. Up to that point, the acoustic guitar was viewed negatively due to its association with the popular classes. João Gilberto and the *bossa nova* turned this vision upside down, and the middle-class youth of Rio de Janeiro and other cities began to play the acoustic guitar. A generation of singers and composers who played acoustic guitar – including Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil, Chico Buarque, Milton Nascimento, Edu Lobo and others –was inspired by João Gilberto.

Another type of instrumentation typical in *bossa nova* was instrumental trios of piano, bass and drums – sometimes a quartet with the addition of an acoustic guitar. These trios or quartets, influenced by jazz, often were used in the recordings of singers – but they recorded solo works too. Many groups of this type became famous in *bossa nova* history: Zimbo Trio, Jongo Trio, Tamba Trio, Quarteto de Oscar Castro Neves, among others. Piedade (2003), in a study about instrumental music in Brazil, pointed out that *bossa nova* created a new paradigm in the practice of instrumental music in Brazil, different from other traditions such as *choro* and *frevo*. This new paradigm was more related to US jazz sonorities – small groups with piano, bass and drums rather than *choro*'s guitar ensemble or *frevo*'s brass band – and more open to practices such as improvisation. For a generation of Brazilian instrumentalists including Hermeto Pascoal (multi-instrumentalist), Amilton Godoy (piano), Airto Moreira (percussion), Paulo Moura (saxophones) and others, *bossa nova* opened important work opportunities related to this new paradigm of instrumental music and its connections with US jazz (e.g., Hermeto Paschoal and Airto Moreira worked closely with the US free-jazz scene beginning in 1970).

4. New Harmonic Patterns

The song 'Desafinado' (Tom Jobim-Newton Mendonça) was audacious in its chromatic melody and, for many people in 1959, the song seemed strange – *desafinado* is the Portuguese word for 'out of tune.' This created the idea that the *bossa nova* initiated a revolution around the melodic patterns of Brazilian music (Castro 2001; Severiano e Homem de Mello 1997). However, studies (Becker 1996; Taborda 1995) show that *samba* melodies employed chromaticism before *bossa nova* emerged. *Bossa nova* did not introduce great melodic innovations in comparison with *samba*, which often employed diatonic scales with a flat 7. Further, songs by composers including Nelson Cavaquinho in the 1950s, or even Noel Rosa in the 1930s, include passages with unusual melodic movements. Nevertheless, *bossa nova* was viewed as a kind of 'melodic revolution,' and highly chromatic songs such as 'Desafinado' contributed to the growth of this reputation (Severiano e Homem de Mello 1997).

What was new in *bossa nova* was not the melodic line but the harmonization, which was marked by a great use of tension in chord construction. For example, chords employing the major 7th, 13th (and flat 13th), sharp 11th and 9th (and flat 9th) scale degrees are very common in the compositions of Tom Jobim, Roberto Menescal and others. Traditionally, *samba* harmonies employed triads (organized around the tonic, third and fifth), eventually including the flat 7 in the dominant chord. *Bossa nova* introduced a more intensive use of four (or more)-note chords. However, the movement of inverted chords (with the third or fifth in the bass), typical in traditional *samba* and the related practice of *baixaria,* was less common in *bossa nova* harmonization.

5. A New Lyrical Style

Bossa nova is characterized by a distinctive lyrical style. *Bossa nova* songs did not contain narratives such as those composed by Noel Rosa, Ismael Silva and other great *samba* composers of the 1930s and 1940s. Instead*, bossa nova* lyrics explored themes related to the state of the soul, impressions of love's enchantments and nature's beauty. Again, it is necessary to view *bossa nova*'s style more as a tendency than as a new musical invention. While these types of themes were also present in *samba* lyrics in the 1930s and 1940s, *bossa nova* made a more profound use of this style. In comparison with the very expressive style of the *samba-canção* of the 1950s, *bossa nova* represented something new. If *samba-canção* lyrics narrated death, passion crimes and hopeless love, *bossa nova* explored what became known in Brazil as the aesthetics of '*o sorriso, o amor e a flor*' (the smile, the love and the flower). Classic *bossa nova* songs such as 'Corcovado' (lyrics by Tom Jobim), 'Garota de Ipanema' (The Girl from Ipanema) (lyrics by Vinicius de Moraes) and 'O barquinho' (The Little Boat) (lyrics by Ronaldo Bôscoli) emphasize the natural elements of Rio de Janeiro, such as the sea and the beach. Leftists in the 1960s strongly criticized this aesthetic, which they viewed as alienated and disconnected from the social environment. However, this style of lyrics became an important point of reference for many subsequent musicians.

History

To understand *bossa nova*'s history and significance to Brazilian music, it is necessary to look at the musical context in which it emerged (Tinhorão 1998; Napolitano 2007). Brazilian music in the 1950s included two very popular musical genres: *samba-canção* and *baião*. Other important genres were clustered around seasonal events (e.g., the *samba-enredo* during Carnival) or areas (e.g., *musica sertaneja* for São Paulo and the Brazilian southern region, or *samba-de-morro* for neighborhoods with black populations in the northern area of Rio de Janeiro). *Samba-canção* and *baião*, however, were widespread throughout the country, and their great artists, including Ângela Maria and Luiz Gonzaga, were nationally successful. Nevertheless, for many members of the elite and middle classes, these genres were too popular and not sophisticated enough to be used as a sign of distinction. In the 1950s Brazil underwent an intensive process of urbanization and an urban middle class interested in signs of distinction emerged (Napolitano 2007). The *samba-canção*, with its aesthetics of excess, and the *baião*, with its references to the northeastern region – seen as the rural countryside by Rio de Janeiro – were viewed as bad taste by this urban middle class. So in the second half of the 1950s there was a favorable social field for the emergence of a modern musical genre (Mammi 1992) and the *bossa nova* was seen as a sophisticated musical product, able to provide a distinction – as theorized by Bourdieu (1984), that is, a higher position in the social field – to the urban middle class.

The pivotal year for *bossa nova* was 1958, when singer and acoustic guitar player João Gilberto made two 78-rpm recordings with the songs 'Chega de saudade/Bim Bom' (No More Blues/Bim Bom) (July 1958) and 'Desafinado/Ho-ba-la-lá' (Out of Tune/Ho-ba-la-lá) (November 1958). In 1959 he recorded his first LP, *Chega de saudade*. This album is credited as the starting point of *bossa nova* and became a legend in Brazilian music history. Between 1960 and 1961 João Gilberto recorded two other LPs. In all of his recordings, he included many songs by Tom Jobim. Therefore, Gilberto and Jobim are seen as the central figures of *bossa nova*.

However, these recordings by João Gilberto did not suddenly invent *bossa nova*. They represented the turning point for a tendency that had existed for a generation of musicians from Rio de Janeiro since the late 1940s. Some elements of *bossa nova* – the style of singing, for example – are recognizable in the works of certain singers of the late 1940s and early 1950s, such as Lúcio Alves and Dick Farney, and in compositions by Johnny Alf, Dolores Duran and Dorival Caymmi. These artists are seen as the precursors of *bossa nova* (Castro 2001), but their work also demonstrates the fact that some central elements of *bossa nova* already existed before João Gilberto's recordings. In fact, 'Chega de saudade' opened a field of possibilities and new directions in harmony and instrumentation for many professional musicians, including composers Tom Jobim, Newton Mendonça and João Donato, vocal group Os Cariocas, singer Silvinha Telles and musician Luiz Bonfá. Furthermore, the success of João Gilberto's recordings signaled the commercial possibility of the low style of singing. Singers such as Silvinha Telles and Lúcio Alves, who had already worked, before 1958, with this type of singing, became more visible after the success of João Gilberto.

To younger musicians who had not yet achieved professional recognition, João Gilberto's recordings opened a new door. These young people were very critical of *samba-canção* and its relationship to *bolero*. For them, 'Chega de saudade' had the modern sound they were looking for, and they transformed *bossa nova* into a musical movement between 1959 and 1960. Singing and playing guitar in the style pioneered by João Gilberto while making their own songs, some of these young people became very important in *bossa nova* history. Singers Nara Leão and Alaíde Costa; composers and guitar players Roberto Menescal and Carlos Lyra; lyricist Ronaldo Bôscoli; and pianists Oscar Castro Neves, Eumir Deodato and Sérgio Mendes among others produced some of the classic songs of the movement, including 'O barquinho' and 'Maria Ninguém' ('Maria Nobody') (Carlos Lyra).

The designation of *bossa nova*'s specific manner of playing and singing was reinforced by recordings of João Gilberto in which he played old *sambas* in the *bossa nova* style. Examples include 'Samba da minha terra' ('Samba of My Land') (Dorival Caymmi) and 'É luxo só' ('It's Such Luxury') (Ary Barroso), recorded by Gilberto in 1959 and 1961. These records show how *bossa nova* attempted to modernize the traditional (Garcia 1990; Napolitano 2007).

Record companies including Odeon and Philips viewed the works produced by the musicians mentioned above, between 1959 and 1961, as lucrative products for the youth market. In fact, *bossa nova* is frequently described as the first musical product directed to young people in Brazil. With the interest of record companies, this period saw the birth of many songs that became classics in Brazilian music: 'Desafinado' ('Out of Tune,' translated for the US market as 'Slightly Out of Tune' or 'Off Key') (Jobim and Mendonça), 'Insensatez' ('How Insensitive'), 'Corcovado' (the name of a mountain in Rio, translated for the US market as 'Quiet Nights of Quiet Stars') and 'Este seu olhar' ('This Your Sight,' translated for the US market as 'That Look You Wear') by Jobim, 'O barquinho' by Boscoli and Menescal, 'Maria Ninguém' (released in the US market with its Portuguese name) and 'Lobo bobo' ('Silly Wolf') by Carlos Lyra, and 'Chora tua tristeza' ('Cry Your Sadness') by Oscar Castro Neves. At the same time, *bossa nova* expanded beyond Rio de Janeiro to other Brazilian cities including São Paulo, Porto Alegre and Belo Horizonte.

If between 1959 and 1961 the consolidation of *bossa nova* took place, in 1962 two events were very important to its history. The first was the release of 'Garota de Ipanema,' a composition by Tom Jobim and Vinícius de Moraes that became a kind of anthem of *bossa nova* and the most famous Brazilian song in the world. This song was performed for the first time at the only concert in which Jobim, Moraes and João Gilberto appeared together – with the vocal group 'Os Cariocas' in August 1962. The first recording of the song was released by the Brazilian singer Pery Ribeiro in 1963. That same year the song was recorded by Tom Jobim for the US market, with English lyrics by Norman Gimbel and the title 'The Girl from Ipanema.' But the song's worldwide fame resulted from the recording made by Stan Getz and João Gilberto in 1964, with Portuguese and English vocals by Astrud Gilberto. This recording won the Grammy Award for Record of the Year in 1965 and reached high positions on the pop charts of many countries (e.g., on the 1964 US pop charts the song reached number five). Thereafter, 'Garota de Ipanema' became both a symbol of *bossa nova* and a musical symbol of Brazil, recorded in many languages (French, Italian, English, Spanish and so on). Furthermore, the song was recorded by renowned artists including Ella Fitzgerald, Sarah Vaughan, The Supremes and Frank Sinatra, among others.

The success of 'Garota de Ipanema' was directly related to the second important event that took place in 1962: the *bossa nova* Concert at Carnegie Hall, in New York, held in November of that year. This show was presented to the Brazilian public and, chiefly, to Brazilian musical critics – including many conservatives who opposed *bossa nova* – as a consecration of *bossa nova*. To the Brazilian urban middle classes, the American attention to *bossa nova* was important because it implied recognition of the modernity of Brazilian society. In this sense, *bossa nova* was presented as the first modern musical product developed in Brazil and exported abroad. Furthermore, it had an advantage: unlike other music that obtained early international success – Carmem Miranda's songs, for example, in the 1940s – *bossa nova* sounded modern and not exotic. To the *bossa nova* generation, Carmem Miranda was an example of Brazil's cultural underdevelopment, with her use of stereotypes related to Brazilian culture and her tropical aesthetics (they despised her singing 'Yes, We Have No Bananas'). The advantage of *bossa nova*, to its fans, was its modern sonority: its cool and sophisticated aesthetics, without tropical stereotypes and without signs of underdevelopment. The Carnegie Hall concert was viewed by its musicians and fans as the victory of this modern image.

It is important, however, to perceive this concert as only a sign of a broader process: the entry of *bossa nova* into the US market and its connections with US and European pop music in the 1960s. Between 1959 and 1961 US musicians playing in Brazil had come in contact with *bossa nova* – for example Lena Horne, Barnie Kessel, Sarah Vaughan, Nat King Cole, Sammy Davis, Billy Eckstine, Tony Bennett, Charles Byrd – and this contact was very important for *bossa nova*'s export. At the end of 1960 Capitol released the LP *Brazil's Brilliant João Gilberto* in the United States. In March 1962 Stan Getz and Charles Byrd released a version of 'Desafinado' that sold very well. So, the Carnegie Hall Concert in November 1962 was only an element of this broader process.

However, the fact that this concert was the first time that the principal names of *bossa nova* played outside of Brazil (Tom Jobim, João Gilberto and Roberto Menescal), and the additional fact that the audience included Miles Davis, Dizzie Gillespie, Herbie Mann and other important figures of the US jazz scene, transformed the occasion into a mythical event in narratives about *bossa nova* history. To *bossa nova* musicians, the concert represented the international possibilities of *bossa nova* music – João Gilberto and Tom Jobim, for example, after the concert, signed recording contracts to work in the United States. If between 1959 and 1961 *bossa nova* was presented to foreign audiences, its consecration, from the point of view of its fans and musicians, occurred at the Carnegie Hall Concert.

Between 1960 and 1965 *bossa nova* was very prominent in US and European popular music, including the jazz scene. During this time, many US artists released versions of *bossa nova* songs: for example, Lena Horne (1963: 'Meditation' by Tom Jobim and Newton Mendonça), Miles Davis (1962: 'Corcovado' by Jobim), Charles Byrd (1963: the LP *Once More: Bossa Nova*), Oscar Peterson (1964: 'Girl from Ipanema' by Jobim) and the LP by Frank Sinatra and Tom Jobim (1967).

The popularity of *bossa nova* brought about a change in its public. Between 1959 and 1961 it was known by a small public that was involved in the jazz scene. After the recordings by Jobim and João Gilberto in the United States beginning in 1963, the many versions made of *bossa nova* songs (cited above) and the great commercial success of 'The Girl from Ipanema' with João Gilberto, Astrud Gilberto and Stan Getz, *bossa nova* became an element of US and European pop music in the second half of the 1960s. Arrangers such as Leroy Holmes (who worked with popular singers of the 1960s such as Connie Francis and Shirley Bassey), Si Zentner and Martin Denny used elements of *bossa nova* (chiefly its rhythm) in their arrangements (some of these arrangements can be heard in the compilation album *Ultra Lounge Bossa Novaville*). Two examples of this relationship between *bossa nova* and US and European pop music in the second half of the 1960s were the recordings made by Claudine Longet in 1967 and 1968 and the success of Brazil'66, a group led by Brazilian pianist Sérgio Mendes. Longet, a French singer who had great success in the United States with her debut album, released Jobim's songs as 'How Insensitive' (Insensatez) and 'Meditation' (Meditação) in 1967. She sang not only songs by Brazilian composers but also other songs in the *bossa nova* style. Sérgio Mendes and Brazil'66 introduced *bossa nova* elements in arrangements of pop songs such as 'Fool on the Hill' and 'With a Little Help from My Friends' by the Beatles and 'Look of Love' by Burt Bacharach. With this formula, Sérgio Mendes became extremely popular in the United States and Europe between 1967 and 1972.

While *bossa nova* was becoming an international musical genre, in Brazil other important changes involving the genre were occurring. It is important to note the beginning of the collaboration between the poet Vinícius de Moraes and the acoustic guitar player Baden Powell, which would result in many songs recorded later, in the 1966 LP *Afro-Sambas*. These songs were influenced by *bossa nova* aesthetics but also used unusual musical elements for the genre. Some songs, for example, were influenced by rhythmic patterns from black traditions of Bahia, such as *capoeira* (a kind of danced martial art form) and *candomble* (an important Brazilian religion with many connections to African traditions). These 'Afro-Sambas,' received as a 'different thing' between 1962 and 1966, indicated the new tendency of Brazilian music: the confluence of some *bossa nova* elements – such as the singing style – with other musical styles, such as traditional *samba* or certain rural genres. This confluence was developed on different levels – singing style, lyrics, performance – and was the basis, around 1964 and 1965, for the emergence of a new musical tendency and associated discourse about Brazilian music called MPB (*Música Popular Brasileira*) (Brazilian popular music). A landmark for the emergence of MPB was the show *Opinião*, in 1965, which united an important *bossa nova* personality, singer Nara Leão, a traditional *samba* singer, Zé Kéti, and a singer of rural music from the northeastern region, João do Vale.

MPB expressed a more intimate relationship between music and politics in Brazil. In the second half of the 1950s and throughout the 1960s a debate about Brazilian culture and its modernization in the context of the Cold War flourished in Brazil, producing a new interest in Brazilian traditions among the youth (Contier 1998; Napolitano 2007). *Bossa nova* was accused by members of the press and intellectual circles of being elitist and too closely related to US jazz music (Tinhorão 1966). MPB developed as a response to this, with its confluence of some *bossa nova* elements with other traces seen as more traditional. *Afro-Sambas* in 1962 and the program *Opinião* in 1964 pointed to this confluence. However, *bossa nova* fans and critics viewed this LP and program not as *bossa nova*, but as another genre. Around 1965 *bossa nova* was described as a style of the past and a precursor of MPB.

Conclusion

After 1965 *bossa nova* was heard more in other countries than it was in Brazil. The international career of many *bossa nova* musicians such as João Gilberto, Tom Jobim, Sérgio Mendes, João Donato and others helped create the image of *bossa nova* as a modern musical symbol of Brazil. Furthermore, as the first musical genre related to the youth market in Brazil, it laid the groundwork for subsequent musical discourses. In 1967 Caetano Veloso, beginning his musical production and the *Tropicalismo* movement, declared that he wanted to 'retake the evolutionary line of *bossa nova*,' continuing its modernization project (Pinheiro 1992).

Bossa nova is popular in many parts of the world, and is an important influence on the works of many international artists: the French group Nouvelle Vague, the Philippine singer Satti Navarro, the American-Brazilian singer Bebel Gilberto (João Gilberto's daughter) and so on. *Bossa nova* also is a foundation for lounge music and easy listening background music. In addition, the *bossa nova* classics are top sellers in many parts of the world. In Japan, for example, sales of Brazilian music consist chiefly of *bossa nova* records. For many people, in many places of the world, Brazilian music is *bossa nova*. But *bossa nova* also holds an important place for Brazilians in the history of Brazilian popular music. In 2008 many festivals and recordings took place in Brazil to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the genre, which denotes its historical importance.

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ALLAN DE PAULA OLIVEIRA

Bouyon

Bouyon is a dance music genre that originated in Dominica in the Eastern Caribbean toward the end of the 1980s. It was created by the Dominican band WCK by combining elements from *jing ping*, the traditional folk music of Dominica, and *cadence-lypso*, a modern Dominican genre created in the 1970s by another Dominican band, Exile One. The term *bouyon* is derived from the French Creole word, meaning soup and/or broth, reflecting the mixing of different musical 'ingredients' that went into its creation. With its characteristically upbeat rhythm and strident sound, *bouyon* quickly became the main dance hall and party music in Dominica and spurred the creation of new bands performing the genre. In the early 2000s *bouyon* functions alongside calypso as the main 'jump up' (street dancing) music of Dominica's carnival. It is also known as 'jump up' music in the neighboring French Departments, Guadeloupe and Martinique, an apt description that reflects its upbeat rhythm and its popularity as a street dancing music of carnival and fetes.

Origins

One of WCK's founders, keyboard virtuoso and top rate sound engineer Cornell Phillip, recalls that an early impetus in the development of *bouyon* occurred when the band shared a rehearsal venue with a *jing ping* band, and took the opportunity to experiment with the earlier genre (personal interview February 2008). Coincidentally, WCK had been seeking to create an authentic original sound to differentiate it from other bands and to fill the void left by the decline of *cadence-lypso* as a popular homegrown genre. According to Phillip, he and fellow WCK musicians explored the various elements, timbres and rhythms of *jing ping* and reproduced them using electronic instruments, synthesizers and sound technology, in some cases sampling original *jing ping* drum or accordion phrasings. They also explored the *cadence-lypso* sound of the 1970s and *lapo kabwit*, the traditional street dancing music of carnival. The WCK album *Culture Shock* (1990) represents the first commercial release arising out of these efforts and 'set the stage for defining *bouyon*' (Cornell Phillip, personal interview February 2008).

Bouyon is typically very strident and fast paced. A slower version exists but this has not been accorded its own 'brand' name, as happened in the cases of *zouk love* and *konpa love*. *Bouyon*'s primary melodic timbre is derived from the accordion of *jing ping* music. Its percussion elements are derived from *jing ping* and *cadence-lypso*. The core beat is laid down by the snare and kick drums, the snare in particular replicating the *tanbal* in *jing ping*. Bass lines at times replicate those of the *boum* (bamboo instrument) of *jing ping* but also include styles from *cadence-lypso*, *soca* and *zouk*. Compared to *cadence-lypso*, there is a limited presence of the guitar both as lead and as rhythm instrument. The overall structure is typical of Caribbean verse-chorus call-and-response, with melodic phrasings on the accordion, and steel drums and synth brass leads as timbres of choice. The music is strongly percussive but includes vocals, keyboard and horn phrases as well.

Bouyon lyrics are expressed in *Kweyol* (French Creole) and English Creole. The main themes are current social issues, cultural awareness, local gossip and the lighter party 'jump and wave' theme. While the musical and sound engineering skills of keyboard maestro Cornell Phillip were critical for the instrumental aspects of the genre, the contribution of WCK drummer and lead singer Derek 'Rah' Peters (who began his career in the 1970s) was pivotal in setting the *bouyon* lyrical style. There is some borrowing from Jamaican Creole and the raggamuffin dancehall vocal styles, a feature common to much contemporary Caribbean music. Indeed, a 'Bouyonmuffin' subgenre was touted with WCK singer Skinny Banton as one of its leading proponents.

Developments and Impact

Building on WCK's success, other Dominican bands rallied around the new sound. These included First Serenade, Tripple Kay, Rough and Reddy, Seramix and Raw Riddeem. The availability of home studios meant that the bands were able to release records in a steady stream. The widespread availability of FM radio and, later, the internet helped *bouyon* spread throughout the Eastern Caribbean, including Barbados and Trinidad, as well as among the Caribbean diaspora in the United States, Canada and Britain. WCK's 'Conch Shell' (1993) and 'Balance Batty' (1995) were particularly big hits in the Eastern Caribbean region. In the French Caribbean, *bouyon* developed a following particularly in Guadeloupe where there is a significant Dominican population. It resonates with the youth in these French Departments in a similar way as reggae dancehall.

Energetic and frenetic, *bouyon* is clearly the music of celebration. The dance formulas are very much like those in *soca* and dancehall, 'jump and wave,' 'wine and jam,' and offer quite a contrast to those of *cadence-lypso* or *zouk*. Because of this, *bouyon* remains young people's music. The older generation continue to prefer *cadence-lypso*. The slower form of bouyon, which might have appealed to this age group, has not taken off, most likely due to the fact that *zouk love* fills in the gap for a slower groove in the dance halls.

Not surprisingly, given that many Dominican calypso recordings are made at Imperial Studios operated by Cornell Phillip, *bouyon* has also influenced calypso music in the island. Early twenty-first-century recordings by calypsonians Dice, Observer and Hunter make use of *bouyon* drumbeats and accordion timbre, thus giving Dominican calypsos a musical character which differentiates it from the calypso of Trinidad. Interestingly, calypsonian 'Hunter' has also explored the *lapo kabwit* genre with considerable success, showing a possible way for both genres to feed from each other as the music evolves. *Bouyon,* with its fresh appeal and timbre, has also influenced the *soca* sound, so much so that, since about 2005, Dominican musicians have become concerned at what they see as the importing of bouyon by Trinidadian musicians and its rebranding as *soca*.

Bouyon is nurtured by the proliferation of Caribbean carnivals, which may be found taking place either in the Caribbean or in the Caribbean diaspora at any time of year. With improved air travel, *bouyon* bands are a regular feature of annual Caribbean carnivals in London, New York and Toronto, for example. These and similar events bring with them a great demand for street dancing music such as *bouyon* or *soca*, both genres with 130–140 bpm. *Bouyon* and *soca* nights also feature in pubs and clubs in Caribbean neighborhoods in these and other cities.

As a brand, *bouyon* is well established in the early twenty-first century. Dominican and Caribbean radio stations, available online, help to disseminate the music to global audiences, and the internet is increasingly used by Dominicans in the diaspora to buy and distribute the music and circulate information about it. In the view of WCK's Cornell Phillip, the key issue facing the ongoing development of *bouyon* is the further marketing of the product, placing greater emphasis on reaching global markets and on positioning the brand on the international music landscape, something that competition from *soca*, with its incorporation of the *bouyon* sound, makes especially urgent.

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GREGORY RABESS

Brega

An apparently new category was introduced to the field of Brazilian popular music in 1984. With the release and success of rock singer Eduardo Dusek's album *Brega-chique, chique-brega*, the word *brega,* which did not appear in the best Portuguese dictionaries of the time, started puzzling popular music critics, journalists and the public in general. Often asked to define it, the singer himself pointed out that, although *brega* was an informal term applied to a whole body of mass-oriented popular music, its meaning had roots in broader socioeconomic phenomena.

According to Dusek (see Xexéo 1984), *brega* as a musical term would mean *música periférica* ('peripheral music') for 'the great masses of the interior,' interior in this case being much more an economic category (i.e., relatively distant from the metropolis) than a geographical one (a small coastal city or the poor neighborhoods and slums of a big city would be considered 'interior' under this criterion). There was also, affirmed Dusek, a social meaning in *brega,* a term used in Rio de Janeiro as a derogatory substitute for domestic servant. As an extension of that sense, the term might also be applied to anything vulgar, dated, kitsch or, in a more abstract way, to any 'representation of nothing' (Xexéo 1984, 78).

Perhaps due to the fact that the album in question contained explicit references to the name and repertoire of singer/songwriter Amada Batista (side 1, track I), the latter was promptly singled out in the media accounts as the consummate representative of a '*brega* genre.' A popular music critic, in a pioneer review of Batista's eighth LP, *Casamento forçado* (Forced Marriage), observed that Dusek's success caused the public to become 'acquainted with the existence of the word only, since the *brega* genre remains ignored' (Kubrusly 1984, 69, author's translation) and provided a very generic description of its features. According to Kubrusly's perception, the 'genre' was obviously modeled after the 1960s *Jovem Guarda* movement, involving a singing style which immediately evoked the early Roberto Carlos and the repetition of textual (naive romanticism) and musical (inspired by American and British rock groups of the late 1950s and early 1960s) *Jovem Guarda* cliches; distinguishing *brega* from its model, still following the same source, there was the 'crude language' employed in the texts. This very concise description, despite the further interest on the *brega* issue, was apparently the only attempt to specify the main features of the correspondent musical 'genre' made to that point. Amado Batista's own recollections (see Anonymous 1984b) of his first exposures to music when still living and working on a farm seem to confirm the impact of *Jovem Guarda* upon him. Besides the dance music played for local *bailes* (country balls) on *violas* (ten-string guitars) and *sanfonas* (accordions), he remembers singing Roberto Carlos's hit 'O Calhambeque' (1963) while working with his shovel, thinking about becoming an 'artist.' In 1976 he managed to record a song symptomatically called 'Desisto' (I Give Up), which would eventually become his first hit and the beginning of a commercially successful recording career.

If one listens to 'Desisto' with a degree of familiarity with the *Jovem Guarda* idiom, a direct association may be observed between the two. For example, each stanza of the song's enigmatic text basically comprises a rather simple rhyme scheme of AABCCB, which may be commonly found in many samples from the *Jovem Guarda* repertoire. The same observation applies to the trivial character of the lyrics, properly conveyed by the nasal and contrivedly inhibited vocal tone, a Roberto Carlos trademark. It is, however, the musical component that causes a closer relationship with the *Jovem Guarda* style to emerge. Characteristic of the latter, for instance, is the rhythmic accentuation in quadruple meter provided by the drums, the anticipation at the end of the melodic phrases and subphrases, and the repetition of the introductory instrumental solo before each repetition of the basic structure.

An examination of 45 pieces recorded by Amado Batista and released between 1984 and 1986, some of which (including 'Desisto') are reissues, reveals that the repetition, sometimes with slight variations, of the musical features highlighted above is found in at least 38 of them. The song texts in the same sample are mostly love songs, alternating between an introspective mood close to that of 'Desisto' and, less often, a more erotic tone. A few lyrics eventually convey tragic situations in a very direct manner, as is the case of the controversial song 'O fruto do nosso amor' (literally 'The Fruit of Our Love'; for an analysis of this song see Araujo 2007).

Another top-selling singer picked in the mid-1980s as representative of *brega* was Carlos Santos, who, in an unusual fashion in that period, recorded on his privately owned label, Gravasom, established in Belém, the capital city of the Northern state of Pará. Santos's output was distributed solely in an area relatively remote from the main urban centers such as Rio and São Paulo, and only three out of the 24 songs included in two of his albums, released in 1984 and 1985, would allow immediate associations with Amado Batista's *Jovem Guarda*-modeled style. Generally, however, Santos's repertoire consists of quite contrasting material, with most of the songs in both albums drawing upon popular genres from northern Brazil such as the *lambada,* with its characteristic Caribbean-like rhythmic accent. In those pieces, the usual *Jovem Guarda* instrumental ensemble of electric guitar, electric bass, drum set and, occasionally, piano or organ is often reinforced by brass (mainly trumpet and saxophone) and percussion instruments (congas), as heard in 'Só pra você' (Just for You) (1984). Thus, even in the songs (the majority of the repertoire) consisting of elements that apparently come from sources other than *Jovem Guarda*, influences of the latter may still be felt partially in the composition of the accompanying ensemble and, perhaps more effectively, in the contents of the lyrics.

Similar intersections with *Jovem Guarda* elements may be found in other extremely popular trends emerging in the 1980s such as the *samba-romântico* of Agepê and Wando, or the *brega sertaneja* of Milionário and José Rico, setting long-standing patterns in Brazil to this date.

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SAMUEL ARAÚJO

BRock

'BRock' is a contraction of 'Brazilian rock' and refers to 1980s Brazilian pop-rock, a genre noted for the engagement of its exponents with social and political issues in Brazil. This defining aspect of the genre led to its understanding and acceptance by intellectuals and musicians, thus helping to legitimize the integration of rock into Brazilian music.

In 1964 the Brazilian army took power and established a dictatorship that imposed high levels of civil repression. Many artists protested against the government, but to avoid military censorship composers penned metaphorical lyrics with implicit meaning that might be understood by their audiences. The military dictatorship lasted until 1985, when President Tancredo Neves was elected and the Nova República (New Republic) was established. Subsequently, Brazilian social problems could be discussed more openly, resulting in changes in the way artists communicated with their audience.

When rock 'n' roll emerged in Brazil in the 1950s and 1960s, it was not engaged with Brazilian politics. Most rock 'n' roll songs were about love, cars and youth rebellion against adults. As a consequence, rock 'n' roll was considered by some Brazilian musicians and intellectuals to be a form of alienation and Americanization that could lead to the destruction of Brazilian popular music. BRock emerged from the new opportunity that occurred with the transition to the Nova República. Freedom of expression was regained, and some musicians wrote lyrics that addressed social problems and criticized the Brazilian establishment. BRock demonstrated that rock could be integrated creatively into Brazilian music, addressing Brazil's political problems. Thus, BRock changed rock's status in Brazil from that of an alienating music to that of a music with revolutionary power.

BRock bands assumed different musical features, but they shared the use of electric and bass guitars and drums as their basic instruments to integrate pop, rock, punk and new wave styles. Two main trends developed simultaneously in BRock. One trend, exemplified by bands such as Blitz, Gang 90 and Kid Abelha, was related to pop rock and new wave, and its exponents appropriated disco music, synthesizers and electronic drums. The other trend, adopted by bands such as Legião Urbana, Capital Inicial, Titãs and DeFalla, was closer to punk music and punk values, with much harsher criticism of Brazilian social issues. Some BRock bands, such as Paralamas do Sucesso, created their own style by combining both trends.

Although the BRock movement comprised bands with different musical projects and goals, common features included humor as well as irony as a form of criticism, the latter being an essential element of Brazilian art and the construction of national identity in both the Brazilian Modernism movement of the 1920s and the *Tropicália* movement of the 1960s. Since Brazilian rock originated in Brazil's big cities, city life also was an important theme. Cities appeared romanticized or as cruel places. Urban themes opposed BRock to Brazilian genres that idealized the countryside, such as *caipira* and *sertanejo* music. Therefore, BRock relied on continuity, especially with regard to irony, but at the same time broke away from other forms of Brazilian popular music.

Regional BRock Movements and Bands

BRock originated simultaneously in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Brasília. An early BRock band from Rio was João Penca & seus Miquinhos Amestrados, a rockabilly band from the 1950s and 1960s that returned in the late 1970s with the participation of Leo Jaime. Another Rio band, Blitz, emerged in 1980. In São Paulo, Gang 90 was established in 1981. Blitz and Gang 90 adopted the musical styles of British and US new wave bands from the 1970s and the 1980s, including the use of synthesizers and electronic drums, along with a flamboyant dress style and the alternation of male leading vocals with female backing vocals. Blitz achieved great national fame. After the band broke up in 1986, its leader Evandro Mesquita became a relatively successful solo singer and television actor. Fernanda Abreu, one of Blitz's female backing vocalists, became an eminent dance music singer; and Lobão, the drummer, started a singing and a songwriting career of his own, becoming a key figure in BRock and, later, in the development of contemporary rock. While João Penca & seus Miquinhos Amestrados, Blitz and Gang 90 were not characterized by the social protest that was to strengthen BRock, one of the distinctive features of these bands was their humor.

The other three bands that were fundamental to Carioca (Rio-based) BRock were Kid Abelha, formed in 1982, Paralamas do Sucesso, formed at the end of the 1970s and Barão Vermelho, formed in 1981. All continued their careers into the early twenty-first century. Kid Abelha, famous for female singer Paula Toller's sweet vocals, integrated disco and new wave, through the use of synthesizers and electronic drums, with lyrics focused on love and teenage life. Paralamas's musical style was a mix of pop, new wave, Afro-Brazilian rhythms and reggae, relying on reggae bass lines combined with offbeat guitar and keyboard. Their lyrics were characterized by humor, and later, by an ironic manner of criticizing the establishment. For example, the song 'A Novidade' (The New, 1986) attacks social inequality by describing class-based responses to the arrival of a mermaid on the beach: the rich desire the 'goddess kisses' while the poor want her 'fishtail for supper.' Paralamas achieved great fame in South America, especially in Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and Venezuela. Barão Vermelho mixed new wave with hard rock, blues and rock 'n' roll. The band was strongly influenced by the music of the Rolling Stones. Cazuza, Vermelho's former vocalist, a bohemian and polemical figure, became famous for his poetic and creative lyrics criticizing the bourgeoisie's way of life.

In Brasília, an early BRock band who appropriated British and US punk was Aborto Elétrico, formed in the late 1970s. This band lasted a few years and left no recordings. However, after the breakup of Aborto Elétrico, in 1982 its former members founded Legião Urbana and Capital Inicial. These two bands, also integrating punk, became the leading BRock bands from Brasília. In 1985, the year of the establishment of 'Nova República,' Legião Urbana released its first record, *Legião Urbana* (*Urban Legion*), strengthening the critical approach that was to be the main feature of BRock. The deep voice of Renato Russo is one of Legião Urbana's distinctive features. Like Cazuza, Renato Russo was celebrated for the combination of lyricism and protest in his songs. Criticizing the government and the establishment, Renato Russo's lyrics also dealt with love (including homosexual love), sex and the relationship of teenagers with their parents. For example, the lyrics of *Legião Urbana*'s hardcore song 'Geração Coca Cola' (Coke Cola Generation), which legitimized rock as a form of political protest, argued that 1980s youth, the generation born and raised under the dictatorship and 'contaminated' with Coca Cola and rock's Americanization, had the potential to change the country. The song 'Que país é este?' (What Country Is This?) (from the album *Que país é este?*, 1987) bitterly addresses the Brazilian government's corruption and hypocrisy vis-à-vis the Brazilian Constitution. In the same album, the song 'Tédio' (Tedium) criticizes the characteristic way of life of the city of Brasília (the Brazilian President's home), opposing Brasília's hypocritical morality against the band's hedonistic way of life.

São Paulo's main BRock bands were Titãs, formed in 1982 with a mixture of new wave, MPB, reggae and punk; Ira!, formed in 1981 with punk leanings; and Ultraje À Rigor, formed in 1983 with a blend of punk and surf music styles. These bands still existed at the time of writing in the early 2010s. The most prolific of São Paulo bands, Titãs's style features harsh lyrics and, frequently, profanity. A typical example of Titãs's anti-lyricism and amorality is the Dadaist song 'Bixos escrotos' (Scrotum Beasts), from the album *Cabeça dinossauro* (*Dinosaur Head*, 1986), which describes disgusting images of beasts such as rats, cockroaches and fleas. In the same album, the hit song 'Polícia' (Police) addresses the usual violence perpetrated by police, who – in theory – should protect the people. Ultraje À Rigor's song 'Inútil' (Useless), from the album *Nós vamos invadir sua praia* (*We Are Going To Invade Your Beach,* 1985), is a typical example of the use of irony as a form of criticism. In the song, Ultraje À Rigor ridicules the Brazilian citizen's lack of autonomy, especially with regard to the choice of leaders under the dictatorship. The title song 'Nós vamos invadir sua praia' addresses the social inequalities of Rio de Janeiro, especially the elitist exclusivity of some of Rio's beaches.

Porto Alegre also generated important BRock bands, including pop/rock bands Engenheiros do Hawaii, launched in 1985, and Nenhum de Nós, formed in 1986; and also the punk/funk/hard rock band De Falla, formed in 1984. Engeneiros of Hawaii is the Porto Alegre's band that achieved the highest level of popularity. The use of poetic and critical lyrics, especially addressing the nonsense of violence and war, is the most distinctive feature of this band.

Conclusion

In spite of the revolutionary intent of its early leaders, BRock became established as a mainstream genre in Brazilian popular music by the 1980s. As a result, BRock's critical stance and relationship with punk lost credibility in the eyes of many twenty-first-century rock musicians. Thus, in the 1990s and twenty-first century, critically engaged rock and punk bands attempted to differentiate themselves from BRock, despite its recovery of freedom of expression in the post-military dictatorship era and its role in legitimizing rock as a Brazilian popular musical genre.

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TATYANA DE ALENCAR JACQUES

Bugio

Bugio is an instrumental genre from the southern Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul. It is performed by either the '*gaita-ponto*' (a diatonic button accordion) or the accordion, together with an instrumental lineup that includes the guitar and, in some cases, bass and drums. The blades that produce the sound of the two types of accordions are made of different materials – metal for the accordion, and wood, for the *gaita-ponto* – creating an important timbral difference between them.

Bugio is part of the Brazilian popular music repertoire that is known as *música gaúcha*/*gauchesca*.

As Lucas (1990) has noted, during the nineteenth century European travelers, journalists and local intellectuals observed the existence of a party called *fandango* in rural communities in Rio Grande do Sul, during which a suite of dances was executed. The local folklorist João Cezimbra Jacques documented these dances extensively at the end of the nineteenth century. In a book first published in 1911 he described them as 'tap-danced dances' played with a 10- or 12-string viola (Jacques 1979 [1911]). Jacques investigated dances such as *cará*, *serrana*, *anu*, *tatu*, *tirana* and *chimarrita*. Among the *fandango* dances, the *chimarrita*, the *tirana* and the *anu* were the only ones that persisted until the second half of the nineteenth century. By the end of the century the European dances such as mazurka, waltz and polka, and the Cuban *habanera* had replaced the old fandango dances in the rural areas.

The Movimento Tradicionalista Gaúcho (Traditionalistic Gaucho Movement), which started in the early 1940s in Rio Grande do Sul, also undertook research on the genres that would be considered the 'roots' of *música gaúcha*. In 1956 Paixão Côrtes and Barbosa Lessa (members of the MTG) published *Manual de Danças Gaúchas* (Manual of *Gaúchas* Dances). In spite of the controversies concerning the authenticity of the genres they presented, the study became an important reference work and was responsible for identifying a few folkloric rhythmic and melodic patterns which were a source of inspiration for regional music and its component genres.

Bugio's foremost characteristics are the timbral and rhythmic inflections extracted by the accordion player from the bellows of the instrument. A low sound is played holding the bass buttons and shaking the bellows, imitating the howl of the *bugio* monkey, a red howler monkey found in the forests of the Rio Grande do Sul mountains and mission areas and known for the distinctive howl with which it marks its territory. This sound is called the *ronco da baixaria*, the snore of the basses. Another common effect is a simulation of a kind of question-and-answer pattern through the alternation between the right- and left-hand buttons. (Lucas 1990, 224). The *bugio* 'O Casamento da Doralice' (Marriage of Doralice) was the first recording of the genre, made in 1955 by a group called *Irmãos Bertussi*. Nowadays, two cities (São Francisco de Assis and São Francisco de Paula) dispute the title of place of 'origin' of the genre. The musicologist Bangel (1989) believes that *bugio* has its roots in the *lundu* and in the *modinha* – genres of the popular music performed during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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FERNANDA MARCON AND
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Bumba-Meu-Boi

Bumba-meu-Boi is a folk dance and pageant in northeastern Brazil. It is one of Brazil's most aesthetically and socially significant *folguedos* (traditional street festivals), involving community participation in music, poetry and theater. The term '*Bumba*' is an interjection indicating a roar, a knock or an invitation to dance.

Bumba-meu-Boi is a kind of folk opera, the content of which centers around the legend of a rancher who owns a beautiful and intelligent ox (*boi* in Portuguese) that knows how to dance. One of the rancher's cowboys steals the ox in order to satisfy the craving of his pregnant wife, who feels like she must eat the ox's tongue or else will lose her baby. The rancher notices the disappearance of the ox and, with the help of Indians and *Caboclos* (Brazilians of mixed European and Indian ancestry), finds out that the ox is already dead. The animal is brought back to life with the help of some traditional religious practices and starts to dance again.

The oldest reference to a performance of *Bumba-meu-Boi* is found in the 1 January 1840 edition of the newspaper *O Carapuceiro,* published in Recife, capital of the state of Pernambuco (Barroso 1996, 43). There is a consensus among scholars, however (Andrade 1968a; Barroso 1996; Brandão 1962; Mello 1946), that this festivity appeared in the north-east of Brazil at the end of the seventeenth century, with the first appearance of cattle as an economic factor in the populating of the backlands. Along with that, there appeared collections of ballad poetry (known as *romanceiros*) dedicated to the life, passion and death of oxen with famous names, all known for their bravery. Barroso (1996, 42) also formulated the hypothesis that *Bumba-meu-Boi* was originally performed by *reisados* (*reisados* are small theatrical groups that go into the streets to dance and sing on the eve of the Epiphany), who united their *intermezzos* (interludes) to form a single *folguedo* in which *Bumba-meu-Boi* would be the main feature (there are still many locations in the north-east of Brazil today where '*Reisados*' are called '*Bois*'). Through migration, this form of entertainment spread throughout other states under different names: *Bumba-meu-Boi* in the state of Maranhão, *Boi Bumba* in the states of Amazonas and Pará, *Boi Surubim*, *Boi Calemba* and *Boi de Reis* in the northeastern states, *Boi de Mamão* in the state of Santa Catarina, and *Bumba* or *Boisinho* in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. It also took on different forms of performance, costumes, characters, music, dance and props; was performed at different times of the year (during the June Festivities [*Festas Juninas*] or Epiphany [January]); and incorporated different themes. Told and retold within oral tradition, the founding legend acquired the contours of satire, comedy and tragedy, introducing allegorical characters where conflict almost always has a happy outcome.

The Parintins Festival (on Tupinanbarana Island, in the state of Amazonas), which is considered one of the most popular events in Latin America in the early twenty-first century, is centered on the performance of *Boi Bumbá*. Over 35,000 people gather at the Bumbódromo (a kind of parade stadium) to watch the dispute between participants of the drama about two oxen (*bois*) named 'Garantido' (predominantly red in color) and 'Caprichoso' (predominantly blue). The two rival groups march under special lighting and sound effects for around 3 hours, singing of the feats of the two animals (represented by an enormous puppet in the shape of an ox with a person inside its body controlling the dance), and the legends, myths and modes of life of the forest peoples. The orchestra of each group has more than 400 rhythm-makers. Along with various metallic instruments and indigenous idiophones (including the *pau d'água*, which imitates the sound of rainfall, and the *xeque-xeque*, a type of rattle), are drums called *treme-terra* (trembling earth), made from oil barrels, which provide the backbone of rhythm in the orchestras of both groups.

In *Bumba-meu-Boi* in the state of Maranhão there is no rivalry between the groups and the costume colors are left to the discretion, taste and purchasing power of each association. In addition, performances are given in town squares and streets. The festivities run from June to September, when the death of the *Boi* is celebrated. The fabric that covers the framework of the animal is removed so it can be painted and embroidered again during the following year, and new tunes are composed, thus renewing the cycle of celebration. The confluence of Amerindian, African and European ethnicities is perceived through the orchestral instruments, costumes, choreography and melodies of cowboys' calls and tunes. Local styles of *Bumba-meu-boi* are characterized by 'sotaques,' differences in rhythm, instrumentation and instrumental timbre. The '*Bois*' of São Luís Island, for example (where the state capital of Maranhão is located), are characterized by the use of *matracas,* percussion instruments made from wooden blocks derived primarily from a local hardwood tree called *pau-d'arco* (yellow trumpet tree) and played by striking one block against the other (known as the '*matraca* accent'). In addition, performers also use maracas (made from tin cans full of lead shot or seeds), as well as the *tambor onça*, or 'jaguar drum' (a type of gourd played by pulling a small rod that is attached to a piece of leather inside the instrument, imitating the bellowing sound of the ox) and the *pandeirões* (big tambourines). There are also '*Bois*' accented with the *zabumba* (a large drum of African origin, also known as *bombo*). These are typical of the town of Guimarães, located in the northwestern part of the state. They also use the maracas, the 'jaguar drums' and the 'fire drum' (*tambor de fogo*), which is made of a wood log covered by ox leather attached by tuning pegs. The *Boi* orchestra has a widely varied instrumentation and uses metal percussion instruments, plus banjos and *tarol* drums. In all *Bumba-meu-Boi* groups in the state of Maranhão, the use of polyrhythm is a fundamental, defining characteristic.

In Florianópolis, the capital city of Santa Catarina state, the *Boi de Mamão* is performed in public squares in January, as part of the Epiphany celebrations. Each neighborhood presents its version of the drama. A musical group made up of guitars, ukuleles and sometimes wind instruments and percussion instruments accompanies the melodies (with about 12 bars, a range limited to a maximum of 7 notes, and with I-IV-V-I harmonies), which identify each character in the story. The use of animal allegories (bears, giraffes or fantastic animals, as in the case of *Beluga*, a kind of lizard that swallows children), masqueraders and folkloric groups from the city is also frequent.

Despite its age, the *Bumba-meu-Boi* drama in the north-east of Brazil continues to maintain a strong involvement with the life of small places. The tendency toward entertainment and comedy, the use of irony and social criticism, the longer dialogues and the comparatively modest instrumentation are some of the most remarkable aspects. In the state of Amazonas, the spectacles which characterize the *Boi-bumbá* – the lighting and sound effects, the transformation of the singers (cowboys and ranchers) into true regional idols, the exaggeration in the number of characters, the dispute between rival groups and the exploitation of the event by the tourist industry – have resulted in a distancing of *Boi-bumba* from the original northeastern event. In Maranhao, where the variety of colors, the timbre of the *caboclas*' voices, the strong use of percussion and the gradual deterioration of dialogues in function of the presentation of the danced parts, the cowboys' calls and chants continue to be part of the *Bumba-meu-Boi,* the biggest contrast with other areas is the way local politicians support the *Bumba-meu-Boi* group (with food and money, and by participating in events), in return for the expectation of votes.

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MÉRCIA PINTO

Buru

Buru is a multifaceted set of Jamaican cultural practices that evolved into two fairly distinct but parallel traditions, one involving a combination of masquerade, dance and music, and the other involving processional music (drumming and singing). The drums – the *fundeh*, bass and repeater – are the common links between the two. In time, Buru has come also to carry generic meanings signaling the strong Afro-centric orientation of the music, dance and masquerade traditions performed in both religious and secular environments. Buru made a direct contribution to the emergence of the Rastafari movement and its music prior to and immediately following Jamaican independence in 1962, in terms of the set of drums, drumming patterns, drumming style and the drummers themselves, and so can be seen as playing a significant role in the development of Jamaica's popular music.

In the hundred years between Emancipation in 1838 and the 1940s an increasing movement of population from rural/plantation areas to urban areas such as the parish of St Catherine and the adjoining parish of Kingston saw the largely processional rural musical tradition evolve into Buru bands performing in a quasi-popular music context for entertainment, at wakes and 'nine-nights' (a dance music celebration for the deceased performed nine nights after the death of a person). Meanwhile, a second tradition, that of masquerade, continued in the rural areas, and up to the early 2000s was still to be found primarily in the centrally located parish of Clarendon.

The Buru Music Tradition

The processional musical form of Buru continues to be performed during the Christmas season in St Catherine. Besides the signature drum set of *fundeh*, bass and repeater or *akette*, other instruments that may be included in the ensemble are a variety of calabash shakas, bamboo scrapers and a rhumba box or marimba – closely related to the variety of 'thumb pianos' found throughout sub-Saharan Africa. Garth White (1982, 58) makes reference to some Buru bands incorporating a 'saxa player' whose instrument comprised a 'broken bottle with cellophane (or saran wrap) stretched over its mouth. The actual notes were produced with the voice.' The most common form of accompaniment to this percussive music is the singing of topical songs about events of the day or recent past, as well as critical commentary on individuals or institutions that the performers find oppressive or unseemly in their behavior.

Buru as a musical tradition is processional in nature, featuring nomadic troupes of musicians who would begin playing in a private environment the night before (usually Christmas Eve night) 'going public' in the morning. They would move first to the homes of important members of the community while playing and singing en route, ending with a final performance for the larger community in a central part of the town. In this respect, Buru performers closely parallel the Jonkonnu performance tradition. This practice was observed by musicologist/anthropologist Kenneth Bilby (2006) in Old Harbour Bay, St Catherine – a parish near Kingston in the south-east of the island. In the musical/singing form of the Buru tradition that had evolved into the twenty-first century, masquerade figures were rarely or no longer in evidence.

Bilby's pioneering research into the combined religious-secular Jonkonnu retentions throughout the Americas and in the Caribbean in particular also involved the closely related Buru musical tradition. Bilby (2005) speaks of the Buru festival in Old Harbour Bay, St Catherine, where still vibrant rites for community ancestors take place featuring African-derived Buru drumming, dancing, singing, offerings of food and rum at the graves of the "'ol' sumaadi" (old people), and nonstop parading from dusk to dawn along a route carefully chosen by these same ancestors' (2005, 8–9). This account confirms a continuing synergy between the sacred and the secular. Of note, literally or symbolically, is that the repeater or *akette* lead drum is perceived by both Buru and Rastafari nyabinghi drummers to be the 'carrier of the spirit.'

The Buru Masquerade Tradition

Although not specifically identified by name in early records, Buru is believed to have had its 'masquerade' origins as one of the distinct 'ethnic' groups that performed at Christmas time in the hills where 'Horsehead' bands were most commonly reported. Buru masquerade bands were sometimes called 'Horsehead' bands, a designation that overlaps with a similar one for some Jonkonnu bands. The 'Horsehead' nomenclature refers to the menacing solo character who leads the procession, followed by his own musicians. The 'Horsehead' structure is a tall effigy created with the skeletal head of a mule with teeth intact, dried and painted to assume a frightening appearance. The male performer is concealed under a colorful piece of material which is attached at the bottom of the horse's head and flows from there to the ground. The jaws are manipulated to open and snap menacingly during the performance, and as the Horsehead character bobs and weaves through the crowd, sometimes it bends over to snap its jaws terrifyingly close to children in particular.

The Buru masquerade tradition also features a set of unique horizontal figures, such as a cow, horse or donkey, a reindeer and an alligator. These were observed by Ryman and Gordon between the 1970s and 1990s in Hayes and Bowens, Clarendon. The horizontal animal forms are worn around the waist of the male performers and bear similarities to the British 'Hobby Horse,' the East Indian 'Kathgora' and the African Efik masqueraders. These characters augment the main Buru masquerade 'play' – a traditional dance-music event – involving a distinctive and often dominant fertility figure called Mada Lundy.

Buru, like Jonkonnu, carries both spiritual and fertility connotations. The strong retention of the fertility element in Buru is evidenced in the large, 'pregnant' Mada Lundy effigy, which is controlled and danced by a male dancer hidden under the billowing skirt of the figure whose upper torso is partially supported on the dancer's shoulder. Mada Lundy is surrounded by her 'children' – an entourage of young, virile female dancers who unashamedly display provocative pelvic movements. The rolling, seductive Buru rhythm, resonating from the *fundeh* and repeater drums, demands no less of the dancers.

In the Buru dance, the front foot is placed flat on the ground with the back foot placed on the ball of the foot – in a fourth-position parallel stance. The continuous rotation of the pelvis is punctuated by small hops in sync with a distinct slap of the *fundeh* drum. This deliberate and continuous pelvic rotation of the young dancers is broken up by repeated hops which propel them forward in a circle around Mada Lundy. Intermittently, a repetitive rhythm sequence will ask the dancers to remain on the spot – the pelvic rotations continuing uninterrupted – while slowly lowering their bodies to the ground. The emphatic slap of the drum signals a 'break' – a climax to the repetitive rhythm and dance pattern. This 'break' engenders a specific response from the dancers by way of a strong ascending hop which allows the dancer to return to their original position or level. The young female dancers move anticlockwise around the Mada Lundy figure which is made to bob up and down, turn, twirl and shake – sometimes vigorously in response to the Buru drumming patterns.

These elements, together with the suggestive movement of the dancers, provoked much ridicule and disdain in modernizing Jamaican society, and the gap between such traditions and contemporary attitudes became even more heightened during the pre-independence era of the 1940s and 1950s.

Buru's Influence on Modern Jamaican Popular Music

Buru, like mento, is both a traditional and a popular music form, and indeed mento and Buru bands overlapped with each other in their secular/entertainment functions prior to Jamaica's Independence in 1962. Both bands played at private and public functions such as 'Coney Island' and country/village fairs. In the urban context, Buru came to epitomize Afrocentricity. In rural society and among the emerging urban working class, Buru was highly valued, but among the growing ranks of 'civil' society its reputation was rather low, thanks not only to the eroticism of its dance but also to its association with the music that was played to welcome prisoners home on their release from incarceration. As a result, music and dance engendering what might be thought of as either 'vulgar' or 'indecent' movement came to be referred to as 'Buru.' This meant that Buru had already secured an important place in the Jamaican popular dance-music environment of West Kingston during the 1940s and 1950s, before the emergence of the modern Jamaican popular ska-rock steady-reggae genre.

Buru's direct influence on the urban popular music forms of ska, rocksteady and reggae was inevitable, when the evolving Rastafari movement adopted the Buru *fundeh*, bass and repeater (*Akete* or *kete*) set of drums and many Buru musicians began to adopt the Rastafari beliefs and lifestyle. Out of the growing synergy that was taking place from the 1950s to the 1970s, a number of significant hand drummers provided a bridge between the traditional and emerging musics. Among them was the primary elder Watta King and his protégé, Brother Job, as well as Seeco Patterson, Skully Simms, Ras Michael (of Ras Michael and the Sons of Negus) and Bongo Herman, to name but a few. Perhaps the most significant links between the traditional and the modern popular Jamaican music genre were Rastafarian master drummer Count Ossie and the Skatalites' drummer Lloyd Knibb, who, in Bilby's words, '… helped to indigenize the emerging ska form by incorporating neo-traditional Rastafarian rhythms' (2006, 2).

Count Ossie (Oswald Williams) came under the early and sustained influence of Brother Job, himself a Rastafari elder and master Buru drummer. Watta King, a Buru master drummer and drum maker of Kongo descent, migrated from Clarendon to West Kingston and became the primary mentor for Brother Job and to a lesser extent for Count Ossie. Watta King's place in Jamaican popular music is described by Bilby (2010b, 3) as that of a 'crucial link between the rural Buru tradition of St Catherine and Clarendon and the nascent nyabinghi [Rastafari music] tradition of West Kingston.' Although not a Rastafarian himself, he was among the '… main drummers for the earliest grounations, or ceremonial gatherings, in the Rasta hotbeds of Salt Lane and Back-o-Wall [West Kingston]' (ibid.).

However, it was Count Ossie who took up the baton from his mentors and, as early as the 1950s, formed the bridge between traditional music – the Afro-centric Buru in particular – the nyabinghi music of Rastafari and the emerging Jamaican popular music. In the opinion of Garth White, '... Count Ossie and his band of drummers were to wield an influence surpassed, so far, only by Don Drummond [famous founder of and trombonist in the Skatalites band], by The Skatalites [as a group], and latterly, by Bob Marley' (1984, 63). This primary influence was cemented by Count Ossie and his African Drummers' rhythmic accompaniment to the groundbreaking Folks Brothers (aka Folkes Brothers) 1960 ska classic recording of 'Oh Carolina.' Its inclusion on the debut *Grounation* album in 1973 of what would become Count Ossie and The Mystic Revelation of Rastafari (COMRR), now joined by Cedric 'im Brooks and some of his 'Mystics' drummers, propelled the song to even greater prominence. But it was the 1993 rearrangement of the song by popular Jamaican DJ/reggae recording artist Shaggy that brought the song international acclaim.

Another important figure in the development of ska and rocksteady with strong roots in traditional Buru drumming was Lloyd Knibb. He was reputed to be the 'inventor of the ska beat at Coxson Dodd's Studio One' (Van Belt and Batman 1998, 1). Knibb, according to Bilby, 'created a whole new substyle of ska based on a fusion of all three Buru parts with trap drum techniques; this variant also influenced ska more generally over time' (Bilby 2011). Knibb was not only a founding member of the groundbreaking Skatalites but also played frequently with Count Ossie and the Mystic Revelation of Rastafari in the hills (Wareika Hills – the Kingston sanctuary of early Rastafari brethren) and in clubs by himself, as well as with other members of the Skatalites. Bilby also offers a typical ska arrangement of 'Smiling' by the Skatalites and Don Drummond as an example of Knibb's Buru-influenced playing (ibid.).

The rapid development of Jamaica's popular music with the approach of independence, leading to a peak in the 1970s and on to its unique and enduring place in contemporary world music, may be attributed to the fermentation process that took place when the interweaving roots, shoots and branches of Afro-centric traditional music were brought by migrating musicians from the rural areas into the West Kingston enclave. Buru undoubtedly played a pivotal role in this movement.

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CHERYL RYMAN

Cadence-Lypso

The creation of the genre *cadence-lypso* is usually credited to the Dominican group 'Exile One,' led by singer Gordon Henderson, in the period 1973–4. Henderson defines *cadence-lypso* as a 'synthesis of rhythmic patterns, Caribbean in particular and Black in general' (Henderson 2005, 149). Though drawing on many influences, *cadence-lypso* is primarily a fusion of calypso music of Trinidad and Tobago and *cadence rampa* (or *kadans rampa* – a variant of *konpa*) of Haiti. *Cadence-lypso* was the main party dance hall music in Dominica during the 1970s. Top groups in the *cadence-lypso* era were Exile One, Grammacks, Midnight Groovers, Belles Combo, Liquid Ice and Bill-O-Men.

Origins

Cadence-lypso was created in 'exile,' so to speak, by Dominican musicians then based in the neighboring French overseas department of Guadeloupe. Gordon Henderson, who was already based in Guadeloupe and sang with the group Les Vikings, decided to create his own group Exile One by recruiting top-rate musicians from Dominica. The decision to operate out of Guadeloupe had to do with economic and social factors such as a larger population base, a lucrative music market, a developed music and nightlife entertainment infrastructure.

Initially, Exile One experimented with a fusion of calypso and African highlife, dubbed 'Afro-calypso,' as reflected in the first hit 'Don't Bite the Hand' (1973). Eventually, the need to connect their brand of fusion pop with the dancing public led them to incorporate the popular rhythms of the French Caribbean into their repertoire. *Cadence-lypso* was thus created and so named in recognition of the two major genres, *cadence* (*kadans*) *rampa* and calypso, that contributed to its genesis. Exile One's musical experimentation led to its first self-titled *cadence-lypso* album (1974) with hits such as 'Ah Ta Ta' and 'Jamais Voir Ca.' This was quickly followed by the album *Face au public* (1975) which proved to be an even bigger success and established the aesthetics and timbre of the new sound. This sound, now firmly branded '*cadence-lypso*,' became an instant hit in the French Departments and back home in Dominica.

Musical Style

Cadence-lypso is marked by the steady 4/4 rhythm characteristic of Haitian *cadence rampa*, in which the guitar and cowbell play critical roles. The guitar fuses calypso and *cadence* styles to produce a very upbeat and distinctive rhythm. The cowbell provides a steady pulse as in 'tok to-tok tok tok tok.' The drums maintain more or less the *cadence rampa*/*konpa* styles of tapping the cymbals and high hat, with the kick drum on the beat. The floor tom is sometimes played in unison with the cowbell as in *konpa* music, and is played on the offbeat. The keyboard functions as both a melody and a harmony instrument. At times it mimics the rhythm of the guitar but its main role is to fill up the spaces in the music. It also solos and employs phrasings reflecting the styles of Osibisa and Santana, both of whom were strong influences on Dominican musicians at the time. Exile One and the other pioneers made little use of congas. It was Belles Combo and the newer bands, Mantra and Wafrikai, who eventually incorporated congas and *timbales* to the sound. The dance format was typically close couple dancing as in the styles of beguine and Haitian *konpa*.

A few *cadence-lypso* songs have English words but the vast majority are in Kwéyòl (French Creole), the hybrid of French and West African languages developed during the period of plantation slavery in the Caribbean. A typical song usually has two verses and follows the 'verse-chorus-verse-chorus' format. This draws on the calypso tradition as opposed to the *konpa* genre which relies more on chorus lines, snippets and chants to create atmosphere or ambience. The themes address political and social issues, a reflection of the calypso tradition of social commentary as well as of the particular political conjuncture of the time. The 1970s was a period when the region saw the growth of many social and political movements – Black Power, Negritude, Rastafarianism, socialism, anticolonialism. Like roots reggae, *cadence-lypso* is distinguished by its politically and socially conscious lyrics. The love theme was limited to sexual anecdotes often expressed as *doubles entendres*. It was later in the *cadence-lypso* era that Ophelia released 'Chanson d'amour' (1981), a song penned by Gordon Henderson which opened up new possibilities for the love theme and female singers. This was eventually exploited by *zouk* in the subgenre *zouk love*.

Initial Impact

Cadence-lypso sparked a revolution on the music landscape in Dominica and in the French Departments in the Caribbean. The success of Exile One and *cadence-lypso* resulted in a great demand for Dominican musicians and bands in the French Departments. Home-based Dominican bands such as The Grammacks, Liquid Ice, Milestone and Black Affairs relocated to Guadeloupe and Martinique. Bands such as Belles Combo and Midnight Groovers honed their distinctive styles but chose to remain on Dominica. Opportunities increased as promoters from the French departments journeyed to Dominica, seeking out and contracting Dominican bands for recordings and gigs. New bands such as Naked Feet, Mantra, Wafrikai and Black Machine emerged, among others. Recordings flourished and radio, which was now developing strongly, served to disseminate and popularize the genre. Performances by Dominican bands were phenomenal events in the context of the French Departments as well as in Dominica, drawing unprecedented media hype and crowds. Dominican musicians thus took center stage in the Eastern Caribbean as they achieved one hit after another. The Grammacks' signature hit 'Wooy Mi Deba' (1976), for example, was a number one hit from Guyana through to St Kitts and as far afield as Bluefields in Nicaragua.

The French market, music industry and media played a significant role in the dissemination of *cadence-lypso*. There were no studios in Dominica (there were burgeoning attempts at best, as in the case of Nature Island Studios); thus, there was an absolute reliance on studios in Martinique and Guadeloupe not just for recordings but for popularizing the bands and their music and helping them to obtain gigs. Ironically, this strong reliance on the French industry was later to contribute to the demise of the genre.

As *cadence-lypso* music evolved, recordings revealed a wide range of styles in keeping with the Henderson thesis of *cadence-lypso* as synthesis and fusion. The Midnight Groovers, for example, were unique in their African guitar and percussive rhythmic sound. Exile One, Grammacks and Bill-O-Men experimented with many styles – rock guitars, funk bass and horn styles and soul-style vocals. The Creole jazz band Mantra brought in jazz and *salsa* to the sound. Black Machine sought to draw in *bele*, a traditional Dominican music genre of African origin. Wafrikai explored a Latin-African rock style. Belles Combo made use of congas and *timbales* and Haitian *konpa* guitar styles. Exile One's experimentation with soul, funk and Afro-rock styles resulted in recordings of covers of songs by Osibisa, Commodores and similar groups. In the early 1980s Exile One musician Julie Mourillon experimented with a *cadence-lypso* variant dubbed 'Island Boogie.' *Cadence-lypso* was truly the vanguard of Caribbean music at the time, pushing the musical boundaries.

Regional and International Impact

With its range of styles, *cadence-lypso* began to have an impact both regionally and internationally. It influenced the development of *soca* in Trinidad as a result of a stint in Dominica in the early 1970s by *soca*'s creator Lord Shorty, following which he released one of his first *soca* hits 'E Petee.' Over in Haiti, *cadence-lypso* had a transforming impact on combo-type bands. Exile One's use of a three-piece horn section and myriad horn styles from funk and soul had such a success in Haiti that bands such as Tabou Combo incorporated horns into their music. In the *zouk* era, many bands, including Kassav, adopted this model.

Exile One have the distinction of being the first Antillean band to be signed by a major label in France. Their signing with Barclay and relocation to Paris in 1975 brought the band into contact with African musicians there and served to spread *cadence-lypso* to countries of West and Southern Africa, including

Congo, Cape Verde and Angola. In the Caribbean region, *cadence-lypso* spread beyond the Antilles to Central America, to countries such as Nicaragua and Panama. The Nicaraguan group Dimension Costeña, for example, released an album made up of covers of *cadence-lypso* hit songs (1983). The legacy of *cadence-lypso* in Cape Verde is reflected in the popularity of *zouk* in this island chain.

Meanwhile in Dominica itself, female singer Ophelia emerged. With two hits, 'Aie Dominique' and 'Chanson d'amour,' Ophelia won the prestigious French 'Marracas D'Or' award in 1981, the first Antillean female singer to do so. The rise of Ophelia had two critical impacts: one, paving the way for female singers to become front singers and professionals in a number of genres and formats in Dominica and its neighbors; and two, the eventual creation of the subgenre *zouk love*.

Exile One are credited with the introduction of the new digital sound technologies such as the synthesizer to the genre. *Cadence-lypso* had developed in the analogue age, in terms of both musical instruments and recordings. Due to the band's international presence, Exile One were able to access the new emerging sound technologies, incorporate these into the music and set standards for other bands.

In the mid-1980s Exile One and Gordon Henderson experimented with *jing ping* and *lapo kabwit*, two traditional music genres of Dominica, seeking to reproduce them using modern electronic instruments and sound technology. The songs 'Ba Dang' and 'L'hivernage' from the album *Fraiche* (1987) reflect these efforts. 'L'hivernage,' with its *lapo kabwit* rhythm, was a spectacular hit in Dominica and became the unofficial roadmarch of the 1986 carnival celebrations. Exile One and Gordon Henderson continued this trend on subsequent recordings, but the most radical leap forward came a few years later with the creation of *bouyon* by another Dominican band, WCK.

The impact of *cadence-lypso* went beyond music into the social and political arenas. The music fed off the nationalist fervor of the times and fed into it as well, in a dialectical manner. According to Henderson, the song 'Twavay Pou Anyen' from Exile One's *FISM* album (1976) became a cult anthem in the French Departments, whose nationals were dealing with issues of identity and political autonomy in relation to metropolitan France. The messages in the songs resonated among the respective populations, provoking a new sense of cultural awareness and identity. In Dominica, *cadence-lypso* became a source of national pride. It represented a 'badge of honour for Creole peoples, Dominicans and others as a token of their credibility, identity and pride' (Henderson 2005, 15). The music united the generations as both old and young shared the same space in the dance halls.

In the 1980s, however, the popularity and influence of *cadence-lypso* began to wane. This was in part due to the changing situation in the French market and music industry and the breaking up of the top bands. French promoters reduced or terminated their investments in Dominican bands. In Dominica in 1979 Hurricane David devastated the economy and made it harder for home-based bands to survive. Bands broke up and new hi-fi sound systems took their place. With few new recordings and live bands, *cadence-lypso* lost its dominance of the dance floor to the new *soca* genre as performed by the Burning Flames of Antigua. In Guadeloupe and Martinique, the Kassav project emerged, resulting in the new genre *zouk*.

Beginning in the mid-1990s efforts have been made in the context of the World Creole Music Festival and otherwise to reinvent or revitalize the genre. These have had limited success precisely because times have moved on. The production values and aesthetics of *cadence-lypso* were of the analogue age of the 1970s. With *zouk* and *bouyon* firmly established as brands of the times, *cadence-lypso* will no doubt continue to exist as an optional style, a nostalgic piece, an occasional song on an album but not as the popular genre it was and in the place it commanded in the 1970s.

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GREGORY RABESS

Calipso Venezolano

Calipso venezolano is a style of music used for the Carnival celebrations in Venezuela. The name *calipso* principally indicates the music that originated from the town of El Callao in the state of Bolívar in the south-east of the country – hence its other name, '*calipso de El Callao*' – but which also appears in two cities on the eastern coast, Güiria in the state of Sucre and Tucupita in the state of Delta Amacuro. In Güiria, the *calipso* is performed with steelbands as in Trinidad, but in Tucupita the *cuatro* (a small, four-string, strummed chordophone), long bamboo tubes and triangles are added and the mixture of these instruments with steelband *calipso* is called the *cambulé* (Alemán 1998, 255).

Carnival is celebrated throughout the country as a national holiday, and major cities organize the *carnavales turísticos* (tourist Carnivals) on a short-term basis through local government or private initiatives. These celebrations are culturally heterogeneous and the music includes Brazilian *samba*, Trinidadian calypso, *calipso venezolano* and any type of dance music that may be in fashion at the time.

In El Callao, by contrast, the *calipso* is part of a strong tradition of Carnival celebrations that developed with a certain degree of isolation from the mainstream of Venezuelan musical culture, partly as a consequence of the long distances between the town and the main inhabited regions, and partly because the *calipso* is differentiated from most Venezuelan traditional music: the latter is in ternary-subdivided rhythms, whereas the *calipso de El Callao* is a binary-subdivided rhythm and is sung mainly in English. From the middle of the nineteenth century migratory waves from Caribbean French and English-speaking islands, especially Trinidad, arrived in the region around the Yuruari River – where El Callao was a growing town – thanks to the attraction of gold mining in the area (García 1993, 19).

A cultural tradition developed, characterized by a collection of specific, interrelated expressions, forming the context to which El Callao *calipso* music belongs and in which it continues to function. Prominent in this tradition are the *comparsas* (carnival associations which march and dance in the streets of the town, identified by their costumes, each representing a wide variety of themes), in particular the recurring-theme *comparsas* which appear every year, such as *Agricultura* (which comes out only at the break of dawn with its members carrying parts of plants, trees, vegetables and fruits, and singing the *calipso* of the same name), the *Madamas* (women dressed in nineteenth-century Creole apparel), the Miners and the *Diablos* (devils), with elaborate, fire-spitting masks and whips, who keep order in the streets. Local people and the crowds of visitors who come to El Callao for the Carnival season happily and freely join in participative and collective but still individual street marching/dancing behind the moving *comparsas,* with or without the thematic disguise. Important personalities from *calipso* history, such as the Negra Isidora, are persistently treated as figures of remembrance in the *comparsas* themes and/or in the *calipso* lyrics. The festivities are also characterized by particular foods: acrá (small cod pancakes), kalalú (goat meat, ham, coconut milk preparation); and drinks: ginger beer (cocktail with lemon and maize seeds), monky pi (lemon, white rum eggnog). During the weeks preceding the Carnival as well as during the festivities, a calendar-administered program may include the Thanksgiving Mass, the coronation of the queens of the music groups and children's *calipso* singing/performing competitions. During the night, dancing continues despite the threat of the *Mediopintos,* black-painted, half-naked children and teenagers who tar people on the streets with a charcoal-syrup mix when their demand for a small tip is not fulfilled.

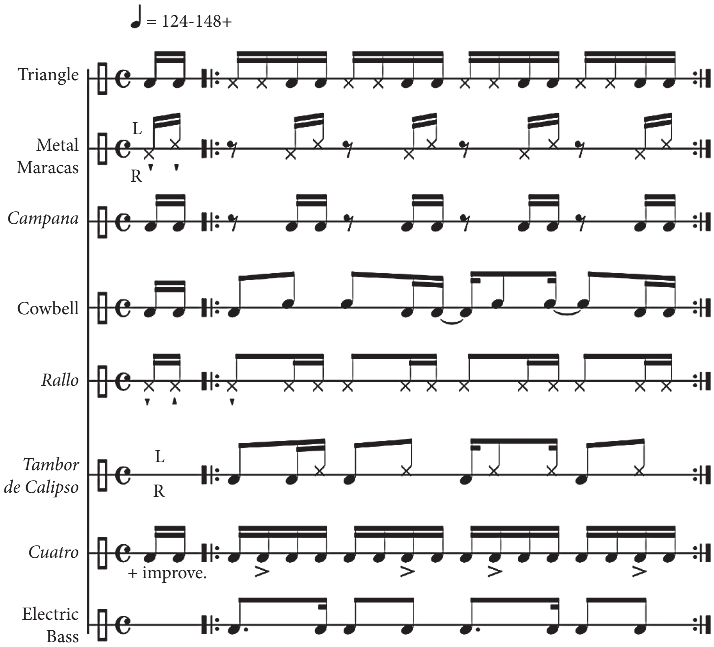
The *calipso venezolano* has a distinctive four-beat, binary-subdivided, syncopated music (see Example 1). It is performed at a moderate walking/dance speed

(124–148 bpm). Usually structured into alternating solo and chorus (verse and refrain, respectively), it uses tonal harmony mostly in the major mode and parallel-third harmonization in the voices. It is preferably sung in English and/or more recently in Spanish, and includes some words in the hybrid patois of the town (now largely out of use, except for traces in song lyrics) which incorporates variants of words from French and English (Barreto 1994, 116–17). For example:

> The Dusty Band coming down (x 3)
> Clear the way
> let them pass down there
> Uay ay ay ay Cecilia
> Uay ay ay ay Cecilia
> Si ue me me mue
> puma ie mande mama mue
> Ue sau fe, see what you do
> you put under your bed
> you make your mako
> cut off my head
> Mama mue ce sen lucien
> papa mue ce marticien
> Si ue me me mue puma ie
> mande mama mue

(1940 *calipso* by Luis Giraud for the Dusty Band *comparsa*) (Garcia 1993, 187.)

Instrumentation has changed gradually over the years. According to Carlos Small and Kenton St Bernard (Barreto 1994, 91), *calipso* was initially played with acoustic guitar, *cuatro*, *rallo* (large metal rasp), triangle and a single-skin, open-ended drum called the *bumbac*. A *tambor largo* (larger drum) was added to the *bumbac*, forming the ensemble *tambores de calipso*. The performers of these latter instruments walk with them on their sides, held in place by a shoulder strap, playing them with both hands on the skin. Also integrated into the ensemble are two metal maracas, a *campana* (a metal bell usually made from the lid of a vertical domestic gas tank), a cowbell and a police whistle (Barreto 1994, 90). The ensemble produces the catchy, dancing rhythm for which the *calipso venezolano* has gained its reputation. Although the rhythmic patterns are closely related to those of its Caribbean cousins, the sound of the fast-strummed *cuatro* gives the music its distinctive Venezuelan quality, since this instrument is a trademark of Venezuelan music. In a parallel sense, it may be said that the *cuatro* also gives the *calipso* a Brazilian touch when it is coupled rhythmically with the triangle, since it reminds the ear of the fast-playing *cavaquihno* of the *samba* ensemble (Example 1).



Example 1: Simplified rhythmic base of *calipso venezolano* (transcription: E. Mendoza, 2006), showing instrumental roles

The preferred themes of *calipso* lyrics are descriptions of El Callao, the Carnival and the *calipso* itself, as well as phrases inviting the people to participate, sing, dance and have fun (Barreto 1994, 128). Less often, *calipsos* are devoted to special persons related to the Carnival, and topics such as friendship, political and economical problems or the town's history are always focused through the Carnival theme. Love is treated from a sexual, rather than a romantic point of view, with irony and phrases with hidden meanings. *Comparsas* and music groups usually sing *calipsos* describing the theme of their disguise or band's name (Barreto 1994, 131–2).

The gold mining town of El Callao has suffered a typical succession of financial peaks and troughs – the last crest occurred around the 1940s – and has declined without a break since the 1970s (García 1993, 184). With the exodus created by the waning of the gold mining industry, the attraction of the Carnival festivities for tourism represented the only option for the town's survival, and an updating of the tradition was brought about through a renovation initiative on the part of various cultural leaders of the town. Pressure for change to add to the tourist appeal of the event resulted in a series of appropriations from the pop music culture of the late 1960s and 1970s, which was then extending its mass-media reach. The direction was set for the traditional Carnivals in El Callao to become, at the same time, a *carnaval turístico.*

Although two types of Carnival celebrations, traditional and *turístico*, can be found in El Callao in the early twenty-first century, both have the same entertainment function and do not come into conflict with each other; however, the negotiation between them is in constant redefinition, and in a larger sense the reconfiguration that is occurring in the traditional elements, brought about by the needs of the tourist industry, is not yet being reflected in the way the town's services and facilities cater for the massive invasion of tourists in the few days of Carnival, thus creating an urban chaos (Rosas 2009, 15). Since the 1970s a major change has consciously been engineered in the process of 'popularizing' the *calipso* tradition, as new instruments such as electric bass, electric guitar and keyboards have been added to the acoustic ones, and amplification has then become necessary for the voice and *cuatro* (with contact microphone). Up to 2012 (the last Carnival visited by the author) percussion instruments had not been amplified but some instruments, such as the metal maracas, the triangle and, as Lulú Basanta (a *calipso* singer and composer) confirms, even the short drum *bumbac* (Barreto 1994, 93) have been dropped. Wind instruments such as saxophone, trumpet and trombone are also occasionally included, an influence from the salsa boom in Venezuela of the mid-1970s. Despite all these changes, the *calipso de El Callao* does not as yet include steelbands, as other *calipsos venezolanos* may do (see above), contrary to what has been stated (Hill 2007).

The integration of sound amplification for the *comparsas* created a new element, the *carrito*: tall, mobile, self-contained amplification equipment, including an electric generator, mixing console, amplifiers and speaker cabinets. The *carrito* has to be pushed around the streets followed by the acoustic instruments and dancers. The top of the 4-meter-tall cabinets usually accommodates the bass player, singer, *cuatro* player and a boy who takes care to lift the street cables with a stick to avoid the risk of electric shock.

Bands were established searching for a new sound, in many cases imitating Caribbean pop, with the result that the tempo increased, up to 148–152 bpm. Names emphasizing renewal were popular among the new groups, for example 'Nueva Onda' (New Wave), 'Nueva Generación,' 'Renovación.' A call to tradition was also present in group names such as 'The Same People,' 'The Young People,' as well as 'Family Ground,' 'Cuatro y Bumbac' and 'Raíces Callaoenses' (Callao Roots). These groups formed *comparsas* that included their names, adding to those with the traditional allegoric themes. The influence of the live pop music concerts of the late 1960s and 1970s can be seen in the adoption of presentations of live or recorded, highly amplified music on *ad hoc* open-air stages (*tarimas*) at street-ends or in plazas, which became at the same time the headquarters for each *calipso* group.

Two types of *calipso* coexist in the early twenty-first century: the *calipso comparsero,* the more traditional version, performed in the *comparsas*, and the *calipso de tarima*, more mixed in nature and performed on stage. The use of the *tarimas*, more typical of the *turístico* Carnival, encourages heterogeneous show culture with its audience–performer relationship and contrasts with the all-inclusive dancing of the traditional *comparsas*. The music groups generate hit singles every year, performed on their own *tarimas* and by their own *comparsas*, distributed through the local mass-media and sold by informal copied-CD vendors. For this purpose, the new *calipsos* are increasingly sung in Spanish. A competition aspect has been introduced, making music groups rival each other, thus dismembering the previously existing music community of El Callao. The music group *comparsas*, together with the music group *tarimas* and any other *tarimas* built by the beer companies or the local government, all amplify their music at the same time, competing in size and power. The *carritos* provide amplification for some instruments (voice, *cuatro*, bass and keyboards) but not for the percussion instruments, producing an unbalanced sound where the drums, bells and rasps are only heard by the performers. There is no monitoring of the amplified instruments in the *carritos,* so there is a marked difference between what is heard in front or behind the *carrito*, and musicians and dancers often move in time with the louder plaza *tarima* sound system rather than with its own *comparsa* music from the *carrito*. A sonic chaos in the festivities ensues and the speeding up of the *calipso* makes it harder for the dancers to be able to follow behind the *comparsas*.

Negotiation is ongoing in the performance of *calipso* music in El Callao between divergent practices: acoustic versus electric instruments, amplification and sound chaos; live versus recorded music; *comparsa* versus *tarima* performance; belonging to local tradition versus widespread national reach. *Calipso* groups are trying to escape the seasonal limitation on the number of performances, arranging concerts outside the Carnival dates, mixing the music with temporary external influences, but *calipso* has not yet become an all-year-round pop music for Venezuelans, or one that is internationally known. Nevertheless, some neofolklore groups or solo artists not directly identified with El Callao have included *calipso venezolano* in their mixed repertoire, such as Serenata Guayanesa in their second album (1974), with the hit 'Calypso del Callao,' and Carlos Baute in his two first albums (1994 and 1997), both produced in Venezuela. *Fusión* music has modestly worked around the *calipso*; for example, jazz pianist Ernesto García and the group Patas Jazz in Garcia's 'Calipsofacto,' and the jazz group Akurima with a *calipso* insert in its track 'Campanelas.' *Grupos de proyección* such as Convenezuela and Yurauri in Caracas have devoted their concerts and recordings to the traditional *calipso*. The Bigott Foundation, one of the main private supporters of folk music in the country, has produced a CD with traditional *calipso* music by Yuruari, which this institution supported until 2002.

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EMILIO MENDOZA

Calypso

The calypso is a song-dance complex which evolved in urban Trinidad in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. It is the product of the continual cross-fertilizations of several kindred West African musics and neo-African hybrids, Creolized by the experience of plantation slavery in the Caribbean. Successive waves of immigration brought these to Trinidad, which was the locus of migrations from West Africa, Europe, North America, Asia and the Caribbean.

Claims of origin have been made for other Caribbean islands and territories which have similar musics (Crowley 1959b, 117–19), but it is clear that the calypso was generated in the cauldron of post-Emancipation Port of Spain (the island capital). In the decades following full emancipation in 1838 colonialism, Anglicization and other social pressures forced a levelling of ethnic identities and a concomitant collapsing of several musical forms into one. The resultant form later incorporated melodies and rhythms from the European and Asiatic musics which shared the Trinidad space during and after the post-Emancipation period, when the society underwent major demographic transformation.

Although the islands that make up the republic of Trinidad and Tobago boast of calypso being the republic's national song, in the early twenty-first century it is mostly associated with the pre-Lenten Trinidad Carnival, when it is presented publicly at shows and competitions; together with its derivative, soca, calypso provides music for the numerous pre-Carnival parties and street parading on Carnival Monday and Tuesday. Calypso shows, showcasing offerings created for the year, are produced by teams of singers organized into 'tents,' while numerous competitions are staged by the National Carnival Commission, schools, commercial houses and other interested organizations. These competitions involve a range of singers from children to professional practitioners. Although calypsos are presented primarily at Carnival and are often festive in nature, many others engage a universe of themes dealing with all aspects of national life and matters of regional and international interest.

Formally, a calypso consists of three or more stanzas/choruses sung to 2/2 timing. Stanzas can be as short as four lines or as long as fourteen; choruses are generally shorter than stanzas and may be invariable or may continue an idea developed in the preceding stanza. Calypso beats have been influenced by African, Latin and Caribbean rhythms and continue to be influenced by musics of metropolitan mainstreams as well as Caribbean margins. The difficulties of defining a calypso precisely are captured in Crazy's 'What is a Calypso' (2004).

The Word 'Calypso'

The first 'official' mention of the term occurred on 20 January 1900, when the *Port of Spain Gazette* published the lyrics of '1900 Masquerade Calipso' in English and French Lexicon Creole (Hill 1997, 61). Forty years later, when researchers, cognoscenti and other aficionados investigated the origins and aesthetics of the calypso, claims were advanced for a variety of sources.

In 1944 novelist Alfred Mendes advanced a theory of Spanish origin with African inputs (Rohlehr 1990, 388–9) while Espinet and Pitts (1944) proposed Afro-Cuban roots. Sociologist Dom Basil Matthews created a tenuous morphology from the French *carrousseaux* (Rohlehr 1990, 387). In 1988 Rafael de Leon, better known as calypsonian the Roaring Lion, promoted an untenable and unconvincing theory that the calypso is merely another word for the *ballade* which, according to him, was developed and standardized in France.

Folklorist Mitto Sampson traced the calypso to the Carib *carieto*, a joyous song used 'to heal the sick, to embolden the warrior and to seduce the fair' (Pearse 1956, 256). According to Sampson, African slaves found in Trinidad a form of singing which they took up and added to their own repertoire of songs: '[t]hey introduced more pep, more vigour, more liveliness and more animation' to the *carieto* (257). Pioneering ethnomusicologist J. D. Elder, who investigated the Trinidad calypso exhaustively, refuted this theory, claiming, 'it seems very unlikely that Trinidadian traditional music, as it stands today, has retained any but the slightest traces of aboriginal Indian music, let alone Carib music' (1966a, 62).

Sampson also proffered a theory of African origin, tracing its presence to the late eighteenth century, when songs were performed by African slaves to entertain and appease their master St Hillaire Begorrat, a colorful historical character who migrated to Trinidad from Martinique in 1784:

Legend has it that Lawa (King) Begorrat used to hold court in his cave, to which he would adjourn with favorite slaves and guests on occasions and indulge in a variety of entertainments. The court was attended by African singers of 'Cariso' or 'Caiso,' which were usually sung extempore and were of a flattering nature, or satirical or directed against unpopular neighbors or members of the plantation community, or else they were 'Mepris,' a term given to a war of insults between two or more expert singers. Gros Jean is said to have [been] the first of these bards or 'chantwels' to be appointed Master of Caiso or Mait Caiso (Pearse 1956, 253).

While Sampson uses *cariso* and *caiso* interchangeably, Elder describes the *cariso* as 'a song performed during resting periods in *kalinda* (stickfighting) contests by females entering the circle and singing lewdly erotic songs accompanied by obscene dancing' (1966a, 90). Elder claims that after the Canboulay riots of 1881 male singers co-opted the *cariso* and adjusted it rhythmically for street parades (ibid.).

The word calypso has been credited to the West African *kaiso* or *kaito,* and linguist/lexicographer Richard Allsopp believes that it derives from the Efiks, a people located on the southern coast of Nigeria (Rohlehr 1969, 3). Accepting a West African origin, Rohlehr concludes that the name 'calypso' is 'an attempt to provide a rendition of the earlier African term [kaito] suitable to Anglo and Anglo-Saxon intelligentsia' (1969, 1).

The *Kalinda*

Elder, one of the pioneers of Afro-genesis, cautions that the similitude between the calypso and certain forms of African music is confined to theme, rhythm, tempo, rhyme and other nonstructural characteristics such as function and social status (1986, 1). He adds that, to the date of his research [1986], no one had established any specific structural parallelism to any African music but that the nearest, genetically speaking, is the *kalinda*.

The *kalinda* has been described as 'the Trinidad stickfight which pits two men [or women] against each other in a ritualized form of combat with a somewhat balletic element' (Warner-Lewis 1991, 190). This song-dance complex became the music of Port of Spain's underclass, whose numbers were swollen by hundreds of Africans and Creoles, dispossessed by harsh land tenancy laws in the post-Emancipation period.

The *kalinda* became a ritual of empowerment, a site for misplaced aggression and a rite of initiation into manhood for those otherwise disempowered Africans. In 'backyards' and 'barrack-yards,' the *kalinda* was the major source of recreation and on Carnival days the stick-fight 'batonniers,' led in song by their 'chantuelles' ('chantwells' and 'shantwels'), took to the streets in public celebration of an ethos of manhood as much as of the memory of liberation from plantation slavery. The *kalinda*, the perfect music for an embattled people, summoned and excited the masses to resist attempts to suppress the *kambule* (derived from the Ko *kambula*, meaning procession [Warner-Lewis 2003, 222]). Denied its own festive time and space, *kambule* grafted itself on to the European Carnival and the word was Europeanized into Canboulay and conflated with the French Creole *cannes brulees* (burnt canes).

After the Canboulay Riots of 1881, when lower-class masqueraders successfully fought the police in Port of Spain, the *kalinda* was formally banned but remained alive in the countryside and in those areas of Port of Spain unsupervised by the police. The *kalinda*'s legacy to the modern calypso consists of: call-response; poly-rhythms (consistent syncopation); 2-2 timing; and the minor mode (pentatonic scale). Maureen Warner-Lewis traced the development of the minor key in calypso to Yoruba songs by providing examples of tone, pitch, inflection and lexicon (1981).

The *kalinda* has bequeathed attitudinal postures to the calypso. These include ritualistic challenging, boasting and grandiloquence, the privileging of the male or masculine mode, a defiance of authority and an emphasis on the power of the individual supported by the group. Daniel Crowley (1959a, 64) records one stickfighter as boasting 'I Lawa with stick, with fight, with woman, with dance, with song, with drum, with everything.'

Up to the emergence of the iconoclastic David Rudder in 1986, the need for and the choice of sobriquet reflected the calypsonian's need to assume a dominant persona. While some calypsonians chose monikers like The Roaring Lion, The Growling Tiger and Lord Executor, which reflected ferocity, others chose or were given sobriquets such as Iron Duke, Richard Coeur de Leon, Atilla the Hun and Lord Kitchener, which reflected European history; still others had names like Eisenhower, Stalin and Chiang Kai Shek, which reflect contemporary history. Even when the names became gentler (Caresser, Melody, Sparrow), more homely (Cro Cro, Sugar Aloes), indicative of profession (Chalkdust), or simply reflecting nicknames (Cristo, Delamo, D Alberto), they were still preceded by The Lord or The Mighty. When women began singing professionally, they chose sobriquets such as Lady Trinidad and Lady Iere, but up to the 1980s the general practice was to add 'Singing' or 'Lady' to legal first names (e.g., Singing Francine) or to an abbreviated version of the first name (e.g., Lady B). Some, such as the great Calypso Rose, added 'Calypso' to their legal name or nickname. At present, women generally use their legal names but some sobriquets reflect the impulse for greatness (e.g., Marvellous Marva, Tigress, Lady Wonder, Princess Monique) and to sexualized self-projections (Sexy Susie).

'Chantuelles' prepared themselves for the instrumental violence of the stickfight by ritualistic and expressive use of the word. Ruth Finnegan and Roger D. Abrahams have commented on the Africans' sensitivity toward sophisticated use of language, and the preludes to the stickfight offered a context for the display of language. Mastery of the word was as important as mastery of the stick and this important skill was passed down to the 'true-true' calypsonian who prides himself/herself on the ability to compose, which is valued more highly than the ability to perform.

The *kalinda* form remains as part of the collective property available to any composer who wishes to use it. In the 1930s, in the face of a scare that the traditional calypso was dying, singers revived the *kalinda*. Invader's 'Ten Thousand to Bar Me One' (1939) is an excellent example of this practice. Still later, Kitchener used it in his masterpiece 'Is Trouble' (1954). The call-and-response format is still employed in the chorus of many calypsos.

The Single Tone and Double Tone

The Canboulay Riots of 1881 catalyzed the development of the modern calypso by releasing several creative impulses that manifested themselves in the domains of form and theme. Composers doubled the *kalinda* lines to form rhyming couplets such as those retained in Caresser's 'Edward VIII' (1937). Experiments with the *cariso* and other forms resulted in the single tone, which was sung mostly in French Lexicon Creole or *patois*. Jules Sims's 'Bagai Sala que Pocheray Moin' (1914) is an excellent example.

In the post-Canboulay period, calypsonians freely incorporated traditional melodies from other West Indian islands. According to Raymond Quevedo (Atilla the Hun), whose history *Atilla's Kaiso* was published posthumously in 1983, the melody of 'L'annee Passer …' was imported from Martinique during the 1890s, while 'Tobo Jestina' was borrowed from Tobago, 'Sly Mongoose' from Jamaica and 'Everytime A Pass' from St Lucia (Quevedo 1983, 14–19). During this period, and even later, calypsonians recycled their own melodies and freely used those of their colleagues.

Quevedo claims that,

> From 1903 onwards till about 1921, the kaiso followed the oratorical pattern, that is to say, the kaiso was in the nature of a rhetorical recitative sung in the minor key, with eight lines to the stanza. The oratorical pattern was otherwise called a double tone. Sometimes singers like Inventor, Executor and Mentor would actually lapse for effect into speech rhythm. (Quevedo 1983, 20)

The double tone or ode was essentially a sophistication of the rhetorical tendencies noted by Abrahams (1967, 1970), who highlights the importance of the man-of-words in traditional performances and differentiates between the 'good talkers' and 'good arguers.' The former are characterized by 'the use of long speeches suffused with overly decorative diction,' while the latter are characterized by 'strong colloquial diction and the rapid thrust of invective' (1970, 507). Abrahams adds that, although one man could be both a good talker and a good arguer, he was rarely called on to be both on the same occasion. 'The man-of-words,' he notes, 'not only provides the tone and subject for traditional performances but also serves as principal organizer of the activity. He has an equivalent in the man-of-action, the physically adept one who focuses the proceedings by his leadership and performance abilities' (1967, 458).

Nineteenth-century 'chantuelles' doubled as men-of-words, the Caribbean equivalents of the West African griots, and as men-of-action. Twentieth-century singers took inordinate pride in their mastery of English, the imperial language of prestige. Their song duels were variations on the traditional verbal battles of the nineteenth-century 'chantuelles' and of oratorical masquerades such as the Pierrot and Pierrot Grenade, as well as the twentieth-century Midnight Robbers. Classic illustrations of the ode form are Chinee Patrick's famous derogation of Executor in *An Evening of Calypso Lore* and Executor's own derogation of his protégé Atilla (Quevedo 1983, 93).

The ode required quick intelligence and erudition, which may have been beyond the reach of many would-be practitioners. One complaint published in the *Port of Spain Gazette* of 25 February 1914 was that 'none of the Carnival bards sang any properly composed song, most of them being merely a jingle of words uttered with lightning-like rapidity and ending with the monotonous "sans humanité"' (quoted in Liverpool 2003, 135).

Quevedo's 1921 date for the decline of the ode (1983, 20) corresponds with the emergence of the ballad form conventionally credited to Railway Douglas; this form better suited recording than the oratorical exchanges. Extemporaneous singing ('extempo') still held a place in the tent, however, and until the late 1950s it was the closing act. After this it was kept alive mainly by Pretender, Relator and Gypsy, until a partial revival in the 1980s.

Some practitioners have employed the first six lines of the ode for developing narrative or commentary and reserved the final two lines as a chorus, either invariable or changing, to suit the development in the first six lines. The Atilla-Beginner duet 'Iere Now and Long Ago' (1935) is a fine example of the first, while Tiger's 'Money Is King' (1935) is an excellent example of the second. The ode added its form to those already existing, and the calypsos from the 1930s onward reveal that singers were indiscriminately employing rhyming couplets, four-line single tone stanzas sometimes with four-line choruses, eight-line double tone stanzas with or without choruses. Calypso folklore has claimed the eight-line stanza accompanied by a chorus of four or six or eight lines as the definitive form for the traditional calypso.

The Advent of the Calypso Tent

The post-Canboulay period witnessed the emergence of social unions, the origins of which, Donald Hill explains, were 'partly the outgrowth of the African and grass-roots Creole voluntary associations that existed decades earlier and partly the new creations of middle-class Creoles, perhaps based on ethnic associations, in their attempts to upgrade Carnival' (1993, 50). Among middle-class Creoles were 'jacketmen,' who sought the company and comfort of the underclass. Businessmen such as Ignacio 'Papa' Bodu and business interests such as Fernandez and Co. financed social unions which retained 'chantuelles' to lead them in song on the Carnival days. A space in the band tent was reserved for the rehearsal of songs to be used by the band for the parade; seating was organized for the comfort of patrons.

A clear class – and perhaps racial – distinction obtained in respect of these social unions. According to Quevedo (1983, 35), the upper-class Shamrock Syndicate employed Richard Coeur de Leon, while the middle-class Crescent hired The Duke of Marlborough, and Whiterose, financed by Papa Bodu, was led in song by Julian Whiterose. These 'chantuelles' were either self-employed or held jobs in the private commercial sector. Lower-class 'chantuelles' such as Red Box and Lord Baden-Powell 'could not in their wildest dreams aspire to become chantwells of such bands' (Quevedo 1983, 35).

Beginner explains the fine distinction between 'chantuelle' and calypsonian which developed in this period: 'The difference lay in the audience. Singing for the upper class masqueraders and rich whites at their headquarters in preparation for Carnival made one a 'chantuelle'; singing for the poor at street corners, rumshops, barbershops and in calypso tents made one a calypsonian' (Liverpool 2003, 23). He also adduces the factor of race/ethnicity: 'Many calypsonians aspired to be chantuelles but many could not achieve that high standing because of their low social status, their jobs being the domain of mostly "the fairer-skinned fellows"' (Liverpool 2003, 31). Iere, however, has a different take: 'A chantuelle in those days was more important than a calypsonian. A calypsonian was a dog, so I preferred to sing as a chantuelle' (Liverpool 2003, 76).

While there was a great social gulf between middle-class organizations such as Crescent, Shamrock and Whiterose and lower-class outfits such as Red Dragon, Hit the Deck Sailors and Demonites, some singers served out their apprenticeships in the lower-class establishments. Little is known about Fanto, Cat the Beginner and many others whose names feature in the accounts of Atilla, Beginner and Iere but who did not graduate, like them, to Silky Millionaires, Salada Millionaires or Railroad Millionaires, the three most prestigious calypso tents of the 1930s. Atilla acknowledges Fanto's popularity, which was based on 'his showmanship, his remarkably sweet voice and the appeal of his presentation of sex symbolism in kaiso' (Quevedo 1983, 36). He cites two of Fanto's octets which are stylistically different from the ode. Unfortunately he does not date these and we have no way of knowing if they were influenced by Douglas's ballads or the other way around. Similarly, Atilla describes the innovations of Cat the Beginner, which must have formed the basis for the calypso duets which Atilla claimed to have invented (Quevedo 1983, 37, 40). These dimly remembered singers may have impacted the development of calypso far more than is now acknowledged. Elder, Atilla and other commentators may have marginalized them because they sang on parochial matters or on sexual themes of female derision, rather than develop the nationalist project.

'Chantuelles' parted company with the masquerade bands in the 1930s when the singers queried their share of the gate (Quevedo 1983, 39). They then adopted the model established by Railway Douglas, who in 1921 established The Railroad Millionaires and Calypso Tent at Duncan St Port of Spain. Douglas catered for middle-class patrons and to this end he covered his bamboo structure with tarpaulin borrowed from his railroad employers, rented chairs and gas lanterns, and hired musicians to play the flute, clarinet and violin. He also banned goatskin drums, chac-chacs and other instruments used in underclass (African) entertainment. He strictly excluded picong, the playful but sometimes acrimonious banter or exchange of words which was the main attraction of the masquerade camp tents. In order to support a two-hour-long calypso tent show, featuring himself and a few helpers, he employed the ballad form for telling stories of lower-class living for the entertainment of his middle-class audience. He became, as Quevedo (28) puts it, the *kaiso*'s novelist, retailing sordid stories of the lives of the underclass for the entertainment of his upper-class clients.

The period from the late 1920s to the end of the 1930s, years which saw the heyday of Executor and the emergence of Atilla the Hun, Lion, Tiger, King Radio, Invader, The Growling Growler, The Caresser and Lord Pretender, is regarded as a golden age in calypso. Singers voiced a range of concerns in a variety of song styles from the *kalinda* through to composed calypsos featuring single-tone quatrains and double-tone octets. Singers were known for their themes and their approaches but they were not limited to their pet themes or peeves.

Lion, for example, was famous for his risqué and salacious compositions such as 'Netty Netty' (1937), 'Dorothy Went to Bathe' and 'The Lost Watch,' but he was also well known for his experiments and his incorporation of the beat and feel of New Orleans in 'Bing Crosby' (1939) and 'Four Mills Brothers' (1936). Atilla was feared and loved for his relentless political polemics, but his sublime 'Graf Zepplin' (1934), which celebrates in double-tone styling the visit of the dirigible to Trinidad, is a classic calypso. Radio has been described as a sort of sex symbol (Liverpool 1987, 67) but 'Sedition Law' is a defining calypso statement against the censorship of the day; his 'Matilda' (1939), a single-tone lament of a betrayed lover, remained popular for three years. Executor is as well known for his commentaries on topical happenings of the years as for his signifying song, 'They Say I Reign Too Long' (1938). Tiger protested against the Italian invasion of Abyssinia in 'The Gold of Africa' (1936) and declared neutrality in World War II in 'Let Them Fight for Ten Thousand Years' (1940); his 'Money Is King' (1935) is a philosophical statement on the importance of money in a money economy. Collectively these singers provide detailed maps of meaning into the folkways of urban lower-class Africans in the 1930s. Through their songs, we get a sense of contemporary popular attitudes to male-female relationships, to African and neo-African religions, to Afro-Indian race relations and to the 1930s cycle of black consciousness, and of their awareness of their role in the emerging protonationalist movement. They sang praise songs to athletes and artistes as well as to British royalty and nobility. They also registered the impact of international events on the local community even as they fantasized about the good life.

Most of these songs are rendered in one or other of the four traditional minor keys, namely D (re-minor), E (mi-minor), F (fa-minor) and G (sol-minor). Most are in English or in Trinidad English Creole but some employ a macaronic mix of French Lexicon Creole (patois). Many use violins, clarinets, flutes and instruments introduced to the calypso in the 1920s; some use big band orchestration. Lion's use of New Orleans rhythms adds a cosmopolitan touch to the period, as does his use of vocables and vocal scatting and whistling in 'Bing Crosby.'

The Internationalization of Calypso

In 1912 the first recording of Trinidad's music was made by Columbia Records in New York and featured a string orchestra, Lovey's Trinidad String Band rendering what can be considered a calypso version of the popular folk song 'Mango Vert.' Two years later, in Trinidad, the first vocal recording was made by Julian Whiterose (Henry Julian), aka The Iron Duke, who recorded 'Iron Duke in the Land' for the Victor Talking Machine Company, under the name of J. Resigna, with Gerald Clark accompanying him on guitar. Issued as 'Single Tone Calipso,' the record was paired with a recording by bandleader Lionel Belasco, who was later to popularize many instrumental versions of calypso. On the same day in September 1914 Jules Sims recorded 'Bagai Sala que Pocheray Moin,' under the title 'Native Trinidad Kalenda.' No further recordings appear to have been made in Trinidad until the late 1920s–early 1930s. In the United States, further instrumentals were recorded in the years before World War I, but it was in the late 1920s, thanks to exposure on recordings, that calypso vocalists created a minor craze. Wilmouth Houdini, who emigrated to the United States in around 1927, became a prolific recording artist, making a total of over 134 recordings. His uncredited use of the work of resident Trinidadians caused bad feeling between himself and them, a situation which was dramatized in his own calypsos 'Executor Doomed to Die' (1929) and 'War Declaration' (1934) and in Executor's 'My Reply to Houdini' (1937) and the Executor-Caresser-Atilla-Lion 'War' (1937).

In March 1934 Sa Gomes, the local Trinidad agent for Decca and Brunswick records, sent Atilla and Lion on a recording tour of the United States. There they hobnobbed with Hollywood stars of radio and screen, and were heard on American national radio. Lion's 'Ugly Girl' was used in the movie *Happy Go Lucky* (1943) where it was rendered by Sir Lancelot, a Euro-Trinidadian *kaisonian* then resident in the United States. The delight of the calypsonians is immortalized in the Lion-Atilla duet 'Guests of Rudy Vallee' (1935). Their tour initiated a period of popularity abroad and kindled the dream of making it to Broadway and to the Grammy awards, a dream that local calypsonians have not realized, although plagiarized and cover versions of some calypsos have done so. The best examples are the Andrews Sisters' version of Invader's 'Rum and Coca Cola' (1945) and The Baha Men's 2000 cover version of Anselm Douglas's 1998 song 'Who Let the Dogs Out.'

The popularity of calypso earned it the distinction of being the omnibus name for West Indian music abroad for many years and singers of all genres of Caribbean music passed off their music as calypso and themselves as calypsonians, much to the chagrin of authentic calypsonians (Crowley 1959b, 117–18). The classic example was Harry Belafonte's best-selling album *The Calypso* (1956) on which he, of Jamaican/Martinican/American descent, rendered a wide range of folk songs and island music. Ella Fitzgerald, Louis Jordan and Robert Mitchum were among the American artistes who recorded calypso songs. The calypso achieved tremendous popularity in the Anglophone West Indies. Jamaican artistes advertised themselves as calypsonians and individual singers such as Small Island Pride of Grenada and King Fighter of British Guiana (now Guyana) performed at Trinidad tents in the 1950s and 1960s. They paved the way for many other Caribbean singers, including Arrow of Monsterrat, Beckett of St Vincent, Swallow and Short Shirt of Antigua, and Gabby, Grynner and Red Plastic Bag of Barbados. In the 1970s and beyond, when the individual islands developed their own versions of Carnival, the calypso and its derivative soca became and remain a major attraction.

World War II and After

In Trinidad itself, in the years before the outbreak of war, calypsonian support for the nationalist movement had ignited the wrath of the colonial administrators, who in 1934 passed the Theatre and Dancehalls Ordinance, yet another in the series of legislation aimed at (black) populist expression. Atilla claims that the legislation was triggered off by the public embarrassment when Radio performed 'Country Club Scandal' (1933), which drew public attention to an adulterous affair rumored to implicate a high-ranking member of the police force. The advance publicity provoked a showdown between calypsonians and police in the Silky Millionaires tent where Radio was appearing, and it was only thanks to the intervention of nationalist politician Captain Arthur Cipriani that Radio was allowed to sing unmolested by the police officers then present (Quevedo 1983, 56–64). The Theatre and Dancehall Ordinance invested tremendous power in the hands of the state officials who practiced an overt censorship. Paradoxically, the tents were kept open during the war years because the colonial authorities valued calypso for its propaganda value in the Allied cause.

During World War II, the Americans leased lands in Trinidad for military and naval bases. This was a response in part to the need to protect the export of Trinidad petroleum, which was vital to the Allied war effort. Calypsonians welcomed the Americans as generous clients whose patronage of the tents catalyzed the emergence of the professional *kaisonian*. But the same calypsonians deplored the alienation of the affections of their paramours, who like many others were caught up in 'working for the Yankee dollar' as Invader termed it in 'Rum and Coca Cola' (1943). Invader's 'Yankee Dollar' (1946) and Kitchener's 'My Wife Went away with a Yankee' (1946) testify to the resentment of the locals at being abandoned by their lovers.

The litigation over the Andrews Sisters' 1945 cover version of Invader's 'Rum and Coca Cola' caused a sensation. Invader contended that his song had been stolen by Morey Amsterdam, who came to entertain the American troops stationed in Trinidad in 1943 (Hill 1993, 234–40). Invader was awarded $100,000, some of which he generously shared with friends (ibid.). One positive outcome from Amsterdam's initiative may have been the further promotion of the calypso, especially in the coveted American market. In New York on 21 December 1946 pioneering ethnomusicologist Alan Lomax hosted a concert, as part of the 'Midnight Special' series sponsored by Peoples' Songs and held at Town Hall. Recordings were rediscovered in the 1990s and subsequently released by Rounder Records as *Calypso at Midnight* and *Calypso after Midnight*. These featured the much-celebrated Lord Invader as well as Macbeth the Great and The Duke of Iron, two calypso singers resident in the United States. Invader was also recorded in the 1940s and 1950s by the founder of Folkways Records Moses Asch, like Lomax a strong supporter of calypso. (Invader's Folkways recordings were reissued by Smithsonian Folkways in 2000 as *Calypso in New York*.)

After the war, Pretender and Killer established The Young Brigade in Port of Spain (Liverpool 2003, 104). Kitchener's 'Professor Kitch' (1954) pays tribute to that movement by naming the singers and stating the feature(s) that made them outstanding. Several of these singers either emigrated or died in the 1950s and 1960s. Kitchener, probably the best-known young *kaisonian* of that generation, left Trinidad for performances in Curacao, Aruba and then Jamaica and was, with Lord Beginner, among the batch of pioneering

West Indian immigrants who sailed from Kingston for England on the *Empire Windrush* on 21 June 1948. Kitchener first played the pub circuit, then appeared at a London nightclub and later opened his own establishment in Manchester. Among his many fans was Princess Margaret, younger sister to Queen Elizabeth II. At first he re-recorded old hits, but under contract to the Parlophone, Melodisc and Lyragon labels he produced new material such as 'The Birth of Ghana' (1955), which was adopted spontaneously by the Ghanaian people, and 'Is Trouble [in Arima]' (1954), which was a hit back in Trinidad. In his stay in England, Kitchener worked with outstanding West Indian musicians, including Freddy Grant, Cyril Blake and the legendary jazz guitarist Fitzroy Coleman.

In the public mind, the outstanding memory of this period was Kitchener, guitar in hand, leading a group of West Indians in a triumphant dance march across the hallowed Lords cricket ground in London following the historic Test Match victory over England in 1950, immortalized in Beginner's 'Victory Test Match' (1950). Beginner, Invader and Lion individually sought fame and fortune in Europe as did Mighty Terror, another member of the Young Brigade who joined Kitchener in metropolitan exile in 1953. Songs performed by them and other singers based in England, if only temporarily, have been collected on the CD *London Is the Place for Me: Trinidadian Calypso in London, 1950–1956*.

The impetus started in the United Kingdom by the generation of 1948 was not sustained after the 1960s, when Kitchener and Terror returned to Trinidad. The emergence of the Notting Hill Carnival gave a boost to calypso singing but black British calypsonians did not make as distinct an impression on the music scene and on their communities as Steel Pulse and other black British reggae groups have done in Britain and elsewhere. Despite the existence of a calypso competition, the contemporary Notting Hill Carnival is largely serviced by Trinidad-based acts.

In the 1950s the vacuum which was created in the Trinidad calypso scene after the departure of Kitchener and others was filled by Lord Melody and the incredible fantasist The Mighty Spoiler. Melody later left to join Harry Belafonte's camp as a songwriter and Spoiler drank himself into an early grave in 1960, but the void in calypsodom was already filled by The Mighty Sparrow, who has continued to style himself the Undisputed Calypso King of the World. In an undated television interview, Sparrow himself revealed that he owes his stage-name to an unidentified patron who complained angrily that the singer hopped about the stage 'like a blasted little sparrow,' unlike most other singers who sang from one spot on stage. Within two years of his arrival Sparrow metamorphosed into The Mighty Sparrow and, thanks to his victory at the annual Calypso King competition in 1956 with the immortal 'Jean and Dinah,' dominated the world of calypso, which acclaimed him as King Sparrow.

As an adolescent Sparrow had listened attentively to the Young Brigade and applied all the lessons he learned from them. He instituted the new age of professionalism, elevating the *kaisonian* into person, citizen and professional entertainer. Among his innovations were costuming for the national Calypso King competition held on Carnival Sunday night (Dimanche Gras); extended touring; major collaboration with songwriters; marketing and promotion; and ownership of recording plant. In 1960, however, his experimental 'Rose' was adjudged to be a ballad rather than a calypso and he was placed second in the annual Calypso King competition. Enraged, he recorded a defiant 'Robbery with V' (1961), which defined his perception of his role in the elevation of the calypsonian to professional.

When Kitchener returned for the 1963 Carnival and Terror for the 1965 season, both immediately scored major successes with calypsos on the steelband, which had made tremendous strides while they were abroad. Kitchener's 'The Road on Carnival Day' (1963) placed him second in the national calypso competition (to the all-conquering Sparrow) and won him the first of three consecutive road march crowns. Perhaps more importantly 'The Road,' although challenging the endemic steelband violence of the day, established the phrase 'The road make to walk on Carnival day' as the most enduring calypso affirmation of the Carnival; his 'Steelband Music' (1964) initiated the tradition of calypso panegyric on the steelband. Terror's 'Pan Talent' (1965) and 'Steel Band Jamboree' (1966) continued in the vein established by 'Steel Band Music'; both won him appearances in the finals of the national calypso king competition with 'Steelband Jamboree' being one of the prize-winning tandem.

Kitchener's return from England gave a timely impetus to the Road March, which was formally established in Trinidad in 1963. Before this, masqueraders danced along to popular calypsos and the composers of these claimed that they ruled the road. After, the Carnival Development Committee (CDC) counted the songs which were played at the Queen's Park Savannah, Port of Spain, by bands competing for the Band of the Year. Kitchener's amazing skill in composing melodies for the steelband, the premier agency in road march-making, was instrumental in his 10 road march triumphs between 1963 and 1976. By the mid-1970s, however, the steelband had declined as the major provider of music for masquerade bands. Although displaced as Road March King, Kitchener remained extremely popular with the steelbands, providing a string of melodies for the annual Panorama competition. His Calypso Revue tent, established in 1966, has proven to be the most permanent organization in calypso, surviving his death in 2000. Stalin, Valentino, Relator, Pink Panther, The Original Defosto Himself, Sugar Aloes, Denyse Plummer and others have publicly praised him for his mentorship.

Soca and Chutney Soca

In 1974 Lord Shorty announced at a press conference that he had developed a new beat, which was featured on his new album *Endless Vibrations*. Ivor Ferreira, a prominent journalist, listening to the title track of the new album, felt that it incorporated calypso and soul, and so in his report on the launching wrote the world 'soca.' Five years later, Shorty himself claimed that he intended *sokah* to be a mix of calypso and Indian music to which he was exposed as a child in Lengua, an agricultural village in South Trinidad which boasts a large Indo-Trinidadian community (Blackman 1979). *Sokah* finds expression in 'Shanti Om' (1979), Wanderer's 'Premattee' (1983, written by Shorty) and Bro Marvin's 'Jahaaji Bhai' (1996).

The phenomenal success of the title track of *Endless Vibrations* signaled the acceptance of the new forms by the public, especially Trinidadian youth, who constituted a viable market thanks to the unexpected liquidity afforded by the oil boom of the early 1970s. Within a short time, despite the fulminations of the traditionalists such as Chalkdust, Lion and Kitchener and the ambivalence of others such as Sparrow, Stalin and Shadow, other calypsonians slipstreamed behind Shorty. Maestro, at first critical of Shorty's use of Indian rhythms, wrote the first soca album, *The Anatomy of Soca* (1977), which featured among other variants of soca, the soca reggae 'Not Call Them Name' and the soca ballad 'Cher.' Kitchener chipped in with 'Sugar Bum Bum' (1978), Merchant with 'Norman' (1978) and Rose won the road march with 'Soca Jam' (1978).

In 1979 Crazy performed the tremendously popular 'Parang Soca.' (Parang is the music of the descendants of the Venezuelan *peones* who had come to Trinidad to work on the cocoa estates at the foothills of the northern and central ranges.) The commercial success of 'Parang Soca' inspired Reynold Howard to compose a string of soca *parangs* for Singing Francine, until the form found its own fulfilment in Scrunter, who had grown up in a *parang* tradition.

Arrow of Monsterrat experimented with *ka-dance*, later known as *zouk*, while Swallow of Antigua contributed soca rocker, a fusion of soca and Jamaican rockers. Arrow and Swallow headed another influx of singers, including Short Shirt of Antigua and a little later the Barbadians Gabby and Grynner.

Composers, looking for a beat and for a niche in the overcrowded market, turned to chutney, the Indo-Trinidadian music which was brought into the musical mainstream by Soondar Popo in the mid-1970s. After some contestation, especially from Indo-Trinidadian religious and social elites, chutney was championed as an Indo-Trinidadian response to the popularity of calypso. The desire to capitalize upon the market for a calypso-type music generated soca chutney as well as chutney soca, and from these fusions came huge hits such as Droopattie Ramgoonai's 'Mr Bissessar (1988) and 'Hotter Than a Chulha' (1989).

Rapso, created by Lancelot Layne in the 1970s in response to African American rap music, was extended by Brother Resistance, Shortman, Karega Mandela and their Network Rhythm Band. In the late 1980s entertainers on the increasingly popular gospel circuit generated gospelypso, which is in part a response to soca, in part a response to the waves of pop-based gospel messages emanating from the United States. In the early 1990s ragga soca, another fusion of soca and Jamaican dancehall, was created in Kenny Phillips' music laboratory with the assistance of Byron Lee, the Jamaican musician and cultural entrepreneur.

Most of the movements of soca met and found fulfillment in the genius of David Rudder whose 'Calypso Music' (1987) remains an outstanding example both of the extension of the form and of the poetics of calypso. A younger Machel Montano has inspired another generation of singers with his eclecticism, which includes performances and recordings with Jamaican dancehall acts as well as with African-American hip-hop artistes. His 'Real Unity' (2000), performed jointly with Drupatee Ramgonai, is a beautiful illustration of the possibilities inherent in the interface of calypso, Indo-Trinidadian music and world beat. On the recording, Drupatee sings stanzas of the traditional Indian melody 'Aap Jaisa Koi Meri,' while Machel chips in with dancehall-style interjections and with a repeated chorus declaring that nothing is wrong with 'wineing' on a woman of any nationality. This entire effort was meant to defuse the tensions arising from the controversy surrounding Iwer's 'Bottom in the Road' (1998), to which some Indo-Trinidadian elites took offense.

A major feature of the new age has been the reinterpretation of traditional beats or beats rooted in the

Afro-Trinidadian/Tobagonian experience. A peculiar dialectic constantly operates in the calypso, such that whenever avant-garde composers seek to loosen the calypso from its moorings in traditional Carnival music, some artistes react to this by reaffirming the rooted beats and thereby anchor the calypso within traditional and reinterpreted sounds. This happened in the 1970s, perhaps as a consequence of the soca experiments. Shadow's phenomenal 'Bassman' (1974) pioneered the re-emergence of a traditional African sound with which he was deeply familiar, having grown up in Tobago, which retains a strong African vibration. This return to roots also happened in 1980 when Blue Boy of the Baptist community of Point Fortin performed the highly popular 'Soca Baptist,' which among other things draws attention to the similarities of soca music and the music of the Shouter Baptist religion.

Super Blue, as Blue Boy styled himself later in the 1980s, experimented with crossover fusions of soul and R&B before returning to traditional calypso beats in 1987 with 'Jingay.' Still later he made an enormous contribution to 'dancehall soca,' the music which has driven the Carnival industry from the late 1980s and beyond. To create the new Carnival music of the 1990s Super Blue incorporated the riffs used by big bands during the 1950s and 1960s. 'Bacchanal Time,' the road march of 1993, is testimony to the experiments in this direction. It also testifies to the ceaseless reinterpretation of calypso and other mainstream Trinidadian music that has always been the feature of the Calypso.

The 1980s witnessed the re-emergence of the devil masquerade that had horrified some onlookers in the mid-nineteenth century. One group of devil band organizers, 3canal, launched their song career with the acclaimed 'Blue' (1996). Percussive ensembles, called rhythms sections, catered to the new craze for rooted beats. New age rapso acts, represented by Kindred and Ataklan, fused hip-hop and dancehall into their soca mixes.

Simultaneously, the dance hall began to rival the calypso tent as a performing space for calypsonians. Dances had escaped their narrow confines and had become massive events barely contained in large indoor and outdoor facilities. By the 1980s, too, women had taken over the dance halls as well as the Carnival streets, thanks to the economic independence earned from capitalizing on improved educational opportunities. They transformed the festival spaces for public celebration of their sexuality, thus reversing a trend of domination by their male counterparts. Female calypsonians and soca artistes such as Allyson Hinds of Barbados, Destra Garcia, Denise Belfon, Sanelle Dempster and Faye-Ann Lyons-Alvarez came into their own.

The composition of the dance hall audiences, together with the flourishing of the gym subculture that facilitates the glorification of the female body, has shaped the instructional soca songs, in which revelers await and obey commands in the same way as gym devotees follow directions from their instructors. Mindful of the potential for damage caused by the instructionals' 100 + heartbeats per minute, composers/performers have introduced 'wheeling' which incorporates the rest period in aerobic sessions or 'burnouts.'

The mass demand for Carnival music has revived the practice of 'sampling.' In the early years of the twentieth century when the emphasis was on the word, the practice was to recycle a handful of calypso melodies, but as the century progressed and audiences demanded variety of melody, composers were challenged to develop entirely new melodies for new calypsos. This enormous pressure to meet the demands of insatiable Carnival audiences has forced some composers to adapt or borrow melodies from each other as well as from world music. Sampling other music has been derided by 'true-true' *kaisonians*, whose contemptuous labeling of contemporary sampling as 'Xerox soca' testifies to their resentment toward the popularity and commensurate financial remuneration enjoyed by those who borrow melodies successfully.

In 1998 Wayne Rodriguez won the road march with 'Footsteps' which samples Sean 'Puff Diddy' Coombs's eulogy to 'Notorious B.I.G.,' which itself samples the 1980s Police hit 'Every Breath You Take.' In 2003 Destra Garcia incorporated parts of the melody of Cyndy Lauper's 'Time after Time' with great success in her recording with Machel Montano 'It's Carnival,' and Maximus Dan's reworked Gypsy's 'Soca Train' (1980) into his 'Soca Train' (2004). Both these artistes reaped the rewards of live appearances during the Carnival season in Trinidad and abroad.

In the early twenty-first century soca is the preferred music for Carnival and the International Soca Monarch rivals the traditional Calypso Monarch show, which is held on Dimanche Gras, the Sunday immediately preceding Carnival Monday. Traditionalists have derided this form of soca for its monotony, its absence of 'sense' and its over-dependence upon hooks and facile catchcalls, but this form of dancehall soca dominates the Carnival fête scene and the parade of the bands. Other Caribbean acts such as Kevin Lyttle have benefitted from the proliferation of carnivals in North America and Europe. Chutney soca is staking its claim and crossover bands like Karma, Dil-e-nadaan, Gayatones and Melobugs are headlining mainstream soca events in Trinidad and abroad.

In conclusion, the calypso is a living folk/urban tradition. To quote Rohlehr (1990, 54): 'It grew out of [a] milieu of confrontation and mastery, of violent self-assertiveness and rhetorical force; of a constant quest for a more splendid language, and excellence of tongue.' This fine statement encapsulates the movement from the *kalinda* through the single tone to the ode and later the ballad. It is in a continuous state of evolution as it strives to retain its popularity in a world of music dominated by other Caribbean and foreign influences. The experimentation of Lion, Kitchener, Sparrow, Shorty, Maestro, Super Blue, Rudder and Machel, to name the more outstanding experimenters, has been a consistent attempt to guarantee that the calypso would continue to enjoy its status as the premier music of Trinidad and Tobago.

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LOUIS REGIS

Calypso Limonense

Calypso limonense is a form of calypso that developed among the Afro-Caribbean population of the port city of Limón on Costa Rica's Caribbean coast, and subsequently spread to other parts of the country. From the 1980s it was increasingly present in the cultural life of people of Costa Rica not of African descent. Evidence of its continuing impact on a wider spectrum of Costa Rican musical culture can be seen in the existence of calypso combos in the streets of the capital San José and in San Pedro de Montes de Oca, along with its presence in the tourist areas on both the Caribbean and Pacific coasts.

The arrival of the first black migrants from the Caribbean islands of Jamaica, St Kitts and Barbados into the port of Limón in 1872 marked the beginning of a process of cultural reciprocity between Costa Rica and several of the English-speaking islands. Marginalized both economically and culturally, the anglophone black population of Limón developed its own local musical resources from those provided, first by Jamaican mento and then by Trinidadian calypso. In due course a locally specific form of calypso emerged from a fusion of the two Caribbean genres, later given the name *calypso limonense*. In its early stages, calypso in Limón was also influenced by US swing and blues, and by music from Cuba, including *rumba* and *son*. In terms of instrumentation, it was (and has largely remained) an acoustic music. Its instrumentation consisted of banjo or guitar, *conga* drums, cowbell, maracas and a string box bass known as a *quijongo.*

When calypso began to spread from Limón to San José and other cities in the 1980s, as a result of migration on the part of Limón's black population, it took on other meanings and social uses, transforming some of its original features in order to fit the demands of non-Afro audiences. Calypso combos often worked the streets in groups of three or four, drawing audiences to their music and taking control of small environments where listeners listened and danced without great awareness of what they were hearing.

Description

Possibly influenced by recordings of Trinidadian calypso and written descriptions related to Carnival and other cultural activities of that island, poet-musicians in Limón assimilated both the ethics and slang of the original, adopting the idea of the calypso as a form of social expression and the calypsonian as projecting and defending himself through his songs. The role that they appropriated was one invested with prestige and social importance, an idea with which contemporary calypsonians have continued to work – Cyril Sylvan, for example, in a calypso from the 1960s:

> I sing you me song, hear me song this town,
> I'm going to demonstrate to everyone,
> For the calypso now is me,
> And I'm the Master and Ruler in this country

Or, as another contemporary calypsonian, Walter Ferguson, puts it, 'Tell di people I say I am the King of Calypso.' In his 'Tacuma and Anancy's Party,' Ferguson links the calypso to ancestral African stories, evoking 'Anancy playing the fiddle/Tacuma beating the drum,' while alongside them 'Breda Donkey giving a riddle/Breda Monkey drinking the rum.'

The life of the Afro-Caribbean population in Limon was reflected both in the songs and in the contexts of their performance. Lelé remembered:

> I used to listen to calypso during the carnival, at the market, my neighbourhood Cieneguita, the slaughter house. ... I was born in the very centre of Limón, in the block 44, then (the 1950s) calypsonians like Pitún and Papa Tun would show up and start to sing. ... I listen to them everywhere, Pitún, Papa Tun, Charro Limonense and others. In Cieneguita there were so many that played with ukulele, banjo and it always at the beach, we used to sit and cook in pots, fish, everyone ate ... or we go behind the slaughter house, where there were boats, there we got ourselves into singing calypso. (Monestel 2005, 62)

Carnival itself was a space of coexistence where for a short time there was an illusion of equality; as Ferguson sang, 'Everybody running to the Carnaval.'

Hard work and poverty are common themes. In Herberth Glinton 'Lenkí''s 'The Next Creation' (1959), he tells us that 'From I was 10 years old, Lord, I working hard up to now,' before adding:

> I like the right to stop work
> Work can not please me at all.

Hundreds of small farmers were pushed into poverty and had to sell their properties in the 1970s and 1980s when monilia, a disease of the cocoa plant, reduced the harvest to one-third of its normal yield. Ferguson personalized this in a 1978 calypso:

> I knew a gal she name Irene
> She had a mighty family
> Monilia plagued the gal
> Until she walk and lean
> She had to sell out all of she property, me say.

Despite his image of his own status, the calypsonian was not always lucky in love; Ferguson tells how his 'young gal' 'started to pitch me things out the door':

> She made me to understand
> She will not support a calypsonian
> I going buy a pass
> Packing up me things and going to Bocas.

Normally, calypso songs have three major chords. The tonal organization is often I-IV-I-V with variations such as I-V-I-IV or I-IV-V-I. In its early days, calypso performance took the form of a contest, in which one calypsonian tried to defeat another by using better rhymes or by coming out with some kind of argument that would leave the other at a disadvantage.

Contemporary Calypso

Calypso in Costa Rica has tracked the cultural and social history of the Afro-Caribbean people of the country with pertinence and dynamism. In the modern era, calypso plays an important role as a channel through which the multicultural profile of the Costa Rican society is expressed. The recognition of its importance has been reflected in the inclusion of authors of calypsos such as Walter Ferguson in the lists of artists who have received recognition and official prizes (Gallery of Popular Culture 1997 of the Ministry of Culture, Prize Ancora of the newspaper La Nación 2002). Papaya Music have produced a number of successful recordings, featuring Walter Ferguson, Cyril Silvan, Herberth Glinton 'Lenkí,' Congoman Watts, Reynaldo Kenton 'Shantí' and Cantoamérica.

The influence of *calypso limonense* on the music of Costa Rica as a whole can be reflected in the works of musical artists of non-Afro-Caribbean descent such as Cantoamérica, Manuel Monestel, Carlos Saavedra, Mario Ulloa, Edin Solís and Manuel Obregón. Cantoamérica, founded in 1980 in San José, became the first non-Afro-Caribbean band to include Afro-Caribbean calypsos, such as those of Walter Ferguson, in its repertoire. Its performances have often included guest appearances by calypsonians from an earlier generation. The band has toured internationally, taking *calypso limonense* to four continents.

Up to 2003 the only publications on *calypso limonense* were some isolated articles, the majority journalistic in nature. Although the situation has since improved, much work remains to be done to fill gaps in our knowledge of the origins and development of this important genre in the cultural life of Costa Rica.

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MANUEL MONESTEL

Canção de Protesto

Canção de protesto (protest song), *música engajada* (engaged music) and, more commonly, *música de protesto* (protest music) are terms used in Brazil which, in their narrowest and historically rooted sense, refer to the popular 'songs' of political and/or social criticism produced, above all, between the 1960s and 1970s, but also including the 1980s. During this time the country was under a military dictatorship, which lasted from 1964 until 1985.

The political tendency of protest music prevailing at that time was linked to the political, pro-socialast left. It was directly opposed to the military regime and, more broadly, opposed to capitalism and what were often referred to as its 'mazelas' (sore spots or warts). Although there were, therefore, specific reasons for the rise of this music in Brazil, political protest was occurring in many other places in the world around this time, especially in the West, going beyond music to other forms of expression, including film, theater, visual arts and poetry, as a result of the strong tensions and ideological polarization in evidence.

It is important to note that forms of protest are not only the prerogative of the times or places mentioned, but have been present in virtually all human communities, since remote times. One such example from Brazil is the ritual with music and dance held at the Feast of Iamuricumá by indigenous women of the Kamayurá, Kuikuro, Trumai and several other tribes in the Xingu National Park, Mato Grosso, Central Brazil, who 'rebel' against men.

The Brazilian protest music movement did not imply a musical specificity associated with any particular genre (formal rhythmic pattern). However, its most famous composers tended to create music using models considered to be Brazilian, which were generically identified as *MPB – Musica Popular Brasileira* – including rhythms and styles already established, such as *samba*, *toada*, *marcha*, *choro*, *canção* and others. Although the use of the generic term 'song' predominated, implying vocal music with text, in practice a *canção* could be of any genre. On the other hand, the ideological point of view of these songs tended to line up with at least some programmatic partisan principles of the political left, such as the Partido Comunista Brasileiro (Brazilian Communist Party) (PCB, founded in 1922), the Partido Comunista do Brasil (Communist Party of Brazil) (founded in 1962) and the Partido dos Trabalhadores (Workers' Party) (founded in 1980). Activist music pervaded various movements and important musical events of those decades, including *bossa nova, Tropicalismo* and popular music festivals, shifting its focus as of the second half of the 1980s on toward hip-hop, through the use of rap. The main actors thus moved toward those excluded from mainstream society, to the mostly black peripheries of large cities, while the movement identified as political MPB was concentrated more among composers belonging to the middle classes in general, and appealed to a more intellectualized audience, particularly university students.

The most revered figures in protest music in Brazil are two composers of *MPB*, Chico Buarque de Hollanda (b. 1944) and Geraldo Vandré (b. 1935). The former is the most prolific and the main representative of political music, recognized nationally and internationally. *Canções* such as 'Apesar de você' (In Spite of You), a 1978 *samba* (originally from 1970 but officially forbidden for several years), and the 1976 *choro* 'Meu caro amigo' (My Dear Friend) by Francis Hime and Chico Buarque and dozens of others have been huge hits. Chico Buarque's activism crossed borders and his songs were recorded by singers from different countries. For his part, Geraldo Vandré was noted for a song called 'Pra não dizer que não falei das flores' (Not to Say I Did Not Speak of Flowers), also known as 'Caminhando' (Walking), from 1968, with lyrics opposing the military. The song is a kind of *guarânia* (a genre of Paraguayan origin, well established in Brazil's midwest region), which achieved unparalleled success and became a true symbol of protest music in Brazil, establishing itself as the 'revolutionary anthem' of the country. Both composers experienced serious political problems – censorship of their music and persecution by police – and were exiled to other countries.

In view of prohibition, activist composers resorted to every possible device to circumvent the restriction on freedom of expression, using various techniques in their lyrics such as allegory, irony, caricature, using pseudonyms and other devices. One such example was Chico Buarque's use of the pseudonym Julinho da Adelaide to gain permission to record and release some of his music.

Brazil has a strong Catholic tradition, and a type of protest music of great importance and far-reaching influence but one that has not been consolidated through the market and cultural consumption through standard media systems is that disseminated in the activities of 'progressive' sectors of the Catholic Church from the 1970s with Liberation Theology and the 'emphasis on the poor.' Consolidated in Comunidades Eclesiais de Base (Basic Ecclesial Communities) (CEBs), scattered throughout the national territory, these sectors widely use many activist chants to denounce social and political ills and promote political awareness, even incorporating them into religious offices of the Mass. Also deserving of mention are the activities of some Centros Populares de Cultura (Popular Culture Centers) (CPCs) in the early 1960s, linked to the União Nacional dos Estudantes (National Students' Union) (UNE), to promote popular political awareness through the arts, including music, notably that of composer Carlos Lira (b. 1936), who was connected to the *bossa nova* movement.

After the mid-1980s, with the end of the dictatorial regime in the country, the central themes of protest song lacked the dynamism they had before, and moved to less direct political concerns, such as environmental and women's issues, the antiracist causes of black groups and other matters. On the other hand, a highly dynamic form of social criticism arose and has been maintained through rap, that great force in the denouncing of the iniquities of the contemporary world.

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ALBERTO T. IKEDA (TRANSLATED BY DARA MURPHY)

Canción de Protesta (in Venezuela)

The term *canción de protesta* is used in Venezuela to describe, in a broad sense, a song with a political and ideological message or with a marked social criticism, usually expressed through its lyrics. Other terms are known to represent to a lesser extent the same type of music, for example *canción política* (political song), *canción de contenido* (song with contents), *canción revolucionaria* (revolutionary song) and *canción necesaria* (necessary song), the latter promoted in the 1970s by the singer/composer Alí Primera. The *canción de protesta* first appeared as a relevant genre in the country's popular music from the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s, within the context of the global countercultural media explosion of the 1960s, by way of influences from Bob Dylan, the Beatles' psychedelic period and the era's emphasis on the importance of social and political meaning in the lyrics. It was a music trend similar to that of the *nueva canción latinoamericana* that occurred at the same time in other Latin American countries, especially in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. It also ran parallel with *nueva trova* in Cuba, linking the message with left-wing, socialist ideologies and political movements. In this respect, the *canción de protesta* also reflected the Venezuelan socialist *guerrilla* activities of the early 1960s.

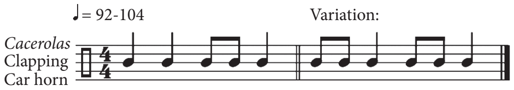
Within the context of President Hugo Chávez's socialist government (1999–2013), however, the genre acquired a different, additional type of function. The process by which music styles, genres or songs linked with a protest function change roles from subversive to system-compliant was to affect the *canción de protesta* in Venezuela: the movement that originated in the mid-1960s became relevant in a second guise as a genre of mixed popular music that shared some characteristics with the songs of the first countercultural period, but was no longer an expression of a minority in disagreement with the Establishment, rather a tool in a complex machinery for the perpetuation of the ideology and power of the ruling system within Chávez's regime. In this process, the songs of the late Alí Primera achieved higher media exposure than they had during his lifetime, and the *canción de protesta* was adopted as a characterization in sound of the 'Bolivarian revolution' of Chávez and manipulated in the hands of the regime as a mass-gathering device for left-wing political propaganda. This development was different from the eventual and expected absorption of this type of music into the Establishment by way of the media industry, an inherent contradiction characteristic of the genre of protest songs overall when they become involved with the music industry.

An important antecedent of Venezuelan *canción de protesta* is found in the *canciones patrióticas* (patriotic songs) that were used by the revolutionary movements in Caracas around 1811 seeking independence from Spanish rule. They are exemplified by 'Gloria al bravo pueblo' (Glory to the Brave People) (music by Juan José Landaeta and text by Vicente Salias), an insurgent song that was officially declared the Venezuelan

National Anthem in 1881 by the President Antonio Guzmán Blanco, and must be sung every morning in all schools and heard at midnight in all radio and television stations of the country.

The *canción revolucionaria* is considered by the musician Daniel Gil to include anthems of Communist movements and organizations in the world, songs from the Spanish Civil War and the Mexican Revolution, and songs of political prisoners (see the CD *Antología de la canción revolucionaria* [Anthology of Revolutionary Song] of 2007, which contains two songs adopted by Venezuelan political prisoners of the 1960s and 1970s as their anthems, 'Bandoleros' and 'Himno del Calabozo').

It also needs to be considered that political movements and parties in Venezuela have made extensive use of short songs as effective propaganda during the elections, in close similarity to the *canción de protesta*, as well as longer songs as their anthems. The thin line between *canción de protesta* and propaganda changes with the historical and functional context in which it appears, and of course there are other types of music with no text that imply protest by their reiterated use in marches and rallies, such as particular rhythms performed by hitting cooking pans (*caceloras*) in the streets and on balconies or patios, hand-clapping and sounding car horns. The resulting sound is called *cacelorazo* (see Example 1):



Example 1: Rhythms of *cacelorazo*

A further variation is straight sixteenth notes at 69 bpm.

The First Period (1960s–1985)

In the first period of the *canción de protesta* in the mid-1960s, two different types of popular musicians can be identified as belonging to the genre: the singer-composer, who was usually also a political activist, and the singer-only type of musician, who was involved in the musical and political activities of the times but changed genres thereafter with the coming trends. The most important examples of the first type, the singer-composer, are Alí Primera, Gloria Martín and Xulio Formoso. Primera and Martín wrote the lyrics to their songs, while Formoso worked closely with political poets such as Farruco Sesto. The center of activity of the *canción de protesta* was based in the country's universities where concerts, rallies and marches took place. The singers also attended national and international song festivals, usually competing with a specific title to win a prize and the corresponding media recognition. Gloria Martín also composed cantatas and Formoso was also involved in composing music for the theater.

By far the most influential personality in the first period of the *canción de protesta* was the singer and composer Alí Primera, whose singing career, which began in 1967, ended suddenly in a car accident in 1985. His style of music, developed as a student in the Universidad Central de Venezuela, Caracas, featured his voice with the guitar or *cuatro*, folk elements (instruments, rhythms and genres) and hybrid ensembles of his own configuration consisting of folk and symphonic instruments. His large output of songs included over 14 albums. Primera called his music *canto necesario* (necessary song/singing), expressing the idea that he was not only a singer of the political left, but a singer for all the poor people. He was an intense, national political activist and member of three Venezuelan Communist parties. He created his own record label, Cigarrón, in 1977 for promoting his music as well as for new talents, after established record labels, radio and TV stations banned his production. The music of Primera carried a mix of Bolivarian messages of unity, left-wing ideology, Cuban sympathy, anti-USA slogans, folk values of the regions of the country and love. From his first solo album *Lo primero de Alí Primera* in 1973 until his last *Entre la rabia y la ternura* (Between Rage and Tenderness) in 1984, his work included many hits, such as 'Canción mansa para un pueblo bravo' (Tame Song for a Brave/Angry People) (1984). He also dedicated his work to popular poets, painters and social activists such as Aquiles Nazoa and Cesar Rengifo, among many others.

The other important singer-composers of that period within the *canción de protesta* movement of Venezuela were two Spanish-born artists who arrived in Venezuela while still young. Gloria Martín was very active in national and international festivals from 1969 until 1992, as well as in social-cultural activities, writing songs and mixed-media works such as the *Cantata a Fabricio Ojeda* in 1977 and later becoming a university professor and author. Xulio Formoso started in 1970 with six *canciones de protesta* in the record *Galicia canta*, in the Galician language (the first recording of sung Galician poetry made in Latin America), and established the *nueva canción gallega* (Galician New Song), with texts by Farruco Sesto and Celso Emilio Ferreiro. He produced the music for a successful political theater work by Antonio Miranda, *Tu país está feliz* (Your Country Is Happy) in 1971, and a series of ten albums of his songs with texts in Spanish by Farruco Sesto among other political poets. In 1978 Formoso abandoned his singing career to become a systems engineer. Under Chávez's presidency, Sesto was appointed the Venezuelan Cultural Minister in 2005 and since 2007 Formoso has led CENDIS, the national center for the production of compact discs. In such positions, as employees of the socialist government, Formoso and Sesto have continued with the left-based political beliefs that they had jointly expressed earlier through *canciones de protesta,* and in 2002 they joined forces again to produce Formoso's CD, *En el J.B. Plaza*.

A large number of followers of the revolutionary trend in the 1960s belonged to the second type of musicians identified earlier, that of the singer-only, the main figure being Soledad Bravo. Of Spanish origin, arriving in Venezuela as a child, she appeared in 1968 as a singer within the movement centered at the Universidad Central de Venezuela in Caracas. Her first recording (*Soledad Bravo canta*) was an album that included Spanish and García Lorca songs of the Spanish Civil War. On her second album in 1969 (*Soledad*), she included a repertoire of *canciones de protesta* and in 1973 she made an all-*nueva trova* album, *Canciones de la nueva trova cubana*. In 1974, however, she turned to a neofolklore repertoire (urban arrangements of traditional folk music), following the awakening folk trend of the *grupos de proyección* (folk music performed by recording artists and professional music groups, sounding as close as possible to the original). Bravo has developed an extensive and important international career as a singer, characterized by continuously changing styles and genres.

The Second Period (1999–2013)

Since 1999, with the arrival of '*Chavismo*' in Venezuela, the figure of the socialist-related singer Alí Primera became the *cantor del pueblo* (singer of the people), and also generally – though the term was not exclusive to this type of music – *cantautor* (singer-author). This second cycle of the *canción de protesta* in Venezuela originated as part of a revolutionary-tagged government following in Cuba's footsteps, but 40 years later. Alí Primera's songs and iconography were extensively used in the media, in a way similar to the recycling of the famous Che Guevara photographs of the 1960s, to promote governmental policies and Communist ideology, and to acquire support mainly from the poorest segments of Venezuelan society, which account for 80 percent of the country's population.

Primera's music and concepts fitted perfectly within Chávez's Bolivarian revolution and served for the construction and promotion of value objects and symbols. Although Primera died almost 15 years before the Chávez era, and had been remembered to that point mainly via sporadic homage concerts, he became nationally famous again in the early twenty-first century through the governmental use of the same recordings of his songs that he had produced in the earlier countercultural times. This was achieved by means of a government-established network of community television and radio stations as well as the main television channels that, with one exception, were all controlled by or were in compliance with the government.

Other newcomers have since been promoted through the television and have gradually extended the *canción de protesta* repertoire to include any folk or pop genre, especially rock, reggae and hip-hop. These include the revised *grupo de proyección* Grupo Madera, and new singers and groups, all in different mixed styles from romantic ballad to salsa, to represent the new pro-government *canción de protesta*. In 2006 Madera produced the salsa banner-song for rallies in support of Chávez, '*Uh, ah, Chávez no se va*' (Uh, Ah, Chávez Is not Leaving). *Cantora del pueblo* Hanoi has reached exposure through the government television channel VTV Canal 8 with her video 'Aquí andamos' (Here We Go), proclaiming the Bolivarian revolution, as has the romantic Gustavo Arreaza with his revolutionary theme 'La verdad' (The Truth).

Since 2007 the music group Dame Pa' Matala (which literally means 'pass me the joint to smoke to its end'), with a mixture of Caribbean music and hip-hop influences, has made music with national and Latin American '*contenido*' (contents), featuring '… messages of peace, unity and conscience-awakening …,' and are one of the favorite groups of the regime's media stations. In the group's most recent music and video production *Movimiento Latino* (Latin Movement) of 2013, the promotional song 'Piel sin silicón' (Skin Without Silicon) criticizes the wide extent of beauty surgery among contemporary Venezuelan women. This new development, after 14 years of socialist *canción de protesta* 'imposed' by the government, marks a definite change, with groups choosing to continue with a critical edge but no longer obliged to do so within the politics of left and right.

On the other side, hip-hop in the hands of Leonardo Viloria 'NK Profeta,' author of the nation-wide video made in 2009, *Documental de hip hop de Venezuela* (Documentary of Hip-Hop in Venezuela), has become a major vehicle for dissent against the government. In 2010 NK Profeta created a controversial song 'Sr. Presidente' (Mr President) which attracted much media attention in Venezuela and in *El Nuevo Herald of Miami, FL*. Apart from his national and international concerts, NK Profeta performs live during political rallies against the regime in Caracas.

In Chávez's bombastic burial ceremony after his death on 5 March 2013, many musicians performed live by the side of the coffin, their repertoire consisting mainly of *joropo* music with political texts, and songs from Alí Primera. Florentino Primera's son chose to sing his father's 'Canción en dolor mayor' (a play on words between 'Song in Pain Major' and 'Song in Great Grief') for the event. For seven days after Chávez's death, radio stations were allowed to play classical music and Alí Primera's songs.

Other genres of popular/folk music in Venezuela carry a protest or critical message in their texts, but do not serve this function exclusively and were not part of the counterculture movement of the 1960s. Traditionally, *joropo llanero* music (triplet-based folk music from the flat-land region performed with diatonic harp, a small guitar called the *cuatro*, maracas and voice), places a high prominence on the lyrics and the singer's ability to improvise them with philosophical turns, so it has invariably included protest meanings in its long existence, responding to contextual, political and economical problems abundant in the country. The same applies to *joropo oriental* (a type of *joropo* from the eastern part of the country performed with mandolins, *cuatro*, guitar, maracas and voices), especially with Francisco Mata y sus Guaiqueríes of the Margarita Island, and with many *gaita* productions (folk music genre from the Zulia state) at Christmas time. In a country drastically split in two halves between those who are for and those who are against the Chávez government, artists took sides and some *joropo* singers formed part of the government's promoting forces, as did Cristóbal Giménez with his release *Amor, llano y revolución* (Love, Flat-lands and Revolution) in 2004, while on the other side, the anti-Chávez songs of Reynaldo Armas were banned from the media. Rock sung in Spanish has provided social criticism among other themes, especially in the leading figure of Pedro Vicente Lizardo (PTT) with his group La Misma Gente, who from 1967 have continued without interruption to produce a large number of songs independently of the changing movements in music, for example 'Esperando el autobus' (Waiting for the Bus). Perhaps as a consequence of the long, sustained and overwhelming cult of the Chávez personality in the media, including the promotion of his 'revolution,' another *canción de protesta* is emerging in Venezuela in reaction to this state of left-political saturation. Different genres are involved, such as hip-hop, rock and reggae, but in this parallel line of development, the music is characterized by a global sense rather than the previous left-right political antagonism linked with socialism, as can be seen, for example, in the music of the successful Venezuelan reggae group Papashanty Saundsystem with 'Música de paz' (Peace Music).

However that may be, the continued importance of music in political propaganda in the media and especially in the street rallies and marches was prominent in the short but intense month-long period of presidential elections which took place in April 2013, after Chavez's death. The role of the *canción de protesta,* including Alí Primera's compulsory repertoire, was shadowed by the up-to-date styles of the pop industry involved. Music artists openly took sides and performed in the massive street rallies, taking advantage of the additional media exposure, and these events functioned more like an enormous open-air concert than as a political meeting with speeches and the like. In the 14-year-long period of Chavez's rule, his charisma was sufficient to sustain many hours of solo speaking, singing and joking to a multitude. Now, the new political personalities, lacking Chavez's magnetism and experience, were using music as a tool to capture the attention of huge audiences, and to make their attendance worthwhile. Such developments suggest that the pop music industry has once again devoured *canción de protesta*, even on its own political territory.

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EMILIO MENDOZA

Canción Popular Uruguaya

The second half of the twentieth century saw the growth in Uruguay of a strong movement of popular music with a particular interest in stressing factors of identity. To some extent, the idea of maintaining musical particularities in contemporary popular music drawn from the local tradition stemmed from the work of Uruguayan musicologist Lauro Ayestarán (1913–66) and the diffusion of his work through essays, articles, lectures and radio broadcasts. Many young musicians found in this convincing information the necessary background to elaborate models different from those of the Argentinian north-west imposed by the music industry based in Buenos Aires.

This movement of popular song based on folkloric traditions began in the 1950s. The musical forms adapted into the new popular music were mainly those of the Uruguayan folkloric tradition: *vals criollo*, *cielito*, *gato*, *huella*, *vidalita*, *cifra*, *polca*, *chotis*, *chimarrita* and especially *milonga*, which was to become, in its different variants, the core genre of the Uruguayan popular song in the 1960s and 1970s. Some new forms appeared, such as the *litoraleña* (a relative of some forms of expressions of the Argentinian region covered by the rivers Paraná and Uruguay, and perhaps also of the *guarania*), the *serranera* (which brings together two different genres, one binary, lively, in polka style, and another belonging to the complex of genres that superimpose 6/8 meter over 3/4), and the *media serranera* (a slow, *bolero*-style 4/4 with an implicit three-three-two feel).

This new musical activity may have been linked with the work, in the two previous decades, of singer Néstor Feria (1894–1948) and others whose names remain in obscurity. Amalia de la Vega (1919–2000) led the way with performances on the radio (especially), in theaters and on record, followed by others such as Víctor Santurio (1923–) and his Los Carreteros ensemble, Osiris Rodríguez Castillos (1925–96), Aníbal Sampayo (1927–2007) and Anselmo Grau (1930–2001). The strong Uruguayan tradition of guitar playing marked the path of popular music in the second half of the century, but there were some particularities as well. For example, Sampayo introduced the Paraguayan harp technique into his work, thus renewing a historical link with that sociocultural region, while Amalia de la Vega took up Carlos Gardel's model of accompaniment of a trio or quartet of guitars played with *púa* or plectrum, in an Uruguayan context where finger plucking has been preferred. Other composers of the same generation who were not performers, such as Víctor Lima (1921–69) and Rubén Lena (1925–95), came a little later; their works were performed by younger musicians, principally Los Olimareños.

The interest in folkloric music traditions continued with the next generation, which began to take over in 1962. Taking advantage of an already-present interest in social issues, this generation developed a protest song – or rather, a 'proposal song,' as Daniel Viglietti explained it in 1967. In a historical moment of great political restlessness, four singers and guitarists became emblematic for their influence on society, especially as an enormous growth in audience interest (and a consequent boom in the popularity of their discs) began between 1967 and 1968: Alfredo Zitarrosa (1936–89), Daniel Viglietti (1939–) and the duo Los Olimareños (Braulio López (1942–) and José Luis 'Pepe' Guerra (1943–)). These musicians continued to cultivate the musical genres of the folkloric tradition, adding their interest in the music of other Latin American countries. Los Olimareños introduced the Afro-Uruguayan *candombe* with a particular type of guitar accompaniment, as well as elements of the Montevidean *murga*. Zitarrosa adopted the accompaniment principle of an ensemble of guitars played with a plectrum, while Viglietti and Los Olimareños continued the tradition of plucking the strings with the fingers. Viglietti developed a virtuoso mastery of the guitar and enriched his compositional resources with contributions taken from twentieth-century art music. All of them kept the guitar (or guitars) as the central instrument, and preferred to perform their recitals without other instrumentalists, even if their recordings included more diverse arrangements.

Among the many other composer-performers who took part in this important folkloristic movement in Uruguayan popular song, mention should be made of Marcos Velásquez (1939–2010), Yamandú Palacios (1940–), Wáshington Carrasco (1941, later in duet with Cristina Fernández), Roberto Darvin (1942–), José Carbajal 'El Sabalero' (1944–2010), Numa Moraes (1950–) and, a little later, Santiago Chalar (1938–94) and the Los Zucará duet. With the advent of a dictatorship in Uruguay at the end of 1967, the explicit political commitment of most of the musicians became an important factor in the actions of the censors.

The rock movement that grew up during the 1960s, developing original solutions by 1970, reached a creative peak by 1971. By 1973, the year in which the military powers took up the dictatorial government, the movement had slowly died away.

A heavy silence was imposed in the country. Nevertheless, a few musicians continued singing, and little by little in the mid-1970s a new generation of courageous young performers began to appear. Eduardo Darnauchans (1953–2007) composed and sang delicate melodies with elaborate texts, Carlos 'Pajarito' Canzani (1953–) experimented briefly with interactions between traditional genres and rock, and Carlos María Fossati (1946–), Carlos Benavides (1949–) and the duo of Eduardo Larbanois (1953–) and Mario Carrero (1952–) worked to renovate the folklore-based angle of the popular song.

In a period when the dictatorship was at its most repressive, 1977 was the year of the emergence (principally in the capital city, Montevideo) of an important and new movement of popular song, which was mechanically labeled by some disc jockeys under the confused category of *canto popular uruguayo* (Uruguayan popular singing). It had an impressive number of participants, many of whom demonstrated a high level of creativity. Beyond the folkloristic stream which continued to be their principal influence, these young musicians established new points of reference: for example, Rubén Rada (1943–), with his fusion of *candombe* with jazz and rock; Eduardo Mateo (1940–90), with his own mixture of these same sources plus *samba* and *bossa nova*; and the local rock movement of the early 1970s, especially Dino (Gastón Ciarlo, 1945–), with his search for an interaction of blues and rock with *milonga* and *candombe*. This new song movement explicitly set itself up as a symbol of resistance against the cruel dictatorship. The search for quality and the demands imposed by musicians on themselves became concrete ways to resist spiritual annihilation. Thousands of citizens, mostly young, transformed the musicians' shows into massive covert political acts; the aforementioned new generation was enlarged by individuals assuming real risks, both musically and politically, and beginning to develop a renewed social (and therefore political) commitment.

The explosion of 1977 began with Los que iban cantando, who used to define themselves as a 'group of individuals,' and who were to remain active on and off until 1987. Its principal members were Jorge Bonaldi (1949–), Jorge Lazaroff (1950–89) and Luis Trochón (1956–). Others, active for shorter periods, were Carlos da Silveira (1950–), Jorge Di Pólito (1952–), Wálter Venencio (1949–) and Eduardo ('Edú') ('Pitufo') Lombardo (1966–). These musicians sought an interaction between avant-garde elements and a strong Latin American identity (a legacy of interest in the wider continent received from the previous generation), and tried to use resources not only from popular music, including *candombe*, *murga* and *tango*, transformed into *tanguez* or 'tango-ness' (this especially in Bonaldi's music), but also from contemporary art music (especially in the work of Lazaroff, Trochón and da Silveira). Except for Lombardo, who acted as percussionist, the main instrument of these musicians was the guitar, but they used many other instruments, and invented some. Other interesting ensembles, such as Contraviento and Rumbo, also elicited an enthusiastic response from the audience.

In 1977 Jaime Roos (1953–), living at the time in Europe, began a series of recordings that would transform him into the most important of the new figures, especially since 1985. Roos (who had worked previously with Venencio, Canzani, Bonaldi and Lazaroff, and whose instruments are mainly the electric bass and guitar) balanced the course of folklore-based song with that of rock, retaining the important role of the *milonga*, and stressing the presence of *murga* (with authentic *murga* choirs) and *candombe* (with virtuoso *llamada* drummers). The scale of his success, in a product which, like that of others of the *canción popular uruguaya* movement, has not made concessions to the transnational music industry, has interesting implications for theoretical approaches.

Other important songwriters-performers of this generation included: Jorge Galemire (1951–), who bridged *candombe* and *murga* with rock; Rubén Olivera (1954–), a fine composer, singer and guitar player as well as a committed theoretician and influential teacher; Fernando Cabrera (1956–), involved in subtle and risky innovations in different musical and lyrical parameters; Mauricio Ubal (1959–), who was particularly interested in exploring the fields of *candombe*, *murga* and also *tango*; and Leo Maslíah (1954–), a songwriter and virtuoso keyboard player with a frankly expressed avant-gardist attitude, who worked intelligently with nonsense and humor and acted also as a prolific writer of prose and poetry and as a playwright.

It is also important to mention the connection between the Uruguayan popular song movement and local poets, which began as early as the 1960s. Among the important writers whose works have been used as lyrics are Líber Falco, Serafín J. García, Juan Cunha, Idea Vilariño, Mario Benedetti, Mercedes Rein, Circe Maia, Wáshington Benavides and many others from younger generations.

The dictatorship ended in early 1985, but half a year beforehand exiles had already begun to return home. From this turning point, however, the generation that had been at the center of the resistance between 1977 and 1985 felt disappointed at what was happening politically in the country. Some protagonists of the dark years stopped composing (Trochón) or decided to compose only for children (Bonaldi), while many of them experienced a feeling of crisis. At the same time, and taking advantage of the fact that, by including such a huge number of participants, the label '*canto popular uruguayo*' also gave shelter to mediocre musicians, some reactionary journalists and disc jockeys began to use that label (and its apocopation '*cantopopu*') as a pejorative expression, thus trying to discredit every artist engaged with his historical time.

Since 1985 some performers, such as Laura Canoura (1957–) and Pablo Estramín (1959–2007), have obtained huge success in very different styles. Among the many figures are Estela Magnone (1948–), Esteban Klísich (1955–), Wálter Bordoni (1962–), Fernando Ulivi (1963–), Gastón Rodríguez (1964–), the ensemble Asamblea Ordinaria, and especially Mariana Íngold (1958–), Alberto Wolf (1962–) and Jorge Schellemberg (1962–), all three of whom are interested in exploring diverse ways for a renewed *candombe*, and Jorge Drexler (1964–), a delicate composer and a refined singer and guitar player who has lived in Spain since 1995.

In the early twenty-first century Uruguayan popular song has shown, among other things, the impact of home recording and production technology, which has underlined the potential for electroacoustic elaboration of the music.

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CORIÚN AHARONIÁN

Canción Ranchera/Ranchera

The genre commonly called *canción ranchera* ('country song'), or simply either *canción* or *ranchera*, is regarded as Mexico's quintessential popular music genre. Although this type of song goes back to the mid-1800s, the term was first coined in 1910 by nationalist composer Manuel M. Ponce as *canción mexicana* (Spanish for 'Mexican song'). The *canción ranchera* is characterized by its lyrical, and often sentimental, quality in both song text and melody. Although usually accompanied by *mariachi*, a regional ensemble type that had become Mexico's national music style in the 1930s, *canciones* are performed by all regional Mexican music ensembles. *Música ranchera* ('ranchera/country music') is a popular umbrella term used to designate all kinds of rural-rooted Mexican music, including genres such as *canción*, *corrido* (a folk ballad from northern Mexico), *son* (a danceable regional tune), *jarabe* (a dance tune) and the urban hybrids *bolero ranchero* and *canción romántica* ('romantic song').

History

Mexico's repertory of popular music, from its very beginnings in the nineteenth century, cannot always be sharply distinguished from those of folk music traditions and art music, as these categories overlap substantially. In fact, popular music genres in Mexico were often urban renditions of folk genres, whereas the most popular 'folk songs' were influenced by nineteenth-century European salon music. Indeed, both European Romanticism and Italian opera (particularly the music of Rossini, Bellini and Donizetti) have influenced the *canción*, which reached a high level of popularity by the mid-century when it was heard in the opera houses, the salons of the aristocracy and the middle class, as well as throughout the rural villages and urban neighborhoods. Mexican musicologist Vicente T. Mendoza (1961) proposed a distinction between the simple *canción* of the rural mestizos (people of mixed race) and the Italianate *canción romántica* or *canción sentimental* in operatic *bel canto* style of the European upper class. Because of *canción*'s widespread popularity, various musicologists have termed the second half of the nineteenth century the 'Golden Age of Mexican Song' (Mendoza 1961). Nineteenth-century Mexican composer Melesio Morales published simple *sones* which he called *aires nacionales* ('national airs'). It was fashionable for salon music composers of the time to put folk melodies together in suites and arrange them for piano. In the third part of the nineteenth century, folk tunes were set in either the European-derived waltz and polka rhythms or the Cuban-derived *danza habanera*, in slow 2/4 or lively 6/8 time.

During the first decades of the twentieth century the works of composers such as Miguel Lerdo de Tejada, the director of Mexico City's *Orquesta Típica* (an ensemble formed in 1884 consisting of an array of string instruments, wind instruments and marimba, with musicians dressed in folkloric garb), acquired an intensely 'Mexican flavor,' which distinguished them from the European models of the earlier *canción,* mainly due to the (folk) instrumentation and the way the composers treated dance rhythms. Lerdo de Tejada arguably wrote the first true *canción mexicana* ('Perjura,' 1902). José López Alaves's 'Canción mixteca' (1917) shows clear traits of the later *canción ranchera*. 'Adiós mi chaparrita' (Farewell My Little Darling) and 'La borrachita' (The Tipsy Girl) (1918), compositions by Ignacio Fernández Esperón ('Tata Nacho'), became prototypes of the emerging *canción ranchera*. In the mid-1920s Los Trovadores Tamaulipecos, a string band from northeast Mexico, spearheaded the creation of the new *ranchera* style.

The *canción mexicana* developed its modern characteristics during the post-revolution period (1920s and 1930s), when it was transformed into a simpler and more rural-based song type. These songs, by then called *canciones rancheras*, or peasant/country songs, appealed to the recently urbanized rural masses as well as to the middle-class city dwellers in post-revolutionary Mexico. As momentary recreations of a simpler and romanticized folk heritage, *rancheras* were able to evoke feelings of nostalgia and patriotism, and for that, Mexicanness. The post-revolutionary period in general was characterized by the rise of a strong national identity. The mestizos came to form a part of the longed-for 'national spirit' and through them popular music experienced a renewed vigor.

The musical characteristics of the modern *canción mexicana* or *canción ranchera* include the use of tonic and dominant harmonies, a preference for the major mode, 2/4 and 3/4 meters, a melodic style that showcases a strong vocal technique, affected falsetto, *gritos* (yells), wide leaps, and elements such as *portamento*, *sforzado* and *ritardando* at the end of the phrase. Male singers typically sing in a high register (preferably tenor), while women sing in alto with a hoarse voice (*voz ronca*). The songs are mostly of melodramatic content (unrequited love, abandonment, torment, etc.), eulogize the nation and the region and romanticize the kind-hearted hacienda owners, gallant macho lovers, decent women and happy peons (Velázquez and Vaughan 2006).

The theater had already played an influential role in the dissemination of uniquely Mexican popular music styles from the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth century, with the replacement of the Spanish *tonadillas* (interludes between scenes) by *sonecitos de la tierra* (little country tunes). After the revolution, the *teatro de revista* (revues, vaudeville shows) kindled the public's interest in both regional and idealized, pseudo-regional music. In 1927 the Teatro Lírico in Mexico City organized the first competition (Concurso de Canciones Mexicanas) to encourage the production of new songs in the *estilo ranchero* (country style).

From its inception in Mexico in 1923, radio broadcasting played an important role in the construction of Mexican nationalism. The Mexican government quickly realized the power of the new medium to reach the millions of Mexicans who had not yet been incorporated into the modern nation-state. Efforts were made to develop an official folklore which was intended to help blur regional differences, so as to create a more integrated society. Cultural missionaries were sent out by the government to study and collect folk songs and dances throughout Mexico. The *mariachi*, one of many regional musical expressions, was eventually established as the national musical ensemble in the late 1930s.

In 1930 the commercial radio station XEW, first a subsidiary of the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) and then affiliated with the National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC), was established in Mexico City and developed into the most powerful Latin American radio station. Advertised as 'La Voz de la América Latina desde México' (Latin America's Voice from Mexico), XEW was heard as far as the southern United States, the Caribbean and South America. At first broadcasting international genres such as *tango*, *danzón*, foxtrot and one-step, XEW responded to the longing of Mexico's growing urban immigrant masses for a musical expression that spoke to both the anonymity of modernity and the nostalgia for the lost country life by transmitting more music interpreted by trios (Trío Calaveras, Trío Garnica-Asencio, Trío Tariácuri), as well as romantic Mexican music (Agustín Lara, María Grever) and the newly developed orchestral *mariachi* with solo vocalist (Jorge Negrete, Lucha Reyes, Pepe Guízar). Mexico City's expanding broadcasting activities in the 1930s attracted many musicians and singers, some of whom found work at XEW or some smaller radio stations. Nationalistic radio laws issued by the Mexican government in the 1930s privileged certain popular cultural forms in order to ensure that the medium would disseminate a uniquely Mexican culture and thereby promote a sense of national solidarity. President Lázaro Cárdenas and his administration (1934–40) had a centralized control over the content of the mass media. They initiated numerous propaganda and entertainment programs that were broadcast by the state-sponsored radio station XEDP, the commercial XEW, and rebroadcast by every station in the country. Moreover, commercial broadcasters in 1936 were required by law to include at least 25 percent 'typical Mexican music' in each program (Hayes 2000). This regulation had cultural consequences as it provided fertile ground for the dissemination and construction of a Mexican national culture.

Emerging in the 1930s, the *comedia ranchera* (ranch comedy), the most enduring genre of Mexican cinema, helped to facilitate the nation-wide establishment of the *canción ranchera*. With box-office hits such as *Allá en el rancho grande* (There, at the Big Ranch) (1936), *¡Ay Jalisco, no te rajes!* (Ay Jalisco, Don't be Scared) (1941) and *Como México no hay dos* (There Is Only One Mexico) (1944), the folk-derived but urban *mariachi* ensemble, which included one or more trumpets, and the singing *charro* (horseman) – similar to the singing cowboy in Hollywood movies of the time – began to replace the trios and *orquestas típicas*, which had been the preferred interpreters of *canción ranchera* until then. The new media of sound pictures helped to expand the initial realm of popularity of the genre, transitioning from the working class to the middle and upper classes. In the 1940s, the heyday of this genre, *mariachi* had fully incorporated *canción ranchera*. The orchestral *mariachi* ensemble served perfectly to accompany the two *canción ranchera* styles: *el estilo bravío* (the fierce style), dominated by trumpets, and *el estilo sentimental* (the sentimental style), dominated by string instruments. The movie industry demanded a solo vocalist and singing in three parts, which replaced the folk-rooted duo singing in thirds and sixths. Singer-actors such as Jorge Negrete, Pedro Infante and José Alfredo Jiménez turned into superstars during the golden era of Mexican cinema in the 1940s and 1950s. The prominent female *ranchera* singer Lucha Reyes (who made her film debut in 1936 with *Cielito lindo*) paved the way for a number of *ranchera* queens, such as Lola Beltrán, Amalia Mendoza and Lucha Villa.

The 1940s and 1950s are also considered the golden age of Mexican romantic music. Parallel to the consolidation of the *canción ranchera*, the romantic *bolero*, a more cosmopolitan music with roots in the lyrical poetic tradition and tropical (Caribbean) rhythms, quickly conquered the urban audiences. Composers such as Agustín Lara and performers such as Trío Los Panchos and Trío Los Ases created national and worldwide audiences for the *bolero romántico*, the Mexican appropriation of the Cuban *bolero*. Founded in New York City in 1945, Los Panchos developed a *bolero* style that reflected the taste of the urban Latino audience at the time. The romantic-trio genre reigned as the supreme form of popular music in Latin America until the end of the 1950s (Torres 2002).

After World War II, the country-oriented, proud and fierce *canción bravía* gave way to a sleeker, romantic music that better reflected the new urban lifestyle and aspirations of the masses. The *canción romántica* (romantic song), a more refined version of the *canción ranchera*, emerged and gained in popularity, particularly among the middle-class urbanites. In film, too, there was a clear shift of focus from the *rancho* to the urban *barrio* (neighborhood). In the early 1950s the guitar-based vocal trios popularized the hybrid *canción-bolero*. At the same time, the urban *canción ranchera* fused with the lyrical poetic *bolero* to create the *bolero ranchero*, a song type appropriated and 'countrified' by *ranchera* soloists (such as Pedro Infante and Javier Solís) accompanied by *mariachi*, although the repertory was not originally written for *mariachi* (e.g., 'Amorcito corazón' [Beloved Sweetheart] by Manuel Esperón and Pedro de Urdimalas, which became a huge success after it was performed by Pedro Infante in the 1947 blockbuster movie *Nosotros los pobres* [We the Poor] and recorded with *mariachi* arrangement in 1949). In contrast to the *canción ranchera*, the *bolero ranchero* stresses the minor mode, more modulations and dominant-seventh harmony. Although featuring a basic *bolero* rhythm, it is lacking in sophisticated counterpoints, and instead of the smooth *bolero* voice, the *bolero ranchero* is sung in the typical hoarse solo voice of the *canción bravía*. These romantic genres and subgenres flourished for more than a decade until they had to give way to new musical developments in the 1960s. With the death in 1973 of *ranchera* legend Jiménez, the era of the *canción ranchera* came to its end, although the genre never lost its appeal as Mexico's quintessential musical expression.

With a young generation of singers such as Alejandro Fernández, Juan Gabriel, Pedro Fernández and Pepe Aguilar, *ranchera* music experienced a comeback in the 1990s. This revival was also carried by the emergence of Mexican regional (and until the 1990s marginalized) popular musics such as the brass-driven *banda (sinaloense)* and the accordion-based *norteña*.

Diffusion Beyond Mexico

Mexico's powerful radio, recording and film industries helped *ranchera* music to become popular beyond national borders. The Mexican radio station XEW and its nationalistic program was heard throughout the Caribbean islands, where it inspired local musicians to recreate and, to various degrees, appropriate the Mexican genre. The *canción ranchera* has continued to be popular in the Western provinces of Cuba where professionals as well as aficionados compete in annual festivals dedicated to Mexican *ranchera* music. In the Dominican Republic, the Mexican *ranchera* has left its mark on *bachata*, the musical expression of people of the lower working class who had been transplanted from their rural homes to the cities' shantytowns in the second half of the twentieth century. *Bachata* is reminiscent of several guitar-based Latin American genres such as the *bolero*, the (Cuban) *son* and the Mexican *ranchera*. Popular *rancheras* have also been incorporated into the *merengue* orchestra repertory.

During the conservative administration of President Miguel Ávila Camacho (1940–46), the Mexican film industry was put on a commercial footing through state support for private producers. This opening of the market and the economic opportunities presented by World War II were a major impetus for the Mexican film industry. The war created a demand for national films, and Mexico and Argentina stepped in to supply national and foreign Spanish-language markets with a commodity previously produced by Hollywood and in Europe. The popularity of the movies made in the 1940s shows that Latin American audiences responded to and enjoyed seeing Latin American themes on the screen, even if the settings were not in their own particular countries. Hence, Mexico's film industry was not only crucial for shaping a national cultural consciousness, but also for the international success of the *ranchera* genre. Latin American identification with Mexico has largely been mediated through the *canción mexicana*. In Latin America, the adjective 'mexicano' refers to the musical repertory of the popular Mexican singers of the classic *ranchera* genre. It includes *corridos, rancheras* and the *vals ranchero* (waltz). Melody, harmony, the priority of the lyrics and the sentimental and melodramatic content speak to Latin American interpreters and audiences as well. Mexican music, together with their own traditional or folk music styles, is still practiced spontaneously at family gatherings, in *peñas folkóricas* (folk music clubs) and at festivals.

The widespread popularity of and familiarity with *ranchera* music in Latin America goes back not only to the diffusion of Mexican music in the 1940s via radio and cinema, but to live performances as well. In Chile, for example, the presence of musicians from Argentina, Peru, Brazil, Cuba and Mexico between 1910 and 1940 helped spread the Latin American folklore repertory (González and Rolle 2004). Touring ensembles were easily integrated into revues performing in vaudeville tents, theater, cinema and radio programs. While the early *canción mexicana* (the folklorized salon music disseminated as sheet music) was performed on the piano, in later decades the guitar became the favorite instrument to accompany any kind of Latin American *cancionero* (folk-derived song repertory). The public was especially attracted to Mexican popular music because it was able to identify with the rural, patriarchal and passionate topics, the orchestral music of the urban *mariachi*, as well as the macho *bel canto* singer. The Chilean country people instantly adopted the *charro* singing stars of the Mexican cinema (Tito Guízar and José Mojica [1930s], Jorge Negrete and Pedro Infante [1940s] and Miguel Aceves Mejía [1950s]). Chilean ensembles soon formed their own *mariachis*, and starting in 1944 began to record Mexican *ranchera* music on the Santiago-based Odeon label (González and Rolle 2004). The strong presence of Mexican music in Chilean radio programs in the 1940s resounded in Argentina's northwestern provinces. Moreover, star singers such as Jorge Negrete and Miguel Aceves Mejía toured Latin America with sensational performances; the latter visited Argentina several times, performing at Radio El Mundo in Buenos Aires and promoting his films (Goyena and Giuliani 2001).

Ranchera's influence in Brazil is mainly manifested in *música sertaneja*, a type of country music from Brazil's hinterlands, on which the Mexican *canción* began to leave its traces in the 1940s and 1950s. Mexican *ranchera* singer Miguel Acevez Mejía was extremely popular in the Portuguese-speaking country, urban duos began to interpret Mexican *corridos* and *rancheras*, and the typical *mariachi* sound was emulated by Brazilian singers and orchestras (Carvalho 1993). There are many parallels between the Brazilian *música sertaneja* and the Mexican *ranchera*. Both genres were originally rural-rooted musical styles that changed dramatically under the impact of urbanization, industrialization and the modernization of transportation and communication during the first part of the twentieth century. *Música sertaneja*, like its Mexican counterpart, helped rural migrants to adjust to urban life and society by facilitating the absorption of new cultural values. Moreover, the Brazilian government, too, used the radio networks in the 1930s as a tool to 'nationalize' the masses through the broadcasting of certain types of regional musics.

Considering the wide-ranging diffusion and unparalleled influence of the Mexican *ranchera* throughout Latin America, it is surprising that, apart from the few regional studies listed in the bibliography below, no comprehensive or comparative analysis on this phenomenon exists.

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HELENA SIMONETT

Candombe

Candombe is a polysemic term in Uruguayan music, referring to a musical genre, a specific set of drumming and dancing practices, and certain stylistic characteristics and musical patterns in the country's popular music. It is connected in particular with the history of people of African descent. *Candombe* drumming is found in three principal areas of activity, identified in 1968 by musicologist Lauro Ayestarán as being the formative elements of an Afro-Uruguayan musical system. The first area is that of the drum orchestra marches that occur in some *barrios* (urban districts) on free-labor days throughout the year in Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay, and in the great annual parade – the 'Desfile de Llamadas' (Callings Parade) created in 1956 – of the black and multiracial carnival associations known as 'comparsas' (drum and marching corps). A second area occurs in the domestic sphere, when singing and dancing with one, two or more drums takes place in family gatherings. A third area involves the popular theater presentations staged by the *comparsas* during Carnival, where the repertoire includes several dances and songs given the name of *candombe*, plus a *milongón* and an *afro*, composed and choreographed by each comparsa every Carnival (Ferreira 1997). Thus, *candombe* concerns collective drumming, dancing and singing.

In the early twenty-first century there are other phenomena also called *candombe,* such as traditional religious rituals with drumming, dancing and singing in some urban and rural localities in southeast Brazil (Carvalho 1993; Lucas 2002) and northeast Argentina (Cirio 2003) by peoples of African descent. In Buenos Aires, certain dancing with drumming and singing based on a pattern similar to the Afro-Cuban 3-2 *clave*, developed in private spaces by people of African descent during the twentieth century, has also been known as *candombe* (Frigerio 1993). However, it is only the Afro-Uruguayan *candombe* that may be described as a fully-fledged popular genre, on account of its great popularity, its extensive social diffusion and its presence in and influence on several other popular genres. Its collective drumming practices have been disseminated to several countries via Uruguayan migration, most notably to Argentina, where it was initially taken by Afro-Uruguayan migrants but was quickly embraced by younger generations, mostly white middle-class Argentinians (Frigerio 2000). In these transculturation processes, the new actors intentionally take the Afro-Uruguayan *candombe* drumming styles as their points of reference, and hence the musical structure and organizational principles seem to have been maintained.

Historical Background

The musical structure and expression of *candombe* drumming groups, from trios to big orchestras, is first and foremost the result of transformative processes between different African peoples in Montevideo, mainly those from West Africa (Mahí, Nagó, Calabarí, Hausa), West Central Africa (Congo-Angolan, Cabinda, Benguela) and East Africa (Mozambican). These processes were conditioned by the slavery regime in Montevideo, from the end of the eighteenth century up to its abolition in 1842–6, and by social exclusion and racism that endured throughout the second half of the nineteenth century (Rama 1971). The term *candombe* was used in that period to refer to the ethnic rituals of the African Societies, known as Nations, both in Montevideo (Ayestarán 1953; Rama 1971) and in Buenos Aires (Andrews 1980). The Nations elected their kings and queens in public festivals and acted as mutual aid and burial societies; they also served as religious organizations, often merging with the lay brotherhoods which were dedicated to the worship of one or another Catholic saint. Later, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, in the context of important social and cultural changes that followed the modernization projects imposed by the white Uruguayan elites, the social function of the Nations' music, instruments and dance changed from one of belonging to their inner rituals, to being central to carnival associations performing in the street. Drums were maintained and also developed, as their acoustic properties provided a greater sound for outdoors, while the use of other instruments such as the *mazacallas* (metallic maracas) declined and the instruments were lost in the process. As a consequence, the Nations disappeared but their drums, drumming and dancing practices were adopted by Afro-Uruguayans for their carnival association parades and stage representations in the public sphere (Montaño 1997; Olivera and Varese 2000; Goldman 2008). People of African descent also appropriated and elaborated elements from popular genres that had developed elsewhere, with which they were familiar through the circulating flow of musicians, records and orchestras in the Caribbean and across the southern continent, and with which they identified both racially and aesthetically: the *habanera* from the end of the nineteenth century, and during the twentieth century the Afro-Cuban *son* and *rumba* and the Puerto Rican *plena*.

The black *comparsas* emerged in the carnival of Montevideo around the 1870s. By 1876, black-faced white upper- and middle-class subjects, fascinated by black music and dance, had begun forming their own *comparsas* in imitation. The term 'lubolo' referred, initially, to those subjects and the names they gave to their *comparsas*. But soon it also designated white male European migrants participating in black *comparsas*, integrated into Afro-Uruguayan's kinship and neighborhood *barrio* networks. Thus, between 1865 and 1930, the *candombe* – including drums, marching corps and carnival stage presentations – was developed by three groups of social actors: Afro-Uruguayans; some upper- and middle-class Euro-Uruguayans; and urban workers among whom were many European immigrants searching to define their place into the Uruguayan national state (Andrews 2007). In the twentieth century the *comparsas* were officially called 'Sociedades de Negros y Lubolos' (Black and Lubolos Societies), or merely 'comparsas lubolas' by society at large. Thus, Afro-Uruguayans had to accommodate to changing social and cultural situations, looking for greater visibility in a representation of the Nation that was otherwise characterized as of white Euro-descent (Ferreira 2003), while often paying the price of being exoticized and stigmatized (Andrews 2007; Frigerio 1996).

The *comparsas* march with banners, flags, images of the moon and stars, the dance and symbolic gestures of the central figures of the *candombe*, a dancing corps (mostly female) and the drum orchestra. The 'typical' figures are the 'Gramillero' (representing the patriarch of the group, the sage and the medicine man, characterized by top hat, frock coat and gloves; he trembles, resting on his cane), the 'Escobero' (representing the master of ceremonies; he leads the drums with a broomstick twirling around his body) and the 'Mama Vieja' (Gramillero's mate, representing the matriarch of the group, characterized by a simple, handmade gown and headwrap; she dances with soft and slow movements but fans herself nervously). Contemporary reinterpretations by Afro-Uruguayan cultural activists see in the 'Escobero' not only the master of ceremonies of a Nation but also an exorciser cleansing the evil spirits away with his broomstick; they see also in the 'Gramillero' and the 'Mama Vieja,' respectively, the King and the Queen of a Nation.

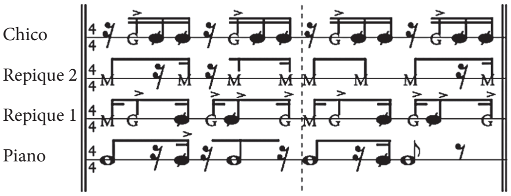
In the second half of the twentieth century the number of *comparsas* in Montevideo was less than ten per carnival, with a few more from other cities. However, by the early 2000s, due to Carnival's increasing popularity among young people from all social classes, the number of *comparsas* in the great Carnival parade had quadrupled, building new forms of social identity and of being-in-the-world by means of strong participation, playing drums or dancing. From being rejected, exoticized or folklorized up to the 1990s, *candombe* drumming and dancing have come to be considered as a characterizing feature of Uruguayan popular culture and of its national identity.

The Music of *Candombe*

The typical drumming group, called 'cuerda' (rope), 'batería' or 'batea' (battery), is a formation in lines and columns of up to 60 musicians, mostly men, each one playing a drum with *palo* (stick in the right hand) and *mano* (bare left hand) and producing very specific sounds. They march in the street following a route from one district to another, returning afterward to their starting point. The orchestra consists of three types of drums: small, medium and big, called 'chico' (little), 'repique' (ricochet, chime) and 'piano.' A repertoire of 'toques' (musical patterns) is reproduced in the course of performance. Children and young musicians learn by listening and observation, though indications of norms and special skills may be transmitted verbally by an elder after the performance.

Besides this traditional form of transmission, many private percussion schools have emerged in the early 2000s (Aharonián 2007).

A strict combination of contrasting patterns and sounds constitutes the basic principle of musical organization, comparable with African traditional music and other popular music systems of the African Diaspora in Latin America, such as the *conga* of the carnival *comparsas* in Cuba (Ferreira 2005). Basic patterns occur cyclically and each cycle corresponds to 16 elementary pulses (representable as sixteenth notes in a 4/4 measure). When played together, they create a unique music and sound. In the march, footfall occurs on each interval of a quarter note.



Example 1: Basic drumming patterns in *candombe*

In Example 1, the *chico* small drums (treble) share the same pattern (G represents a *galleta* stroke, a strong left-hand open slap; ● represents a clean open stroke with stick); *chico*'s slap strokes guide the tempo of the whole ensemble. The *piano* big drums (bass) play one or two specific patterns which identify each district at a distance (○ stands for *masa*, a firm palm stroke close to the center of the drumhead, often played in combination with a stick stroke; ● stands for an open stroke with stick); it provides the base for dancers. The *repique* medium drums improvise and regulate the dynamics of the whole (M represents *madera* (wood), a stroke with the stick on the wood box of the drum; G stands for a *galleta* left-hand open slap stroke; ● stands for a *palo* open stroke with stick).

Pairs of medium drums take turns 'talking' in a call-and-response system, each call or answer having a variable extension, from one to several cycles. As shown in Figure 1, while one drummer (Repique 1) plays a *repicado* pattern ('speaking,' 'lifting-up'), a second one (Repique 2) plays a *madera* pattern ('waiting,' 'going down'); *madera* patterns are functional equivalents to the Afro-Cuban *clave* pattern (in fact, the 3-2 *clave* pattern of the *son* is very frequently played). Among the big drums, senior players may also interchange alternate patterns ('grumbling'), but in contrast to the medium drums, in this case the time for every call or answer is strictly limited to one cycle for each drummer (Ferreira 1997, 2007, 2011).

Twentieth-century master drummers and 'rope' chiefs all belonged to certain Afro-Uruguayan's kinship networks – Giménez, Gradín, Martirena, Ocampo, Oviedo, Pintos, Silva, Suárez are among the most-remembered surnames. They developed the *candombe* drumming styles of the three main barrios, Ansina, Cuareim and Cordón (Ferreira 1997. For recorded examples, see Cuerda de Ansina 2003; Comparsa Morenada 2000; Comparsa Sarabanda 1999).

Besides the drum groups, there are five popular music manifestations that take the term *candombe* and employ, wholly or partially, distinct musical elements of the drumming system: *comparsas*' stage presentations; 'Orquestas Tropicales'; 'Orquestas Típicas'; 'Candombe Beat'; and 'Canto Popular' (Aharonián 2007). The first of these refers to the *candombes* (music and dance pieces) presented on stage by the *comparsas* in carnival, with drums, voices and other instruments; more than six *candombes* are composed and choreographed by each *comparsa* every Carnival. For these *candombes*, in addition to a drum trio, quartet or quintet, soloist singers (male or female) and a chorus (male and female altogether with first and second voices or, sometimes, with *divisi* in male and female sections), there are electric bass and guitar, synthesized keyboard and, often, brass instruments. The soloist's melodies are full of syncopated eighth notes, following the drive of the *chico* and *repique* drums. The chorus refrain may repeat one of the soloist's melodic lines or, alternatively, introduce a contrasting melody following the *madera* or the big drum patterns.

Several songs and innovations such as brass instruments and arrangements were introduced by Afro-Uruguayan composer and musician Pedro Ferreira (Pedro Rafael Tabares) in the 1950s, taking elements from Cuban popular music. He was followed in the period from 1980 to 2000 by composers and singers Hugo Santos, Ricardo Piedrahita, Rodolfo Morandi and Eduardo da Luz, and also by outstanding female singers such as Lágrima Ríos, Esther Fernández and Carmen Abella. Other remarkable *comparsa* composers and singers include Julio César Di Bartolomeo, Emilio López Rey, Heber González Píriz, Elbio Olivera, Gustavo Balta, Néstor A. Silva, Hugo Alberto Balle, Carlos Silva and Isabel Ramírez. (See Discographical References for a selection of recordings.)

The other four manifestations occur when *candombe* is used as a categorizing term for certain pieces which are related in some way to the *candombe* drumming system. Despite the fact that the minimum substitution for a *candombe* drum orchestra is a drum trio, some of their patterns may be adopted, for example, by a combination of a single percussionist, guitars, jazz/rock drummer, bass and keyboard.

Candombes performed by 'Orquestas Tropicales,' such as the 'Orquesta Cubanacán' and Jorge Ramos and his 'Sonora de Oriente' in the 1960s, are closely related to those of the *comparsas*; both were developed by Pedro Ferreira in the 1950s. A song that became a referent for Afro-Uruguayans is Pedro Ferreira's 'Birincunyamba' (recorded, for example, by Cachito Bembé). These orchestras played *sones*, following the Cuban *sonora* model of brass arrangement and instrumentation, with *tumbadoras* and *timbaletas* in the rhythm section. In the 1960s they also adopted *plenas,* following the influence of Puerto Rican Rafael Cortijo's orchestra, and after the 1970s mainly local versions of Colombian *cumbias.*

The *candombes* by the *tango* orchestras, both in Uruguay and Argentina, were developed between the 1930s and the 1950s by Pintín Castellanos, Romeo Gavioli, Carmelo Imperio, Gerónimo Yorio, Carlos Warren and Luis Sgarbi, and also popularized by the 'Orquestas Típicas' of Francisco Canaro and Alberto Castillo in Argentina. They often included at least a trio of *candombe* drums (see for example the recording 'Baile de los Morenos' (Morenos' Dance Party) by Romeo Gavioli [2000]).

The *candombes* in 'Canto Popular' are connected with the *milonga* genre in Uruguay, and are represented by Alfredo Zitarrosa (see, for example, his 1984 recording 'Candombe del olvido' [Candombe of Oblivion]), José Carbajal, Roberto Darvin and the duo Los Olimareños in the 1970s, followed in the 1980s by several composers and singers (see Aharonián 2007). The 'Candombe Beat' was created in the 1970s by Ruben Rada and Eduardo Mateo, followed by Jaime Roos, Hugo and Osvaldo Fattoruso, and Jorginho Gularte (e.g., his 'Solo quedar' [Alone], 2003), among many others composers, singers and musicians in the 1990s and 2000s (Ferreira 1997; Aharonián 2007). The percussion instruments used in both types, 'Canto Popular' and 'Candombe Beat,' vary from the body of the acoustic guitar, Cuban *bongós* and *tumbadoras*, and jazz/rock drums, to a trio of *candombe* drums or in some compositions a little 'rope' (which can be heard, for example, on Jaime Roos's 'Pirucho' [1984] and Hugo Fattoruso's 'El Gramillero' [1999]).

The boundaries between these various types are very porous and not always as clearly distinguishable as a classification system would suggest. Rodolfo Morandi, for example, a recognized artist among Afro-Uruguayans, who recorded with a funky style of electric guitar with wa-wa effects, added 'Orquesta Tropical' brass arrangements and harmonic sequences and a trio of the best Ansina *candombe* drummers. Meanwhile, Eduardo Da Luz sings with a little 'rope' of six noted drummers and a chorus, plus some synthesized flute sounds and harmonic sequences, supported by electronic keyboard and guitar. On his 2003 recording *Música negra de la ciudad de Montevideo*, Sergio Ortuño recorded with a 'rope' of the best nine Ansina *candombe* drummers (including Ortuño himself), and singing and song compositions by known *comparsas* artists; instead of a chorus, he hired some of the best local jazz and 'Candombe Beat' young musicians. Both 'Candombe Beat' and 'Orquesta Tropical' instrumental musicians are hired for *comparsas*' stage presentations, as are singers of *tango* and *candombe* (such as Lágrima Ríos, until her death in 2006) and, sometimes, opera singers. Thus, Carnival, with its long rehearsals in *barrio* locations, promotes a constant process of hybridization in the *comparsas*, while maintaining the drumming style, musical structure and organizational principles of the *candombe* drumming system.

As well as being an important period for the cultural production and reproduction of drumming, dancing and singing skills, and for experimentation with new *candombe* songs, arrangements and choreographies, the two months of rehearsals before Carnival constitute very important occasions for social encounters among families, friends and neighbors. During Carnival, the competition between *comparsas* inspires strong passions, comparable to that of local softball teams. Meanwhile, for Afro-Uruguayans family parties and holiday gatherings constitute important occasions for the transmission of values and the activation of embodied memories. Salsa and *cumbia* records, the latter by local orchestras, are heard and danced to, and *candombes* from earlier carnival repertories of the *comparsas* are sung, danced and played with drums. When collective enthusiasm rises in a gathering, the drummers stand up and begin to follow the dancers, soon forming a little 'rope' going out into the street. More drummers and dancers will join in, summoned by the powerful sound of the drums, and a spontaneous parade – 'una llamadita' (a little call) – will occur in the *barrio*. Family parties, daily rehearsals during the pre-Carnival period of January and February, local drum parades on holidays all the year round, all constitute means of building a strong community and sense of identity. In addition, the annual grand parade and the carnival competition represent opportunities for *comparsas* to build contrasting identities with respect to other carnival groups (such as *murgas*) and society at large. *Comparsas* and the *candombe* drumming groups of their *barrios* thus constitute the main social and cultural referents for Afro-Uruguayan people.

During the twentieth century, as social and cultural changes and government policy resulted in a de-ethnicization of Uruguay (in contrast, for example, to the 'melting pot' of Brazil), only *candombe* stood as a significant pointer to the continued existence of racial differences. The huge popularity of *candombe* in the early 2000s, with people from across society participating in *candombe* drumming practice and forming new *comparsas*, led to a shift in which *candombe* began to be considered representative of the nation as a whole. In this context, Afro-Uruguayan activists and organizations, who had begun mobilizing at least as early as the 1990s, asked the government to give official recognition to *candombe* as one of the main Afro-Uruguayan contributions to the cultural formation of the nation, and a historical form of resistance to the marginalization and social exclusion suffered by black people in the country. Since 2006, 3 December has been celebrated as Candombe National Day in Uruguay by National Act. Furthermore, in 2009 UNESCO declared *candombe* to be 'Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.' The recognition these developments have brought comes with a measure of ambiguity, due to the risk of reification it introduces into a very dynamic culture, while at the same time revealing an important political and cultural shift: the will on the part of the state and organized civil society to conserve and strengthen the *candombe* as a phenomenon of national importance.

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LUIS FERREIRA

Candomblé

Candomblé, one of the best-known Afro-Brazilian religions, was first observed in the state of Bahia in northeastern Brazil in 1896 (Rodrigues 2005 [1896]) and has since been described there by various authors (Rodrigues 1935; Querino 1955; Bastide 1945; Carneiro 1948). In the early twentieth century it is practiced in nearly all of the states of Brazil and its initiates have also taken it abroad to other countries. As well as representing ideas of ancestrality and experiences of a collective, communal nature, *candomblé* has come to be accepted as both a direct and indirect symbol of the role of Afro-Brazilian musical traditions, because of its rich, African-matrix musical repertoire.

There are other African matrix religions in Brazil, including *jarê*, practiced in the interior of Bahia, *xangô* and *xambá* in Recife, *tambor de mina* in Maranhão, *encantaria* in northern Brazil, *macumba* in Rio de Janeiro, *candombe* in Minas Gerais and *batuque* in Rio Grande do Sul (Carvalho 1993; Prandi 2001; Rosa 2010; Santos 2008; Verger 1991). For its part, *candomblé* is subdivided into various 'nations' of different ethnic origins: *candomblé angola, candomblé de caboclo, candomblé ijexá, jeje* and *nagô-ketu*. The songs of each one of these branches uses a ritual language from a different region of Africa: the Bantu peoples of Central Africa, the Yoruba of Nigeria and the Fon of Benin. In each of these religious traditions, music plays a fundamental role and is present in nearly every ritual, from the most private (such as the initiation ceremonies, the *bori* and others), to those that are open to the public (such as the public ceremonies in honor of the *orixás* [deities]), making it worthy of special attention (Lühning 1990).

In all of these religious expressions, the music must be understood in the context of the dances that are part of many of the religious complexes and other ritual elements that work together to bring on the state of trance. A common element uniting all of these traditions is the use of a set of three drums of different sizes whose names differ depending on the nation or tradition. In *candomblé* the drums in contemporary use, called *atabaques,* are crafted using barrel-making techniques rather than being carved from a single piece of wood, as was frequently observed up until the mid-twentieth century (Herskovits 1946).

The music of the different nations of *candomblé* varies in terms of the performance style and melodic and rhythmic structures (Alvarenga 1946; Merriam 1956–57). Most rhythms can be best understood using the concept of a time-line pattern (Kubik 1984), generally with a rhythmic base of 12 or 16 pulses or 'beats': 'x . x . x x . x . x . x' of West African traditions or the 'x . x . x x . x . x . x . x x' of Central African music (where 'x' represents the beat and the '.' the absence of a beat), as well as other variations. In the case of *candomblé angola,* the drums are always played with the hands rather than with sticks, as in *barravento, cabula* and other rhythms. In general, the chants are more tonal and elements in common with other Afro-Brazilian musical forms, especially the *samba*, are often evident (Pinto 1991). *Candomblé ijexá* has been reduced to a few isolated temples but the rhythm that bears its name is present in all of the temples belonging to the *nagô-ketu* tradition. *Ijexá* is also played with the hands, and for more than half a century it has also been played during the pre-Lenten celebrations as the rhythmic base of Afro-Brazilian carnival groups known as *afoxés*. In the *jeje* and *nagô ketu* forms of *candomblé*, the drums are played with sticks called *aguidavis,* sometimes using only the sticks or sometimes with one hand and one stick. The *jeje* rhythms, such as *bravum, sató, ramunha* and *adarrum*, are complex and more rapid than their *ketu* counterparts, such as *batá, jincá* and *aguerê;* however, the *ilú* and *alujá* rhythms are also fast-paced. In both traditions, the songs tend to be pentatonic, having a greater melodic extension than in *ijexá* and *angola* (Behague 1984).

Candomblé and other Afro-Brazilian religions were historically persecuted and socially stigmatized. Given that most followers of these religions are of African descent and from economically disadvantaged sectors of society, this may be understood as a result of the general context of racial and class discrimination. This situation led to limitations and even prohibitions regarding audio recordings in ritual contexts. This partially explains the limited number of recordings of the musical heritage of *candomblé*, even when recorded by the temples themselves. Moreover, the dense sound context between the drums, which are deeper and the voices, more high-pitched, performed during rituals that go on for long periods of time, present serious, almost insurmountable technical difficulties. Because of this, most recordings have been made in studios rather than during rituals (Lühning/Mata 2010). As a result, recordings rarely communicate the powerful feeling that is aroused when ceremonies are witnessed first-hand, with accompanying multisensory stimuli that not only enhance but also go far beyond merely musical forms of perception and representation.

Although this musical repertoire is closely tied to the religious sphere, historically there were also contacts with other musical forms, especially *samba* and *capoeira*, which have undergone direct and constant musical exchanges (Sousa 1998). Furthermore, since the mid-twentieth century the music of *candomblé* has been utilized in popular music, inspiring artists such as Os Tincoãs, Gilberto Gil, Gerônimo, Margareth Menezes and Carlinhos Brown, all from Bahia. For many, this exchange, using rhythms, melodies and parts of song texts, is merely a question of artistic and aesthetic expression, but today it is also being discussed by members of Afro-Brazilian religions from the perspectives of representativity and appropriation, generating intense discussions, since the songs of the musical realms are entering other spheres. Through songs with lyrics or melodies borrowed from *candomblé*, the world of Afro-Brazilian religion is stimulating the popular music industry. From this, we may conclude that the complex relations between Brazilian society and the music of *candomblé* and other Afro-Brazilian religions continue to constitute a topic of intense discussion, representing a challenge for those involved in negotiating the use of this cultural legacy.

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Canto Nuevo

Canto nuevo is a musical movement that arose in the mid-1970s as a form of resistance against the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet in Chile. The movement developed its agenda based on the principles of the Latin American *nueva canción* movement that had preceded Pinochet's coup, viewing song as art, without the intervention of the music industry's parameters, and at the same time viewing the composer as an active interpreter of his or her time.

With the name *canto nuevo*, the genre's performers and producers sought to differentiate the genre generationally and stylistically from the earlier *nueva* *canción chilena* movement. The artists linked with *canto nuevo* sought to interpret the social reality of Chile under Pinochet and the melancholy feeling of people living through the Chilean political State of Emergency, by way of a sung poetry that combined popular contemporary and classical sounds and was influenced by jazz, Baroque music, pop, *bossa nova* and folk, distancing themselves from the rigid rhythmic elements inherited from traditional Chilean folklore.

The constant challenge of *canto nuevo*, self-imposed by its creators, was to conceive a body of song whose lyrical themes addressed contemporary contingencies while not compromising aesthetic, poetic and musical principles. This led the genre to distance itself from a public that was not interested in songs of esoteric poetry but preferred a popular music identified with the immediate, the ludic and the festive. After *canto nuevo* did succeed in permeating the mass media, despite being repressed by the government, a new generation of youth emerged in the mid-1980s. Small children at the time of the military coup, this generation identified neither with the proposals of the Chilean Left nor with nostalgic visions of an ideal Chilean society. As a result, Chilean pop replaced *canto nuevo* in the media, conquering not only the public but also the Chilean music industry.

History

Following the military coup of September 1973, Chilean popular song, which had been acting as a kind of musical representative of Latin America through the *nueva canción chilena* movement, fell into a distressing period of abject silence. The repression carried out by Augusto Pinochet's regime was brutally expressed in the cultural sphere, especially in the area of song, since song gave expression to the symbols of a revolutionary process that were evidently absorbed by the public – a phenomenon that had been instigated by Violeta Parra in the 1960s and continued manifestly by Victor Jara from the late 1960s until his death in 1973.

Nueva canción chilena effectively went into exile. Those artists who remained in Chile did so either because they were unable to find the means of going into exile or because they had made the risky decision to stay and continue with their songs in clandestine spaces. The military regime prohibited the use of folkloric instruments from the *altiplano* (the highland plateau in the Chilean north), since these represented the 'protest' music that was associated with Unidad Popular, the political left-wing coalition whose iconic figurehead was Salvador Allende, the Chilean President (1970–73) who was overthrown – and who lost his life – in Pinochet's military coup. This fact is very relevant because one of the characteristics of *nueva canción*, during and after Allende's presidency, had been the use of folkloric Latin American instruments such as the *antaras* or *zampoñas* (Andean panpipes); *charango* (small Bolivian nylon-stringed, five-course lute with an armadillo shell as resonator); Venezuelan *cuatro* (a lute with four nylon strings made of the stem of the banana tree); Colombian *tiple* (a four-course lute with metal strings); *bombo legüero* (Argentine drum with an animal-skin membrane); and – very emphatically – the *quenas* or *lakitas* (cane aerophones) which tended to sound the main melody in a sorrowful and anguished manner that was intended to represent the suffering of an oppressed population. A good illustration of this use of folkloric instruments is the emblematic piece 'Cantata Santa María del Iquique,' composed by Luis Advis. This epic musical work is a homage to the struggle of the laborer from the Chilean plains and his or her heroic immolation. The song chronicles the early-twentieth-century massacre of saltpeter workers and their families by the Chilean army. Its great success, both upon release and after it was featured on the group Quilapayún's 1970 album *Cantata Popular Santa María de Iquique*, contributed to the linkage of the movement with revolutionary processes and demands for civil rights. Hence, when the military junta took power, it applied the force of the law through a series of edicts and decrees and prohibited any music that resembled the *Cantata*. The junta also ordered the incineration of books, records and master recordings from the areas of folklore and *nueva canción*.

The first signs of *canto nuevo*, although it was not yet known as such, arose in 1974. First came Barroco Andino, an instrumental group led by Jaime Soto León that combined elements of European classical music with Latin American rhythms and Andean instruments. In this way, these banned Andean aerophones were subjected to a sort of process of reclamation and were able to reappear on the Chilean musical scene, but without the social implications. Then, the group Aquelarre, whose members were humanities students in university, took up and performed the songs of banned *nueva canción chilena* composers such as Osvaldo 'Gitano' Rodríguez ('Valparaíso') and Patricio Manns ('El cautivo de Til Til'); these songs were very popular.

Later, the singer Osvaldo Díaz, who was considered one of the most notable voices of commercial Chilean popular song and was the youngest artist of the mass movement known as *Nueva Ola* (New Wave), began to appear at festivals and on television shows with *trova* songs. In 1976 Díaz performed with the group Kámara (whose members were jazz musicians) in recitals organized by commentator and former disc jockey Ricardo García. García, who had played a major role in the establishment of *nueva canción* when he organized the first festival by that name, also coined the term '*canto nuevo*' to refer to this new trend. According to García, 'It was necessary to name, to label this movement in a way that would fulfill two requirements: that it be easy to remember and that it suggest a link with Chilean *nueva canción*. And so arose a name that alerted the public to the existence of a group of artists working with similar goals in mind' (cited in Acevedo 1995, 62). The previous year, Nano Acevedo, *nueva canción* singer-songwriter, had inaugurated, practically clandestinely, the Casa de Canto Doña Javiera (Doña Javiera's Song House), which would become the first port of call for *trovadores* and folklorists. Later, additional venues appeared where this music could be played, operating under the constant threat of repression.

This encounter with censorship, which was a part of daily life in Chilean society, paved the way for the development of a cryptic poetic style, laden with metaphors which acted as codes that were established between *canto nuevo* artists and their audiences. While *trova* song employs an expansive, refined, academic poetic style, in the case of *canto nuevo*, the style became even more exaggerated, becoming a hallmark of the genre during this period, as demonstrated in the following lyrics by Luis Pato Valdivia from the 1983 song 'La penumbra de mi ciudad' (The Darkness of My City): 'La penumbra de mi ciudad/ No es paso bajo de la bruma/ Es manto negro que cubre las verdades desnudas' (The darkness of my city/Is not a passing fog/It is the dark veil that covers naked truths) (Grupo Abril 1983).

This characteristic was heavily criticized by advocates of the Chilean pop that replaced *canto nuevo* in the mid-1980s with lyrics that were more simple and direct. Nonetheless, *canto nuevo* fulfilled a demonstrable and practical need for a public that urgently required representation. It was important to make visible feelings of discontent, rage, rebelliousness and hope. In terms of content, the poetry drew on contemporary realities and was laced with feelings of frustration and powerlessness. Its spirit of freedom could only be redeemed through song. Some of the themes that emerged included the citizens who had 'disappeared' after being detained by military police, human rights, peace, forsaken childhood, the city under siege, forbidden streets and the yearning for freedom. When there was humor in the lyrics, it tended to take on an ironic, irreverent character, an attempt to fight back at the system with its 'sung chronicles' and its weapon of poetry, as is the case in the lyrics of Nelson Schwenke's 1986 song 'Mi rey' (My King): 'Mi rey se ofende; si digo que no es justo; que solamente Augusto; sea santo venerado' (My king is offended if I say it is unfair that only Augusto [Pinochet] is a venerated saint).

Canto nuevo artists also charged themselves with keeping at the forefront the work of those who were no longer present – Víctor Jara, poet Pablo Neruda and Violeta Parra – whose songs and poetry, despite being prohibited, were transformed into weapons of combat. These figures lived on in the memory of the *canto nuevo* artists as well as that of their audiences. The active maintenance of their musical and poetic legacy was an attempt to blur the dividing line drawn in time by the military. It represented a drive to use song and music to reconstruct an artistic discourse in support of social justice and recover a heritage that had been silenced and made invisible. *Canto nuevo* artists acted as chroniclers of their history, artists committed to their works and their times. This stance harked back to the *canción de gesta* (epic song) of old, descended from the original function of troubadour poetry. In a contemporary setting and woven into the unfolding story of modernity, during an exceptional period of dictatorship in its country's history, *canto nuevo*'s lyrical focus and musical codes went beyond the *canción de gesta*'s concern with aspects of conflict and battle.

Musical Styles

Toward the end of the 1970s the movement was redefined. The songs of Violeta Parra and the Chilean *nueva canción* were set aside and newly composed music emerged that reflected the desires and needs of a new generation. While the earlier period had seen the fusion of Latin American sounds and instruments with classical ones (contrabass, cello, violin, transverse flute and piano) and the mixing of folkloric rhythms with classical composition styles from the Baroque and Classical periods, by 1980 there was a clear compositional tendency toward jazz and symphonic rock. These styles required the use of keyboard, drum kit and electric bass, superseding the dominance of acoustic instruments. The classical guitar remained the main instrument, though it traded its traditional sound for an electroacoustic one, principally the nylon-stringed Ovation guitar and, later the Takamine guitar, which is closer in sound to the classical guitar. Only at the end of the 1980s, when the movement had practically died out, was the steel-stringed guitar brought into the music, a fact that only serves to underline this type of guitar's lack of relevance to the movement. The use of the guitar as its main instrument is one of *canto nuevo*'s signature characteristics, and playing it required technical mastery and great virtuosity. Most *canto nuevo* artists had studied music at the postsecondary level or at one of the country's conservatories. Some were also university students in the humanities. This phenomenon harks back to that characteristic of troubadour music of the twelfth-century European courts: a cultured song type straddling the general populace and the nobility.

The increasing resemblance of the sound of the music to that of the popular music that could be heard on the radio turned away certain niche audiences while attracting a larger, more general one. This openness to new audiences beyond those reached through *peñas*, university gatherings or musical events held by community organizations, was mainly thanks to Ricardo García. In 1976 the radio host founded the Alerce record label, which turned out to be highly effective in bringing these artists to the attention of the public. At first most of Alerce's releases were folkloric; later, after establishing itself as a player in the Chilean popular music industry, Alerce focused its releases more on *canto nuevo*. With radio programs relying on professionally recorded material, it was possible to include this music in the radio stations' daily playlists. This opened the door to television exposure and to more commercial avenues, though censorship continued to be a threat. Only certain artists were accepted by official media and these artists were subjected to many constraints. This situation created division within the movement, which ultimately proved to be the beginning of the end. It also revealed two specific musical styles present among the artists that provided the inspiration for *canto nuevo*:

1. Folk-classical: The blending of Latin American folklore with elements of Classical and Baroque music, strongly following this same tendency within *nueva canción chilena*.
2. Folk-jazz-pop: The incorporation of electronic and experimental instruments and the harmonies of jazz along with popular music rhythms such as blues, *bossa nova*, soul and funk.

Though the musical styles were eclectic, they were held together by the subject matter of the songs, the use of poetry and the quest for an artistic song: that is, the genre was approached from an aesthetic and ethical standpoint, without regard for commercial outcome. For example, Santiago del Nuevo Extremo, perhaps the movement's most representative group, was closer to rock in sound, style and instrumental color than was Ortiga, another emblematic *canto nuevo* group, but one that was committed to using folkloric instruments in its works and much less inclined to incorporate electronic ones. Of the variety of musical forms used within the genre, emphasis was placed on the *balada* (AABAA), which accounts for a subsequent inclination toward the *canción de autor* (songwriter style) descended from the *nueva trova cubana*; along with the *bossa nova*; Chilean folkloric rhythms including *tonada*, *vals* and *huayno*, but featuring jazz harmonies (drawn from swing and bebop); and, on occasion, tropical rhythms such as *salsa* and *son*. Some groups also employed more classical forms such as the secular cantata and even composed purely instrumental pieces; both these tendencies were inherited from Chilean *nueva canción*.

Composers and Performers

The movement featured solo singer-songwriters as well as ensembles (duos, trios and groups with up to eight members). Ensembles either were predominantly all-male or contained both men and women; all-female ensembles existed but were exceptions. Most artists were between 18 and 30 years of age.

The main composers, those whose works have become entrenched in Chile's musical memory, are singer-songwriters Eduardo Peralta, Luis Lebert, Daniel Campos and Hugo Moraga, as well as composers whose songs were performed by well-known bands and solo singers, such as Luis Alberto 'Pato' Valdivia, Nelson Schwenke, Osvaldo Leiva, Osvaldo Torres and Amaro Labra. The most well-known groups were Aquelarre, Ortiga, Napalé, Wampara and Barroco Andino, whose sound was much like that of Chilean *nueva canción* groups because of their heavy use of traditional folkloric instruments; Cruz del Sur, Cantierra and Huara, known for the quality of their performances and musical arrangements in terms of both the virtuosity with which they wielded their instruments and the innovation and creativity they injected into their contemporary compositions, a sign of their high levels of musical training; and groups closer in sound to rock, folk and pop, such as Santiago del Nuevo Extremo, Grupo Abril, Antara, Amauta and Schwenke & Nilo.

The musical characteristics of nearly all these groups were centered on careful attention to polyphonic vocal harmonization, a practice found in Chilean popular music since the time of the neofolklore movement and intensified with the involvement in *nueva canción* of classical composers such as Luis

Advis and Sergio Ortega, and demanding instrumental work. Exceptions were Sol y Lluvia, Transporte Urbano and Los Zunchos, groups that were active during this period in Chilean music and were considered part of *canto nuevo*, but whose works were simpler and more accessible to listeners, given that their emphasis was on songs that were direct, aimed at the masses, and more oppositional than poetic. Their work might be considered a form of protest song, with an emphasis on social justice.

The solo singers of this period in Chilean music were almost all women. They were Capri, Isabel Aldunate, Clara Domínguez, Tati Penna, Cecilia Echenique, Katty Fernández, Lilia Santos, Natacha Jorquera and Cristina González. Male solo singers included Patricio Liberona, Pancho Caucamán, Juan Carlos Pérez and Osvaldo Díaz. Artists that were active in Chilean *nueva canción* and also were part of *canto nuevo* were Nano Acevedo, Guillermo Basterrechea, Pedro Yánez, Dióscoro Rojas, Eduardo Yánez, Tita Parra, who returned to Chile from exile in 1979, and Payo Grondona, who returned in 1983.

Canto Nuevo and Collective Memory

A large number of works were created by the artists associated with this movement, and there were many more groups, composers and performers involved than those named above, but not everything has passed down from one generation to the next. On the basis of appearances in compilations, in live performances and on websites, a small number of some 20 or so songs can be identified that are considered classic songs and continue to elicit an emotional response in contemporary audiences when performed by contemporary musicians. Examples of these songs include 'A mi ciudad' (Santiago del Nuevo Extremo), 'El viaje' (Nelson Schwenke), 'En un largo tour' (Amaro Labra of Group Sol y Lluvia) and 'Juan González' (Eduardo Peralta).

One work deserving special mention is *Cantata por los derechos humanos* (Cantata for Human Rights) by twentieth-century 'new music' composer Alejandro Guarello, with lyrics by poet and Jesuit priest Esteban Gumucio. This major work was premiered in 1978 at the Santiago cathedral by the group Ortiga and the Symphonic Orchestra of Chile. A certain historical similarity with *nueva canción chilena* is suggested because, like the *Cantata Santa María de Iquique*, this work serves as a model for the interpretation of the meaning of their song. This meaning is imbued with discourses of individual freedom and the protection of human rights through peace and active nonviolence. While *Cantata Santa Ma. de Iquique* elevates workers and their rights, *Cantata por los derechos humanos* encourages people to remember, to never forget.

The Decline

In the mid-1980s *canto nuevo* succumbed in the face of media expectations by refusing to compromise its values, both aesthetic and with respect to content, electing instead to return to its intimate *trova*-esque settings or disappearing from the scene completely. Popular protests in the streets of Santiago represented a new strategy for resisting the dictatorship; it was time to leave behind melancholy and metaphor in favor of action and direct talk. The task of reflecting the mood of that moment in time would pass on to another generation. Nonetheless, the musical legacy of *canto nuevo* stands as a testament to the feeling and artistry of a generation of musicians who were the witnesses and interpreters of their times.

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Cantoria-de-Viola

Cantoria-de-viola is a form of sung poetry centered on a poetical-musical duel between two performers, the great majority male, accompanied by the *viola* (a guitar-like instrument) or other instrument. It is part of the rich oral tradition of the rural areas of northeastern Brazil, where it continues to have a presence in the twenty-first century. The terms *cantoria*, *desafio* (challenge) and *repente* (improvised performance) are also widely used as alternative names.

Historical Outline

Cantoria-de-viola belongs to the wider tradition of *cantoria* (improvised sung poetry) that came to Brazil from Portugal and appears to have taken root in the north-east. Originally performed by traveling *cantadores*, it developed several forms, including an *a cappella* version sung by cattlemen, known as *aboio* (Crook 2009, 194).

The emergence of *cantoria-de-viola* took place in the nineteenth century in rural areas and small communities of the northeastern interior, where the original context for performance was domestic. In the twentieth century it began to be exposed in the form of *folhetos de cordel*, small printed pamphlets displayed on strings (*cordel*) at markets. Migrants fleeing periods of droughts also brought the practice to the cities. Formal, staged competitions began in the mid-century, and the emergence of the festival phenomenon at much the same time provided a platform for *cantoria-de-viola* along with other northeastern music, such as *forró*. Subsequently, festivals provided the main (and enduring) opportunity for the *repentistas* (the name for the improving singer-poets of *cantoria-de-viola)* to perform. Its presence continued, too, on radio, where it first began to appear in the 1960s, followed later by television. Broadcast programs are still produced by *cantadores* themselves (Crook 2009, 197). Through media exposure it became known outside the northeastern region.

Oral delivery and ephemerality are fundamental traits of the way the music is presented and elaborated; its propagation beyond that point is at the mercy of the listeners' auditory memory. Nevertheless, much of the study of *cantoria-de-viola* has tended to focus on the written forms that appeared in the *folhetos de cordel* for popular consumption. Since the pioneering research of Mario de Andrade (1928) and other scholars, however, musicologists have focused on attempting to retrieve the sound-and-music event. The role of *cantoria* in the context of oral tradition is well defined in the work of Ronald Daus (1982), Elizabeth Travassos (1988, 1989, 1997a, 1997b) and Marcia Abreu (1999). All considered it to be the source of several strands: the *repente* (poetic improvisation in verse), the *épica* (epic) and the *folhetos de cordel*. According to Daus, *cantoria* represents a formal elaboration of epic northeastern poetry; in the nineteenth century this encompassed both the *repente* and the epic poems. These complemented the poetic-musical dispute, with the improvisers making use of both forms. In the early twentieth century, thanks to its exposure in the form of *folhetos*, epic poetry achieved a primacy over *repente* in the north-east. This resulted in an initial division of work that favored the poets over the singers. At the same time as this loss of prestige of *repente* occurred in the *sertão* (northeastern outback), there was an awakening of interest among researchers of the time in sung improvisation. It was a major reason why *cantoria-de-viola* continued to be a significant force. Successive generations of singers have also demonstrated its vitality through renewed interest in traditional forms and the incorporation of others.

Desafio

Central to the *cantoria* tradition is that of the *desafio*, an improvised poetic-musical contest between two alternating singers. In several regions of Brazil, the *desafio* appears as a poetic musical duel within traditional dances, such as the *cururu* (São Paulo and Central Brazil), or even as an autonomous genre with different names (*trova* [ballad]) in Rio Grande do Sul; *jogar versos* [playing with verse] in Minas Gerais, etc.). In the north-east, however, with its *cantoria* tradition, it became part of the *cantoria-de-viola* poetic-musical dispute, and in doing so helped to forge an art form that is particular to northeastern poet-musicians.

Poetical Structure

The *cantoria-de viola* consists primarily of organizations of stanzas into lines of five, seven, ten and eleven poetic syllables, with rhymes and diverse poetic rhythms. The prosodic variations in the verse maintain the rhythmic structure. (Note that the Portuguese system of versification is based on a model of accentual organization. Also, in the Portuguese language the poetic syllable count of the line differs from that of Spanish-speaking countries. In Portuguese, poetic syllables are counted up until the last tonic syllable of the line, contrary to Spanish practice, which includes all syllables.)

Among the different types (or modalities, as *cantadores* call them), the *sextilha* (sextain, i.e., six-line) and the *décima* (ten-line) forms are predominant, and both allow the singer to demonstrate his improvisatory skill. The former, in which the stanzas contain lines of seven monorhymed syllables, is considered the most popular, while the latter, which contains lines of seven to ten syllables, places greater emphasis on the different decasyllabic forms. The decasyllabic form is used in the Martelos type or modality, with its variants Martelo Agalopado (a strophe of ten lines in decasyllable following the same order of rhyme as the lines of the *décimas*), Martelo Alagoano, Martelo Miudinho and Galope à Beira Mar ('gallop beside the sea,' a stanza of ten lines of eleven syllables, with a chorus where the final word is 'mar').

All of these categories mentioned above contain a refrain and are bound by strict poetic norms, as in 'Galope Soletrado.' The refrain helps to create a particular atmosphere in which the *desafio* can take place.

It generates the issue at hand, even the ambience. In the *Gemedeira* modality, for example, the presence of the refrain 'AI! AI! HUM! HUM!' inevitably gives rise to a variety of humorous verses, with an emphasis on those of disreputable character.

Musical Aspects

Each *repente* (improvised poetry performance) has a *toada* (tune). *Cantoria-de-viola* has a rich repertoire of *toadas*, which generally consist of a melodic line that allows the verse to flow, and that acts as a means of unifying the content of each strophic form. Within *cantoria-de-viola* as a whole, the *sextilhas* (those structured in sextains) have a diversity of *toadas* to choose from, while most of the 'poetic genres,' as the singers call the various types of strophic structure (*Martelo, Galope-à Beira-Mar, Mourão* etc.), possess few of their own *toadas*, which significantly limits the *cantador*'s options. The melodic contour of a *toada* is not treated rigidly and allows for variety of treatment. The dueling pairs of *cantadores*, who are required to produce a correct rhyme so that the poetic context is properly executed, never reproduce the *toada* in an identical way.

As well as a *toada*, the poetic dispute between the two performers requires the presence of an accompanying instrument: traditionally a *rabeca* (a traditional fiddle of the north-east), a *viola* with six double strings or a modified *violão* (acoustic guitar). The function of these instruments is mainly to provide elementary harmonic support to the most important activity, which is that of improvising verses.

Cantoria de viola in Performance

Contemporary *cantoria-de-viola* performances either occur according to a traditional model – the *cantoria de pé-de-parede* (held in informal settings) – or are integrated into the calendar of artistic activities in the urban centers of northeastern states, especially in festivals and conferences. The degree of continuity and change in these events depends on the integration between the components of the *cantoria* system – the listening audience and the singers. In producing an event, the singers and the listening audience relate continuously to each other, thus establishing an intersubjective communication link encouraging sociability.

Cantoria audiences comprise a very heterogeneous world in terms of social status, but they can and do remain unified in the face of the poet-singers, no doubt because they symbolically represent the living memory of their culture. This diverse audience is made up of rural people (*ruricola*), cattlemen, fishermen, small shopkeepers, farmers, politicians, liberal professionals, priests, businessmen – in effect, representatives of the various social groups that identify with the rural world, despite their different modes of living, by means of region-specific language, common habits of social life, relationship with nature, shared religious sentiments and traditional Christian morality.

Among the audience are the enthusiasts who mediate the relationship between the singers and the rest of the audience. These are the *apologistas* ('apologists'), the main articulators of *cantoria*. They organize the event, welcome the singers at their homes with special honor and have the skills to deal with the public and to conduct the event. *Apologistas* are familiar with the techniques of the art of poetic improvisation; more than that, they represent a category of listener who possesses a keen artistic sensibility. Often the way to becoming a singer is via experience as an *apologista*, because the *apologista* is a different kind of listener. *Apologistas* reveal themselves as poets among the singers, learning from them, releasing their enthusiasm with interjections, suggesting *motes* (lines to be used in the *desafio* – either their own creations or those of more timid listeners) and even expressing criticism or praise in a strong voice.

The singer is the ultimate expression of the art of *cantoria-de-viola*. The singing *repentista* with his viola tells of the events of the world in which he lives and the fantasies that people his imagination. The singer is the protagonist of northeastern Brazilian history. He is the one who keeps his people informed, the critic of social injustices, the bastion of traditional morality, the interpreter of events beyond the boundaries of the rural north-east, transforming what is happening in the world into common parlance. Even radio and television are no substitute for the account of the *repentista* poets. People still feel strongly that the poet is the best analyst of society from an empirical viewpoint, and often a more reliable source than the media. Indeed, the singer, with his typically declamatory style, has increasingly become the interpreter of the general sensitivities of simple folk, the propagator of society's facts and deeds and a harsh critic of those who undermine the community's interests with reprehensible acts – constructing himself *ipso facto*, as 'journalist' with viola, unofficial public announcer, the legitimate representative of his peers.

Thus the *cantoria-de-viola* preserves the primary cultural traits of its art as a collective heritage, in which aesthetic standards are more representative of the will of a community than of the artist's personal taste. In *performance*, despite the protagonists being opponents before an audience, competing to be the best improvisational singer, they express an art form that remains independent of their individual aspirations. The expression of their subjectivity still denotes the collective subjective of society. The northeastern *repentistas* are spokespersons for the collective imagination of the social environment they represent.

Poetic modalities and melodies, whether traditional or newly introduced, are collectively owned. Only in the way the improvisation is elaborated is there individual originality. Sung *desafios* that relate to the individual aspirations of the artist are unknown. The exception is the explicit demonstration of a swagger, a boasting of the possession of the gift of knowing how to improvise. In general, individuals speak on behalf of the public, on behalf of the group. Thus, *cantoria-de-viola* demonstrates, with great openness and visibility, a force inherent to art: its relationship with the collective, with culture, with the general, both rural and urban.

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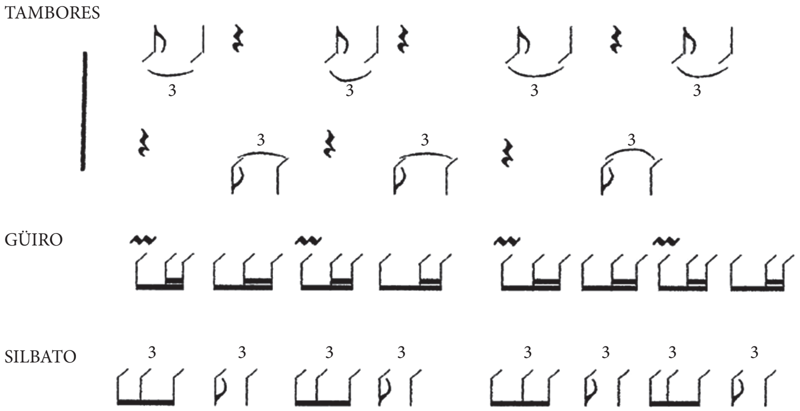
Caporales

Caporales is a Bolivian neofolkloric genre that emerged in the second half of the twentieth century when university and professional groups and guilds in the departmental capitals founded the mixed associations called 'Fraternidades Caporales.' In the 1980s it migrated to Peru, Chile and Argentina. In its development, *caporales* adopted elements from other traditional dances from Bolivia such as the *negritos*, the *tundiki* and the *saya* from the region of La Paz. Also called *saya de los caporales*, it is represented in Argentina, southern Colombia and Ecuador by Bolivian immigrants and their descendants.

Caporales is a modern genre comprising music and choreography that is practiced by young people during Carnival street parades as well as religious festivities and national holiday commemorations. This collective dance is energetic and can be performed solely by men or by mixed groups. In both cases men sport luxurious costumes and make ostentatious displays of their vitality through their acrobatic figures, while women accompany them with the sensual movements of the *saya*. The rhythmic pattern known as 'ritmo de caporal' (see Example 1) is also used as a base for the composition of romantic songs for a listening audience or for people to dance to in nightclubs.

As genres, both *caporales* and *saya* are grouped together or kept separate according to the message and the context in which the discourse and the performance practice are presented. In catalogues of commercial music and videos they appear as *sayas-caporales*, an imprecision that supports the belief that these two represent a single genre. However, while *caporales* and the urban *saya moderna* are quite similar, the *saya negra* in particular (which continues to be danced by people of African descent in rural areas) and *caporales* are two very different genres, in their musico-poetic content and the place and historic moment in which they developed, as well as in their interpretive modes, ethnic-racial composition and the age and social standing of the population that practices them. More importantly, they differ in the function attributed to each genre (Sánchez, N. 2005, 2–3). The traditional Afro-Yungan *saya* is a hybrid, the product of *mestizaje* between Aymaras and Afro-Americans. It is a generic system rooted in other forms which are native to Africa and which are as old as the *nsaya* (Sánchez, W. 1998). Starting in the 1960s



Example 1: 'Ritmo de caporal,' showing drums in different tunings, with accompaniment of *güiro* (scraper) and *silbato* (whistle)

new musical and danceable expressions developed from these forms, such as the *morenada*, the *saya moderna* (modern *saya*) – urban and large-scale – and the dance of the *caporales*.

The choreographic representation of *caporales* took the figure of the 'caporal' from the traditional Afro-Bolivian *saya*, as well as the basic rhythmic pattern played by the drums. The *caporal* was originally the overseer, a figure of authority, in charge of patrolling the slaves who were brought to Yungas (a department in La Paz) from Africa during colonial times to work on plantations. In many cases *caporales* were mestizos or mulatos. In modern representations of the dance, the *caporal* is the leader of the dance and the *fraternidad*, and is characterized by the whip he carries, his boots with large rattles and the mask – typical of the *caporales* – that distinguishes him from the other dancers who are impersonating slaves.

Representations Around a Multidimensional Genre: Contemporary *Caporales*

Young people get together in *fraternidades* to learn the dance and organize the performance, which takes place during the traditional 'entradas' of carnivals, religious festivities of patron saints and national holidays. To belong to a *fraternidad* implies paying for expensive outfits as well as the cost of financing the orchestras, the choreographers and the trips to the different areas of the country or abroad, not forgetting community gatherings. While the associations are motivated by personal display, they also compete for monetary awards or because they are a setting for youth practices of social gathering and entertainment.

Research on the multiple meanings and values represented in the dance, within an arc containing symbols originating in the Andean religious syncretism of Aymara, *criollo*-hispanic and African ritual sources, reveals shifts of signification. For instance, readings of certain scenes reveal predictable associations between offerings to the Virgin, beliefs about the Pachamama (see *tinku*) and the female Andean figure. However, the sensuality of the feminine movement in *caporales* is much more provocative. The classical hat of the *cholitas* contrasts with extremely short skirts which, in a far cry from the modesty of the *kolla* woman, reveal the undergarments all the way to the hips. The profusely decorated outfit, the sparkling hair and the high-heeled shoes bear no resemblance to *saya*.

All evidence points to the influence of the mass media and the municipal organizers of the pageants demanding that the genre's staging matches the Rio Janeiro and Venetian Carnivals. For them, innovations in the choreography, makeup and costuming are synonymous with improvement. This view manifests itself in the incorporation of elements belonging to the aesthetics of pop culture or revue-theater.

Glamor, color and excess in the outfits are integral to the urban aesthetic of *caporales*. The dance is complemented by acrobatic movements and unusual accessories, such as colored smoke flares and cables or whips with burning ends. At the same time, the lyrics of the songs reflect the ostentatious character conveyed by the arrogant gesturing of the *caporales* themselves. In contrast, dancers in religious settings accompany the Virgins of Urkupiña and de Copacabana, flanked by national flags (of the country of residence and of Bolivia) and Catholic Church banners. Close affiliations with the sacred image and the patriotic symbols signify that the genre is deserving of social recognition and viewed as representative of Bolivian-ness. At the same time, the publicity posted by national organizations on the internet and the tourism promotion of carnivals such as those of Oruro and La Paz, advertise *caporales* as national or traditional Bolivian folklore.

In this way, this polysemic genre assumes multiple functions in the dynamics of migration, becoming a vehicle for significations shaping the formation of subjectivities. The performance becomes a political device aimed at cultural integration and legitimacy, social merit or economic status.

Communities of Bolivians residing in different countries endeavor to have a dance group even if it is reduced in size and performs to prerecorded music. The music of *caporales* is also played in discotheques, at family gatherings and community fairs.

The musical components of *caporales* are the same as those of *saya afroyungüeña*: drums, *güiro,* whistles, rattles. Neofolklore groups such as Los Kjarkas, Sayanta, Yara, Los Tekis, Tupay and Amaru also add electronic keyboards and military band instruments (trumpets, sax, tuba and big drum) and perform well-known themes. Because this is a genre that is urban, modern and large-scale, hybridization is evident in the sonority. Musical arrangements combine traditional Andean instruments such as *charango*, *siku* and *zampoña*, with others which are identified with pop and rock such as bass, drumkits, electronic keyboards, as well as '*bases techno*' (tracks created using electronic loops). It is evident that the *cumbia tropical* has incorporated the dancing steps and outfits of the *caporales* and, in turn, the genre uses the voice in a suggestive manner similar to the *cumbia*.

Social, Racial and Ethnic Representations within the Genre

According to Walter Sánchez (1999), the indigenous sectors in the colonial period also participated in the mechanisms of exclusion and racial mocking of the Afro-Americans and this trend persists in current practices. The 'inventors' of the new genre belong to urban sectors, to middle-class and elite social levels. They select svelte youth (possibly tall), of white or mestizo skin who with their painted bodies personify the slaves and their overseers – the *reyes caporales*. In this fictional scenario, these 'theatrical negroes' use masks (with exaggerated fleshy lips, protruding tongue and eyes out of their orbits) to hide their complexion as they characterize the overseers or *caporales*. Some scholars have interpreted these features as remnants of the ethnocentric colonial views that attributed witchcraft powers to the black *zambos* or considered them as intellectually and spiritually inferior. The general public interprets these features as symbols of avaricious, lascivious or primitive attitudes.

Be that as it may, the genre sidesteps a historical reality: the regulations by which the *criollo* sectors displaced the black *afroyungüeños* from the Carnival parades of La Paz y Oruro, the same who are reclaiming this space in the early twenty-first century. The matters have negative repercussions for most of the population, causing antipathy or resistance toward what the figures of the *caporales* represent.

In Bolivia and Argentina a large portion of modern popular music on CD and video is produced and distributed in the form of pirated editions, which often makes it virtually impossible to acquire an original version. In sectors with a high number of Bolivian immigrants, these items are often sold on street stands and some can be found in local street markets where informal economic practices – which form part of the culture and the tradition of the original population – are still maintained. Recorded and audiovisual material that does not originate from official commercial chains can also be obtained in concerts of famous performers such as Los Kjarkas – for instance, some albums and DVDs are produced under the label of 'compilations' of the top hits by famous groups. Even though market and tax authorities prosecute these cases and seize the counterfeit merchandise, these modes of production and circulation are habitual, especially in Buenos Aires as well as in other large cities in South America.

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NANCY M. SÁNCHEZ (TRANSLATED BY
ZUZANA PICK AND PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

Carnaval Cruceño

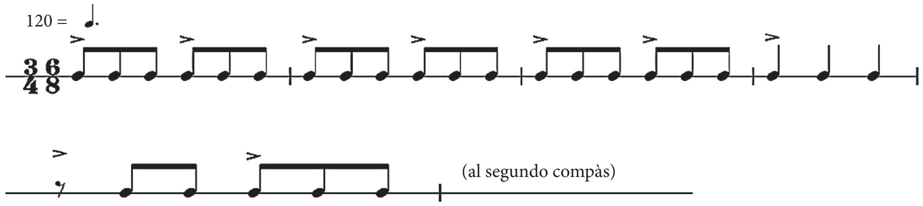
The *carnaval cruceño* is a danceable genre, similar to the polka, from the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia's tropical east. *Carnaval cruceño* is, as its name suggests, the characteristic music of the area's Carnival celebrations. Carnival is extremely important in the region, with Santa Cruz's social life, economy, culture and politics revolving around the annual production of what is widely known as the '*fiesta grande*' (great party). *Carnaval cruceño* is in 2/4 time with a fast tempo and is danced by embraced couples leaping from side to side, as well as by groups of people holding hands as they participate in the Carnival procession.

According to historian Alcides Pareja Moreno, the musical sphere of the Santa Cruz Carnival consists of three genres: *carnaval cruceño*, *takirari (taquirari)* and *chobena* (1999, 26). The dance corresponding to *carnaval cruceño* originated in the nineteenth century. Carnival celebrations provided the perfect setting for the introduction of danceable genres that had become fashionable overseas. Local elites, always on the lookout for novelty and keen to keep up to date, took up the *guachambé* dance, later called the *polca*, influenced by music bands from Paraguay in the early twentieth century (Terceros Rojas, cited in Pinto 2008). According to scholar Hernando Sanabria Fernández, an 1875 source mentions that 'the townspeople perform an energetic dance called *huachambé*, whose music is similar to music we heard in Corrientes [northeast Argentina] and Paraguay' (in Pareja Moreno 1999, 27). Sanabria Fernández also found two original scores from 1885 pertaining to the genre '*polca-carnaval*' (*idem*), predecessors of today's *carnaval cruceño* (henceforth referred to as simply '*carnaval*').

The first known *carnavales* date back to the early twentieth century: 'Carnaval grande' (attributed to Mateo Flores and Félix Soleto), 'Félix Soleto' (Mateo Flores 1915) and 'Ojos negros' (Dark Eyes) (1917, Feliciano Cabral). The genre has stood the test of time, evidenced by the fact that as these compositions are still performed in the second decade of the twentieth century by brass bands during the Carnival period. The composers, many of them members of Santa Cruz's elites, began to write *carnavales* (as well as *takiraris*), and the style soon took root as an enduring favorite among the people. The first *carnavales* with lyrics turned up in the 1920s, though Sanabria Fernández suggests that the first one with lyrics 'worthy of the music' was 'Palomita de Arrozal' (1936), with music by Jorge Luna and lyrics by poet Raúl Otero Reiche (Pareja 1999, 28). Since the 1940s poets and composers have created exquisite works inspired by the *carnavales*, *takiraris* and *valses* of east Bolivia.

While the *takirari* projects sentimentality and nostalgia, the *carnaval* evokes the festive cheer of Santa Cruz. Sanabria Fernández describes the music of *carnaval* as 'lively, appealing and lighthearted, undoubtedly of Spanish origin' (ibid.). Rogers Becerra describes the Santa Cruz *carnaval* as consisting of 'three sections with eight measures each, or where they feature imperfect cadences, 16 measures. The first two sections are played by the *pistoneros* and the third by the *bajeros*' (ibid.). This description makes it clear that the *carnavales* are generally composed for brass band musicians playing for Carnival party dancers. The term '*pistoneros*' (valve players) refers to the trumpets, while '*bajeros*' (bass players) refers to the tubas, trombones and helicons.

As with other brass band genres in Bolivia's Andean region, *carnavales* are created with long marches in mind, since the musicians must spend entire days, sometimes over the course of weeks, playing in the streets. Most *carnavales* begin with a drum roll and feature the cymbals and bass drum on the weak beats of the measure, with the trumpets carrying the melody and the basses rendering a characteristic ostinato. Later a second melody is played by the basses. Normally the theme is repeated as many times as necessary, according to the dancers' level of enthusiasm. *Carnavales* often combine 6/8 with 3/4 meter,



Example 1: Rhythmic pattern of the *carnival*

superimposing duple over triple as is characteristic of many genres in South America. The final product is a rich rhythmic feel that emphasizes the strong beats and adds expressive color to the melodies, encouraging couples to dance (Example 1).

The 1940s saw the first recordings of *carnaval* music, appearing as 78-rpm records on the label Méndez de la Paz (Terceros Rojas 2006, 14–15). The duo Voces del Oriente, (formed in 1942 by Luis Eugenio Velasco and Ángel Camacho), soloist Carlos 'Trueno' Saucedo, the duo Aliaga-Domínguez, the trio Los Llaneros and the group Cordillera began recording music from Bolivia's eastern lowlands, including a number of *carnavales*. Singer Gladys Moreno made her first recording in 1948 and went on to become a venerated figure with her renditions of *carnavales*, *takiraris* and *valses cruceños*. In the 1950s and 1960s there was a major boom in recordings of *carnavales*. New singers began to record and many groups were formed in Santa Cruz and the neighboring department of Beni, especially duos and trios, reaching audiences around Bolivia through radio and recordings and contributing an 'eastern' flavor to Bolivia's national music palette. Santa Cruz musicians performed for enthusiastic audiences at traditional venues such as La Pascana, the Peña de Blooming (La Bamba), the Palace Theater and the *peña* Los Penocos, and recorded EPs and LPs on labels such as Lyra (Discolandia), Lauro, Imperio, RCA Victor, CBS, Panamericana Discos and Discos Méndez. Terceros Rojas (2006) explains that it was between the 1940s and the 1970s that new artists recording the music of the eastern lowlands appeared with the most frequency. In the 1940s 11 solo artists emerged (6 duos, 8 trios and one larger group) followed in the 1950s by 9 soloists, 7 duos, 18 trios and 7 larger groups, and in the 1960s by 12 solo artists, one duo, 13 trios and 4 larger groups. In the 1960s the figures began to drop: 3 solo artists, 3 duos, 2 trios and 4 larger groups; and by the 1980s there was only one trio and 3 larger groups on record (2006, 21).

It was not until the first decade of the twenty-first century that eastern lowlands music re-emerged as part of the so-called '*nueva música camba*' (new eastern lowlands music), closely linked with notions of rescuing tradition, but also with the development of new styles of music aligned with the tastes of youth and with the political ideology of the '*nación camba*,' which espouses regional autonomy for the departments of Santa Cruz, Pando and Beni from the governmental centralism of La Paz (see Sanchez Patzy 2011). The phenomenon of *nueva música camba* is not limited to CDs and radio but is linked in particular to television. During Carnival celebrations, *carnaval* shares the limelight with new danceable genres such as the *brincao*, made popular by the musician Aldo Peña.

Well-known and frequently recorded *carnavales* include 'Jumechi' (an alcoholic drink) (written by Godofredo Núñez); 'Noches de luna llena' (Full-Moon Nights) (Susano Azogue); 'A Cotoca' (For Cotoca) (Mateo Flores); 'Cuando muere el Carnaval' (When Carnival Dies) (Zoilo Saavedra); 'Novia Santa Cruz' (Santa Cruz, My Lover) (Jorge Luna Pomier); 'El aguilillo' (The Womanizer) and 'Pan de arroz' (Rice Bread) (José René Moreno); and 'Maraca Mateo' (Play the Maraca, Mateo), 'Flor de Santa Cruz' (Flower of Santa Cruz) and 'En el arenal' (In the Sands) (Gilberto Rojas, a composer from the highland city of Oruro).

The *carnaval* arouses a profound sense of identity and sentiment among the people of Santa Cruz because of its strong associations with the Santa Cruz region, and it is thus viewed as emblematic of Santa Cruz's aspirations for autonomy. This is supported by radio, television and the recording industry in Santa Cruz, which display the *carnaval* and the *takiirari* as quintessential to a regional identity constructed around Carnival fraternities, known as 'lodges' (*logias*) in reference to the strong links between power, exclusive access and popular culture within these festive institutions.

It is worth noting the existence of a regional variation on the Santa Cruz *carnaval*, the *carnaval vallegrandino*, rooted in Vallegrande, a province within the department of Santa Cruz. This genre combines the festive character of Santa Cruz's *carnaval* with an Andean expressiveness and is exemplified by 'La ovejerita' (The Little Ewe) by Misael Guevara. Los 4 Del Valle's recording of that song was one of Bolivia's most successful releases in the 1970s.

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MAURICIO SÁNCHEZ PATZY (TRANSLATED BY MONA-LYNN COURTEAU, WITH PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

Carnavalito

The *carnavalito*, also known as *carnavalito jujeño*, is a music and popular dance form from the north-west of Argentina that is intimately linked to the vernacular ancestral celebration of Carnival. In the summer, especially in the north of the provinces of Jujuy and Salta, the region transforms itself into a tourist center of national and international interest, attracting mass media, musicians and scholars of different disciplines all wishing to participate in this phenomenon.

The *carnavalito* is a hybrid genre with complex identity affiliations. In its traditional version, it retains strong indigenous features mixed with *criollo* and Spanish choreographic and musical components. Musical groups and social, political and religious organizations of various types view the *carnavalito* of La Quebrada de Humahuaca as a marker of Argentine authenticity aligned to nationalist sentiment; this is because La Quebrada de Humahuaca is normally identified with indigenous and mestizo communities who traditionally occupied the area, and who used to perform dances such as the 'old' *carnavalito* in the context of farming rituals, especially within the Quechua culture. In these dances, people would hold hands and dance in a circle. In addition, the titles of the most popular modern *carnavalitos* produced by the record and entertainment industries feature the Quebrada in one way or another: 'El Huamahuaqueño' by E. Zaldívar and 'El Quebradeño' by Los Hermanos Ábalos, for example, are two *carnavalitos* that are associated with the central region of Jujuy and the Quebrada itself. In the folk imagination as well as in narratives by natives and scholars alike, the sound of Andean wind instruments, such as the *siku* and the *quena*, and of the string *charango* represent Andean cultures and point directly to these regions in the Argentine north-west. In the 1970s and 1980s, when it attained international recognition, the *carnavalito jujeño* (i.e., of Jujuy) was integrated into the imaginary of 'being Latin American.' Among the devotees of the genre, one side of the spectrum is represented by the traditionalist movement and the other by avant-garde and national rock musicians.

The main musical features of *carnavalito* are its duple rhythms, the predominance of 2/8 and 4/8 meters, musical phrases of irregular length (which are a characteristic feature of the traditional *carnavalito* from rural areas [Nancy Sánchez 2011] and pentatonic or mestizo modal melodies (i.e., harmonic systems which combine modal scales with tonality). Although most are in the minor mode, some, such as the 'Carnavalito del mercado' (Market Carnavalito) by Sara Mamaní, are in the major. All include a distinctive introduction and a harmonic development similar to the *cueca* and the *bailecito kola,* an affiliation reinforced by the northern sonority of Andean wind instruments (*quena*, *pincullo*, at times the *siku*), the *charango*, the guitar and the *bomb*o, and rattles made from goat hooves called *chaj-chas.*

Influences of Other Genres

The first and most direct precursor of the *carnavalito* is the *huayno* (*wayño*, *wayñu*) a genre which originated in Peruvian Inca culture and is affiliated to other colonial musical and dancing forms that migrated to Bolivia before arriving in the north of Argentina. The name *carnavalito* was given to many other colonial rhythms and musical forms in northern Argentina, Peru and Bolivia. In this regard, Carlos Vega (1998 [1944]) affirms that the genres or types of music belonging to the American pentatonic repertoire do not correspond strictly to their denomination. On the contrary, 'almost all the names used by the Indigenous people refer to the dance or the pantomime or the instrument, or the dancers, or the object, or the circumstances of its execution' (ibid., 149) among other factors; these names are then transferred to the music. This process explains why ancient *carnavalito* of the nineteenth century has been called *bailecito, caracolito, huanito, huachitorito, cacharpaya*, to list but a few names.

José Díaz Gainza (1977) indicates that the *carnavalito altiplánico* (from the high plateaus) should not be confused with the *carnaval cruceño* (a genre from the Bolivian department of Santa Cruz) because the latter adopted and maintained the ternary rhythm (6/8) and other European elements.

The Dance

The *ronda* – dancing in a circle while holding hands – was a symbol shared by the majority of the founding or tribal societies for their ritual practices and was the preferred figure in the *wayño kolla* of the seventeenth century. The *carnavalito* adapted this formation, with dancers marching in rows holding hands (called *serpentina* or *viboritas),* in order to engender both merriment and unity.

In popular outdoor representations, participation is spontaneous. The dance is accompanied by whistles and burlesque calls characteristic of the Carnival's 'mascaritas' (dancers wearing masks) and 'diablitos' (dancers disguised as devils). Abundant drinking generally drives the festivities into unruliness. The tradition of throwing flour and water into the audience and onto the stage continues to this day in rural settings. A modified version of this expression is also found in the theater.

The *Carnavalito* in the Twentieth Century

The creation of *carnavalitos* by individual authors, and the compilation and publication of this repertory, were integral to the discourses on nationality that were constructed in the years preceding and following the successive waves of immigration (at the end of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century) from Europe, which drastically changed the demographic composition and the way of life in Argentina, taking the country to the threshold of modernity. On the one hand, these discourses were intended to construct an image of Argentina as a product of the mixture of the Hispanic and the 'Indo-American,' a nativist representation originating in an idealized vision inherited from late European romanticism. On the other hand, the image of 'primitivism' was adopted. However, in the 1940s the *carnavalito* was a sign of distinction. Members of the elite, elegantly dressed, danced in the exclusive folkloric *peñas* (bars) that existed in the center of Buenos Aires.

The period from the mid-1940s to the mid-1950s, overlapping with the governments of General Juan D. Perón, was characterized by the influence of the state on the artistic and educational fields. Music benefitted substantially from Decree Number 33.711, proclaimed in 1950, which required radio stations to broadcast all styles of national popular music up to 50 percent of its total programming. Owners of dance halls, theaters, clubs or any other setting where music was heard or interpreted were also obliged to respect this law. Within this framework, starting in 1951, numerous successful television programs emerged, presenting contests of Argentine popular and folkloric music. In the 1960s the first large festival was established at Cosquín (and has continued without interruption from 1961 to the present day). The publishing industry printed folklore magazines containing lessons on how to play the guitar and sing these genres, as well as interviews with national singers and authors.

A number of composers were attracted by the opportunities that Buenos Aires had to offer in terms of shows, radio stations, publishing and music recording companies, among them Edmundo P. Zaldívar who composed one of the most popular *carnavalitos*, 'El Humahuaqueño.' On the score, published in 1943, the name *carnavalito* appears in parenthesis and below it is written 'typical indio-creole dance' (a generic classification evoking the views held in the 1920s). Los Hermanos Ábalos, a group who remained artistically active during the 1950s, made the genre known in the United States, Japan and Europe. They created 'El quebradeño' (*carnavalito*) which was included in *La Guerra Gaucha* (1942), a historical drama marking a watershed moment for the Argentine film industry. This film, set in the northwestern province of Salta in 1817 and depicting the attempts by the *gauchos* to obtain independence from the crown, is significant because it represents the first example of a film based on historical events in Argentina, and was produced at a time when the Argentinian film industry was run by large international distributors. In addition, it is widely considered to be an outstanding cinematographic achievement.

During the 1960s folklore boom in Argentina distinguished musical and singing ensembles from Salta, Cuyo, Santiago del Estero and Buenos Aires created new lyrical or instrumental pieces. The 'Gloria' of the *Misa Criolla* (with music by Ariel Ramírez and lyrics by the priests Catena-Mayol and Segade) is a *carnavalito* born 'in accordance to the 1963 Papal Encyclical that established the use of regional languages in religious ceremonies' (Portorrico 1997). Its stylized and ostentatious aesthetic (for large chorus and authochtonous instruments and piano) reflects the nationalist ideology of the bourgeois, white, European and Catholic sectors. Widely seen as a masterpiece, it achieved worldwide circulation and was recorded in various languages by prestigious interpreters.

Most of the popular and anonymous verses in the public domain ('coplas populares') are sung in the *carnavalito* style. The mode of interpretation and the vocal expression are similar to those found in the *canto vallisto* or *canto con caja chayera*, another representative genre of the region. In recent versions of *carnavalitos*, saxophone and drums have been included, for example in the 'Huayno de la quebrada' by Raúl Olarte (a typical *carnavalito*, despite its title). The female group Las Electroautóctonas performs the traditional 'La vi por vez primera' (I saw Her for the First Time), by Justiniano Torres Aparicio (1906–92) as a *carnavalito* in the *kolla power* style with percussion, bass and electric guitar.

Conclusion

The *carnavalito* and its *coplas* summon the people without making class, social, ethnic, age or religious distinctions. A noteworthy characteristic of *carnavalito* is its ability to adapt to various periods and aesthetics, and to different social, economic and cultural settings. The rhythm of the *carnavalito* has transcended its ethnographic origins moving from the field of popular modern urban music to massive commercialization. In spite of its transformations, its rhythmic pattern remains as a unique and distinctive referent of Argentine nationality. The popular singer Mercedes Sosa has made famous worldwide a medley of *carnavalitos* that includes 'Pollerita colorada' (Little Red Skirt) (J. Espinosa), 'Carnavalito del duende' (Elfin Carnavalito) (Leguizamón-Castilla) and 'Pollerita' (Little Skirt) (Shaw Moreno). In addition, Jaime Torres, Raíces Incas, Tomás Lipán, Hilda Herrera, Los Tekis and Raúl Olarte have traveled to all continents, taking the *carnivalito* with them as an emblem of Latin America.

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NANCY M. SÁNCHEZ (TRANSLATED BY CRISTINA FUERTES GOTH WITH PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

Catira and Cururu

Catira and *cururu* are musical genres from *caipira* culture, the rural culture of the Brazilian states of Goiás, the north of Minas Gerais and the interior of São Paulo, which, according to its adherents, is of indigenous, African and European origin. *Catira* is also known as *cateretê*. Records of both *catira* and *cururu* exist going back to the colonial period, and both have a place in modern *caipira* culture.

Catira is a dance performed by six to ten dancers dressed as cattle drovers or farm laborers, along with a pair of *viola* players. Originally performed by men only, in the modern era *catira* groups perform with both men and women and with only women. The accompanying *violeros* (viola players) also perform a vocal-instrumental genre called *moda de viola,* which alternates with the dance.

The dancers are arranged in two lines facing each other. A *viola* player/singer is positioned at one end of one of these lines, with his '*segunda*' (another *viola* player/singer, whose role is to complement the tune a third below or above) at the end of the other line. The *viola* player or players begin with the '*rasqueado*,' a playing technique in which the strings are '*rasgadas*,' that is, played all at the same time using a combination of strumming and stopping (Oliveira 2004). Specific rhythms are executed through this technique, which the dancers will follow with the '*escova*' (brush), a combination of tap dancing, hops and hand-claps. Then the singers come in with a *moda de viola*, on a variety of subjects in narrative style according to the norms of this autonomous musical genre. The song concluded, the musicians then repeat the *rasqueado*; the dancers repeat the foot-stamping, hand-clapping and hops. The dancers rest during the sung sections and listen for the return of the *rasqueado* signaling that they should begin dancing again.

Once the *moda* is over, the *catireiros* perform the '*serra abaixo*' figure, in which they form a circle and turn, alternating foot-stamping and hand-clapping and ending with the dancers in their original positions. The *catira* ends with the '*recortado*': the lines, headed by the musicians, switch places, do a half-turn and return to their original positions. At that point, everyone sings a song known as the '*levante*,' which varies from group to group. After the *recortado* the dancers repeat the foot-stamping, hand-clapping and hopping (Volpatto 2008).

The *cururu* is a kind of improvised poetic challenge from the middle region of the Tietê River in the state of São Paulo. The *cururu* also exists in the state of Mato Grosso, where the accompanying instrument is the *viola de cocho* (a type of lute), whereas in São Paulo it is the *viola caipira* and a *pandeiro* (a type of tambourine).

The term '*cururu*' is of Tupi origin and refers to a type of frog. While in the past the *cururu* was recorded as a type of dance, in the modern era the term refers to a kind of improvised song without dance. This shift, according to authors cited by Oliveira (2004), can be attributed to the urbanization of the *cururu*. According to Oliveira, a *cururu* singer is given the title of *canturião* or *canturino*, depending on experience, the latter term being in diminutive form. The *cururu* is in two parts: the *baixão*, which is comprised of a brief introduction with sextains or strophes with eight verses, and the *maião*, which is improvised.

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DEISE LUCY OLIVEIRA MONTARDO (TRANSLATED BY FABIO CHADAD)

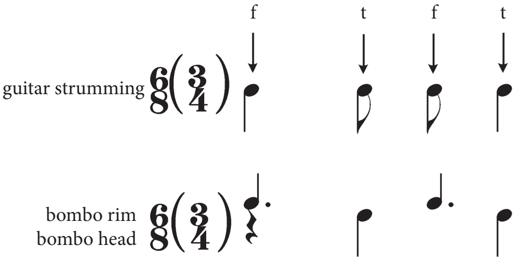
Chacarera

Chacarera is a song form with associated dance identified with the province of Santiago del Estero in the center/north-west of Argentina. Its origins are unclear: it emerges in the late nineteenth century in the west and north-west of the country. Within a group of genres that are widely taken to constitute Argentinian *folclore*, the *chacarera* has a nationwide popularity second only to that of the *zamba*. In the twentieth century it spread to the Bolivian Chaco (south/southeastern Bolivia), where it has developed its own variants. Moderately fast and with a simple choreography, *chacarera* has long been the most often danced type within *folclore*; nevertheless, it is more frequently performed simply as a song or instrumental piece.

Unlike the *zamba*, the form of *chacarera* lyrics is fully standardized: it consists of two sections (*primera* and *segunda*), each of which contains four octosyllabic quartets, the last one functioning as a refrain. Following the Spanish *romance* tradition, the second and fourth lines of each stanza are linked by assonant or consonant rhyme. Deviations from these norms are quite exceptional and tend to correspond to pieces whose music is also considered 'avant-garde' (e.g., 'Del 55' by Pepe and Gerardo Núñez). An accepted variant is the *chacarera doble*, with stanzas of six lines each, the last two of which may or may not function as a refrain.

The music of the standard *chacarera* consists of a single eight-measure period, repeated four times for each of the two sections. Before the first three stanzas of each section there is a simple instrumental prelude/interlude, traditionally also eight measures long and consisting of a measure-by-measure alternation of tonic and dominant; the refrain is attacked without a previous interlude. Rarely, the interludes are replaced by sung stanzas, with different music and extra lyrics (e.g., 'Campo afuera' [Out There] by Carlos di Fulvio).

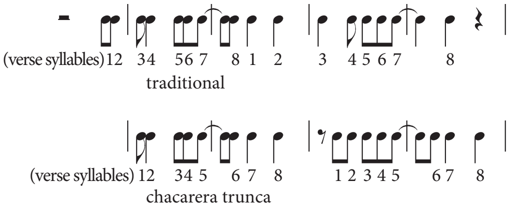
Example 1 shows the basic accompaniment pattern, usually embellished by a variety of subdivisions, short measured rolls, strumming effects and counterrhythms. In the older melodies, verses are paired so as to configure two phrases for each stanza. Since the music consists of a single stanza repeated seven times in a row, interest is focused on the text and on the rhythmic variants introduced in performance, usually including irregular values. The melodic profile is narrow, often only a fourth or a fifth; repeated notes and alternation between two neighbor notes predominate.



f: 3rd, 4th and 5th fingers (often damping simultaneously with palm);
t: thumb

Example 1: Basic accompaniment pattern for *chacarera*

Example 2 presents a typical rhythmic pattern for a pair of lines, showing the characteristic melodic anticipation of the strong beat; it includes also a standard pattern for the *chacarera trunca*, a subtype marked by phrase endings on the third beat (since most Spanish words are paroxytones, this means an accent on the second beat of the 3/4 measure). While the phrases of simple *chacareras* usually begin with one or two upbeat syllables, those of *truncas* begin on the first beat or on its second half.


(verse syllables) 12 34 56 7 8 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
traditional
(verse syllables) 12 34 5 6 7 8 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
chacarera trunca

Example 2: Melodic rhythms for a pair of verses in *chacarera*

Chacareras are often sung in an unassuming vocal style, bright and open, that contrasts with the darker and more rounded sound of *surero* (southern) folklore.

The *chacarera* is danced by male-female couples who may or may not be coordinated in pairs. With arms up and with finger snapping that reinforces the basic rhythm, the dancers follow a series of simple evolutions fixed in a standard choreography. During the sung stanzas, the male shows his abilities in *zapateo* (heel-and-toe tap dancing), while the female gently strolls around him, waving her skirt in *zarandeo*.

The *santiagueño chacarera*, which is especially associated with several families of musicians (Ábalos, Gómez Carrillo, Farías Gómez and Carabajal), is performed at a moderate speed and relies on what Vega (1988 [1944]) identified as the 'bi-modal' scale (for a full explanation, see the entry on *folclore*). It is based on lyrics mainly concerned with extolling the beauties of Santiago del Estero, *santiagueño* localities or customs (including the *chacarera* itself), or describing the longing of émigré *santiagueños* for their native land (because Santiago is a poor province, many seek their fortunes in large cities elsewhere). Quechua words and phrases are sometimes integrated into the Spanish texts. These folksy lyrics have also long since included irony and outright jokes. In the 1960s the comic element was developed into a second strain of *chacarera*, mostly stemming from the neighboring province of Córdoba (e.g., Chango Rodríguez), but also exploited by the Buenos Aires-born Rodolfo Zapata. These fast (seldom danced) songs, sometimes referring to current events or contrasting the idealized country folk to modern urban realities, abandoned the bi-modal setting in favor of simple major mode harmonizations. On the other hand, the rhythmic complexities of the genre made it a favorite for experiments with twentieth-century musical language; a famous piece in this vein is 'La oncena' (The Eleventh) (Eduardo Lago and Juan Goñi), in which each stanza ends on an augmented 11th.

In the 1990s, several decades after *folclore* had retreated from the mass media, the exuberant, poncho-swinging performances of Soledad Pastorutti (a teenager from Santa Fe province) and the pop aesthetics of Peteco Carabajal's shows (lighting and smoke effects, showy costumes, female chorus), in which he played and sang his fairly traditional *chacareras*, awakened a new wave of enthusiasm among teenagers and college students, who danced free versions of the traditional choreography in their night clubs. In a more conservative vein, Chaqueño Palavecino has extended the popularity of *chacarera* into the twenty-first century.

During the *folclore* boom of the 1960s chacareras were usually performed or recorded in a judicious mix with other genres (especially *zambas*); since the revival of the 1990s they have often been regarded as hegemonic or even exclusive. Titles such as 'El Chacarerazo' (the name of several shows and festivals in the 1990s and early 2000s, and of a compilation album by various performers), or 'La Chacarerata Santigueña' (the name of an ensemble) are witnesses to the popular appeal of the genre.

Chacarera in Bolivia

Chacarera in Bolivia is rooted in the Chaco Boreal, or northern Chaco, situated in the south/southeastern region of Bolivia. In that area the *chacarera* has become a marker of regional identity. The Bolivian part of the Gran Chaco, a large area divided between Argentina, Paraguay and Bolivia, is adjacent to the Argentinian border and the area is receptive to Argentinian culture, music and dances, especially in terms of the consumption of recordings and musical hits. The Argentinian influence on the region intensified in the 1990s with the rise of a new version of Argentinian *folclore*, led by artists such as Soledad, Los Nocheros and El Chaqueño Palavecino. Many musicians from the Bolivian Chaco responded to this influence and were able to enhance their careers by cultivating the music of the Chaco and the *chacarera*. The most important of these were Juan Enrique Jurado, Carlos Miguel 'El Negro' Palma, Yalo Cuéllar, El 'Chúcaro' Sandoval and Dalmiro Cuéllar. Because of these musicians, the Bolivian *chacarera* became popular throughout the rest of Bolivia, as well as in other countries. Equally important are the 'folkloric ballets' and dance troupes that have helped spark an interest in the *chacarera* dance in Bolivia's larger cities, especially among high school and university students. Also worth mentioning are Taricanto and Los Carahuatas del Pilcomayo, contemporary musical groups from the city of Tarija who specialize in *chacarera*.

The success of *chacarera* recordings in the 1990s and afterward has to some degree obscured the fact that the genre has a long history in the Bolivian south-east. In 1962, Argentine musicologist Carlos Vega wrote, 'There has been no indication that the *chacarera* exists outside Argentina. We did once hear of *chacarera* in Bolivia, but it turned out to be an incidental borrowing from Argentina' (1962, 64). In reality, however, that borrowing was not so incidental. *Chacareras*, *cuecas* and other danceable genres had long been habitually performed in the rural Chaco, using only a basic ensemble of *bombo* drum and violin. It took some time for the *chacarera* to reach the region's urban areas. In the early 1970s the guitar was introduced into the ensemble. Soloists such as Juan Enrique Jurado and groups such as Los Hilachas, Los de Algarrobilla and Los Siripis began to travel to the city of Cochabamba to record with Lauro Records. In 1972 Los 4 de Camiri won first place at the Cuarto Festival de la Canción Boliviana [Fourth Bolivian Song Festival] in Oruro. In 1978 in Yacuiba, Los Canarios del Chaco was formed, led by violinist Omar Baldivieso. With 12 albums over a 30-year career, this group contributed to the dissemination of Bolivian *chacarera*. The success of their recordings had an impact on the strengthening of collective identity in the Chaco, which has natural gas and has been the frequent target of political interests.

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TRANSLATED BY MONA-LYNN COURTEAU)

Chachachá

Chachachá (or *cha-cha-chá*) is a genre of dance music developed in Cuba in the mid-twentieth century. Its creation is often credited to a single individual – composer, violinist and orchestra director Enrique Jorrin – and although much of the literature on *chachachá* sustains this proposal, scholars have progressively challenged that view. In Cuba, where controversy about the authorship of *chachachá* occupied much space in the press for decades, Leonardo Acosta (2004) argued that it may be more accurate to consider the emergence of *chachachá* as a collective and gradual process in which several elements and personalities were involved, culminating in Jobin's contribution (see the chapter entitled 'Los inventores de nuevos ritmos: mito y realidad' [The Creators of New Rhythms: Myth and Reality]). Acosta's 2004 study partially agreed with the previous study of Dora Ileana Torres (1995) and the ongoing research of Ricardo Oropesa Fernandez (eventually completed in 2007 but unpublished) as to the collective origin of *chachachá*.

History

Chachachá was created and fleshed out within the *charanga* orchestras that played primarily in the halls of recreation societies (places where groups of people from particular social classes, trades or racial groups would gather to socialize with each other and to listen and dance to live music), such as Silver Star and Prado y Neptuno in Havana – names that were perpetuated in many *chachachá* compositions – reaching the dance halls some time later. Its source lies most obviously in the rhythmic scheme of *danzón de nuevo ritmo* (literally, 'danzón with a new rhythm'), a sound developed within the Orquesta Arcaño y Sus Maravillas by Arcaño and the Lopez siblings Israel, Coralia and Orestes in the 1940s, which also influenced the development of *mambo*. This type of *danzón* (for instance, 'Angoa' composed by Felix Reina) had the rhythmic figure played by the *güiro* (see Example 1 below) and other similar schemes that were later to characterize *chachachá* also.

The first *chachachá* is often said to be Jorrin's composition 'La engañadora' (The Deceiving Woman), composed sometime between 1949 and 1953 (when it was first recorded), though on the record label it is described as 'mambo-rumba.' Other claimants are songs by Ninon Mondejar, such as 'Yo no camino más' (I Don't Walk Any More) and 'La verde palma real' (The Royal Green Palm Tree), which were registered and described as *chachachás*.

All these compositions are significant markers in a development in which Jorrin was the most stable and persistent creator. What is certain is that in his early career Jorrin worked as a violinist for Arcaño's Orquesta, with its new and more rhythmically complex *danzón*, moving later to the Orquesta América. It was here that he worked together with Ninón Mondéjar, the leader and vocalist, and here too that he brought his previous experiences to bear in the creation of pieces that have come to be considered milestones of *chachachá*. The evolution of the genre can be traced in the modified *danzóns* which Jorrín composed, such as 'Silver Star' and 'Unión cienfueguera,' both of which were originally written as instrumentals during his time in the Orquesta de Arcaño y Sus Maravillas, and to which he later added lyrics, during his time in Orquesta América.

As to the name, the word 'chachachá' itself was already in everyday use before it was made 'official.' It is said to have been coined by Vicente Amores, promoter of dance music and owner of the dance hall in Havana located at the corner of Prado and Neptuno and leased to the Prado y Neptuno society. Mondéjar adopted the slogan 'Los creadores del chachachá' for the Orquesta before Jorrin proclaimed himself the sole creator of the new genre. The term is obviously onomatopoeic and seems to have come from the rhythmic pattern played by the *güiro* and the cowbell, from where it was adapted by dancers in their movements.

The heyday of the genre in the 1950s was achieved to a large extent through the success first of the Orquesta América and then of the Orquesta Jorrín, in playing for dances and on radio, and in the record sales of both ensembles. Cuban record companies such as Panart and Gema, and the US companies RCA Victor and Palladium included *chachachás* in their catalogues and distributed them in Cuba, the United States and across Latin America. In Latin America the movie industry contributed to the spread of its popularity by using *chachachá* pieces in movies such as *Mi noche de bodas*, *Amor y pecado*, *Club de señoritas* and *Las viudas del chachachá*, among others.

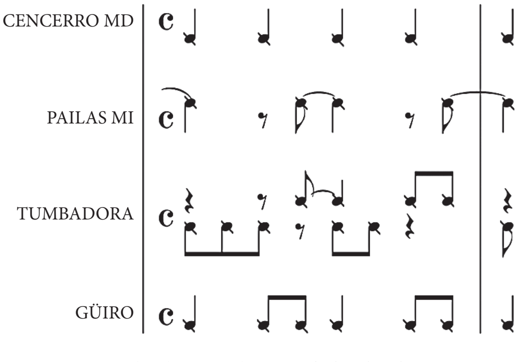
The Orquesta América and Orquesta Jorrín both traveled to Mexico between 1954 and 1958, where their music attained huge success, becoming the dance of the moment for a long time and being taken up by Mexican groups. Meanwhile, in Cuba these two orchestras were losing ground to Cienfuegos-based Orquesta Aragón, which took *chachachá* to its stylistic peak in the mid- to late 1950s, achieving a level of popularity never matched by any other Cuban *charangas*. This band, also called Los Estilistas del Cha Cha Chá, succeeded in creating a unique style through the musical arrangements and orchestration of its director Rafael Lay Apezteguía and its flute player Richard Egües. Alongside the Orquesta Aragón, important performers include the bands of Fajardo y sus Estrellas, Sensación and Sublime, among many others famous Cuban *charanga* ensembles. In dance music, performers such as Chucho Valdés, Juan Formell, Giraldo Piloto, Paulito FG, Issac Delgado and José Luis Cortés included *chachachás* in their creations.

During the 1950s the leading *chachachá* bands in the United States were those of Machito and His Afrocubans and José Curbelo, while in Puerto Rico those of Joe Loco and Pupi Campos and in Venezuela that of Aldemaro Romero were the most popular. In Chile, *chachachá* was widely performed by important bands such as Ritmo y Juventud, Los Peniques and Huambaly. Later, other bands whose repertoire belonged within the *nueva canción* (new song) movement, such as Quilapayún, made several *chachachá* protest songs such as 'No se para la cuestión' (The Thing Doesn't Stop) and 'Las ollitas' (The Little Pots) between 1968 and 1973. In Africa, bands such as Maravillas de Mali and Baobad imitated the style and repertoire of the Orquesta Aragón. In the international arena, the genre has appeared occasionally in the repertoire of Latin musicians such as Puerto Ricans Tito Puente and Gilberto Santa Rosa, Mexican-American Santana, Dominican Juan Luis Guerra and Panamanian Ruben Blades.

During its evolution, *chachachá* has interacted with other national and international genres, guaranteeing its continued presence in some form. The repertoire of Orquesta Aragón has included combinations with non-Cuban genres such as *tango*, and genres and dances from further afield such as Charleston, flamenco and, more recently, rap. The genre has served as a base for multiple genre combinations such as *bolero-cha*, *el danzón-cha*, *mambo-cha* and *son-cha*, developed by Cuban music groups. Since its heyday, *chachachá* has been used sporadically as an ingredient in the music of Cuban musicians. Sometimes it is used as a variation in their music or it has been adapted to the style of the group. In neither case have the compositions become hits.

Musical Characteristics

In the definitive configuration of *chachachá*, a specific 'march' prevails in which the bass plays a pattern in 4-beat measure. Elements of identity include the rhythmic pattern of the *güiro*, the *cencerro* (cowbell), the *pailas* (*timbales*) and the *tumbadora* or *conga* (see Example 1).



Example 1: Rhythmic scheme of *chachachá*

This pattern was so successful that it has been copied or imitated ever since by Cuban and international bands of different formats: from jazz bands to pop-rock and hip-hop groups to ensembles with an open format. The structure of *chachachá* varies, but the most recurring form consists of an introduction, two sections of singing (repeatable or not) and a final part resembling the *montuno*, usually repeating only one chorus line. The flute usually appears as a solo instrument in *chachachá* pieces. The lyrics typically take the form of a narrative and are often humorous, based around daily events and basic characteristics of human behavior.

In Cuba the *chachachá* is danced by couples, separately or together. The steps coincide with the rhythm of the *güiro* and cowbell.

Contemporary *Chachachá* in Cuba

In contemporary Cuban music *chachachá* has lost its earlier prominence in the dance music scene. However, elements of *chachachá* are frequently employed as a marker of identity, often mixed with pop-rock and hip-hop. Historically, these combinations have resulted from the juxtaposition (e.g., Orquesta Aragon's 'Guacharumba' [1999]) or superimposition (e.g., Orishas' 'A lo cubano' [1999]) of different genres. The most recent hybrid compositions may also incorporate this element as a form of intertextuality (López Cano 2005). Among the most outstanding early twenty-first-century composers of *chachachá*, the names of José Antonio Fajardo and Félix Reyna deserve a particular mention.

Conclusion

Since its introduction in the 1950s *chachachá* has occupied an important and constant place in Cuba. Aided by the record industry and media, which have both played important roles, it has demonstrated a capacity to adapt its sound to the most diverse discourses, venues and audiences and to insert itself into the processes of change that characterize popular music.

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LILIANA CASANELLA CUÉ AND
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Chamamé

Chamamé is the traditional music and dance of the Argentine littoral. It is deeply rooted in the provinces of Corrientes, Formosa, Chaco, part of Santa Fé, Entre Ríos and Misiones. The genre's historical background is related to the process of cultural and folkloric integration of the geographic area shared by the Argentine north-east and the Republic of Paraguay. It is also found in Brazil in the states of Rio Grande do Sul, which borders Argentina, and more especially in Mato Grosso do Sul, which borders Paraguay.

In the 1930s this regional music spread into Capital Federal and Greater Buenos Aires in Argentina through Paraguayan music groups, whose members also participated in major popular music orchestras. At this time the music of the littoral region (Correntinean *polcas,* Paraguayan *polcas* and *valseados*) was negated by traditionalist groups that accepted only the Creole music of the Pampa, Cuyo and northcentral regions. Music of the littoral was also absent from recording catalogues. However, the industry recognized an opportunity to reinvent a repertoire that represented the region.

Visconti Vallejo (1977) and Emilio Portorrico (1997) affirm that *chamamé* originated in Buenos Aires in 1932 in an almost spontaneous way when the Paraguayan composer Samuel Aguayo was hired by RCA Víctor to record a theme intended to captivate the public in Corrientes, one of the largest markets for recordings. In this way the first *chamamé*, 'Corrientes Poty' (with music by Francisco Pracánico and lyrics by Novillo Quiroga), appeared on the national stage. Under the name *chamamé*, the recording industry began to spread a genre similar to that which had previously been known as the Correntinean *polca.*

Since 1950 the *chamamé* or Correntinean *polca* has spread more intensively across all the regions of the country through urban and media groups who profited from the intense migration of Correntinean and Paraguayan workers living in Buenos Aires. Then, *chamamé* was considered to represent low-income working sectors (farmhands, maids and construction workers), who experienced isolation in the metropolis because of their condition as immigrants, their ethnic and cultural affiliations, their Guaraní language and their dark-skinned features (for which they were called '*cabecitas negras*' or 'black heads').

It is evident that the mass media played a central role in the spread, acceptance and consumption of littoral music among the urban and 'learnt' sectors, although the media facilitated this process by manipulating public taste when it invented the name '*chamamé correntino*' in order to attract urban audiences to the 'new' genre. At the same time the new name carried derogatory connotations that reinforced urban attitudes about the genre's rural origins. *Chamamé,* in Guaraní, means 'improvised, or carelessly or wrongly done thing.' Osvaldo Sosa Cordero and Constante Aguer have argued against this denomination, publishing recordings of the genre under the name *litoraleña*, but the public has not embraced this alternative name.

Origin and Development of *Chamamé*

Theories about the origins of *chamamé* are diverse and respond to traditions, social imaginaries and political and commercial interests. One line of argument affirms that it is related to Creole music (including the Correntinean *polca*, the *rasguido doble* and the *valseado)* and other genres of European derivation that arrived in Río de la Plata beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, such as the schottische, the polka, the mazurca and the *habanera*.

Curiously, Marily Morales (1972) asserts that an orchestra of gypsies and Polish people introduced the polka in Paraguay at the end of the nineteenth century, where it adopted local rhythmic and melodic structures, spreading later over the border area of the Argentine littoral as a new cultural product. On the other hand, Enrique Piñeyro (2005) attributes the origins of *chamamé* to a mixed identity with contributions from Guaraní aboriginal culture and influences from the local courtly dances and music of the Compañía de Jesús missions that settled in the littoral for over a century and a half beginning in 1600.

Carlos Vega (1944) and Pérez Bugallo (1996) coincide in their claims that *chamamé* is the result of the ternarization (passage from binary to ternary rhythmic units) of the Correntinean *polca* that derives from the Paraguayan *polca* which in turn comes from the European polka. These authors explain how the European polka might have adopted the ternary rhythmic unit from the influence of the colonial Creole Peruvian repertoire which affected most of the dances that became folkloric with the combination of 6/8 and 3/4 measures. Cerruti (1963) believes that the change of rhythmic units is due to the technical requirements of Paraguayan harp techniques.

Musical Characteristics, Performance Styles and Thematic Material

The genre includes different styles. The *chamamé cangï* is slower and more cadenced, while the *chamamé* 'maceta' or *kyre'ỹ* is livelier, with the emphasis placed on the rhythm. Traditional *chamamé*s were played with accompaniment by the one-row accordion and guitar. Later, the two-row accordion, *bandoneón* (German button accordion) and double bass were incorporated. Instrumental interpretation features the use of melodic themes played with arpeggios, with quick jumps and intervals of eighths, tenths and sixths with *grupetos* and *mordents* as ornaments.

The 'dragged' sonority typical of the bellows instruments imprinted a distinctive feature onto the genre. This expressive character is imitated by the sung cries at phrase endings. In the same way the interlaced couple dance alternates swinging steps of the *polca* style with some sinuous, slow or 'dragged' steps.

The male vocal duet is prevalent in the traditional style, with shrill *falseteo* vocal timbre. According to Perez Bugallo (1996, 126) the *chamameceros* copied this modality from Cuyano singing brought to Buenos Aires around 1910, which was also adopted and disseminated by the duo Gardel-Razzano.

After the first chords, verses or (*glosas*) are recited, connecting ideas that evoke Correntinean identity, such as references to the liberator San Martín, the Virgin of Itatí, the landscape and rural labors. The tradition is linked to a remote past, where a sacralized aspect of the Guaraní culture converges with the warrior aspect, reflected in the daring and prolonged shout called *sapucai* that is an obligatory part of the *chamamé* performance. Musicians who have enhanced the genre and played a fundamental part in the ritual include Tránsito Cocomarola, Constante Aguer, Ernesto Montiel, Isaco Abitbol, Damasio Esquivel, Chamorro, Antonio Tarragó Ros, Cuarteto Santa Ana, Monchito Merlo, Miño, Maciel, Maria Elena, Ramona Galarza and music groups such as Los de Imaguaré and Ivotí.

The Renovators of *Chamamé*

In the 1960s a hybrid and more poetically elaborate variant of the *chamamé* song appeared. Older themes that had focused on bucolic evocation and the farming life of an idealized past changed in the 1980s when the compositions of León Gieco, Antonio Tarragó Ros and Teresa Parodi became popular. These new compositions addressed the subjects of the continuous littoral floods, exploitation and the vicissitudes experienced by the Correntinean immigrants in the great cities.

Antonio Tarragó Ros recorded with the ensemble La Banda Pueblera in 1984, revitalizing the genre with arrangements that incorporate electric bass, keyboards, drums, saxophone, trumpet and trombone. This prolific composer and respected performer produces television series, mass recitals and educational videos that are freely distributed at schools in order to contribute to the national and international diffusion of *chamamé*. In the 1990s another renewal took place when groups such as Los Alonsitos and Amboé not only incorporated saxophone and electronic drums, but also embraced urban topics that were bound up with young people's codes, fusing *chamamé* with rock or *candombe* elements. On the other side of the spectrum, Chango Spasiuk aims at a more stylized and virtuosic accordion style, creating ensembles with Peruvian *cajones* (box drums), drumsets with African-derived percussion (African drums, *tumbadoras* and rattles with seeds) and amplified violin. Residing in Europe, the duo formed by Rudi and Niní Flores, along with Raúl Barboza, have become the *chamamé* ambassadors. These musicians have developed the performance technique and explored the compositional language with musicians of *tango* and academic music fields, as exemplified by recordings such as Barboza and Alter Quintet's *Dos Orillas* (2008).

Chamamé is a genre in continuous process of transformation and it constitutes a fundamental aspect of Correntinean identity. Among *chamameceros* who have devoted their lives to the genre, performance embodies a reverential character. Just as in the past the Corrientes *polca* was danced at children's funeral ceremonies (*velorios de angelitos*), it continues to form part of community religious belief, frequently associated with the popular cult of the Gauchito Gil. Pablo Cirio (1997–2000) documented performance of *chamamé* in the context of the popular cult of San Balthazar in Empedrado (Corrientes), along with *charanda* and the *cumbia*. In the cities of the interior and of greater Buenos Aires, in the 1990s, *chamamés* are incorporated into the suburban dance venues known as '*bailantas*,' along with other genres including the *cuarteto cordobés*.

Chamamé in Brazil

In Brazil, the repertory of *chamamé* became popular first in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, and by the end of the 1960s *gaucho* migrants brought it to the state of Mato Grosso do Sul, bordering Paraguay. One of the most important musicians responsible for incorporating *chamamé* in Mato Grosso do Sul was accordionist Zé Corrêa (1945–74), nicknamed 'The king of chamamé' ('O rei do chamamé'), whose parents were born in the '*missionera*' region of Rio Grande do Sul (bordering northwestern Argentina). The *chamamé*'s structural similarity with Paraguayan genres such as *polca* and *guarânia* enabled its rapid assimilation by the neighboring population of Mato Grosso do Sul, where it is also designated by the name of *rasqueado*. In the early twenty-first century *chamamé* is considered one of the principal musical genres that characterize the cultural identity of Mato Grosso do Sul and songs such as 'Merceditas' (Ramón Sixto Ríos) and 'Kilometro once' (composed by Constante Aguer and Tránsito Cocomarola) are among the most popular.

Seeking to maintain the traditions of *chamamé correntino* without negating the Paraguayan *polca*, *rasqueado* and *gaucho* genres such as *vaneira* and *xote*, musicians of Mato Grosso do Sul such as Dino Rocha, Elinho do Bandoneon, Maciel Corrêa and Marcelo Loureiro have excelled as composers and performers of *chamamé* in Brazil and have maintained intense exchanges with the *chamamezeira* scene in Argentina.

Efforts to institutionalize the *chamamé* as local patrimony include the creation of the Cultural Center of the Chamamé of Campo Grande in 2008, the establishment of Chamamé Day (19 September) by the government of the state of Mato Grosso do Sul in 2009 and the organization of the 1o. Encontro de Chamamé do Pantanal (First Meeting of Chamamé in Pantanal) in the town of Miranda and the First Festival of Chamamé of Mato Grosso do Sul in Rio Brilhante in 2011. In Campo Grande, the Capital FM radio station presents the weekly program 'The Hour of *Chamamé*' which, in addition to *chamamés*, also presents Paraguayan *polcas*, *guarânias* and *rasqueados*.

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NANCY M. SÁNCHEZ (ARGENTINA;
TRANSLATED BY CRISTINA FUERTES GOTH)
WITH EVANDRO RODRIGUES HIGA (BRAZIL)

Chamarrita/Chimarrita

Chamarrita (also known by other variants, such as *shimarrita* in Uruguay and, especially, *chimarrita* in Brazil) is a song-and-dance form for independently embraced couples, common to the sea coast and northeast region of Argentina, Uruguay and the south of Brazil. Popular in the nineteenth century, it declined in usage during the twentieth, and in the present day found mainly in the re-enactments and in the repertoire of those involved in southern Brazilian *musica gauchesca* festivals.

Various research has established that the origins of the genre are linked to immigrant groups from the Azores Islands of Portugal who initiated the settlement of the present state of Rio Grande do Sul in Brazil in the eighteenth century. From there it became popular and spread through Santa Catarina, Paraná, São Paulo, and also to Uruguay and the Corrientes and Entre Rios provinces of the Argentine Mesopotamia region. In Brazil in the nineteenth century, *chimaritta* was known as one of the *fandango* dances, a specific term that, in the states of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, Paraná and São Paulo (located in the south and in part of the southeast regions of the country) nominates a set of traditional circle dances and mixes, in a more general sense, with the idea of a popular dance (Béhague 1995, 237).

Pinpointing the establishment, starting points and points of diffusion for these kinds of music-dance genres is a difficult and sometimes controversial task (Béhague 1995, 235). (One well-known *chimarrita* mentions its place of birth as Argentina ['Os Monarcas' 1996].) What seems certain, however, is that in Rio Grande do Sul, the popularity of *chimarrita* and other *fandango* dances among different social classes was evident by the second half of the nineteenth century (Lucas 1990, 211–12). Musically speaking, Lucas notes the following characteristics: 'Duple meter, two contrasting 8-bar phrases, corresponding to the text organization stanza/refrain. The melodic line is based on the reiteration of the rhythmic figure dotted 8th16th and/or 8th–two 16th. The accompaniment figures are two 8th notes8th–rest' (1990, 224–5).

Coriún Aharionian (2005, 340) observes that in the nineteenth century in Uruguay the *chimarrita* bears a close resemblance to the form of *milonga* that was being developed for use in dance, being, however, 'more clearly binary' in meter. Lauro Ayestarán affirmed that in Uruguay at the end of the nineteenth century, the *chamarrita* '… was danced with the step of the polka as a holding-embracing couple dance' (1967, 142). In Argentina, where it was also given the names of '*chamarra*' or '*chimarra*,' it reached its highest point of popularity around the beginning of the twentieth century, from which point it began a slow decline, as corroborated by the field research of musicologist Carlos Vega in Entre Rios and Corrientes between 1940 and 1950 where, among the numerous songs and dances he recorded, only two were *chamarritas*, obtaining also very imprecise data on its choreography. From the 1960s on, the *chamarrita* was reactivated in Entre Rios, thanks to the effort of a group of nativist poets and musicians such as Linares Cardozo, the Cuestas brothers and Santos Tala, seeking to transform it into a representative musical genre of the province. Commercial recordings containing *chamarritas* were produced in Argentina in the 1960s and 1970s. Worth mentioning among these first recordings is the LP *Canto a Entre Ríos* (1974) with compositions by Linares Cardozo and interpretations by Los Hermanos Cuestas Brothers, of which the most notable is 'Chamarrita del Chupín.' From that moment, the Cuestas became the main promoters of the *chamarrita* through their radio, TV and musical festival appearances and their numerous recordings. Something similar happened in Uruguay where the main promoter of the genre was the composer Anibal Sampayo.

In Argentina, comparisons between the ancient and recent *chamarritas* compiled by Vega have revealed differences in their peculiarities. The earliest are in the major mode, in 6/8 time signature, and comprise an introduction and a section of eight bars sung in octosyllabic quartets with consonant rhymes between the second and fourth lines accompanied by a guitar. The more recent ones, in a slower tempo, share their musical characteristics with the binary polka and its basic accompaniment formula with the *milonga*.

In the early twenty-first century the choreographed form lacks popular currency in the three countries. When its appears in re-enactments by dance ensembles in theatrical shows or screen projections, these ensembles develop very free and varied choreographic patterns, including free-moving couples, hand-clapping, foot-stamping and tapping. It is executed today on the accordion and guitars to which in Brazil the harmonica is often added, but the *chamarrita* is mainly a vocal genre with guitar accompaniment. The content of the texts, Portuguese in Brazil and a Spanish-Portuguese dialect on the Uruguay-Brazil border and Spanish in the rest of Uruguay and Argentina, has frequently a comedic or satirical character, but it also includes romantic and *costumbrista* elements descriptive of local themes and landscapes.

Especially in the south of Brazil the genre is present nowadays in the repertoire of music groups whose performances are directed at the festivals of *música gauchesca/nativista*, and recordings made for these events. The *viola* (a type of guitar with 10 strings, less used nowadays in the southern region of the country, and more common in the north-east), known as the most traditional instrument in *chimarrita*'s accompaniment and other *fandango* dances, is often substituted in these new contexts for the common instrumentation of these groups, which includes accordion, acoustic and/or electric guitar, bass, drums and keyboards. Rhythmical variations on the accompaniment described by Lucas (1990) are not uncommon, with a tendency to use dotted rhythmic figures in the bass lines.

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HÉCTOR LUÍS GOYENA (TRANSLATED BY ZUZANA PICK)
AND LUÍS FERNANDO HERING COELHO

Chamego/Xamego

Chamego, also spelled *xamego* (both pronounced in the same way), is closely associated with the accordionist from the north-east of Brazil, Luiz Gonzaga, who introduced the music to Rio de Janeiro, then Brazil's capital city, in 1941. It may be considered a 'satellite' genre of *baião*, a major genre from the same part of the country (Tapajós 1995, 4). The instrumental accordion piece 'Vira e mexe' (Turn and Shake, 1941), described on the 1941 recording as 'chamego,' opened the musical world of Rio de Janeiro to Gonzaga, a skilled accordionist who had a mastery of many popular repertoires of the day.

The *Novo Dicionário Eletrônico Aurélio* provides several definitions of the word '*chamego*' – which is derived from the word '*chama*,' meaning flame – including excitation for libidinous acts, close friendship, intense passion, courtship, excitation, any act that reveals haste or precipitation and (in the state of Maranhão) attraction, seduction. When lyrics (by Miguel Lima) were added to 'Vira e mexe' in the 1944 version, the lexicographical meaning became more focused, signifying a high level of sensuality and libido. In this version, described on the record as a *samba* song and featuring the voice of Carmen Costa, the instrumental accompaniment was under the charge of a Conjunto Regional (Regional Group) – as the chamber groups of popular music in the south-east were then called – in a manner typical of the *choro* ensemble, consisting mainly of a nylon-string guitar, ukulele, mandolin and tambourine. Into this group Gonzaga inserted his accordion as the solo instrument.

The invention of *chamego* is a good example of Luiz Gonzaga's bold approach to maintaining his leadership with the media and the listening public. According to Dreyfus (1996, 89) Gonzaga 'would manage to impose a repertoire ..., and as if that weren't enough, he would even invent a new musical genre without paying much attention to recording companies' (author's translation). In Dreyfus's view, '*chamego/ xamego* never existed and, even today, it is not registered anywhere, not even in popular memory. In fact, 'Vira e mexe' was a *chorinho*-style song' (ibid.). As choro/ *chorinho* and *baiao* are closely related, because of the resemblance of *baiao*'s rhythmic-melodic design to that of *chorinho*, *chamego/xamego* could be considered as a variation of *baião.*

Nevertheless, *chamego/xamego* did establish a representative recorded repertoire not only under its own name but also as *samba-chamego, choro, choro-chamego* and even *catimbó* (a type of African ritual). This was a consequence of the reciprocal influence that occurred between the musical repertories that were in vogue at the nightclubs of Rio de Janeiro and those coming from the Brazilian North-east, a process in which different modalities of genres and musical styles were mingled, with no clear-cut boundaries between them.

In the early twenty-first century *chamego/xamego* is essentially a music for dancing, especially in the north-east of Brazil. It is present in the repertoire of *forró* bands, where it is given spicy, *double entendre*-laden lyrics, and its performance is marked by contagious rhythmic patterns that insinuate great intimacy among dance partners.

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ELBA BRAGA RAMALHO

Champeta

In the context of Afro-Colombian Spanish, the word 'champeta' literally means a long and wide knife, the kind often used in violent incidents among hoodlums frequenting a seaport district. Within a certain social context – Caribbean Colombia's upper and middle-class sectors – the word also designates something coarse, cheap or unpolished, lacking prestige or social currency, usually associated with Afro-Colombian segments of the population. Correspondingly, the term *champetudo* or *champetúo* describes individuals associated with this aesthetics or the corresponding musical context. In the Colombian music scene, *champeta* is a musical genre born in the slums of the northern port city of Cartagena de Indias that began to gain visibility during the early 1980s. Also known as 'terapia criolla' (literally, Creole therapy, given its 'soothing,' 'curative' quality), it is a synthesized sound blending rap, raggamuffin and a series of African beats such as Congolese *soukous*, South African *mbaqanga*, Cameroonian *makossa*, Nigerian *juju* and Ghanaian highlife. Most of this music arrived in Cartagena as a result of trade with distant seaports throughout the Caribbean and the west coast of Africa, empowering musical fusion and experimentation. While sailors brought these musical genres along from their journeys, Afro-Colombian working-class DJs did most of the mixing, popularizing the music as an autochthonous cultural expression.

Initially, *champeta* developed as a very marginal cultural practice, outside of the mainstream of Colombian music. The music was played using *picós* (Spanish for pickups), huge sound systems favored for dances in the working-class neighborhoods of Colombia's Caribbean ports such as Barranquilla, Cartagena and Santa Marta. Along the way, it integrated additional influences: in particular, music from Haiti and Trinidad, such as *konpa* or soca. *Champeta* lyrics are strongly influenced by native dialects of Afro-Colombian Spanish and archaic forms of Bantu from communities such as San Basilio de Palenque, a former settlement of slaves near Cartagena. In musical terms, some of its trademark features are a throbbing bass and a penchant for electric guitar and percussion solos; in fact, *champeta* sounds more like Trinidadian soca or calypso than any other Colombian genre, given its steady, cheerful beat. Throughout the 1980s the audience for *champeta* grew, helped by its strong presence and participation in Cartagena's Festivales de Música del Caribe (Festivals of Caribbean Music). To begin with, most *champeta* recordings were produced and distributed by small independent labels. In 1998 Palenque Records, an independent label started by Lucas Silva to popularize this music, released *Champeta criolla Vol. 1*, the first *champeta* record released outside the Caribbean. After the turn of the century, given general interest in the genre, several *champetúos* (the name for *champeta* performers) signed contracts with major national and international labels. Some of its main bands are Son Palenque (led by Justo Valdez), Anne Swing (led by Viviano Torres) and Kussima (led by Hernando Hernández). An exclusively male cast of performers includes Cándido Pérez, Elio 'Boom' Corrales, Álvaro 'El Bárbaro' Almario, Melchor 'El Cruel' Pérez, Sayayín, 'El Afinaíto' and Mr Black.

As a result of its fiercely working-class, Afro-Colombian origin, *champeta* has suffered since its early days from an association on the part of the upper and middle classes with what they consider an illicit lifestyle. Backlash against the genre, supported to a substantial degree by various public institutions, has been race- and class-oriented. In 1999 the mayor of Malambo, a small town near Barranquilla, prohibited *champeta* during carnival festivities, arguing that the music transmitted 'subliminal messages to consumers and dancers, transforming them into violent and aggressive persons' (*El Tiempo*). Soon afterward, voices from Bogotá, such as Enrique Santos, owner and columnist of *El Tiempo*, Colombia's main national newspaper, emerged in support of this measure, claiming to defend more traditional genres, such as *porro* and *cumbia*. In his newspaper columns, Santos labeled *champeta* 'mediocre and dull' and condemned it as symptomatic of cultural degradation and foreign contamination. In the same year, Cartagena's authorities began confiscating sound systems, arguing that they caused noise pollution; the measure was the first of a lengthy streak of actions against the *champeta* music scene. In 2000 Cartagena's administration outlawed the use of *picós* for four months. Simultaneously, cultural institutions and several key political figures – among them, Araceli Morales López, Colombia's Minister of Culture – came out in defense of the genre. Unlike the local technocrats, Morales López, a native of Cartagena, and her fellow supporters of *champeta* incarnated a more enlightened, festive attitude toward the cultural production of marginal Afro-Colombian musicians. The first massive concert exclusively dedicated to *champeta* was held at Cartagena's Plaza de la Aduana, with 20,000 participants. In 2001, when *champeta* began to gain international renown, thanks to its distribution in the United Kingdom and Europe, more equipment was confiscated and authorities implemented the so-called Plan Picó, seeking to tone down popular festivities during the month of November. In the same year the first *champeta* video was broadcast on Latin American music networks, and commercial demand from Mexico, Venezuela and the United States became evident. Meanwhile, local authorities mandated the rationing of *champeta*: at dance halls, *champeta* was forcibly played alongside other genres such as *merengue* or *vallenato*, in the hope of moderating its popularity. By 2002, just as the music sparked wider interest in Europe, national demand for *champeta* declined. As a result of a generally hostile environment and widespread stigmatization, radio airplay diminished and, despite releasing new compilations, record labels such as Codiscos and Sony Music began treating *champeta* as a passing trend; some even claimed its demise. Nevertheless, *champeta* producers introduced artistic contests, seeking new talent and a generational renovation. Although at the national level interest in *champeta* decreased, within Cartagena's local context – and various urban neighborhoods of Colombia's Caribbean coast – *champeta* has continued to embody a thriving, lively cultural scene, nourished by its European following. Overall, the experience of *champeta* exemplifies the impact of repressive measures and narrowly conceived cultural policies over an impoverished segment of the Colombian population.

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Filmography

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HÉCTOR FERNÁNDEZ L'HOESTE

Chanchada

Chanchada is a genre of musical film comedy that was very popular in Brazil between the late 1940s and the 1980s. Up to about 1960 it was a very important Brazilian film genre, being seen by all sectors of society. It also formed the basis of a cinema industry in the country, providing the *Atlântida*, the biggest Brazilian movie studio in the 1940s and 1950s, with its principal product. Around 1960, with the emergence of *cinema novo* (New Cinema) – a movement for the renewal of Brazilian cinema, influenced by the European avant-garde – and with the rise of TV, the *chanchada* lost its place as an entertainment for all areas of society. Thereafter, it became associated with the poorest sectors and was viewed with consequent prejudice by others.

The structure of *chanchada* echoed older forms of entertainment, such as minstrel shows, vaudeville and revue, which had been popular in Brazil since the nineteenth century. During its 40-year history, one of the main characteristics of *chanchada* was its simple narrative, which was developed chiefly in burlesque comedies. In the popular usage, the term has the connotation of a poor thing or something in bad taste. The characters were caricatures: the unfaithful wife, the good husband she has betrayed, the unscrupulous lover, the humble redneck, among others. It was common to parody US movies: for example, Cecil B. Mille's *Samson and Delilah* (1949) became *Nem Sansão, nem Dalila* (Neither Samson nor Delilah). The directors of the more important *chanchadas* included Watson Macedo, Luís Barros, Moacir Fenelon, Wallace Downey and José Carlos Burle.

The *chanchada* played an important role in Brazilian popular music history. In the late 1940s and 1950s the typical structure of a *chanchada* was a sequence of dramatic scenes and musical numbers. Many great names in Brazilian popular music performed in *chanchadas* between 1947 and 1959, among them Carmem Miranda, Luiz Gonzaga, Jackson do Pandeiro, Ataulfo Alves, Orlando Silva, Mário Reis and Linda Batista. In the 1960s, as television became more important to the way popular music was produced and consumed, the musical element of *chanchada* was reduced and *chanchadas* in effect became film comedies.

The historiography of Brazilian cinema (Ramos 1990; Paiva 1989; Augusto 1989; Tinhorão 1972) points to the movie *Este mundo é um pandeiro* (This World Is a Tambourine), produced in 1947, as the first Brazilian *chanchada*. The cast included singers Ciro Monteiro, Bob Nelson, Alvarenga and Ranchinho, Nelson Gonçalves and Emilinha Borba. This movie consecrated the form in which comedy and music were mixed.

The music in *chanchadas* reflected the different popular musical genres of the time, including *samba*, *marchinha*, *baião*, *samba-canção* and *música sertaneja*, among others. In their heyday, *chanchadas* were used to launch songs for the next Carnival.

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ALLAN DE PAULA OLIVEIRA

Changüí

Changüí is a music and dance genre primarily performed in the city of Guantánamo, Cuba and throughout the rural regions of the province such as Yateras, Manuel Tames, El Salvador and Las Cidras, among many others. To a lesser extent, the genre is also performed in the areas of Holguín and in the Santiago de Cuba province, both of which are close to Guantánamo and were once part of the greater Oriente (Eastern Cuba) province. The word *changüí* derives from the Congolese word *quisangüí*, meaning to jump or dance with joy. In contemporary usage, the word *changüí* refers to a party or social gathering where *changüí* is performed and danced to while roasted pigs, chickens, rice and beans, and rum are served. Historically, these events could last for weeks between Christmas Eve and Three Kings Day (6 January). Locals also refer to these events as *cumbancha*, *parranda*, *rompía*, *bachata* and *rumba* among other terms. The word *changüí* can also imply deception or trickery. In the past, Cuban scholars such as Olavo Alén, Danilo Orozco, Jesús Gómez Cairo and Leonardo Acosta considered *changüí* to be a variant of Cuba's national genre, the *son*, but this view has been modified due to the genre's many specific performance, choreography, composition and organological expectations that are unique identifying characteristics and that differentiate it from *son*.

Origins

Guantánamo, and the greater region of Oriente (Eastern Cuba), were the site of mass migration from throughout the Caribbean beginning with the Haitian revolution in the eighteenth century. In addition, the region saw extensive migration from the English Caribbean with a constant back and forth flow beginning in 1902 that coincided with the construction of the US Naval Base and the expansion of the sugar industry and the need for more laborers after the end of slavery. Hence *changüí* and its related genres reflect Afro-Haitian and English-Caribbean musical influences. Several families have been active culture bearers in the *changüí* scene and their heritage reflects the aforementioned history. Important musicians are from the families Latamblé, Odio, Speck, Jay, Creagh, Durand and others.

The earliest written references to the genre occur in colonial accounts from the mid-nineteenth century. One account from the Ten Years War (1868–78) indicates that a rebel commander, Policarpo Pineda, was caught and taken prisoner while dancing to *changüí.*

Musical, Dance and Lyrical Characteristics

In current practice, *changüí* is performed with the Cuban *tres* (a guitar-like traditional instrument tuned gG-cc-Ee or up a whole step, aA-dd-F#f#), the *marímbula* (a large lamellophone of Bantu origin), a metal scraper called a *guayo*, a pair of *maracas* and the *bongó de monte* (country *bongó*) that is deeper in pitch than a *bongó* with metal tuning lugs due to its construction and the manner in which the skins are tacked onto the resonating chambers. The musicians playing the *guayo*, *bongó* and *tres* also serve as the vocal chorus; the lead vocal part can be sung by any of these three with the chorus rendered by the remaining two musicians. In current practice, ensembles have added more vocalists. In the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, prior to the adoption of the *marímbula*, blowing into a clay jug provided bass tones. Also at this time, a single-headed *bokú* drum was used rather than the *bongó de monte*, and the lead vocalist was almost always the *tresero* (tres player).

Certain stylistic characteristics are typical of the form and playing approach that is identified with *changüí*. A *changüí* song traditionally begins with the *llamada de montuno* played by the *tres* followed by the collective entrance and the main body of the song. Then, the lead vocalist improvises every other *montuno* (refrain) with choral response. This is followed by a *tres* solo and a return to the vocal improvisation and choral refrain. The ensemble ends with a long decrescendo. Extended vocal improvisations may occur at any point. During the musical climax of the piece, the *bongosero* sometimes increases his or her activity during the *tres* solo. Finally, in modern practice, the ensemble may end the piece with a complicated rhythmic and vocal ending called *cierre*.

An overview of the roles of specific musical instruments in the performance of *changüi* provides insight regarding the complex layering of syncopated rhythmic patterns that characterizes this genre and separates it from other Cuban styles such as the *son*. The music is highly syncopated and both the musicians and dancers accentuate upbeats in their parts. The five-stroke two-measure pattern called *clave* – the rhythmic basis for all phrasing in *rumba*, *son* and related genres of Cuban music – is strikingly absent as an organizing principle in *changüi.*

The *tres* begins each piece with the two cycles of the *llamada al montuno* (the melody of the choral refrain without the lyrics) before the rest of ensemble enters. Almost every note that the *tres* plays is an upbeat. The *tres* plays arpeggios known as *pasos de calle* between each new line of a melody. The *bongocero* always enters with a five-stroke roll and then improvises throughout the performance, only returning to a steady pattern between improvised musical ideas. During the *tres* solo, the *bongocero* plays a steady pattern with a *bramido* (glissando or rubbing the finger across the drum head) on beat 4. In current practice, the *tres* player and b*ongocero* improvise simultaneously in a type of musical duel. The *guayo* and *maracas* play the downbeat of beats 1 and 3, but the consecutive eighth notes on beats 2 and 4 render a triplet feel to the music. Immediately before the *bongocero* executes the five-stroke roll, the *guayo* or *maracas* player shouts to alert the ensemble of the impending entry. The *marímbula* mostly executes a steady pattern that accents beats 2, 4 and the second eighth note of beat 4, while slapping the face of the instrument to add rhythmic counterpoint on beats 1 and 3. However, the *marímbula* also improvises with triplet figures and even converses musically with the *bongocero*. Traditionally, the vocal line follows the *tres* part note for note in unison, but in current practice Grupo Changüí de Guantánamo and other groups harmonize voices with each other and with the *tre*s. In addition to the obligatory vocal improvisations between each cycle of the choral refrain, vocalists often sing extended improvisations called *reginas* that are based on either *coplas* (ABBA) or *décimas* (ABBAACCDDC). Extended improvisations between vocalists are called *controversias.*

When couples dance to *changüí* music, they typically step with the *marímbula* following the pattern left-right-left, right-left-right. Usually, dancers shift their weight without allowing their feet to leave the ground, but this is not always the case in rural styles and variants. All turns are executed below the shoulders and in many ways the steps are similar to those observed in the *mason* of the *tumba francesa*. *Bongocero*s mark the steps of the dancers with drum hits or vice versa.

Changüí song lyrics often recount the events at parties where legendary musicians battled one another. Some songs address the genre itself, its peculiarities and demands, while others memorialize musicians through *homenajes* (homages), local historical events, romantic entreaties and, on rare occasions, politics.

Diffusion

As a result of the expansion of the sugar industry after 1898, roughly 500,000 Haitians and large numbers of Jamaicans and other West Indians came to Cuba. Many also worked on the US Naval Base in Guantánamo starting in 1902. Since the work was seasonal, many returned home to their islands either when forcibly repatriated or of their own volition. The instruments used in *changüí* were given new contexts in Haiti and Jamaica and thus contributed to the development of *twoubadou* and *mento*. In the Palenque region of Colombia, the presence of Cuban Orientales in the local sugar industry has been well documented as having contributed to the development of local Colombian *sextetos*.

Elio Revé Matos and Lilí Martínez Griñan are the two individual musicians who had the greatest international impact on the diffusion of *changüí* throughout the world. Lilí Martínez Griñan was a pianist, composer and arranger who incorporated *changüí* and *nengón tres* parts into his playing and composing. Some of his best-known songs discuss local musicians and specific places in the Guantánamo region. Beginning in the 1930s, before joining Arsenio Rodríguez in Havana, Martínez performed regularly on the radio station CMKS with his group Los Champions. Rodríguez used Martínez's compositions and arrangements, and performed and recorded throughout the Americas. Once Rodríguez left for the United States, Felix Chappottin continued to use Martínez and his music in his international appearances and recordings, as did Estrellas de Chocolate and other important national groups.

Elio Revé left Guantánamo in 1955 and began his Havana-based group in 1956. He adapted the characteristic patterns of the *changüí bongó de monte* to the *paila* (Creole timpani or *timbales*) and sang about Guantánamo in numerous hits of the 1950s and 1960s. His success was largely due to the combination of a constant influx of new musical talent into the lineup of his band and the group's reputation for playing great dance music. Proud of his Guantánamo roots, Revé continued to record and produce hits, even covering classic pieces from the traditional *changüí* repertoire such as 'Fiesta en Cecilia.' His untimely death in 1997 brought the band under the direction of his son Elito, who has continued to make the band one of the most popular in the island and abroad. Recent recordings and videos have featured collaborations with Estrellas Campesinas and other traditional *changüí* groups. At the bi-annual national *changüí* festival, Orquesta Revé performs in La Loma Del Chivo, an important historic neighborhood for *changüiseros*.

Founded in 1945, Grupo Changüí de Guantanamo is the principal standard-bearing performing group for the genre. They continue to perform nationally and throughout the world and they have released numerous recordings. Estrellas Campesinas is another important group that often represents the more rustic style of *changüí* from the mountains of Yateras. Juan Formell and Los Van Van recorded the best-known *changüí*, 'El Guararey de la Pastora' [Pastora's Grudge], written by the *changüí* composer Roberto Bauta Segarra, bringing the song to dancers around the world since the 1970s.

Cuban rap group Madera Limpia has incorporated *changüí* into their vision of hip-hop. Musical groups beyond Cuba such as Jane Bunnet, Sonido Isleño, Ray Barretto, Poncho Sanchez and others continue to record *changüí*.

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BENJAMIN LAPIDUS

Charanga

Charanga refers to both a Cuban dance music ensemble and the music performed by this ensemble, though given the general promiscuity with which early twenty-first-century *charanga* ensembles embrace a wide variety of dance genres, the latter designation is generally far too broad to be informative (see Murphy 1991, 125). The original *charanga* ensemble configuration – the *charanga francesa* – appeared at the end of the nineteenth century and typically consisted of the five-holed wooden flute, violin(s), piano, contrabass, timbales and güiro. Contemporary ensembles (such as Ritmo Oriental) augment this instrumentation, adding voices, *tumbadoras* (congas), cowbell and at times viola or violoncello, features of the ensemble that began to take hold after the 1920s. The changing instrumental configuration of the *charanga* over the years is inextricably connected to the formal and stylistic shifts in the dance genres performed by the ensemble.

The *Orquesta Típica*

Although the violins and flute remain emblematic of the *charanga* ensemble, scholarship on its origins points to the nineteenth-century Cuban *orquesta típica*, in which neither instrument could be said to appear with any consistency. The nineteenth-century Cuban *orquesta típica* was primarily comprised of the clarinet, cornet, trombone, baritone horn, contrabass, *güiro* and timpani, the latter gradually replaced by the *paila* (timbales). Though some ensembles, such as Los Hermanos Barani of Matanzas, performed with an ensemble of as many as twenty-two members (León 1974, 246), the *orquesta típica* was essentially a streamlined wind ensemble (Orovio 2004) of between seven and ten players, well suited to performing in the salon settings of nineteenth-century Cuba.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the baritone horn (*bombardín*), a valved instrument, was not likely included in the ensemble, or was preceded by one of its 'keyed' relatives. Though the earliest appearance of the valved baritone horn in Europe remains an issue of historical contention, Adolph Sax's patent appeared in 1843, suggesting that the baritone was, at least for Cuban ensembles, more likely a phenomenon of the second half of the nineteenth century. Though unrelated to the baritone, it is plausible that in some cases the ophicleide (*figle*) was used (and had some lasting appeal, appearing alongside the baritone in the later *típica* orchestras such as those of Miguel Failde, Enrique Peña and La Flor de Cuba). In addition to the ophicleide, other instruments were at times added to the orchestra, a pair of violins and/or a second clarinet being the more frequent choices.

The *contradanza*, the preeminent dance music of early nineteenth-century Cuba, soon evolved into the internationally influential *danza* (*habanera*) (Gadles 1988, 37), and then the *danzón*. Crucial to this development was a performance practice within the orchestra that was associated with the rhythmic sensibilities of Afro-cuban musicians, which is not surprising since musicians of African descent were most often employed in these ensembles (Carpentier 1988, 128). The inherent syncopation of the *cinquillo* rhythm (2:1:2:1:2; m. 1 of Example 1 below) and the isorhythm of the *baqueteo* on the timbales (Example 1) – which extends the *cinquillo* by a second measure and subsumes the Cuban *son clave* rhythm (Example 2 below) – were gradually brought to the fore in the compositions and performance practice of nineteenth-century Cuba, reaching an apex in the *danzón*.

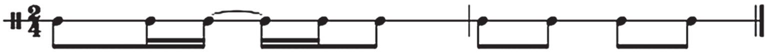
Odilio Urfé (1984, 179) has suggested that the *cinquillo* is a direct vestige of the *tumba francesa* of Cuba's Afro-Haitian communities. However, given the independent and overwhelmingly ubiquitous presence of this rhythm throughout other Afro-Cuban musical traditions and the larger circum-Caribbean region, the idea that the diffusion of this rhythm came from a single sociocultural source is rather facile, in spite of its obvious presence in the Haitian-Cuban repertoires. Though these rhythmic cells are also evident in the melodies of the *danzón* repertoire, it was their percussive delivery on the *güiro* and the *timbales* – by late century having replaced the timpani – that injected an undeniable Cuban sensibility into the century-long musical trajectory of the *contradanza* and ensured the *güiro* and *timbales* a continued presence within the *charanga francesa*, despite the instrumental changes that were to displace the *orquesta típica*.

The *Danzón* and the *Charanga Francesa*

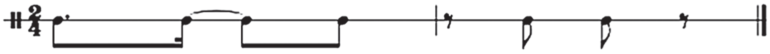
It was not until the end of the nineteenth century and two decades after Miguel Failde's 'Las Alturas de Simpson' (1879) – circumspectly accepted as the first *danzón* – that the *charanga francesa* began to take hold as the ensemble of choice for the popular dance genre. The adjective 'francesa' is a twofold reference. It links the ensemble to the French *contredanse* and to the distinct French cultural heritage in the eastern regions of Cuba, where such dance forms were maintained among the Haitian-Cuban population. The initial waves of Haitian immigrants to Cuba during the Haitian Revolution (1791–1804) were predominantly French colonists and creoles settling in the eastern region of Cuba to re-establish their sugar-growing plantations. With them came the French *contredanse*, and in fact, many of its dance formations, where lines of men and women are set up in opposing fashion, appear in modified forms within secular dances such as the *mason* that were established in Cuba by Afro-Haitian immigrants (Gadles 1988, 13–35; Witmer 1995).

The *danzón* brought about an end to the gendered line formations of the earlier Cuban *contradanza* in favor of a couple dance, which was in turn accompanied by changes to the musical form. The repeated binary form (AA^1-BB^1) of the earlier styles was extended with additional musical materials that were introduced in a different multistrain form, in this case a repeated rondo form (AA^1-BB^1-AA^2-CC^1 etc.). It would, however, be misleading to ignore the fact that many musical changes in nineteenth-century Cuba, instead of being initiated by strictly musical concerns, were in response to innovations in dance repertoires or changes in the musical tastes of the public, such as paying tips to band leaders to extend the musical forms for more dance time (León 1974, 256).

By the close of the nineteenth century the *charanga francesa* was on its way to becoming the preferred ensemble of the *danzón*, Cuba's *de facto* national dance of the period. The wind bands carried on well into the twentieth century, and though many of these ensembles, like that of *danzón* composer José Urfé (1879–1957), introduced changes to the *danzón* (especially the *montuno* section borrowed from *son*), the *orquesta típica*'s days were numbered. In no small part due to the increasing social stratification of Cuban society over the course of the nineteenth century (León 1974, 235), the *charanga* gained in popularity among the middle and upper classes both for the gentrified regard it brought to the social setting and its more genteel sound, which foregrounded the wooden flute,



Example 1: The accented notes of the *baqueteo* rhythm



Example 2: The *clave*

violin(s) and piano. The more decorous sounds of this new *danzón* orchestra became a musical ideal for an emerging elite in the new Cuban Republic, shored up by composers such as Antonio María Romeu, who favored both the *charanga* orchestra and anticolonial themes in his titles. Paradoxically, the *charanga* exuded a more 'European' performance practice just as Cuba sought to shed its Spanish colonial mantle.

The *charanga* also became the perfect foil for the social discord that would soon arise in response to the immensely popular *son*. The more African-sounding *son* figuratively burst in on the waves of Cuban radio after 1921. For some members of Cuba's elite, the *son* was seen as a marker of not only musical, but social, miscegenation and was to be rejected in favor of the more European-sounding, European-looking *charanga* '*francesa*,' in spite of the very mixed cultural heritage of its musical mainstay, the *danzón*. Ironically, this fear of miscegenation was intimately linked to the pervasive fear among Cuba's nineteenth-century elite that they too could 'fall victim' to a 'black' revolution akin to what had occurred in Haiti in 1804, and yet, the Haitian musical and cultural presence in Cuba was called into service in gentrifying the 'French' *charanga*.

The *Charanga* in the Age of *Son*

Since the 1920s the *son* has never really left the forefront of Cuban dance music, even constituting the musical base of nearly every contemporary *charanga* (Murphy 1991). Nonetheless, crucial stylistic innovations in Cuban and Cuban-derived musics continued to appear throughout the twentieth century, instigated by some of the finest and most creative proponents of the *charanga* tradition. Aniceto Díaz, with his composition 'Rompiendo la rutina' (Breaking the Routine 1929), achieved a minor renaissance of the *charanga* in the face of the rising popularity of *son*. The composition was the first *danzonete*, and it formalized a final vocal section that was added to the *danzón* – including an *estribillo* (*montuno*) borrowed from the *son* – which was followed by a short coda. Up until the *danzonete*, the introduction of a final vocal section to the form had only been an incidental feature of the *danzón*, part of what León refers to as the genre's 'decadent course' (1974, 264), and one that had been more popular in published sheet music of *danzones* written for the piano. The Díaz composition was the first instance in which the *charanga* ensemble instituted a vocal dance genre as part of its repertoire, and 2–3 voices were eventually added to the standard *charanga* instrumentation of many ensembles, a feature that is commonplace at the beginning of the twenty-first century. This final sung section of the *danzonete* drew attention to a lead singer, as opposed to instrumental soloists, and often featured an *accelerando* to introduce the *estribillo*, alluding to the more rapid *guaracha*.

Undoubtedly, one of the most significant *charangas* of Cuba's radio heyday was the ensemble of flautist Antonio Arcaño (1911–94). Founded in 1937, the 'Maravillas,' the name of Arcaño's ensemble, gained its fame as a radio orchestra, boasting one of the largest string sections of any *charanga*, including viola and cellos. Their 1938 performance of 'Mambo,' a *danzón* composition by cellist-pianist Orestes López (brother of bassist Israel 'Cachao' López), sparked the *mambo* dance genre (see Waxer 1994), the success of which was driven by the introduction of the *tumbadoras* and the cowbell (mounted on the timbales) into the *charanga* ensemble. Like the *danzonete*, the López composition was an extended form of the *danzón*, only this time with the adjoined 'mambo.' According to Arcaño, due to the limited recording time of the 78-rpm records (2m 45s), the tune was not recorded until 1951 (Salazar 2001).

Though the *charangas* were initially rejuvenated by the new genre, the *mambo* soon took on a life of its own, distinct from the *danzón* and dominated both in Cuba and on the international scene (particularly Mexico and the United States) by the popular big bands of the 1940s and 1950s. Yet, in spite of the common link between *mambo* and the big bands in the public imagination, Arcaño's orchestra continues to be remembered as one of the finest *charangas* of all time (Salazar 2001), particularly for Arcaño's own virtuosity and members such as the López brothers, Felix Reina (1921–98) and José Fajardo (1919–91), who later came to replace the ailing leader as flautist.

The 1950s saw the introduction of another *charanga*-based dance genre, the *chachachá*. Stylistically a clear progeny of the *danzón*, the genesis of the *chachachá* is often exclusively attributed to violinist Enrique Jorrín (b. 1926), an alumnus of Arcaño's orchestra, who started the dance craze with his composition 'La engañadora' (The Beguiling Woman 1951). Though his work with the *charanga* Orquesta América in the 1950s helped popularize the genre, the formal space allotted to the flute improvisations and its more relaxed tempi made the *chachachá* an ideal vehicle for many of Cuba's flute virtuosos of the 1950s. Not least among these were José Fajardo (y sus Estrellas) and Richard Egües (1926–2006) of Orquesta Aragón, which became one of the leading proponents of the new genre under the musical direction of violinist Rafael Lay, Sr.

Though the post-revolutionary period in Cuba has been marked by a rather diminished flow of musical interchange with the United States, the *pachanga* seemed to be the last musical style to really straddle both sides of this fissure. First composed by Eduardo Davidson (1929–94) and arranged by Richard Egües in 1959, 'La pachanga' was an instant hit in Cuba for the Orquesta Sublime under the direction of flautist Melquiades Fundora. Interestingly, the musicians themselves introduced the new dance steps while performing on stage – a novelty at the time for a *charanga* ensemble that subsequently became commonplace in *charanga* performances.

José Fajardo also covered Davidson's 'La pachanga' with Panart in 1961, and then again with Columbia (ES-1769) the following year. (Fajardo resided in the United States after 1961.) The *pachanga* had, however, reached New York's South Bronx before Fajardo. By 1961 pianist Charlie Palmieri had already formed his *charanga* 'La Duboney,' which featured flautist Johnny Pacheco (co-founder of Fania Records). La Duboney successfully entered the New York scene as a novel ensemble (vis-à-vis the Latin big bands of 1950s New York) and with a newly minted *pachanga* LP (Alegre 1961). The *pachanga* has often been written out of the *charanga* musical lineage (see León 1974), likely due to the rather short-lived nature of the dance fad and the eroded link between the *pachanga* and the *charanga* ensemble: 'pachanga' was quickly inserted into the song titles performed by various other ensemble types so as to eclipse the original connection to the *charanga*.

Conclusion

The twenty-first-century *charanga* can be both hard to define as an ensemble type and even more difficult to assess in terms of a shared musical language. Certainly traditional *charanga* ensemble types – foregrounding the flute soloist and string sections – are heard both in Cuba (Orquesta Aragón, Ritmo Oriental) and in North America (Hansel y Raúl, Orquesta Broadway, Jesús Alejandro 'El Niño'); however, they generally perform an eclectic variety of Cuban dance musics mostly driven by *chachachá* and *son*-influenced compositions, and performed in a more traditional or *típico* (typical) style (Murphy 1991). In addition to these contemporary *charanga* ensembles, however, are groups with a more idiosyncratic instrumentation such as Los Van Van which includes the percussion instruments of *son* (maracas, *bongó*), drumset, keyboards and a horn section.

As dance ensembles expand their instrumentation and musical offerings, it is perhaps timely to reconsider what defines the *charanga* at the beginning of the twenty-first century. For example, the name La Charanga Habanera would seem to indicate a clear musical intention, yet this Cuban ensemble, as reconceived under the direction of David Calzado (formerly with Ritmo Oriental) after 1997, is anything but a *charanga* in its repertoire or instrumentation. And, Los Van Van, with its violin *and* trombone sections, has clearly distinguished itself outside the traditional dance genres associated with the *charanga*, being one of the major proponents of *son*, *songo* and *timba* since 1969. Though it would be contentious, for example, to propose that Los Van Van is a *charanga*, it is fair to say that the *charanga* legacy, which director Juan Formell received during his early years with Orquesta Reve, is not entirely lost within its corpus of recordings. It is what musicologist Argeliers León referred to as a 'type of potpourri' (1974, 275) that has made the *charanga*'s musical lineage rather untidy in post-revolutionary Cuba, supporting the notion that 'nothing hybridizes more readily than dance music' (Van der Merwe 2004, 232). Perhaps it is an inevitable result of repeatedly adapting the *charanga* in order to assimilate the many styles derived from the popular Cuban *son*, which continue to divert audience attention away from the tradition of mid-twentieth-century dance genres – *mambo*, *chachachá*, *pachanga* – that somewhat defined the *charanga*. In the end, this flexibility may in fact be the most 'stable' feature of the *charanga* both as an ensemble type and as a musical style.

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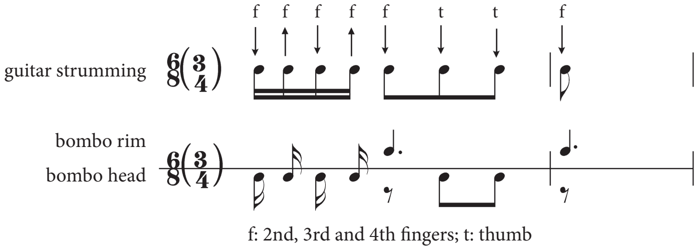
MICHAEL MARCUZZI

Chaya/Vidala Chayera

Chaya or *vidala chayera* is a song form considered typical of La Rioja province in the Andean north-west of Argentina, where it is one of the main attractions of the annual *Fiesta de la chaya* during Mardi Gras (*Carnaval*) week in the capital city of La Rioja, as well as featuring in similar celebrations in other cities and towns. The *Fiesta de la chaya* is of pre-Columbian origin and involves thousands of people dancing, singing and throwing water, flour and basil at each other (in Quechua, '*ch'allay*' means to splash with liquor, as an offering to Mother Earth). It includes traditional rural singers, amateur and professional *folclore* performers, as well as other, more modern, popular dances.

The *vidala chayera* is one among many different traditional genres performed at these celebrations, but is the one that has gained widest currency in the media and spurred new compositions in urban, media-transmitted *folclore*. La Rioja-born composers and performers, such as Chito Zeballos and Ramón Navarro (father and son), have especially favored the genre, but perhaps the most popular exemplar is 'Vidala de la copla,' by the Córdoba-based 'Chango' Rodríguez. Most soloists and ensembles within the *folclore* field have included a few *chayas* in their repertoires.

The lyrics vary in their constitution, but each stanza very frequently begins (and sometimes ends) with an octosyllabic line, whereas the central lines are shorter, mostly hexasyllabic. The music tends to treat these shorter lines as brief, repeated melodic cells that stress the highest notes in the register and quickly descend. The *vidala chayera*'s hemiola-marked rhythms are lively and crisp, but (so say traditionalists) should not be rushed: a metronome tempo of about 60 dotted quarter notes per minute is preferred by specialists, while performers from outside La Rioja often perform it much faster. Its accompaniment and melodic gestures are akin to the *cueca* of the neighboring Cuyo region. Professional soloists and groups tend to accompany it with guitar strumming and *bombo*, a tubular drum (see Example 1); those who practice *fusión* add to the basic complement keyboards, electric bass, etc.



Example 1: Standard accompaniment pattern for *chaya*

Topical references to *Carnaval* and its rites are frequent in the lyrics; although other *chayas* deal with wholly different subjects (love, poverty, landscape), the genre has not been found suitable to express the circumstances of modern urban life or use its language.

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LEONARDO WAISMAN

Chicha

The term *chicha* is generally applied to a style drawing upon Peruvian *huayno* music, Colombian *cumbia*, and occasionally other Caribbean or Andean idioms, performed using electric instrumentation and 'tropical' percussion. Also commonly called *cumbia andina* ('Andean cumbia'), it was a distinct cultural manifestation largely created by and for members of Lima's growing Andean migrant community, beginning in the 1960s. It achieved national prominence in the 1970s, with a second local scene developing in the highland city of Huancayo, but it has remained closely associated with the phenomenon of Andean migration to the capital. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the word 'chicha' has come to denote aspects of migrant culture more generally, though this usage is usually disparaging. *Chicha* music peaked in popularity and public profile around the middle of the 1980s, but in the early twenty-first century it still attracted a large audience, and new groups continued to appear alongside artists who established their careers decades ago. Key elements of *chicha* instrumentation and performance style have also been adopted by contemporary artists in other stylistic fields, most notably *huayno* music.

In its heyday the style was interpreted by many scholars and journalists as a symbol expressing the new social identity of Andean migrants in Lima. This interpretation rested upon its blend of rural-Andean and urban-cosmopolitan elements, and also a corpus of song lyrics describing the marginal social milieu of the migrant community. Such commentators often argued that the style's hybridity, with its ludic adaptation of local and foreign sounds, made it both a vehicle for migrant social integration and an effective example of popular cultural resistance to globalizing homogeneity. Others, especially musicians and intellectuals involved with traditional Andean music and other 'folkloric' endeavors, instead interpreted the style as a direct threat to Peruvian cultural integrity. From this point of view, *chicha* was a prime example of the way that the transnational media and the commercial marketplace had contributed to the cultural alienation of migrant youth, encouraging an aspirational identification with trendier global idioms instead of local roots.

In part because of such debates, an exact definition of *chicha* is difficult to come by. There is some disagreement about whether *chicha* and earlier, uniquely Peruvian versions of *cumbia*, should be conceptualized as distinct musics, or instead as a unified stylistic group that attained a new name in the 1970s, with the term 'chicha' being retroactively applied to these earlier *cumbia* styles. These disagreements are heavily inflected by ideological factors. Lima's non-Andean residents saw the city change drastically and rapidly under the pressures of Andean migration, especially after mid-century. The city's infrastructure was quickly overwhelmed, and a largely ostracized migrant community was forced to innovate new lives using the detritus of the established order. Rough, improvised dwellings occupying unused land, 'informal' street vendors often selling pirated merchandise, public transportation relying upon battered and outdated vehicles and other results of improvisatory survival strategies irrevocably changed the face of the city. In the public sphere, *chicha* was seized upon as an emblem of all that Lima's elites perceived as crass, lowbrow and cheap about an emergent migrant culture. For this reason, using or avoiding the term in the twenty-first century often indicates a political stance. Some musicians and commentators prefer to describe all Peruvian *cumbia*-based music as '*chicha*,' in a politically motivated desire to assert the creative validity of the Andean migrant identity associated with the term. Others prefer to reserve the label 'chicha' for certain subvariants of Peruvian *cumbia* (or '*música tropical*'), in order to separate their own music and their identities from the word's undesirable associations. Whether or not a version of Peruvian *cumbia* that draws more self-consciously on Andean traditions should reasonably be separated from earlier *cumbia*, and described as 'chicha' proper, is thus more of a sociopolitical than a musical issue.

While this entry will focus largely on Peru, it should be noted that *chicha* has been either avidly adopted or stylistically influential in some other South American countries, including Ecuador (discussed below), Bolivia and Argentina, where the style has influenced the local *cumbia villera*. Some bands from these countries, notably Bolivia's Los Ronisch and Argentina's Ráfaga, have also become popular among Peruvian *chicha* fans.

The Development of Chicha

The roots of *chicha* date to the late 1960s. Colombian *cumbia* had become popular throughout Peru in the early years of the decade, and was quickly assimilated into the repertoire of urban *música tropical* combos, as well as traditional rural ensembles. By 1963 Andean artists such as Los Pacharacos had created a local variant by performing *huayno* tunes over *cumbia* rhythms, using a Central Andean ensemble of saxophones, clarinets and harp. Close on the heels of this 'Andean' *cumbia*, a distinctive 'coastal' style emerged in Lima, associated with musician Enrique Delgado and his group Los Destellos. In a 1968 recording, Los Destellos pioneered an innovative sound that retained the melodic style, rhythmic base and other key structural elements of Colombian *cumbia*. However, electric guitars, played with a clean tone and noticeable reverb, replaced Colombian *cumbia*'s brass and winds as lead melodic instruments, performing over a foundation of bass, organ and mixed percussion. Also in the late 1960s a third variant emerged in the cities of the Amazonian region, associated with artists such as Juaneco y su Combo and Los Mirlos. This '*cumbia selvática*' ('jungle *cumbia*') was similar in most ways to the coastal version. It was differentiated mainly by references to Amazonian customs and culture in song lyrics and band members' attire, on the one hand, and by a lively, often raucous performance style, on the other.

Such music became immensely popular among second-generation migrant youths in Lima, and it continued to retain a primary identification with young consumers into the twenty-first century. Commentators have suggested that it appealed to young listeners precisely because, as an 'international' music that was not closely tied to highland roots, it offered a new symbol of identification that was less stigmatized than traditional Andean *huayno*. While artists did not initially present themselves as the creators of a distinct local genre, a terminological shift from '*cumbia*' to '*chicha*' took place over the late 1960s and early 1970s, and appeared to mark an emerging generation of Andean-influenced *cumbia* artists as different from their forebears. The term, denoting an Andean corn beer, was drawn from a 1965 record entitled 'La chichera' (The Chicha Seller) by Los Demonios del Mantaro, a group who performed in the 'Andean *cumbia*' style. By the early 1970s 'chicha' had been adopted as a colloquialism for distinctly Peruvian styles of *cumbia* in general, though in this usage the term tended to include artists whose careers and styles predated its existence. The connection between 'Andean' and earlier, coastal styles of *cumbia* was only reinforced in the early 1970s, when Los Destellos joined Los Demonios in playing *cumbia* versions of Andean tunes, in their uniquely 'coastal' instrumental format.

Perceiving the growing popularity of *chicha* music, Peru's large record companies began to record it in the 1970s, and soon smaller specialized record companies, such as the influential label Horóscopo, emerged as well. In the peripheral sectors where Lima's migrant communities tended to reside, large open-air venues called *chichódromos* conducted a booming business presenting artists for the migrant public, setting up in parking lots, circus tents and any other available space. By the early 1980s *chicha* was so prominent that many radio stations devoted to traditional Andean music had converted primarily to *chicha* broadcasting, with Radio Inca emerging as the leading channel of dissemination. Over the same period, *chicha*'s 'Andean' variant emerged as the clear front-runner in terms of popularity, and performers increasingly adapted themselves to this style. It achieved its peak with the two groups that are retrospectively recognized as *chicha*'s greatest exponents, Los Shapis del Perú and Chacalón y la Nueva Crema.

Chacalón (Lorenzo Palacios Quispe), a cosmetologist and tailor whose distinct vocal delivery was heavily influenced by the plaintive style of *huayno* music, began his singing career in 1977. Eventually nicknamed 'El faraón de la cumbia' (The Pharaoh of Cumbia), something of his popularity can be gleaned from the fact that his 1994 funeral was attended by a reported 20,000 people. His personal and musical style marked a new tendency in the development of *chicha*, with its confident assertion of a distinct and valuable migrant identity. Adorning his imposing physique in flamboyant clothing, sporting long hair and gold chains, and singing frankly about the combative resilience of migrant ingenuity, his '*migrante achorado*' ('uppity migrant') stance was fervently admired by his legions of fans. It was equally reviled by others, especially elitist commentators, who described it as 'aggressive,' and often dubiously attributed a growing link between *chicha* music, hooliganism and gang activity to the model provided by Chacalón's onstage persona.

Los Shapis, by contrast, embodied a more conciliatory thread within the *chicha* stylistic field. This group emerged initially in the Andean city of Huancayo in 1981, illustrating the extent to which *chicha* had spread beyond the immediate precincts of Lima. Initially following Los Destellos in terms of their sound, Los Shapis have recorded well over 20 LPs. They began with the explicit goal of chronicling, and singing for, Lima's poor and marginal, and became the country's most popular *chicha* group by the mid-1980s. At this time, they were able to draw crowds of over 10,000 on a regular basis, and after a performance in Lima's soccer stadium they were invited to represent Peru at a World Youth Festival in France in 1986.

By the mid-1980s *chicha* was so popular, and *chicha* artists so influential, that they were recruited for campaigns by politicians such as presidential contender Alán García, in an attempt to draw votes from Peru's working classes. At the same time, however, the decreasing cost of studio equipment, combined with the financial success of *chicha* musicians, facilitated the establishment of small independents by the artists themselves. While such studios allowed artists greater control over their recordings and their finances, they soon glutted the market with *chicha* records, even as multinational companies began aggressively to market *salsa romántica*, *balada* and other pan-Latin American styles within Peru. Entrepreneurs began to create more media-friendly *chicha* bands, putting together slicker, more 'professional' and market-friendly groups. A certain homogeneity began to take hold, as recordings were largely realized with the same set of studio players. As a result of all of these factors, the style is usually held to have lost its initial impetus, and it had declined significantly in popularity by the early 1990s. While groups have continued to work since then, stylistic change within the *chicha* scene itself has been minimal. Most artists desirous of musical innovation have moved into the related, but somewhat distinct, *tecnocumbia* market, and many left for other countries over the 1990s. Argentina, in particular, with its comparatively strong economy and a large migrant population hailing from Bolivia and Peru, attracted many *chicha* performers and impresarios, who contributed significantly to the development of the *cumbia villera* style in and around Buenos Aires.

Musical Structure and Style

In Peru, the label '*chicha*' is often casually applied to a variety of musics made with electronic instruments and targeting a working-class audience, but the style of Los Shapis and Chacalón is most widely recognized as prototypical of *chicha* per se. In overall structure, tunes are often modeled on traditional *huayno* music from the Peruvian highlands. Nearly all of the following formal properties pertain to *huayno*, and early *chicha* artists often simply set traditional *huaynos* to the unique instrumentation and rhythmic accompaniment of Peruvian *cumbia*. Such is the case, for example, with Los Shapis' 1982 hit 'El aguajal' (The Swamp), a light reworking of the huayno 'El alizal.'

Such songs are in either strophic or simple verse-chorus forms, and verses are most commonly structured, both melodically and textually, in an AABB form (or a simple variant such as AABC). Performances often end with a short, distinct section, slightly elevated in terms of tempo and rate of harmonic change, recalling the *fuga* section of *huayno* performances. Melodies are predominantly pentatonic, and usually imply an alternation between major and minor modes, with basic harmonies closely following the melody line. This modal ambivalence, a defining trait of Andean popular music more generally, is particularly evident at the termination of 'B' sections within verses, where the first iteration generally ends on the major tonic, and the second on the tonic of the relative minor. Though all songs are in a simple binary rhythm, melodies are generally highly syncopated. They are set syllabically, with very little use of melisma, and they are occasionally harmonized, especially during choruses. Finally, singing style tends toward the vocally tense and somewhat plaintive interpretation prominent among Andean mestizo performers of *huayno* music.

Though this description fits the bulk of the output of Los Shapis, and other *chicha* artists with a conspicuously 'Andean' orientation, many *chicha* songs are more obviously indebted to Afro-Cuban melodic principles, harmonic structures and singing styles. Many of the greatest hits of Chacalón y la Nueva Crema, such as 'Soy provinciano' (I'm a Migrant Kid), feature irregular verse structures, rely upon a simple alternation between tonic and dominant harmonies, use the full diatonic scale, or frequently feature call-and-response between Chacalón and his chorus.

In terms of instrumentation, *chicha* music is so dominated by the sound of two electric guitars, often augmented by the use of wah-wah effects, that this timbre has become the genre's key sonic signifier. Recordings usually feature guitar introductions and instrumental interludes between verses, ranging from short fills to long, verse-length passages: guitars also provide countermelodies, often elaborate, during sung verses and choruses. The basic instrumental texture is rounded out by electric bass, electric organ or synthesizer and percussion, generally including some combination of *timbales*, congas, cowbell and *güiro*. Synthesized sounds, at times recalling video game sound effects, and at others recalling Andean instruments such as pan flutes, appear frequently in recordings from the 1980s. Bass and percussion instruments usually play the same role in *chicha* as in Colombian *cumbia*. Bass lines emphasize the strong beats of a binary rhythmic pattern, while percussion instruments perform either the eighth-and-two-sixteenth pattern common to both *cumbia* and *huayno*, or else play simple rhythmic patterns in 2/4 time. Complex polyrhythm is virtually nonexistent, though there is occasional use of features derived from Caribbean musics, such as passages recalling *salsa montunos*.

Within Peru, *chicha* lyrics are distinctive for their prosaic and colloquial language, which contrasts starkly with both the highly figurative language of much *huayno* music and the refined expressivity of coastal *criollo* music. Commentators have often highlighted the content of *chicha* music in their efforts to argue for its social importance. Despite the fact that the vast majority of songs deal with themes of love and heartbreak, in a highly pessimistic vein (particularly in the work of Chacalón), a certain portion has also treated the problems of the migrant community. Issues of racism, marginalization and poverty are raised in songs such as Chacalón's 'Soy provinciano,' Los Shapis' 'El mundo de los pobres' (The World of the Poor) and their 'Ambulante soy' (I'm a Street Vendor). However, the attitude expressed in such songs is rarely one of outright condemnation: instead most such songs affirm the desire to overcome societal limitations through hard work and perseverance.

Finally, the style of dancing performed by *chicha* audiences has by custom been fairly subdued, consisting mostly of light shuffling of the feet. It features very little movement in the upper body and arms, in contrast to other 'tropical' styles, and no rhythmic stamping of the feet (*zapateo*), in contrast to *huayno* music. However, *chicha* artists were noteworthy for introducing a distinctive mode of spectacle into their presentations. Sporting matching costumes in garish, often fluorescent colors, which were repeated in logos and advertising, bands performed coordinated but simple moves onstage. These elements have become a key part of *chicha* stylistics.

Conclusion

Though it has seen a notable retreat from the Peruvian public sphere, *chicha* never disappeared. Moreover, it has significantly influenced both traditional *huayno* music and later *tecnocumbia* music. The style was and is widely reviled by much of Peru's bourgeoisie due to its perceived vulgarity, as well as its perceived links to violent and criminal behavior, widely understood to be endemic at performances for the country's lower classes. However, it generated significant interest among certain sectors of the intelligentsia, who saw in it a new kind of urban folklore, and a key to investigating rapid social change. As the first mass culture form tied to an emerging social group, such commentators often hailed it as embodying the creativity of the dispossessed. Peru's traditional left remained less enthusiastic, seeing in *chicha*'s ethos of hard work, and chronicling of efforts to escape poverty through labor, a fatalistic and disempowering acceptance of the capitalist status quo. In 2006 it was thrust back into the mainstream by the broadcast of a *telenovela* (soap opera) treating the life and legacy of Chacalón, who has become something of a folk saint. As of 2008 the style seems to be on the road to a nostalgic pseudo-institutionalization, perhaps reflecting the long-overdue mainstreaming of Lima's Andean migrant majority within the national imagination.

Ecuadorian *Chicha*

Although Ecuadorian and Peruvian *música chicha* share a name, they have different sounds, imageries and meanings. In Ecuador the terms '*música chicha*,' '*música chichera*' and '*música nacional bailable*' denote modern renditions of national music genres such as the *sanjuanito*, *yumbo* and the *pasacalle*. The label points to many types of music considered low-class and associated with the indigenous population. It emerged in the 1970s with the massive migrations of indigenous peasants to the city, which were caused by the effects of the 1964 Agrarian Reform. Since the 2000s *música chicha* has been refashioned with arrangements that include electronic instruments and remixed sounds. Some *chicha* songs are recycled *sanjuanitos* that were popular in the mid-twentieth century. Others are new songs with lyrics chronicling the experiences of Ecuadorian migrants, who have left the country *en masse* since the 2000s. Ecuadorian *música chicha* arrangements include synthesizers (with organ-type timbres), bass and percussion, and there are two types of performances: live bands, and solo singers who perform to the accompaniment of recorded tapes.

While *chicha* music in Lima emblematized a distinctive and modern urban identity at a distance from 'Indianness,' in Ecuador *música chicha* singers accentuate their indigenous origin. They sing in the Quichua language, and dress in outfits that point to their ethnic background such as hats, vests, ponchos and boots. The most popular Ecuadorian *música chicha* singers in the 2000s include Bayron Caicedo and Ángel Guaraca. The latter promotes nationalist feelings by hailing indigenous cultures as national cultures.

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JOSHUA TUCKER AND KETTY WONG

Chimarritta, *see* Chamarrita/Chimarrita

Choro

Choro or *chorinho* is a Brazilian instrumental musical genre that appeared in Rio de Janeiro in the early twentieth century and continues to be played a century later, retaining its main characteristics. Its continuous history has given *choro* an important role in Brazilian music, and since the 1970s there has been an impressive growth in the number of *choro* groups and musicians, especially among young musicians.

Origins and Emergence

During the second half of the nineteenth century the word *choro* had three meanings: (i) it referred to a specific musical ensemble, also called *trio de pau e corda* (wood-and-string trio), consisting of one guitar, one *cavaquinho* (a small, four-string guitar, similar to the ukulele), used together to provide the rhythmic-harmonic basis, and one instrument to play the melodies, usually a flute; (ii) it was used to denote the characteristic style which these ensembles used to play European dances, especially polka; (iii) it was used to refer to the festive family gatherings at which this music was played. These three meanings of the word characterized the formative period, before *choro* became recognized as a musical genre.

The origin of the use of the word *choro* in Brazilian music is disputed. In Portuguese, '*choro*' literally means the act of weeping, and according to Tinhorão (1974) there is a connection between this and the melancholic properties often ascribed to the main melody of *choro* as a consolidated genre and to its contrapuntal second voice, as well as of the improvised descending bass lines of the guitars, the so-called *baixaria*. Against this, Almeida (Mariz 1983) argues that *choro* derived from *xôlo*, the name given to the dancing parties of the African slaves on Brazilian farms. For Vasconcelos (1977), however, *choro* could be a simplification of the expression *charameleiros*, which refers to the members of *charamela* old bands, often formed by African slaves. In Neves's view (1977), *choro* could be taken as a corruption of the word *chorus*, meaning instrumental ensemble. The same author also mentions Mozart de Araújo, for whom the word refers to the loose and tearful way of playing adopted by the ensemble.

During the nineteenth century various popular dances originating from Europe spread throughout the Americas – dances such as *tango*, *habanera*, schottische, mazurka, waltz and polka. Some of them gradually acquired national and regional aspects, due to the blending with local cultural traits. In Brazil, the fusion of genres such as *modinha* and the Africa-derived *lundu* resulted in new genres such as *tango brasileiro* (Brazilian *tango*), *maxixe* and *polca-lundu*, each of which was later to play a part in constituting the *samba*. The polka, however, became so popular that the word was sometimes used to label almost all other dances. These dances were played basically by three instrumental formations: the military and military-like brass bands, the *pianeiros* (popular piano players) and the *choro* ensembles.

The first *choro* ensembles appeared during the early stages of the process of urbanization which took place in Brazil in the second half of the nineteenth century, when a new social class emerged, consisting of bureaucrats, laborers and foreign company workers. There was 'not much social discrimination' (Tinhorão 1998, 195; authors' translation), a situation that allowed multiethnic participation in social life. This lower-middle class, which wished to attain the conditions of the European bourgeoisie (ibid.), promoted gatherings (mainly family ones in the home) that included music performances of the aforementioned European songs and dances, which were played on the guitar and *cavaquinho*. Alongside this amateur practice, these ensembles were also hired to perform for private parties and balls.

The introduction of the flute to the *choro* ensemble is attributed to Joaquim Callado (Joaquim Antônio da Silva Callado Jr., 1848–80), a renowned flautist who was very much in demand at *choro* gatherings. In the 1870s in Rio de Janeiro Calado formed the 'Choro Carioca,' a group that is considered the very first *choro* ensemble. The composition of the first *choro* piece, 'Flor amorosa' (Loving Flower), is also attributed to him. As the *choro* flautists were usually the only musicians able to read music and frequently took the role of soloist, they felt responsible for the musical development of their partners. Many playful provocations occurred, when the soloist challenged the other instrumentalists to adapt to the rhythmic changes and modulating melodies.

The *choro* style also became an ingredient in military brass band music and in piano music. Performances of military brass bands had taken place since the early nineteenth century (Binder 2006). The bands played for official events in city squares as much as for carnival balls. Such events 'were rare opportunities for most of the Brazilian population of the larger cities to hear some kind of instrumental music' (Tinhorão 1998, 182; authors' translation). The most remarkable of these bands was the Banda do Corpo de Bombeiros do Rio de Janeiro (The Rio de Janeiro Fire Brigade Band), founded in 1896 by the composer and arranger Anacleto de Medeiros (1866–1907). Medeiros is considered a father of Brazilian musical arrangement and his musical style mixed brass band music and *choro*. His best-known works are the schottisches such as 'Três estrelinhas' (Three Starlets) and 'Iara.'

The piano was very popular among the Brazilian urban middle class throughout the nineteenth century. The pianists' repertoire did not consist only of European classical-romantic music, but of Brazilian popular dance music as well, as sheet music publishing was a very active business at that time. Consequently, there arose a new kind of pianist, the so-called *pianeiro.* This term was often used in a pejorative sense, instead of the term *pianista*, which referred to a performer of traditional European repertoire. The *pianeiros* gradually became professional by performing at parties and private balls and in theaters and music halls. Among them, two of the most important are Ernesto Nazareth (1863–1934) and Chiquinha Gonzaga (Francesca Edwiges Neves Gonzaga, 1847–1935), both considered pillars of the *choro* as a genre. Nazareth's music has fine pianistic writing, and he wished his work to be considered art music. The best-known pieces from his extensive work are 'Odeon' and 'Brejeiro,' two milestones of the early *choro*. On the other hand, Gonzaga's music tends more to dance and an informal style. His best-known works are 'Ó abre-alas,' (O Open Wings), 'Atraente' (Attractive) and 'Gaúcho (Corta-jaca).'

The Consolidation of *Choro*

During the modernization period of the early twentieth century Brazilian urban spaces were transformed and with that new forms of entertainment were developed, provided by theater, cinema, radio and the recording companies, mainly in provincial capitals but particularly in Rio de Janeiro. It was in Rio in 1902 that the Fire Brigade Band, under the baton of Anacleto de Medeiros, first recorded *choro* music for Casa Edison, the first Brazilian recording company. Among the pieces recorded there were waltzes, schottisches, polkas, Brazilian *tangos* and other genres (Cazes 1998; Franceschi 2002). At the same time, a nationalistic search for a Brazilian identity was taking place. In the 1930s this political, artistic and intellectual movement started to make a positive contribution to the merging of ethnicities, and hence to the birth of a new concept of 'Brazilness' which demanded the establishment of national symbols. In terms of music, the genre which emerged as national symbol was the *samba*. The origins of *choro* and *samba* are deeply interwoven, both having roots in a mixture of polka and other European dances with African-derived styles such as *lundu*, and both were suitable for evoking a national feeling (Vianna 1995). The consolidation of *choro* as an individual genre in the 1930s is perhaps related to a shift in the *samba* style of the time, when the old *samba-maxixe*, which dated from the mid-1800s, gave way to a more 'white' *samba* (Sandroni 2001; Piedade 2003).

Alfredo da Rocha Viana Filho, best known as Pixinguinha (1897–1973), is the most famous representative of this phase and his name is associated with the affirmation of the *choro* as a genre. Pixinguinha was a flautist, saxophonist, arranger and composer, who worked in various musical ensembles such as Os Batutas, Orquestra Victor Brasileira, Grupo da Guarda Velha, Orquestra Diabos do Céu, and made records and radio broadcasts. In 1922 he and his already famous ensemble Os Batutas traveled to Paris, where they exchanged musical ideas with jazz bands and jazz musicians of the day who were living in the city (Menezes Bastos 2005). To Pixinguinha, this episode represented a shift in many ways, for he adopted the saxophone as his main instrument and started composing in new idioms such as foxtrot, shimmy and ragtime. Two of Pixinguinha's most remarkable pieces are 'Carinhoso' (Loving, 1916–17) and 'Lamentos' (1928). His reputation grew to such an extent that he was turned into an icon of the golden era of *choro* (Bessa 2005; Cabral 1978; Menezes Bastos 2005), and his birthday (23 April) has been celebrated as the National Day of *Choro* since 2001.

The introduction of percussion in the *choro* ensembles is attributed to João Machado Guedes (*João da Bahiana*, 1887–1974), a friend of Pixinguinha. This development resulted in a new ensemble formation that was to become significant to the culture of Brazilian music, the so-called *regional*, which consists of guitar, *cavaquinho* and *pandeiro* (tambourine).

The *regional* usually played to accompany solo instruments or singers in recordings or radio broadcastings.

From the period of crystallization and the heyday of the *choro* – from the 1930s to the 1950s – some of the most significant instrumentalists and composers to mention are Jacob Pick Bittencourt (known as Jacob do Bandolim, 1918–69) and the ensemble Época de Ouro; Aníbal Augusto Sardinha (known as Garoto, 1915–55); and Waldir Azevedo (1923–80).

The Music of *Choro*

The *choro* is an instrumental music characterized by the use of a binary beat and a small rondo form in three parts (A-B-A-C-A), although the form in two parts (A-B-A) also became common from around the 1940s. Frequently there are modulations to closely related keys (change of mode in I, relative keys III or VI, IV, etc.) in the intermediate parts (B and C). Besides the typical sound of *regional*, *choro* musicality is primarily enacted through melodic characteristics, which emerge through a particular shaping of the melody by means of ornamentation and arpeggios. The essence of *choro* expresses a scherzando and nostalgic spirit, for the sound of *choro* evokes the purity and simplicity of old times. The dances that originated the genre – waltz, schottische, polka, *habanera* and others – were played by *choro* musicians in a way that offered a distinct contrast with their originals, and there were also many improvisations, usually in one of the three parts. Another essential characteristic of the *choro* is the improvisatory bass line of the seven-string guitar, a counterpoint to the melody.

Choro in the Twenty-first Century

Early twenty-first-century Brazilian musicians have much respect for *choro* performers, especially great masters such as Pixinguinha, yet some argue that *choro* has become too conservative, resulting in a kind of roots music that has been preserved from exotic influences and has not evolved. Maybe it was this stability that caused the genre to enter a long eclipse, from the 1940s until the 1970s, during which it was restricted to families and friends and few professional groups, until *choro* festivals (organized by a nationalist government effort to promote Brazilian culture) started to give a boost to its re-emergence. The art music composer Radamés Gnatalli (1906–88) also played a central role in this rekindling of *choro*. In the early 1970s he led the Camerata Carioca, a group formed by young musicians playing sophisticated arrangements that gave a new, chamber-music character to the music.

Choro is undergoing an impressive revival, mainly in the cities of Rio de Janeiro and Brasília, with a new generation of groups such as Trio Madeira Brasil, Arranca-toco, Trio Brasília Brasil, and artists such as Maurício Carrilho and Yamandú Costa, as well as specialized record labels such as *Kuarup Discos*, *Acari Records* and *Biscoito Fino.* Contemporary *choro* explores new repertoires, while attempting to maintain its traditional sound in what seems to be a rebirth of the old concept of *choro* as a way of playing.

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Chouval Bwa

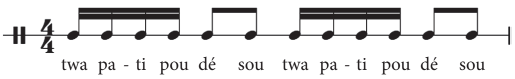
The term *chouval bwa* encompasses two musical genres: traditional and modern *chouval bwa*. '*Chouval bwa*' is Creole for 'wooden horse' (*cheval bois*) or merry-go-round. On the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe in the French Antilles, merry-go-rounds used to travel from town to town, accompanied by small bands playing a style also called *chouval bwa* or *mizik chouval bwa*. Beginning in the early 1980s a handful of Martinican musicians fashioned elements of this music into a popular dance style.

Traditional *chouval bwa*

The old-fashioned merry-go-rounds of Martinique and Guadeloupe featured hand-carved, brightly painted wooden horses. They were small, with only about a dozen seats, and were pushed by hand. This may sound like sweaty work, but in fact the apparatus was so well balanced that a few shoves kept it spinning. Inside the circle, where US audiences might expect a calliope, the proprietors and their assistants sat to play music.

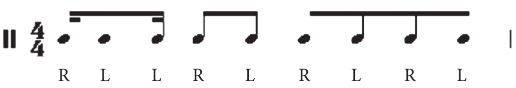
Instruments varied depending on the availability of workers and what they played. A typical ensemble might include bamboo flute, accordion or violin for the melodies, all three instruments being widespread in rural music. Percussion might include triangle; *chacha*, a metal shaker; *syak*, a three- to four-feet long bamboo rasp with ridges on both top and bottom; *tibwa*, a pair of sticks played on a short length of bamboo (not, as in Martinican *bèlè* drumming, on the side of a drum); *tanbou dé bonda*, a drum adopted from Carnival bands; and *ka* or *gwoka*, a hand drum from Guadeloupe. This list makes the bands sound large, but in fact no more than four or five instruments at a time were used.

On many songs, the *tibwa* played a distinctive timeline – known onomatopoeically as *twa pati pou dé sou* ('three turns for two sous [small coins]'):



Example 1: *Twa pati pou dé sou*

Tanbou dé bonda means 'two-cheeked drum,' referring to the cheeks of one's butt, that is, the drumheads, which the drummer 'spanks.' Played with a heavy stick in the right hand and a thin switch in the left (or vice-versa), the prototypical rhythm was:



Example 2: Tanbou dé bonda pattern

This rhythm is characteristic of carnival music throughout the Eastern Caribbean, all the way to northern Brazil, where it can be heard in *maracatu* and *samba-reggae*.

However, these were not the only rhythms played. The repertoire for *mizik chouval bwa* consisted of a wide range of local styles, mainly the complex known as *mizik kwéyol* ('Creole music'): *biguine*, *mazouk* and *valse kwéyol*. All three have their roots in eighteenth-century European couple dances, indigenized in the Antilles. *Mazouk* is adapted from French mazurka and is a quick 6/8 dance; *valse kwéyol* is, of course, waltz; and *biguine* is a local invention in 2/4 or 4/4 meter.

Mizik kwéyol is played by a wide variety of groups, from rural bands with instrumentation like that of *chouval bwa*, to urban bands featuring clarinet, saxophone, trombone, piano, bass and so forth. Songs originate among either rural or urban bands, and pass freely from one setting to the other.

As of the 1990s, only one merry-go-round was still in existence, that of Claude and Joselita Germany. The Germanys continued to travel between the two islands, setting up for a few weeks at a time in different towns, and even venturing to Louisiana for the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival. The Germanys' sole CD adds electric bass, synthesizer and drum set to the band, and the repertoire is a typical mix of *mizik kwéyol* songs.

Modern *Chouval Bwa*

By the 1970s the *mizik kwéyol* repertoire had fallen out of fashion, and imported styles such as Haitian *konpa direk* and Dominican *kadans* dominated Guadeloupean and Martinican popular music. Local musicians struggled to find a distinctively Antillean sound. One response arose out of the grassroots artistic movement known as the *retour aux sources* ('return to sources'). Partly inspired by Martinican poet and philosopher of *négritude* Aimé Césaire, at the time mayor of the capital, Fort-de-France, and a deputy to France's National Assembly, musicians, playwrights, dancers and visual artists of all sorts turned to a celebration of African and diasporic culture. On Guadeloupe, musicians began revitalizing the local *gwoka* drumming tradition. In Martinique, musicians continued to ignore the local drumming traditions, but founded several percussion-based groups featuring *gwoka*, congas (from Cuba) and *djembe* (from West Africa), as well as bamboo flute. A key group of this type was Pakatak, led by the Martinican drummer/singer/flautist Dédé Saint-Prix (b. 1953).

When Pakatak dissolved in about 1982, Saint-Prix founded a new group, Avan-Van. The new band drew ideas from traditional *chouval bwa*, chiefly employing some of the percussion instruments and the lively Carnival-derived rhythm of the *tanbou dé bonda*. Saint-Prix added two electric basses, and occasionally synthesizer, but he kept the focus on the acoustic sound of the percussion, bamboo flute and singing.

The other major bandleader in this style has been Marcé (Bernard Pago) (b. 1949), a Martinican percussionist and singer who adopted Saint-Prix's instrumentation for his band Toumpak.

Chouval Bwa and *Zouk*

Popular journalists have claimed that the *chouval bwa* of Saint-Prix and Marcé influenced the modern dance style *zouk*, but this is overstating the case. *Zouk* emerged at around the same time as modern *chouval bwa*, in response to the same set of circumstances: the domination of the Antillean music scene by external styles. Rather than being a direct influence on *zouk*, *chouval bwa* probably just showed Antillean musicians that it was possible to create something of their own. It is possible to hear the typical rhythm of the *tanbou dé bonda*, illustrated above, in some *zouk* songs. But this rhythm originated in carnival music, not *chouval bwa*. It is found both in Martinique's *tanbou dé bonda* and, in Guadeloupe, in the carnival rhythm *mas a Sen Jan* (Guilbault 1993, 215). *Zouk* musicians used this rhythm to evoke the sense of *défoulement* (letting-go, craziness) of Carnival, and it was only one of many rhythmic devices in *zouk*.

Both Saint-Prix and Marcé have enjoyed successful tours of Europe and the United States. Saint-Prix lives primarily in France and, as of 2010, continues to record regularly (such as 2007's *Melanj*). However, the importance of *mizik chouval bwa* should not be exaggerated. Saint-Prix and Marcé are well-established and well-loved musicians in the Antilles, yet in contrast to the huge success of *zouk*, *mizik chouval bwa* has always had a more limited presence, both at home and abroad.

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JULIAN GERSTIN

Chucu-Chucu

In the late 1960s, after the climax of the golden age of the tropical musical *orquesta*, a new kind of *música tropical* emerged in Colombia, known as *chucu-chucu* or *raspa*. The name *chucu-chucu* is an onomatopoeic and somewhat derogatory allusion to the relatively unsyncopated rhythm of this music, with its repetitive character, much like the sound of a locomotive, which, in Spanish, is described with this expression. The name *raspa*, in turn, alludes to an increased reliance on a *guacharaca* (a tube-like instrument with ridges scraped with a fork) as the source of the beat. At times, it is also called *música galega* (Galician music), hinting at the simplistic, dull nature of its arrangements (a reference to the cultural stereotype of people from Galicia in Spain). In music circles concerned with naming origins, it is known as the *sonido paisa* (the Medellín sound, *paisa* being the term for residents of this city), a phrase associated with Colombian literary icon Andrés Caicedo, who playfully disparaged this music in *Que viva la música* (1977), a best-selling novel chronicling the rise of salsa in Cali.

After the arrival of the recording company Discos Fuentes in Medellín in the 1950s, as the city sought to establish itself as the center of the Colombian recording industry, new musical formulas were constantly being explored and implemented. In the case of *chuchu-chucu*, the music involved an abridgment of the *orquesta* sound of *música tropical*, with the adoption of electric instruments (usually bass and electric organ), a drum kit and two or three horns, instead of the customary saxophones and/or trumpets of the traditional ensemble. In the process, the sound of *música costeña*, the tropical dance music emerging from Colombia's Caribbean coast, was reduced to a pattern of a quarter note and two eighth notes, played on a scraper, while arrangements relied heavily on electric instruments – usually, the keyboards – for melodies and harmonies. The emergence of *chucu-chucu* in the late 1960s was the product of the rise in popularity of Colombian bands such as the Sonora

Dinamita, Los Hispanos, Los Black Stars, Los Teenagers, Los Tupamaros, El Combo de las Estrellas and Los Graduados, and Venezuelan bands such as the Billo's Caracas Boys, Nelson y sus Estrellas and Los Mélódicos, all of whom favored more modern musical equipment – as well as suits and hairstyles more in keeping with the spirit of 1960s – thus marking a clear break from the influence of big band aesthetics that underpinned acts such as the *orquestas* of Francisco 'Pacho' Galán and Lucho Bermúdez.

In musical terms, *chucu-chucu* was generally interpreted as a concession to the consumer tastes and dancing preferences of the middle-class audiences in Bogotá and Medellín (much like *porro* in the 1950s, thanks to its slower pace). From the perspective of many conservative critics, *chucu-chucu* embodied a degradation of *música tropical* and generated negative responses within more conventional music circles. Nevertheless, it proved more adept at crossing borders than traditionally styled bands, whose repertoire focused on rhythms with florid melodic styles, such as *porro*, *cumbia* or *merecumbé*. In the 1960s and 1970s *chucu-chucu* was readily exported to Mexico, and Central and South America. As a result, throughout much of the continent, *chucu-chucu* became the style most commonly identified with *cumbia* and served as the foundation for new varieties of this musical genre. Perhaps paradoxically, a style of music that was viewed pejoratively by many Colombians enhanced the international profile of the national music industry and contributed substantially to the establishment of *cumbia* as one of the most popular music genres of the western hemisphere.

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HÉCTOR FERNÁNDEZ L'HOESTE

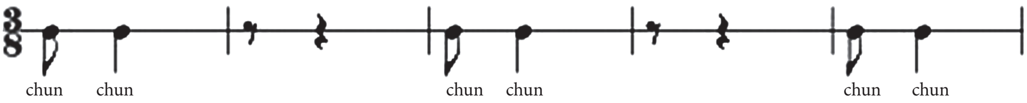
Chuntunqui

Chuntunqui (*chunktunki*) is a Bolivian dance performed during the Christmas season. It is also a type of song popularized by the neofolklore ensemble Los Kjarkas in the 1970s.

Chuntunqui originated in Sucre and Potosi and is a regional version of the Christmas *villancico*, equivalent to the *tundiqui* from La Paz. According to Julia Elena Fortún (1957), *chuntunqui* is also known as *chunchuna*. *Chuntunqui* is a traditional form of worship of the infant Jesus, consisting of a dance that is executed in small leaps while facing a nativity scene. Although a dying custom, it continues to be practiced in the city of Sucre and in various provinces such as Villa Serrano, where *chuntunqui* festivals are still celebrated around Christmas time.

Traditionally, *chuntunquis* were performed through December until Epiphany on 6 January of each year. The dance was associated with the Adoradores (worshippers), groups of children disguised as indigenous people, shepherds, old men and other characters, who wandered through the streets of Sucre dancing in front of the Nativity scenes that decorated most homes. *Chuntunquis* were also performed by military or police bands during the procession of Jesus the Child every 24th of December (Costa Arguedas 1977, 65). The procession started at the cathedral and moved through the main avenues in Sucre. Costa Arguedas (1977, 65) recalls that during the early years of the twentieth century it was common to have fights break out between rival gangs of Adoradores, who threw stones and beat each other with sticks until police arrived to separate them.

By the 1950s children danced *chuntunquis* using castagnets, empty cans and an occasional *charango*, in addition to two traditional instruments: *chullu-chullus*, which were rattling toys made with bottle caps; and *pajarillos* ('little birds'), small contraptions initially made out of tin that were filled with water to produce a whistling sound when blowing air through them. Tin *pajarillos* were later replaced by plastic toys in the shape of birds. The common rhythmic figure played by *chullu-chullus* was transcribed by Fortún in 1957 (Example 1).



Example 1: Basic rhythm of the *chuntunqui* or Christmas *chunchuna* from Chuquisaca, Bolivia (Fortún 1957)

Following this rhythmic pattern, the child worshippers sang melodies and *coplas* about the infant Jesus (who was also called *Niño Manuelito*) and shouted festive onomatopoeias such as '¡fuerza, fuerza!' (strength, strength!). Costa Arguedas describes a typical worship scene: 'It is danced in front of the manger in the form of Chuntunkis, facing the small altar, in pairs or one at a time, boys and girls jumping to and fro never turning their backs to the Infant Child, yelling at him "aján cascañas!"' (1977, 73). Also frequent was the use of the *armonio* (harmonium), the sound of which is still associated with Christmas celebrations in Sucre and Potosí.

Chuntunqui as a musical style was revived in the late 1960s by Ernesto Cavour, a noted *charango* player and member of the folk ensemble Los Jairas, founded in 1965 by Gilbert Favre. Inspired like others of his generation by traditional Andean music and seeking to give it new meaning for a modern age, Cavour wrote an instrumental piece titled 'Chuntunqui' circa 1970, which was recorded by the ensemble Los Chaskas around the same time. 'Chuntunqui' revisited the *chuntunqui* as a new genre of Bolivian neofolklore music. In 1980 the Cochabamba ensemble Los Kjarkas, founded in 1965 by brothers Gonzalo and Ulises Hermosa and Édgar Villarroel, adopted the idiom of Cavour's 'Chuntunqui' in the song 'Pequeño amor' (Small Love) on their album *Cóndor Mallku*. The previous year the group had recorded two songs inspired by the *chuntunqui* style: 'Manuel triste' (Sad Manuel) and 'Burro villanciquero' (Caroling Donkey), both written by Julio Lavayén and Ulises Hermosa. However, it was the version of 'Pequeño amor' by Gonzalo and Ulises Hermosa that became the first hit of the new genre; *chuntunqui* was now a love song in Andean style expressing nostalgia for young love.

In the 1980s *chuntunquis* became popular among young fans of Los Kjarkas and their neofolkloric style from Cochabamba. Songs such as 'Cuando llega el amor' (When Love Arrives) and 'Ave de cristal' (Crystal Bird) by Gonzalo Hermosa; 'Canto a la mujer de mi pueblo' (Song to the Women of My Village) and 'Siempre he de adorarte' (I Will Always Adore You) by Gonzalo and Ulises Hermosa; 'Sin ella' (Without Her) by Edwin Castellanos; and 'Pueblos perdidos' (Lost Villages) and 'El árbol de mi destino' (The Tree of My Destiny) by Ulises Hermosa are some of the most famous *chuntunquis* recorded in Bolivia. These songs laid the foundation for the contemporary genre.

After the 1980s, and following the example set out by Los Kjarkas, many ensembles wrote and recorded music in the style of the *chuntunqui*. The genre problematized the existence and love life of younger generations, turning it into an emblem of youth identity. Eventually, the genre migrated from Bolivia into other Andean countries, especially Peru, Ecuador and Chile, where young listeners became ardent fans. The reason behind the success of this *balada andina* (Andean ballad) among young people is that through the music two identities were reconciled: the identity of Andean ancestry and the new identity of younger generations in modern society (Sánchez Patzy 1999).

The recording success of this music led to the original connection between *chuntunquis* and Christmas to be all but forgotten, a change which represents one of the most significant cultural transformations in Bolivian popular music. A similar fate befell the *tundiqui* or *villancico paceño* (*villancico* from La Paz), which, by the end of the 1960s, came to be known as *tuntuna* or *saya-caporal*, a genre fictitiously associated with blackness in a presumed Afro-Bolivian rhythm (Sánchez Patzy 2006).

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MAURICIO SÁNCHEZ PATZY
(TRANSLATED BY PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

Chutney

Chutney emerged as a popular Indian-Caribbean musical genre in Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and Surinam during the 1970s. By the 1990s chutney had been established as a medium through which questions about identity, politics, diaspora and postcolonial sensibility could be articulated. It is also performed in other parts of the Indian Diaspora, particularly in Mauritius (Servan Schreiber 2010) and in Fiji. It has been influenced by and influences the music of Indian cinema such as the Bhojpuri film industry and Bollywood.

Chutney is often represented by practitioners as having its origins in the Hindu wedding, specifically in the *mathkor* ceremony (a ritual space which was the preserve of women and an Indian cultural practice that has been preserved in diasporic contexts). However, chutney is not a clearly defined genre. Many songs that add a few Hindi words or an 'Indian' drum may be labeled 'chutney' and there are several related forms, such as chutney soca, ragga chutney and jamoo chutney. Some commentators suggest that soca in fact emerged from chutney, since the calypsonian Lord Shorty (later Ras Shorty I) promoted a genre he called 'sokah' (calypso and *kaherwa taal*) in the 1980s. His aim was to combine 'African' and 'Indian' musical characteristics as a way of promoting social unity. As a form of musical activism, this shows how much these genres are interrelated, while, as a form of musical description, it points to the sociopolitical dynamics in these contexts.

One of the first major chutney singers in Trinidad and Tobago was Sundar Popo. One of his early popular chutney song texts ('Rosie gal, what you cooking for dinner, she making *choka* [mashed vegetable], it don't have no salt') can be interpreted in relation to the *double entendres* of calypso, further highlighting the ways in which chutney might be contextualized within Caribbean popular soundscapes. Chutney is not just an Indian diasporic form. It is also a Caribbean popular music performed in the Caribbean Diaspora. By the beginning of the twenty-first century it had been incorporated in Carnivals both in Trinidad and in Caribbean Diasporic centers such as London, Toronto and New York.

Historical Outline

To trace the history of chutney is to explore the history of Indian migration to the New World through the nineteenth-century labor system of indentureship. During the period 1838–1917, as a result of British colonial policies, more than half a million Indian migrants were taken to the Caribbean as indentured (or contracted) laborers to maintain plantation agriculture. Yet the migrants were not a homogenous group for they came from different regions, spoke different languages and dialects and were members of different castes. The majority came from the northern Indian provinces of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar where Bhojpuri was spoken. The Bhojpur tradition, therefore, which had produced religious heroes such as Rama, Krishna and Buddha, as well as the epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Maha Bharat*, became dominant in Trinidad.

The logbooks of ships' crew-members provide glimpses into musical interactions of the kinds that characterize chutney. The captain of the *Sheila* on its voyage of 1877, for example, was Angel, in whose diary (1921) there are references to the musical activities of the sailors (singing sea shanties) and of the Indian migrants. For him, Indian musical expressions sounded strange. But the Indian migrants had learned his crew's sea shanties by the time they disembarked in the Caribbean. Chutney displays influences from diverse sources. While some musical elements can be traced to India and can be analyzed as examples of musical preservation, others have emerged as a result of cultural interaction in the Caribbean. Chutney musicians draw upon ideas from Indian musical traditions, devotional songs and film music, as well as from calypso, soca and rap. These are the kinds of creative musical interactions that were already evident during the voyage of the 'Sheila' (see Ramchand and Samaroo 1995).

Musical memory and questions about the origin of the genre are important dimensions of chutney, which are expressed in song texts and in historical representations of the origins of this genre. Sundar Popo composed a song to mark Indian arrival in Trinidad, singing about the *Fath al Razack* – the first ship transporting Indians to Trinidad, in 1845. On board this ship were 227 Indians. Their contracts initially lasted for a period of five years after which they could work for a further five years in order to claim a free return passage to India. When indentureship was abolished, less than a quarter of the Indian laborers returned to their homeland. Most of them decided to exchange the passage to India for a grant of land. Popo's song text is an expressive historical narrative.

Within these discourses on the history of chutney as an Indian diasporic genre, many performers trace its origins to the wedding ritual known as *matikor* (or *muti kurwa* or *mathkor*), in particular. As women's pre-wedding celebration, with ritual bathing, drumming, singing and dancing, *maticore* can be traced to cultural practices in India. While an early description of the ritual in the Indian context is found in George Grierson's *Discursive Catalogue of Bihar Peasant Life* (1885, 362), one of the earliest written references to this ritual in Trinidad dates from the 1960s. Harry Ramnath provides a comprehensive description and explanation of *mathkor* (which literally means dirt-digging) in the Caribbean context, in which ritual participants are noted as drumming and dancing (see Ramnath n.d., 97–8).

Musical Characteristics

Chutney singer Sundar Popo emphasized the importance of instrumentation in the music. Another singer, Rikki Jai, emphasized melody and text. The traditional chutney ensemble consists of a singer, *dholak*, harmonium and *dhantal*. The instruments constitute a sound world of timbres, which are, respectively, associated with India, Europe and the Caribbean. The *dholak* is the double-headed cylindrical or barrel drum of South Asia. The harmonium was patented by the French instrument maker Alexandre François Debain in 1842, and it was widely disseminated in India and Africa by colonial powers (Owen and Dick 1984, 131). With fixed, diatonic pitch, the incorporation of the harmonium in the chutney ensemble has exerted a strong influence on concepts of pitch and on melodic presentation. The *dhantal* is an iron or steel rod struck by a horseshoe-shaped beater. The top is tapered to a fine point to allow greater resonance and the end is shaped into a circle, which rests on the ground, table or other surface when it is played. Its length is around a meter. The origin of the *dhantal* is unclear. It is described in *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* as a percussion idiophone of north Indian origin found in Trinidad and Surinam (Brandily 1984, 541), but this definition is contested by Trinidadian commentators, who have suggested that the instrument is not found in India (although similar percussion instruments are). In the Caribbean, theories concerning the origin of the *dhantal* include the view that the instrument was invented by Indian laborers who began to use rods from estate oxen or horse carts as a percussion instrument on the Caribbean sugar plantations. The beater for the rod, according to this origin theory, was literally the horseshoe, a shape which has been retained in contemporary contexts. In this view the origin of the *dhantal* is bound up with experiences of the sugar plantation around which the laborers' lives revolved. In another origin theory, performance context is stressed for the steel rod which was used to hold large cooking pots over the fireplace and is seen as eventually being struck as another percussion instrument during festive occasions (see Ramnarine 2001, 63–8).

There seems to be no documentation that proves conclusively whether the first migrants from India brought the *dhantal* with them, or whether they and their descendants only started to play this instrument in the Caribbean. While there are some similar north Indian models and the name given to the instrument is a literal term: *dandtal* (stick percussion; *danda* – stick, *taal* – act of striking from which the sense of rhythmic cycle may originate), the symbolic importance of the *dhantal* is in the Caribbean, not in the Indian, context. Chutney soca and ragga chutney are usually marked by the addition of instrumental timbres, particularly brass and electronic instruments.

The overall structure of many chutney songs is that of the verse and chorus format. The *taal* (cycle of beats) is usually *kaherwa* (simple quadruple time, 4/4). The metric structure tends to be syllabic and settings can be closely related to speech rhythms. The melodic range of chutney songs generally falls within an octave. Melodic movement by step, recurring melodic cells, which revolve around a central note and diatonicism, are also general features. The harmonium's part follows the vocal line closely, sometimes anticipating the vocal line and sometimes slightly behind the singer.

Chutney Song Texts

Chutney song texts deal with diverse themes: historical, social, topical, ribald and individual experience, referring to Indian cultural practices and objects, the experience of migration and kinship systems. The interpretation of these song texts often relies on knowledge of Indian-Caribbean people's kinship relations and social concerns. One frequently explored theme in chutney song texts is that of the *dulahin* (daughter-in-law, bride). Depictions of the *dulahin* do not generally provoke criticism of the kind often directed at songs like 'Loota La,' chutney singer Sonny's Mann's song about the *bhowi* (sister-in-law) who behaves with abandon. Such songs are regarded as being disrespectful, but they do reveal radical changes in gender imagery. Once seen as the keeper of tradition, the *dulahin* is now seen as an agent who is increasingly independent from her male counterpart, who flaunts her sexuality openly and consorts with whomever she likes. In doing so she is not necessarily portrayed as abandoning tradition but as bringing it with her into a public performance space. An example is the song by Double D, 'Ragga Dulahin' which describes the *dulahin* who still wears her sari as well as her miniskirts.

Many contemporary chutney song texts are in English with a few Bhojpuri or Hindi words added. Sometimes a Bhojpuri or Hindi text intermingles with its English translation. Double meanings (similar to the *double entendres* of calypso) together with chutney dance style add to controversies surrounding the performance of chutney. Textual and choreographic aspects are taken into account in discussions concerning appropriate private and public boundaries of chutney performance. These discussions include research perspectives on gender negotiations in chutney song texts (Mohammed 2007) and on chutney performance spaces in theorizing Caribbean sexualities (Puar 2009).

Performance Spaces

Chutney is performed at parties, private events, on the radio, on television talent-spotting competitions such as *Mastana Bahar*, and it has also found a performance space in Carnival, together with calypso, soca and steelband. Performers such as James Ramsawak, Sundar Popo, Drupatee Ramgoonai, Lilly Ramcharan, Sonny Mann and Rikki Jai have promoted the public performance of this genre. Companies such as JMC (Jamaican Music Connection, otherwise known as Jamaica Me Crazy, based in New York), and local promoters such as the Trinidadian record retail entrepreneur, Ajeet Praimsingh, are involved in making commercial recordings of chutney. Since 1995 chutney musicians have been able to compete in a 'Chutney Monarch Contest' (following calypso competition models), performing different types of chutney, categorized as 'original, traditional chutney' sung in both English and 'Hindi,' 'open category chutney' and a test piece, which is a song composed specifically for the competition.

Chutney, having emerged as a distinct genre in the 1970s, invites a mixed reception. Some people enjoy dancing to the music and regard chutney as a principal form of Indian-Caribbean expression. Others regard chutney performance with disapproval and even with horror. The Hindu organization, the Sanatan Dharma Maha Sahab, has been critical of chutney. Representatives of the Hindu Women's Association have protested strongly against chutney performances, claiming that they lead to a breakdown in family life and encourage the development of extra-marital relationships. This organization has called for police control over chutney dancing. Other commentators have described chutney as being 'a degenerative trend in Indian music' but one that nevertheless displays local (Caribbean) musical innovations that have been positively received by Indian musicians (Ramaya 1990, 2). Mungal Patasar, famous for his experiments in fusing different musical traditions, combining steel pan and *sitar*, for example, describes chutney as a popular adaptation of Indian folk music and is critical of its commercial dimensions which are 'pointing Indian music in a new direction' (Patasar 1995, 82). But like Ramaya, he regards the development of chutney as vital to people in the local context of Trinidad and Tobago, because it is a folk expression and, as such, is the music of the people. Other scholars have highlighted the influence of Indian classical as well as folk traditions on chutney (e.g., Maharaj 1994; Samaroo 1996). This genre has also been described as the Indian response to calypso. Critiques similar to those leveled against chutney have been extended during the mid-1990s to *pichakaaree* (also songs in English with a few Hindi or Bhojpuri phrases which draw on Indian folk melodies or film songs and are accompanied by instruments such as the *dholak*, *dhantal*, harmonium and limited electronic resources), which has been promoted by the Kendra Phagwa Festival. This genre has been seen by organizations such as the Sanatan Dharma Maha Sahab as reducing the religious celebrations of Phagwa (or Holi) to an inappropriate emulation of Carnival (Ramnarine 2007, 173–8).

Having emerged into the public performance spaces of Caribbean popular musical genres, chutney has begun to engage ethnomusicological interest. Researchers who have studied chutney include Manuel (2000), Myers (1998), Niranjana (2006) and Ramnarine (1996, 2001). Audiences are also found in India, where listeners are interested in hearing an Indian diasporic genre. Singers such as Rikki Jai and the ensemble D' Bhuyaa Saaj have undertaken concert tours in India. Chutney performers also reach out to audiences globally using internet technologies. The Guyanese singer based in New York, Terry Gajraj, can be seen in a recorded performance of a chutney musician meeting Indian classical performers 'laff til yuh belly bust' on YouTube. Though this is presented as a musical comic sketch, there is some evidence that chutney can also be traced to the classical traditions of India (Samaroo 1996), and musicians in the New World perform Indian classical genres such as *dhrupad* as well as the Caribbean popular genre, chutney.

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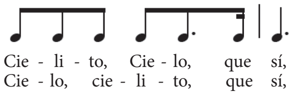
TINA K. RAMNARINE

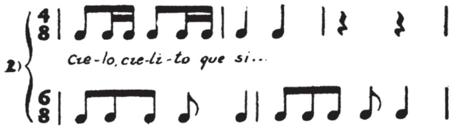
Cielito

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the most important popular music genre in Uruguay was the *cielito*, a dance and song genre of the revolutionary period (1810–25) in 6/8 meter. It was also present on the Argentinian side of the Río de la Plata. Even though the first written document relating to the presence of the *cielito* appears in what is today Uruguay (at that time a part of the Río de la Plata territories), Argentinian musicologist Carlos Vega (1952) understood the *cielito* as appearing 'in the Argentinian pampas,' later moving across the river to Uruguay. It persisted until the mid-nineteenth century or a little before and disappeared shortly thereafter. In the early twentieth century, *cielito* survives in two ways. As a nondanceable music, it comprises one of the sections of the *estilo*. As a dance, it is one of the movements in the *pericón*, and also a kind of waltz. The choreography of the *cielito* was related to European country dance.

The early nineteenth-century song seems to have had a verse-and-refrain structure, each of these comprising four octosyllabic lines corresponding to four musical phrases. It is very likely that the principal characteristic of the *cielito* of the 1810s was a rhythmic cell at the beginning of the refrain, fitted to a line of text such as '*cielito, cielo, que sí*,' '*cielo, cielito, que sí*,' or '*allá va cielo y más cielo*' (at least, according to texts of *cielitos* by the poet Bartolomé Hidalgo [1788–1822]). The formulations that are found in some *estilos* (the anonymous 'Memorias a Artigas,' for instance, collected around 1950 by Uruguayan musicologist Lauro Ayestarán in the region of Minas) provide evidence of a melody consisting of four eighth notes followed by a dotted eighth note and a sixteenth note and ending in a dotted quarter note (as rendered in 6/8 time):


Cie - li - to, Cie - lo, que sí,
Cie - lo, cie - li - to, que sí,

In some cases, the dot is not explicit or simply does not exist (see the four *estilos* recorded by Ayestarán on the recording *Un mapa musical del Uruguay*). Nevertheless, Carlos Vega maintained that the song had a polyrhythmic basis, with binary vocal melody and ternary guitar accompaniment, in which neither the dot nor its particular relation with the '*que sí*' appear.



As this second type of *cielito* is also found in the *estilo*, it may be supposed either that different versions coexisted or that the species forked at some point into two versions, one dotted and another non-dotted. In any case – as can be seen, for example, in *cielitos* by Osiris Rodríguez Castillos, by Numa Moraes (on lyrics by Mario Benedetti) by Daniel Viglietti (on lyrics attributed to Bartolomé Hidalgo or written by Juan Capagorry, and not forgetting his innovative solution to some verses by Benedetti), and by Rubén Olivera and Pollo Píriz – in rescuing traces of the *cielito* in the collective memory, the popular musicians of recent decades seem to suggest the dot and respect the 6/8 meter (with references to an accompaniment similar to that indicated by Vega – with beats in the bass notes – or one that uses it every second measure, preceded by a measure of six eighth notes).

The most prestigious songwriter of the Independence period (or at least the most recognized author of lyrics) was Bartolomé Hidalgo, supposedly a mulatto, who is usually considered to be the first poet in the popular regional language of the Río de la Plata. In his work, the lyrics of the *cielitos* achieved a high level of elaboration in the treatment of the popular language.

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CORIÚN AHARONIÁN

Cifra/Estilo

Cifra is a form of solo song with guitar accompaniment that developed among male musicians in the *sureño* or *surero* (fertile southern *pampa* – lowland regions of Argentina and Uruguay) in the nineteenth century, and may still be found there. Ventura Lynch (1883, 40–2) was the first scholar in Argentina to document some of its characteristics and provide notated examples. It was prevalent until the end of the nineteenth century, the point in time when *payadores* (guitar-playing troubadours) began to prefer the *milonga* for their improvised *payada* duels – although in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries the *cifra* is used sporadically by some professional *payadores* as an alternative to *milonga*.

Closely related to *cifra* is the form known as *estilo* (or *triste* in Uruguay), which, like *cifra*, is a solo song with guitar found in the southern *pampas* in the nineteenth century. The singing style, which came to a peak in the early twentieth century, enabled performers to move from normal register to falsetto. The style was associated in particular with Carlos Gardel, who used it in his vocal interpretation of *tango*.

The *Cifra*

Cifra is a syllabic song. The most commonly used stanza structure is the *décima*, called 'espinela' after the main promoter of this poetic form, the Spanish poet, writer and musician Vicente Espinel (1550–1624). It consists of ten octosyllabic lines and an assonant rhyme in the following scheme: abbaaccddc. Versification in *sextillas* (stanzas of six lines each) and *octavillas* (stanzas in eight lines) was also used but it failed to become rooted in a widespread fashion, as, years earlier, did the octosyllabic quatrain with consonant rhyme between the second and fourth lines, this last form being called *media cifra*.

Cifra is performed in a declamatory style, sometimes approximating or being replaced by recitation, and among its strongest features are the rapid guitar flourishes that precede and separate the lines of the song, during which the instrument falls silent, except at phrase ends, where the voice is sometimes underlined by chords and parallel tenths. The effect is of a dialogue between the singer and the instrument.

Each stanza is performed as follows: After a strummed introduction, the first line is sung without accompaniment and the guitar responds with a flourish. The singer repeats the first line and continues with the second. Another flourish follows. The remaining eight lines are sung two at a time, with guitar flourishes as interludes between the pairs. The number of stanzas depends on the topic being developed. Rhythm tends to be free, accelerating or decelerating according to the expressive intention and seeking to emphasize the intonation on specific verses. The harmonic accompaniment is simple, using tonic, subdominant and dominant chords. The asymmetric strumming that punctuates the lines sets up a 6/8 rhythm with syncopations, occasional hemiolas and strategically placed 2/8 and 4/8 cells.

The poems cover a range of themes that have varied according to the historical period. During the wars of independence, the poems had a defiant or *bravío* character, describing heroic or patriotic actions; currently narratives about the everyday tasks of the gaucho or containing allusions to his sentimental life are prevalent.

The *Estilo*

Twentieth- and twenty-first-century *estilos* are based on stanzas in the *décima* poetic form (for further information see the entry on *payada*), beginning with an instrumental introduction which later functions as an interlude between stanzas. Musical phrases, covering more often than not two lines, take the form of an arch, invariably concluding with a two-note slow descent (a second or a third); if the last word is end-accented, it falls over the penultimate note and is stretched over the last one. Extremely common, both in the introduction and in the sung portions, are passages in parallel tenths. Harmony mostly keeps to tonic and dominant chords or to the simplest harmonization of the 'bi-modal' system (see Vega 1998 [1944]). The rhythm of sung portions is extremely free; it is difficult to discern a regular meter or even beat; nevertheless, brief interventions of the guitar between vocal phrases clearly mark a *milonga* accompaniment pattern.

In more traditional surroundings, *estilos* are sung at home gatherings, *pulperias* (general stores-cum-drinking parlors) and patron saint festivities. In the early twenty-first century they are performed at massive festivals, in theaters and *peñas*, and recorded by standard commercial labels. The genre, however, is not usually included in the repertoire of artists from outside its region of origin.

Conclusion

The subject, tone and vocabulary of both *cifra* and *estilo* remain anchored to the rural scene, or very often to an idealized rural past, an idyllic happiness recalled by the poet. The singing style of both – as well as of the *surero* repertoire (as performed by the most noted performers, for example, Argentino Luna, José Larralde, Alberto Merlo, Suma Paz) – retains in the early twenty-first century much of the '*campero*' (country) style that can be heard in recordings of the 1920s by Carlos Gardel. The sliding notes, the increased speed in the middle of the verse and the characteristic intonation are now part of a more relaxed vocal production, discarding the opera-like voice projection of the older singers.

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LEONARDO WAISMAN AND HÉCTOR LUIS GOYENA
(TRANSLATED BY ZUZANA PICK)

Ciranda

Ciranda is a Brazilian song and dance genre characterized by the formation of a large circle of dancers. In the state of Pernambuco, where it takes its typical form, *ciranda* is danced and sung to the sound of the slow and repeated rhythm of percussion instruments. An emcee (called *Mestre Cirandeiro*) stands in the center of a large circle of people, animating the other participants and improvising verses, while the dancers repeat the refrain. The dance can last for several hours. *Ciranda* or *cirandinha* (little *ciranda*) is also used to designate a children's round-dance (composer Villa Lobos integrated the form into various compositions, for example *Cirandas* [1926] and *Cirandinhas* [1925]), which began losing its creative force and popularity in the 1950s. The dance is Portuguese in origin. The term *ciranda* comes from the Castilian word *zaranda* – a flour-sifting device – which itself is an evolution of the Arabic word *çarand* (Borba and Graça 1962). In Brazil it has several variations, known as *sereninha* (in the state of São Paulo), *seraninha* (in the state of Minas Gerais) or *sarande* (in the state of Goiás). It is also quite popular in the state of Amazonas, and there is an annual festival dedicated to this dance in the town of Manacapurú (located on the banks of the Solimões River, 80 kilometers from the state capital, Manaus).

The adult *ciranda,* danced on the beaches of Recife (the capital of Pernambuco), was at first limited primarily to venues such as beach-side areas, bar terraces and street corners. However, it became widely known in the 1960s as a result of the Popular Culture Movement, or 'MCP' (created in September 1961), which united intellectuals with the objective of developing and systemizing the popular culture of Pernambuco. The 1961 performance of *cirandas* in public squares by an emcee called Mestre Baracho, who was unknown to the *Recifenses* (residents of Recife) as he came from outside the area, unleashed a craze for *ciranda* dances throughout the city. Following the Military Coup of 1964, the MCP was extinguished and many of its members were arrested. Also in 1961 Teca Calazans, a successful singer from Recife with an interest in local folk traditions, began to include *cirandas* in her repertoire, following a meeting with a singer called Lia (Maria Madalena Correia do Nascimento) on Itamaracá island, near Recife. In 1967 Calazans's LP *Aquela rosa* (That Rose) included a *ciranda* among other songs. Lia herself adopted the stage name Lia Itamaracá and made her first recording, *A Rainha da Ciranda* (The Queen of Ciranda), in 1977. Another important singer of *cirandas*, Dona Duda (Vitalina Alberta de Souza), similarly steeped in the tradition, made no recordings, but her influence was recognized in the recording *Cirandas de Dona Duna* (1975).

In the 1970s the main participants in *ciranda*, both those from the working class (fishermen, construction workers and odd-jobbers) and from the intellectual class, abandoned this form entertainment, as a result of which the dance changed into a spectacle for tourists. The *cirandeiro* and the dancers left their circles to perform on stages, using microphones and sound systems, now with specific time limits for their dances. In the 1990s, however, the *manguebeat* movement, with its reference to folk entertainment, served as a catalyst for the formation of new groups, who found inspiration in the use of original rhythms. This moment was a favorable one for the appearance of new composers. Middle-class youths as well as old-time *cirandeiros* created new fields of activity (*Ciranda da saúde* ['Health Ciranda'], *Ciranda Mimosa* ['Sweet Ciranda'], *Ciranda do acalanto* ['Lullaby Ciranda'] and *Ciranda da Maria Farinha* ['Maria Farinha Ciranda']), with the recreation of *ciranda* songs and dances. Groups of composers and even social projects flourished, involving *ciranda* as a means of fostering social integration (e.g., the NGO called *Cais do Porto*). Later, the record industry brought in several singers to record *cirandas* (Elba Ramalho in 2001, Ney Matogrosso in 1993).

One of the most remarkable features of the dance is its slow 4/4 tempo, with beats marked by the bass drum and accompanied by the *tarol* (a type of drum), *ganzá* (a cylindrical rattle) and *maracá* (maracas). The choreography is characterized by the formation of a circle of dancers who rotate sideways with two steps backward and forward, always marking the strong beat with their left foot in front. The movements of hands and body are free, but three of the best-known steps can be identified: the *onda* ('wave'), the *machucadinho* ('little mash') and the *sacudidinho* ('little shake'). The emcees who command and lead the dance are called *Mestre* and *Contramestre* (as in most Brazilian folk manifestations of this type). They are the ones who start the event, improvise and preside over the dance. Directed toward the center of the circle, the dancers all hold hands and move around clockwise and counterclockwise. The lyrics of the *cirandas* can be improvised on the spot or can be from an already known song. Generally there is an instrumental introduction, then the solo and chorus alternate. The major/minor or modal/tonal binomial is strongly present, and the scope of the melody reaches, at most, 10 notes.

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MÉRCIA PINTO

Clube da Esquina

Clube da Esquina (The Corner Club) was a musical movement that originated in the mid-1960s in Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, in southeastern Brazil. Like *bossa nova*, it has continued to have an important presence in Brazilian music. The expression 'Clube da Esquina' refers to the meeting point of musicians, composers and poets on the corner of Paraisópolis and Divinópolis streets, in the Santa Tereza district of the city. Among them were individuals who were to be of great importance for Brazilian music, such as Milton Nascimento (composer and singer), Toninho Horta (composer and guitarist), Pascoal Meirelles (drums), Paulo Braga (drums), Nivaldo Ornelas (flute and saxophone) and Márcio Borges (songwriter). Despite the musical diversity of its members, *Clube da Esquina* produced music with a distinct sound (see below). Hispano-American music, rock – especially the music of the Beatles – and jazz were important influences on music that would later be called *música mineira* (music from Minas Gerais).

Historical Outline

In Brazil as a whole the 1960s was a decade of considerable musical change and development. *Bossa nova*, consolidated in Rio de Janeiro, had revolutionized Brazilian music with dissonant harmonies and a particular way of singing and playing, and by the mid-1960s was prospering on the international market. Meanwhile rock 'n' roll entered the country, generating the *Jovem Guarda* movement, while the union of Bahian musicians Gilberto Gil and Caetano Veloso, among others, with São Paulo avant-garde artists such as Décio and Rogério Duprat, was giving birth to the *Tropicalismo* movement. In 1964 a military coup instigated a dictatorship in the country, engendering a response from musicians in the form of the so-called *canção de protesto* (protest song) where music began to have a significant political role. A year later, in 1965, TV Excelsior, and later TV Record, both based in São Paulo, promoted the *Festivais da Canção* (song festivals), which were to launch a new generation of singers, who later came together in the so-called MPB (*Música Popular Brasileira*).

The various musical strands represented contrasting alternatives: the *bossa nova* movement was hallowed as 'Brazilian music par excellence,' *Jovem Guarda* presented itself as the music of rebellious youth, *canção de protesto* spoke in terms of political engagement, and *Tropicalismo*, which besides music comprised visual arts, cinema and theater, placed itself in the vanguard of artistic development across the arts.

At this time, Belo Horizonte was a provincial city, with a preponderance of dance orchestras; the city's musicians often frequented a sidewalk off the main avenue of the city called Ponto dos Músicos, to discuss contracts, exchange information or simply to socialize. But it was also caught up in the cultural and political fervent that characterized the decade, nationally and internationally. At the end of the decade, a group of musicians and poets, including Milton Nascimento, Lô Borges (Márcio Borges's brother), Toninho Horta and Nivaldo Ornelas, created songs that crossed the boundaries between regional (folk and traditional Minas Gerais music), national (*bossa nova*/Jovem Guarda) and international music (rock/jazz). Those who participated also included Márcio Borges (lyricist), Beto Guedes (composer and guitarist), Fernando Brant (lyricist), Tavinho Moura (composer, guitar player and *violeiro* (*viola* is a type of guitar with five strings), Flávio Venturini (composer and pianist), Ronaldo Bastos (lyricist), Wagner Tiso (composer and pianist), Murilo Antunes (lyricist), Nelson Ângelo (composer and guitarist), Novelli (composer and bassist) and Tavito (composer and guitarist).

Introduced to the Rio de Janeiro music scene in the mid-1960s by Pacífico Mascarenhas, a musician from Minas Gerais who participated in the *bossa nova* movement, Nascimento achieved a big break at the second *Festival Internacional da Canção* (International Song Festival) in 1967, with the song 'Travessia' (Crossing; lyrics by Fernando Brandt). In 1968 he recorded the album *Courage* in New Jersey in the United States, launching his international career.

In 1969, in Belo Horizonte, the *Festival Estudantil da Canção* (Student Song Festival) consolidated the group of singers and songwriters from Minas. Their music began to exhibit a *mineira* identity, characterized by the construction of melodic lines with large interval leaps, the predominance of compound binary and ternary meters, alternating meters, sophisticated harmonic progressions and elaborate arrangements, and began to be known nationally. It was not until 1972, however, with the release of double album *Clube da Esquina* by Nascimento and Lô Borges, that the work of the young composers would gain national prominence. On this album, the collaborative work and instrumental versatility of the musicians is a central feature. Friendship and partnership were also essential elements of the group dynamics and were not confined to people from Minas. The *Clube de Esquina* numbered musicians from Rio de Janeiro, such as Ronaldo Bastos, Robertinho Silva (drums) and Luiz Alves (bass) and Bahians Danilo Caymmi (flute player and composer) and Nana Caymmi (singer); it also included figures such as the photographer Cafi, who was responsible for several album covers, including *Clube da Esquina*, and the filmmaker and writer Rui Guerra.

The lyrics of many *Clube da Esquina* songs clearly spoke of rebellion, the dream of freedom and a desire for change; themes that marked the music of the 1960s and continued to be a feature of the 1970s both nationally and beyond. The songs, 'Tudo que você podia ser' (All You Could Be) (Márcio Borges and Lô Borges) and 'Clube da Esquina n° 2' (Lô Borges, Milton Nascimento, Márcio Borges), both on the album *Clube da Esquina,* as well as the songs 'Nau sem Rumo' (Ship Without Direction) (Lô Borges) on the album *Via Láctea* (The Milky Way) and 'Sacramento' (Milton Nascimento and Nelson Angelo) on the album *Nana Caymmi*, are all good examples.

The Music of *Clube da Esquina*

The music of *Clube da Esquina* has its own identifying characteristics. Alternating meter and use of compound and triple meter are frequent. On the album *Clube da Esquina*, 'Cravo e canela' (Clove and Cinnamon) by Nascimento and Bastos, for example, is a *samba* in triple time, while 'Tudo o que você podia ser' uses alternating triple and double meter 3-3-2, and 'Lilia' (Nascimento, Brandt) is in quintuple time.

Another striking feature is the construction of melodic lines with wide intervals. Toninho Horta's 'Beijo partido' (Parting Kiss) from the album *Terra dos pássaros* (Land of Birds) uses major thirteenth leaps, and the song 'Nascente' (Rising) by Flávio Venturini from the album *Clube da Esquina 2* begins with a minor seventh leap. The harmonization is also very sophisticated and typical of this music. There is a preference for tension, suspended chords, augmented fifths, diminished chords, augmented elevenths and minor and augmented ninths. 'Nascente' (Venturini, Murilo Antunes), 'Beijo partido' (Horta), 'Aqui Oh!' (Here Oh, Horta, Brant) and 'Bons amigos' (Good Friends, Horta, Bastos) from the album *Toninho Horta*, 'Novena' (Nascimento, Márcio Borges) from *Ângelus* and 'Litoral' (Coast, Horta. Bastos) from *Joyce*, are some examples.

The use of the lower pedal can often be seen in *Clube da Esquina* songs, for example 'Novena' (*Ângelus*), 'Fé cega faca amolada' (Blind Faith Sharp Knife, Nascimento) from the album *Minas,* 'Vera Cruz' (Nascimento) from *Courage*, 'Besame' (Kiss Me, Venturini, Antunes) from *Flávio Venturini ao vivo*, among others. The inversion of the bass in order to construct the melodic line in counterpoint with the melody is also a characteristic of this music and can be seen in 'Paixão e fé' (Passion and Faith, Moura, Brant) on the album *Clube da Esquina 2*, 'Cruzada' (Crusade, Moura, Márcio Borges) on *Como vai minha aldeia* (How Goes My Village), 'Beco do Mota' (Mota's Alley, Nascimento) from *Milton Nascimento*, among other songs.

The strong presence and influence of the Catholic Church is reflected in the music of the *Clube da Esquina*. Many songs, such as 'Paixão e fé' and 'Novena' (Nascimento, Márcio Borges) from Bueto Guedes's album *Amor de Índio*, 'Igreja majestosa' (Majestic Church, Nivaldo Ornelas, Wagner Tiso) from *Wagner Tiso*, among many others, refer to the Church and to religious belief. Instrumentation and arrangements can also reflect the same influence, as for example the use of the organ and choir in 'Sentinela' (Nascimento, Brant) from the album *Milton Nascimento*.

The importance of folk arts in Minas Gerais also influenced the music. Adaptations of folkloric themes are frequent, for example in songs such as 'Calix Bento' from Moura's LP *Como vai minha aldeia*, and 'Peixinhos do mar' (Fish of the Sea) from his *Tavinho Moura* (the latter also recorded by Milton Nascimento on the *LP Sentinela*), 'O sapo' (The Frog), on the LP *Os Borges,* 'A lua girou' (The Moon Turned) on Nascimento's LP *Geraes* and 'Caicó' on his album *Sentinela*. In terms of instrumentation, the *viola caipira* (a type of guitar typical of *música sertaneja*, popular all over rural Brazil) is widely used by Tavinho Moura. On the LP *Como vai minha aldeia* he recorded the song 'A véia (The Old Woman) by the violist Zezinho da Viola and on *Tavinho Moura* he recorded his 'O sonho' (The Dream).

Many composers in the *Clube* had a strong connection with jazz. This can be evidenced through many ways, for example by the fact that US jazz musicians Wayne Shorter and Herbie Hancock participated in several recordings with Milton Nascimento, among them the albums *Milton* and Shorter's *Native Dancer*. Nivaldo Ornelas toured the United States in 1978 along with Brazilian jazz musicians Flora Purim and Airto Moreira. He also participated in the Newport Jazz Festival and the first São Paulo International Jazz Festival (1978). Toninho Horta was voted by British publication *Melody Maker* one of the ten greatest jazz guitarists two years in a row (1977 and 1978).

Beto Guedes, Lô Borges and Flávio Venturini were more influenced by rock, especially the music of the Beatles. This influence – typically in the beat and chord progressions – is evident in the songs 'Nuvem cigana' (Gypsy Clouds) (Lô Borges and Ronaldo Bastos), 'Um girassol da cor de seu cabelo' (A Sunflower the Color of Her Hair) (Márcio and Lô Borges), 'Paisagem da janela' (The View through the Window) (Lô Borges and Fernando Brandt) from the album *Clube da Esquina* and 'Lumiar' (Beto Guedes, Ronaldo Bastos) from the album *Relâmpago elétrico* (Electric Lightning). Beto Guedes recorded 'Norwegian Wood' (Lennon, McCartney) on the album *Sol de primavera* (Spring Sunshine) and Milton Nascimento recorded the same song on the album *Minas*. In 1972 Venturini participated in the progressive rock group *Terço* and in 1979 formed the pop rock group *14 Bis*.

In addition to influences shared with other musicians, Milton Nascimento's work regularly showed strong traces of African and Hispano-American traces of Brazilian music. In the song 'Raça' (Race) (Nascimento and Brant) from the LP *Milton*, Robertinho Silva (a musician who accompanied Milton for many years) adopted a percussive drum style, overtop a percussion arrangement referencing the sounds of Afro-Brazilian music, typically in terms of rhythm. The lyrics of this song pay homage to various black Brazilian artists. 'Maria Maria' from the LP *Clube da Esquin*a 2 refers to the suffering of black women in Brazil. Later, Milton recorded the LP *A Missa dos Quilombos* (The Mass of the Quilombos). Most of the songs on this album are written by Pedro Casaldáliga and Pedro Tierra, and show Milton's concern with racial issues.

Hispano-American elements are also very present in Milton's work. This is particularly evident in the lyrics and rhythm of the song 'San Vicente' (Nascimento, Brant) from the album *Clube da Esquina*. On the same album, Milton recorded 'Dos cruces' (Two Crosses) by the Spanish composer Carmelo Larrea. The rhythm and arrangement of the flutes in the song 'Credo' also reflect a Latino influence. On the same album 'Canción por la unidad de Latino América' (Song for the Unity of Latin America), with the participation of Pablo Milanes and Chico Buarque, reflects Nascimento's concern with and involvement in wider Latin American issues, as does his participation in the album *Corazón americano* (Heart of America) with Mercedes Sosa and Leon Gieco.

Another compositional element of Milton Nascimento's music is the recurrence of the same melodic material in more than one song. For example, the introduction to 'Credo' also appears as a section of 'San Vicente,' both on the LP *Clube da Esquina 2*, and 'Saídas e bandeiras No. 2' is a variation of 'Saídas e bandeiras No. 1' from the LP *Clube da Esquina*.

Nascimento's vocal quality is central to his music. The singer Elis Regina once remarked that 'If God had voice it would be like Milton Nascimento's' (quoted in Arcanjo 2011). His voice is limpid and bright and has a big range, his falsettos being extremely clear. It has a very affecting quality. In addition, Nascimento is an outstanding interpreter, his performance ranging from the epic to the lyric. Lacking a formal education in singing, he undoubtedly became one of the most outstanding singers in the world.

The role of instrumental music is also important in *Clube da Esquina,* both in terms of instrumental composition *per se*, as for example in 'Aquelas coisas todas' (All Those Things) from Toninho Horta's album *Terra dos pássaros* and in the vocalized arrangements used by Nascimento in various songs such as 'Lilia' and 'Clube da Esquina n°2' (both from *Clube da Esquina*) and also in 'Nascente' from the album *Clube da Esquina 2*. In 1968, when the lyrics of songs from Nascimento's album *Milagre dos peixes* (Miracle of the Fishes) were censored, he released it as an instrumental album, with the instrumental arrangements and interpretation bearing the entire emotional weight of the absent lyrics.

Wagner Tiso, Nivaldo Ornelas, Toninho Horta, Flávio Venturini, among others, had a solid musical education, which is reflected in their orchestrations and arrangements. In the album *Terra dos pássaros*, Toninho Horta was both the orchestrator and conductor.

The song 'Sentinela' (Nascimento, Brant) can be seen as presenting a synthesis of many of the diverse features in *Clube da Esquina*. At the beginning of the song, the arrangement of the *a cappella* choir and organ reflect the influence of the Church, the introduction of the drums points to their importance in Afro-Brazilian music, the rhythmic structure is created with alternating meter, the string arrangements are elaborate and there is even a jazz guitar solo.

Musicians from *Clube da Esquina* were also involved in other artistic areas. Fernando Brant created the scripts and Milton Nascimento composed the soundtrack for the ballets *Maria Maria* (1976) and *Último trem* (Last Train) (1981) by the ballet company *Grupo Corpo*. Tavinho Moura is the author of several film soundtracks, many of which were award-winning (*Cabaré Mineiro* and *Minas Texas* from director Carlos Alberto Prates).

Conclusion

In 1979 the last albums were released in which group participation was still significant: *Clube da Esquina 2*, by Milton Nascimento, *A Via Láctea*, by Lô Borges, *Sol de primavera* by Beto Guedes and *Terra dos pássaros* by Toninho Horta. Thereafter, the musicians parted in order to pursue independent careers.

Until the 1980s the market for popular music in Brazil was restricted to the Rio–São Paulo circuit. The fact that most of the *Clube da Esquina* members refused to leave Minas Gerais made it difficult for this music to gain a strong foothold in the national market. At the same time, in Minas Gerais itself music production grew considerably and consolidated, putting Belo Horizonte among the major music markets in Brazil. *Clube da Esquina* continues to exert a great influence on the music scene in Minas Gerais. A new generation of musicians, composers and singers such as Chico Amaral (composer and saxophonist), Celso Adolfo (singer and composer), Samuel Rosa (composer and singer of the band Skank), Marina Machado (singer), Telo Borges (composer and pianist), Neném (drums) work with musicians from *Clube da Esquina* while also developing their own ways.

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SILVIA DE OLIVEIRA BERALDO
(TRANSLATED BY DARA MURPHY)

Coco

The word '*coco*' is used throughout northeastern Brazil to refer to a wide variety of recreational songs and dances. Some researchers of folklore relate the origin of the *coco* dance, somewhat speculatively, to the harvesting of the fruit of the *coco* (coconut) tree. The first written record of the use of the word in a musical sense occurred in 1829. By 1915 commercial *coco* recordings had begun to be made, but unlike *samba coco* never established itself as a modern popular music genre. The earliest form of *coco* is accompanied by percussion only, while recordings include harmonic instruments such as guitar, mandolin and accordion. The two best-known types of traditional *coco* are *coco-de-roda* (danced and sung) and *coco-de-embolada* (only sung). Both present a binary rhythm cycle (four sixteenth notes plus four sixteenth notes), syncopatively stressing the fourth sixteenth note.

In the *coco-de-roda*, a soloist sings one, two or four verses, answered in chorus by the rest of the participants. The response is the same length as, or shorter than, the verse sung by the soloist, and melodically simple enough to be learned quickly by any participants that are unfamiliar with it (tonic-dominant harmonies are generally implicit). The subjects are many and varied, including love, work, religion, humor and the everyday life of fishermen, cattle workers and other poor people. The accompaniment is generally provided by *bombo* (a cylindrical two-headed bass drum), *caixa* (snare drum) and *mineiro* (closed cylindrical shaker, also known as *ganzá*). It is performed as a *roda* – that is, all the participants form a circle – in which a couple (usually male-female) will dance, in a non-embraced manner, in the center of the circle, then choose new dancers to take their place, and so on until everybody participating has danced.

Coco-de-embolada is based on *embolada*, a poetic form comprised of two stanzas, each of which contains one four-syllable line and three seven-syllable lines. These are sung in a fast tempo and often improvised. A refrain is added after each *embolada*. *Coco-de-embolada* is sung in the streets of large cities and towns by pairs of singers in the form of a poetic duel, often of a humorous nature, alternating between the *embolada* and the refrain and accompanying themselves on *pandeiros* (single-headed frame drums with jingles).

In the first decades of the twentieth century the new recording industry in Rio de Janeiro explored a variety of traditional genres, including *coco*, adapting them to a commercial environment. At this time in Brazil, making commercial recordings that did not include harmonic accompaniment was unthinkable, so genres without melodic instruments, like *coco*, saw their instrumentation expanded or changed in this new environment. There were no written arrangements, however. The arrangements were simply harmonic and rhythmic patterns, plus a melodic introduction composed *ad hoc*.

The *embolada*, which was treated as a separate genre of popular music, had some prestige and was included in the repertoire of groups such as Bando de Tangarás, and of individual singers such as Minona Carneiro (Severino de Figueiredo Carneiro, 1902–36) and Manezinho Araújo (Manuel Pereira de Araújo, 1913–93). Fewer songs recorded from the 1920s were labeled as *cocos*, although the difference between '*coco*' and '*embolada*' as genre designations in recordings of this period seems unclear.

In the second half of the twentieth century the most important *coco* singer, well known for his recordings, was Jackson do Pandeiro (José Gomes Filho, 1919–82), whose mother was a traditional *coco* singer from Alagoa Grande, a small town in the state of Paraíba. His first hit, 'Sebastiana,' a *coco* by Rosil Cavalcanti (a song composer who wrote in various genres), was recorded in 1953 in Rio de Janeiro and included accordion in the arrangement.

As of the late 1990s *coco* enjoyed renewed importance as a popular genre and saw a resurgence in recorded activity, especially in Pernambuco, partly due to the rise of the *mangue* artistic movement which combined traditional local influences with international sounds and included *coco* as one of its feeder genres. The group Faces do Subúrbio, for example, creatively related *embolada* singing to rap.

Recordings of traditional *coco* made since the resurgence of interest in the genre, unlike Jackson do Pandeiro's or those of the first half of the century, favor a purely percussive accompaniment devoid of melodic/harmonic instruments; as such, the musicians involved claim a greater adherence to the sound of traditional *coco*. Important artists of this ilk have been the singer Selma do Coco and the group Samba de Coco Raízes de Arcoverde, both from Pernambuco. The former recorded her first CD in 1998 (*Minha história*), when she was already more than 60 years old. She favors the *coco-de-roda* as it is sung and danced in the coastal region between Cabo de Santo Agostinho (Pernambuco state) and João Pessoa (Paraíba state). Unlike in traditional *coco*, however, Selma adds to these a pair of *congas*. The group Samba de Coco Raízes de Arcoverde is from Arcoverde, a town 300 kilometers west of Recife (Pernambuco state). They released their first CD in the year 2000 (*Raízes de Arcoverde*). They also use call-and-response, but with greater emphasis on the soloist's part than in coastal *coco-de-roda*, approximating it to *embolada*; the chorus responds in parallel thirds. The accompaniment is provided by *pandeiro*, triangle, *surdo* (two-headed cylindrical bass drum played with beaters) and *ganzá*.

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CARLOS SANDRONI

Comback

The *comback* party is a Cuban-based music and dance event that evolved in Curaçao during the mid-twentieth century. Its origins lay with the 1920s Afro-Curaçaoan migration, when over half the male Afro-Curaçaoan workforce migrated to Cuba in search of work. Slavery had been big business on the island; when it was abolished in 1863 meaningful employment was virtually impossible to find. Most white Hollanders returned to the Netherlands, while Afro-Curaçaoans were forced to travel outside the island for work. Of the various destinations, Cuba became the most popular, with Afro-Curaçaoans joining Chinese, Mexican, Haitian and Jamaican nationals seeking employment in Cuba's lucrative sugar industry. The music that gained the most popularity among Afro-Cubans during this time – including the *son*, *guaracha*, *guajira* and *danzón* – was embraced with equal enthusiasm by Afro-Curaçaoan migrant workers.

When, in the 1930s, employment opportunities improved on Curaçao (through the establishment of Dutch Shell Oil refineries), the emigrant Afro-Curaçaoan workforce returned to their home island, bringing with them favorite 78 rpm recordings of Cuban music. These recordings became a popular commodity on Curaçao, receiving considerable airplay from local disc jockeys. Afro-Curaçaoan musicians also organized numerous dance bands emulating the traditional Cuban genres, usually incorporating Cuban instruments, like the *tres* and *marimbula*. Cuban-styled dance clubs emerged and private dance parties flourished, with club owners and hosts either hiring bands or playing 78s.

Although Cuban culture had been associated exclusively with Afro-Curaçaoans, this shifted in the 1970s, when Curaçao's white and black populations, united through mutual discontent regarding governmental bureaucracy, joined forces, relying on Cuban culture to strengthen their collective struggle. Bands made famous decades earlier, including Nilo Rivero y Su Conjunto and Martijn 'Shon Ma' Salsbach y Su Conjunto, reorganized, with white and black musicians reaffirming their earlier commitment to imitate closely original 1920s Cuban recordings. With the *danzón*, *son*, *guaracha* or *guajira* providing the rhythmic base, they also composed new melodies and attached texts which, written in Spanish, *Papiamento* (the Creole language of Curaçao) and even English, communicated stories distinctive to Curaçao. Weekly radio programs were organized by Frank Casimiri, highlighting the Cuban music from his prized collection of 78s, interspersed with newly recorded selections by local Cuban-inspired bands. During the shows, Casimiri invited audiences to 'Come back to the music you know and love. Come back to the music of your past.' The popularity of Casimiri's show was tremendous, with neighborhood parties often organized around these radio shows. These parties borrowed Casimiri's famous call by assuming the title *Comback*, a vernacular version of the English term 'comeback.'

Comback parties generally are held outdoors in a *hòfi*, the garden grounds of a former slave plantation home. All *comback* parties must have a disc jockey, the most sought after of whom own large and diverse collections of old Cuban recordings, and many also hire live bands. The dancing continues to reflect an assumed Cuban tradition: steps are small but fast-paced, with the man seemingly floating across the dance floor, the female dancer's upper torso bent backward, her right arm pinned behind her head, while her partner's right arm is stretched over her left shoulder.

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NANETTE DE JONG

Comedia Musical Argentina

Argentina was the first country in South America to establish its own distinctive form of musical comedy. It began to do so in the 1930s, but its antecedents were already in place at the end of the nineteenth century, due to Argentine theater's adherence to the features of the Spanish *género chico*. This term refers to short works falling under diverse denominations – *zarzuela, sainete lírico, paso lírico, opereta, revista* – in which the dramatic action was complemented by musical numbers. In quite a short period of time the Creole *género chico* replaced the older Spanish repertoire. Music played an important role in the dramatic construction, whether to characterize a protagonist or a situation or simply to position the spectator within a determined time and space. To achieve this objective, the composers used local popular musical genres, such as the *tango* and the *milonga* for those pieces centering the action in the urban environment and style, and the *estilo*, the *vidala* or the *vidalita* for those setting the dramatic development in rural or peasant areas.

Several of the first composers of the genre were Spaniards who had settled in Buenos Aires and quickly assimilated contemporary Argentine popular music. Notable among them was Antonio Reynoso (1869–1912), who composed music for the *zarzuel*a *Justicia criolla* (Creole Justice) in 1897 with a libretto by Ezequiel Soria, and in which the *tango* was danced on stage for the first time. At that time, the *tango* was in its gestation period, which explains why the first theatrical examples are significantly affiliated to the *tangos* of the Spanish *zarzuela* which in turn stemmed from the Cuban *habanera.* Another distinguished composer was the Argentine Eduardo García Lalanne (1865–1937) who achieved a resounding success with *Gabino el mayoral* (1898), with words by Enrique García Velloso, in which the *tango* 'No me vengas con paradas' (Don't Stand Me Up) was performed, prompting its widespread circulation.

Another composer of Spanish origin José Carrilero (1870–1932) composed the music for *No hay tierra como mi tierra* (There Is No Country Like My Country) with words by José Antonio Saldías. Premiered in Buenos Aires in 1921, its plot was presented in six parts, taking place in different settings – the Argentine *pampa*, Seville, London and Paris – which Carrilero evoked through various musical genres, including a motif inspired by a *vidalita* from the *pampa* that functioned as a *leitmotiv* to identify the leading character.

José Padilla (1889–1960), also Spanish, developed part of his career in the theaters of Buenos Aires. In 1920 he premiered the operetta *La viuda de Mendizábal* (The Widow of Mendizábal), with words by Alberto Vacarezza, in which the majority of the musical numbers were based on the *tango*.

The premiere in 1932 of *La muchachada del centro* (The Downtown Boys), with music by Francisco Canaro (1887–1956) and words by Ivo Pelay, initiated a defining stage in the development of the Argentine musical comedy. In his 14 musical comedies (the last being *Tangolandia* [1957]), Canaro made the *tango* the dominant musical form, also introducing new variants such as the '*tangón*' and the '*tango sinfónico*.' By featuring the *tango* in the majority of the musical numbers and using it with greater intensity than previous composers, he made the *tango* the central musical pillar or essence of the shows. Canaro also made use of other popular genres, such as *rancheras, valses, milongas* and *marchas* and, along with the conventional theater orchestra, also included a typical *tango* orchestra, consisting of four *bandoneónes*, four violins, a double bass and a piano. Many numbers quickly became popular beyond the stage, including the *tangos* 'Casas viejas' (Old Houses) and 'La copla porteña' (The Copla of Buenos Aires) and the *vals* 'Tu y yo' (You and I), all performed in *Rascacielos* (1935), the *tango* 'Todo te nombra' (Everything Calls Your Name) from *El muchacho* *de la orquesta* (The Orchestra Boy [1939]), the song 'Apasionadamente' (Passionately) from *La historia del tango* (1941), the *milonga* 'Se dice de mí' (They Say About Me) from *Buenos Aires de ayer y de hoy* (Buenos Aires from Yesterday to Today [1943]), the *tango* 'Adios Pampa mía' from 'El tango en París' (1945) and the fantasy *tango* 'Pájaro azul' (Bluebird) from *Con la música en el alma* (With Music in the Soul [1949]).

Composers of art music also ventured into the musical comedy, as is the case of Carlos López Buchardo (1881–1948) with *Madama Lynch* (1932) and *La Perichona* (1933), both with texts by Enrique García Belloso and Agustín Remón. Centered on historical figures, the first tells of the romance between Elisa Lynch and the Paraguayan field marshal Francisco Solano López, and the second, the love affair of Ana Perichón and Santiago de Liniers in Buenos Aires during the colonial period and the uprising against Spanish domination. In both works, the author used various numbers in traditional and Creole musical genres.

Another significant musical comedy was *El patio de la morocha* (The Morocha's Courtyard), premiered in 1953, with texts by Cátulo Castillo and music by Aníbal Troilo. It also features the *tango* as its main musical component.

Following a period during which the genre lost its popularity, at the end of the 1970s a new stage began for the Argentine musical comedy, as a result of the creations of author and theatrical director Pepe Cibrián Campoy and composer Ángel Mahler. Their works are inspired by world literature themes, such as *Drácula, el musical* (1991), *El jorobado de París* (The Hunchback of Notre Dame [1993]), *Las mil y una noches* (One Thousand and One Nights [2001]), *Calígula*, *Dorian Gray, el retrato* (Portrait of Dorian Gray [2005]), *El fantasma de Canterville* (2007), *Otelo* (2009) and *Excalibur* (2012). In these productions any reference to local musical genres is absent, employing a stage construction and musical language more closely associated with the conventions imposed on the North American musical comedy.

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HÉCTOR LUÍS GOYENA (TRANSLATED BY ZUZANA PICK)

Compuesto

The *compuesto* is a Paraguayan storytelling genre set to traditional music. A counterpart to other descriptive balladry practices found throughout Latin America, it became highly popular in Paraguay during the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth. Although its composition practice has declined, the genre survives mostly through the performance of the old *compuestos*, usually featured as part of local music festivals.

The *compuesto* is centered on a dramatic, epic or tragic *suceso* (event). *Compuestos* can be performed in 6/8 (compound duple) meter using the melodic, harmonic and rhythmic features of the Paraguayan *polca*, or in simple duple meter, in the style of *rasguido doble* (double strumming). Usually of anonymous authorship and structured in *coplas* (four-line verses) or *décimas* (ten-line verses) with a refrain in the middle or at the end of the text, the *compuesto* is sung in Guaraní or in Jopará, a local language that combines words and phrases in both Guarani and Spanish.

The traditional *compuesto* ensemble includes two singers accompanied by guitars, harp and accordion. *Compuesteros* (performers of *compuestos*) usually receive their musical training through oral tradition, and although most of them travel to the capital, Asunción, for work purposes or occasional musical presentations, they appear to have been influenced very little by musical urban practices. Some *compuesteros* perform individually, accompanying themselves on the guitar, harp or *rabel* (spike fiddle). Such was the case with Roquito Mereles (1889–1985), who, with the accompaniment of his *rabel* and that of fellow musician Anselmo Orué on the guitar, sang about events related to the Chaco War with Bolivia (1932–35) and current events at the Plaza Uruguaya – a staple for social interaction – in Asunción. Another example is that of *arpero popular* (popular harp player) Agapito Morínigo 'Tacho'í' (ca. 1910–93). In *compuesto* performances, the diatonic harp, the accordion and the guitar serve as accompanying instruments, providing an introduction as well as musical interludes between stanzas, but very rarely featured as solo instruments during performances.

Two of the most popular *compuestos* are 'Guyrá compuesto' (The Compuesto of the Birds) and 'Pancha Garmendia.' Collected by ethnologist León Cadogan (1899–1973) in the Guairá region, the anonymous 'Guyrá compuesto' is a satire against the local authorities of a small town. In the story, a group of birds organize a party that unfortunately ends tragically. The song comments on the corrupt authorities that punish the innocent and leave the guilty one free of charge (González Torres 1998, 50–3). 'Pancha Garmendia' has a text by the Paraguayan poet Narciso R. Colmán (*Rosicrán*) (1876–1954) and music of anonymous authorship. It gives an account of the execution of Francisca 'Pancha' Garmendia (d. 1869), mistress of Francisco Solano López (1826–70), president of Paraguay at the time of the Triple Alliance War (1864–70).

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ALFREDO COLMAN

Congas and Comparsas

Comparsas are street ensembles that perform in Carnivals and parades. In Cuba, the dance-music genre and/or generic-type that characterizes the *comparsa* is the *conga*.

The term *conga* has more than one meaning. According to Fernando Ortíz, 'we say conga to refer to the Afro-Cuban drum, but we also apply the word to a dance, song and music that is performed, danced to or sung as well as to the comparsas that use this instrument. A conga means "a drum that is used to play the conga, or the marching or dancing music that is named in this way"' (Ortíz 1952, 392).

The word 'conga' dates back to at least the seventeenth century and is derived from the Congolese 'kunga' meaning revelry. In nineteenth-century Cuba the word 'conga' was used as a synonym for *tango* (Pichardo 1976 [1836], 570). So far, it has not been determined whether Cuban *conga* – as a festive musical manifestation in popular culture and as a genre and/or generic type – took its name from the *conga* drums of Bantú origin which were manufactured in Cuba, or if the drums were named after the specific type of music that was performed by dancers and musicians in popular street events.

The role of the *conga* in the activities of the *comparsas* provides an excellent illustration of the concept of generic type outlined by Orozco (2006, 3):

> … constructed on the social musical praxis of a group or participating community (realized in specific spaces, even media spaces characteristic of contemporary globalization), where the interlocking of expressive music-human reactions results from: creative and subjective processes; the variable participatory interexchange; the open role of performance; the tendency to find a relative consensus according to the nature of the actions, whose validity is determined by the nature and sedimentation of the process; a degree of secular ritualization; flexible and changeable musical and psychosocial regularities; unambiguous codifying habits; and lastly, thresholds and fields of action which are mobile or blurry…

The Instrument

The *conga* drum was brought to Cuba by African slaves and was first constructed from a hollowed-out trunk with a hide membrane nailed onto the upper opening, similar to the drums traditionally used in Africa. To this day, this rudimentary manner of building drums is preserved in some Cuban localities by community members championing traditional popular music. *Conga* drums exist in various heights and diameters, depending on the desired sonority. The largest is the *makuta* drum, also known as *caja* or *ngoma* among performers who seek to preserve Bantu tradition. (The Bantu word 'makutu' designates one of the types of performances and/or festive-ritualistic manifestations that occurred in the *cabildos congos* (Congo Councils) until the first half of the twentieth century.) The *makutu* has been identified as a possible ancestor of the Cuban barrel-shaped drum known as 'conga' – calling attention to its possible origin in the region of Congo. The word *conga* is used as a generic term for all *tumbadoras* that are part of carnival ensembles. It is also used assiduously to refer to industrially made *tumbadoras* that are commercially available in the international market. *Tumbadoras* (or *congas*) resulted from a process of synthesis and development of morphological and functional features of a number of dissimilar drums of African ancestry that were present in Cuba (CIDMUC 1997, 377).

The *conga* is the percussion instrument most widely used in the Caribbean and beyond. Originally the instruments were made out of wood and the leather was nailed. Tuning was done by heating up the hide, a technique still used today in some manifestations of Cuban traditional popular culture. Today, the cover may be synthetic (this is generally the case with industry-manufactured congas) and tension is achieved through a set of tensioning screws. Recent, ongoing ethnomusicological fieldwork in the Cuban region of Quiebra Hacha in Mariel revealed *congas* made of metal (iron) (see Perez Cassola 2012).

Congas exist in many sizes, but the three most popular are (organized in diameter from large to small and in pitch from low to high) the *tumbadora* (low *conga*), *conga* (three-two medium *conga*) and *quinto*. Because improvising drums in folkloric manifestations of Afro-Cuban descent are those with a lower sonority, the latter is not considered to be a *conga* by some historians, due to its higher register. However, in modern usage, when one speaks of '*congas*' to refer to these membranophones, most players agree to include the three types described above. In *congas* (i.e., performances and especially the genre and/or generic type), it is common to use *tumbadoras* or *congas*.

These instruments constitute the most notable contribution that Cuban percussion has made to the development of the music. The *conga*'s malleability allows it to execute any given repertoire including symphonic music, but more importantly the repertoire of Afro-Cuban and Afro-Caribbean music.

Conga as an Event

As a genre and/or generic type, *conga* unifies festive, ethno-historical and ritual connotations. The genre is defined by the presence of musical articulations with semantic content as well as performative texts and actions. *Conga* is a musical manifestation that is popular by nature, attracting a large number of people. Like other genres it occurs in specific contexts, and it develops essentially (though not uniquely) as part of Carnival *comparsas* in towns and cities across Cuba. *Conga* involves singing and percussion – mostly membranophones and various ideophones, and occasionally aerophones including Chinese trumpets and traditional trumpets, trombones, whistles, etc. One account, by Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring (1940–46), makes reference to the use of chordophones such as guitars and *treses* in *comparsas* in Havana in 1937. Instrumentation, therefore, will vary according to the type and context of a given performance. All *congas* incorporate a type of boisterous group dancing that responds, generally speaking, to a rhythmic march where participants mark the beat 'in a music-human integration where the specific functions of the creators, instrumentalists and singers, musicians, (dancers), audience members, and co-creating participants are joined and interexchanged' (Orozco 2006, 7; item in parentheses added by the author). They do so with a rich array of poly-articulated movements, projected both individually and as a collective, and sometimes incorporating different choreographic figures.

In Cuba, the use of the *conga* as a musical and social event or manifestation had its origins around 1580 when black slaves were first allowed to sing and dance outside their living quarters on their days off. This is the case of the festivities of Corpus Christi. In colonial times there was in Havana a systematization of the processions and festivities of the *cabildos* (associations of slaves of different ethnic groups); as a result they were allowed to process on the streets with their instruments, songs and dances in the same manner as their Spanish counterparts during the festivities of their Catholic patron saints. The celebration of Epiphany (Day of the Kings) on 6 January became customary. With time, this event became increasingly more detailed and splendid, with blacks celebrating and dignifying their music-dance traditions and customs. These performances became more frequent and more widely disseminated, slowly appearing and becoming systematized in various cities and regions within the island. In each place these celebrations developed specific features and characteristics. This process began in the sixteenth century and eventually expanded to include patron saint days, which began to be celebrated in each village in a similar manner. In cities such as Santiago de Cuba and Guantánamo, and especially between 1790 and 1820, these festivities became enriched by the influx of thousands of black and white immigrants from Haiti. This phenomenon triggered a process of evolution and development of these festivities that was influenced by the music and culture of the immigrant population. These elements impacted on, intervened in and overlapped with the local performances. In other cities such as Havana and Matanzas, the Abakúa (or Ñáñigos) secret society would end their rituals with a street parade that became very popular, singing and dancing in costumes to the sound of drums. The *diablito* or *íreme* costume, one of the most representative figures of the society, became popular in carnival *congas* in these cities. Personal research by the author bore witness to these celebrations in the locality of Cárdenas in the Matanzas province during the 1960s.

These festivities are reproduced in Cuban musical iconography. Visual information in the form of paintings and etchings dates from colonial times to the present day. The archive collection at the National Museum of Arts in Cuba, for example, includes among the work of Basque artist Patricio Landaluce (1828–89) his oil on canvas 'Día de Reyes en La Habana' (Epiphany in Havana). Among works that do not belong to this particular collection but have been cited by other authors, are oils by this artist dedicated to the Día de Reyes en Guanabacoa festivity, and his sketch and watercolor 'Plaza de la Catedral el Día de Reyes' (Cathedral Square in Epiphany). In lithography, the album *Isla de Cuba* by Federico Mialhe (1818–80) includes the etching 'Día de Reyes (Habana)' depicting the dance of the *cabildos* in the San Francisco square. In addition, iconography on cigarette packs addressed these popular urban manifestations through themes such as the *culebra*, *baile de cabildos*, *íremes Abakúa*, among others (Guanche 1997).

Conga and the *Comparsas*

The *comparsa* is an artistic manifestation or performance that arises as part of socio-musical processes. According to Diana Taylor (2003, 2–3), 'Performances function as vital acts of transfer, transmitting social knowledge, memory, and sense of identity through what Richard Schechner [1985, 36] has called "twice-behaved behavior"' [date and page added]. She continues: 'As a term simultaneously connoting a process, a praxis, an episteme, a mode of transmission, an accomplishment, and a means of intervening in the world, it [i.e., performance] far exceeds the possibilities of these other words offered in its place' (ibid., 15). These processes are perceived as social, creative and participatory activities that exist in different contexts and with specific spatiotemporal implications and with elements that are particular to this occurrence. *Comparsas* are street ensembles that perform in carnivals and parades, and it is indispensable that they follow a concept, portray a story or have an otherwise predetermined purpose; they entail a *mise-en-scène* that serves to communicate different messages, and where music, choreography, costuming and props such as streetlights, dolls, banners and even floats are combined to illustrate a specific theme. *Comparsas* are lively artistic expressions in which the visual arts, dance and musical and other forms of theater are condensed. In Cuba, they normally involve a large number of people and are usually organized by neighborhood or village. This gave rise to *comparsas* that are representative of each location and act as both symbols of identity and of diversity – themes, costumes, music, choreographies and other forms of expression vary from one *comparsa* to the next.

In various moments in the sociohistorical development of Cuban government, authorities and institutions – first Spanish, later American during the two interventions at the beginning of the century – censored or prohibited *congas* and *comparsas*. During the first American occupation, the mayor of Havana enacted a decree in April 1900 forbidding the use of African drums and the street transit of 'tangos, cabildos, and claves,' all terms referring to groups dancing *congas*. In his study of 'Las comparsas carnavalescas de La Habana en 1937,' Leuchsenring (1940–46) included references to these prohibitions and their reappearance and development in 1937. However, the carnival *conga*, due to its popular character and ability to mobilize large crowds, was used in political propaganda. Starting in the 1920s and through the 1940s, some presidential candidates used *congas* and the convocation power of music and dance in their election campaigns to attract people to their activities. Some of these *congas* became famous and were disseminated via oral tradition. One example is 'La Chambelona,' used between 1916 and 1917 by the Liberal Party with the following text: 'Aé, aé, aé la Chambelona/Azpiazu me dió botella y yo voté por Varona' (Aé, aé, aé the Chambelona/Azpiazu gave me bottle but I voted for Varona). It was also used to satirize the politician *du jour*: 'Aé, aé, aé la Chambelona/Batista no tiene madre porque lo parió la mona' (Aé, aé, aé la Chambelona/Batista has no mother because he was birthed by a she-monkey). This *conga* remains popular today in the voices of the people, who change the text to fit their specific expressive needs, with lyrics such as 'Aé, Aé, Aé la Chambelona/yo no tengo la culpita, ni tampoco la culpona' (Aé, aé, aé the Chambelona/I am not guilty in any way whatsoever).

Characteristics of *Congas*

The instrumentation used in *congas* differs according to the region – as do the songs, drum-playing techniques and the type of march of the dancers – and its characteristic features vary depending on the expressive needs of the participants as well as on the spatiotemporal context. In Cuba, *congas* from eastern regions differ from those performed in the west in their instrumental configuration, the types of instruments that are used, and in their musical, textual and gestural contents. Beyond these larger zones, *congas* also show unique and specific traits within each locality. For instance, the shape of the *bocú* drums (conical-tubular drums with a single membrane with either nails or keys for hide tensioning) used in the *congas* of Santiago differs from the barrel shape of the *tumbadoras* commonly used in the western regions of the country. Similarly, there are marked differences in the marching and dancing styles, as well as in the interpretation of the music itself. It is important to remember that the *conga* as a genre and/or generic type is derived from sociocultural and socio-musical processes where groups of people – each with their own images, creativity and influence in their space-time – act, intervene and participate, generating changes and transformations.

Congas can exist in any given scenario, from *barrios* (neighborhoods), salons or other dance halls, to theaters. Also, this genre and/or generic type is developed by professional musical ensembles of various sizes, from traditional trios, groups, Cuban bands, to versions for symphony orchestras, each arranged according to instrumentation and as a function of the space, time, expressive needs and competence of its creators and performers. In the same manner, one can admire and enjoy the dance in a popular Carnival *conga* or in a theater setting displaying elaborate choreographies. A *conga* may manifest itself in different types of music and musical styles. In fact, during the 1940s and 1950s the *conga*, along with the *rumba*, was widely used in cabaret stagings and entertainment salons in the United States. It was also embraced and disseminated by the film industry and from here the 'inter-genre' *rumba* (to use Orozco's term for a genre that possesses a high degree of hybridity, volubility and mobility [2006]) was developed. With the *rumba*, the *conga* was encircled by similar processes, especially the *conga* that features three strong marked steps and a fourth with strong body movements, a foot raise and loose arms, first on one side, then on the other, while shouting EEH! in a catharsis-like festive revelry. This was described by Orozco as 'exotic-trivial in the dance version in cabarets or in the Hollywood scene' (ibid.). This *conga* is also known as scenic *conga* 'a la del paso chévere' – uno, dos y tres, EEH! qué paso más chévere, qué paso más chévere, el de mi *conga* es EEH! (One, two, three, EEH!! what a cool step, what a cool step, of my *conga* this is EEH!)

Conclusion

As a genre and/or generic type, the *conga* is created and developed in the socio-musical practices of subjects – creators and participants – that are part of social groups and communities that have established specific spaces and times for its realization; and 'through contacts varied in nature, inter-influences, inter-exchanges, appropriations and reinsertions, traverse various social sectors, transforming itself into a national, regional or international expression' (Orozco 2010, 64). The *comparseros* and *congueros* in Cuba have transmitted their tradition to the next generation, and the most famous *congas* and *comparsas* from colonial time have remained relevant. Some of these *congas* have retained the essence of their characterizing features in their performance (i.e., their space-time character). Among these we find 'El Alacrán' (The Scorpion), 'Las Bolleras' (The [female] Bakers), 'Los Marqueses de Atares' (The Marquises of Atares) and 'Las Jardineras' (The Gardeners), among many others.

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SONIA PÉREZ CASSOLA (TRANSLATED BY PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

Congos

A distinctive and localized variant of Dominican long-drum music (*palos*), *congos* are played at funeral rites and the annual patron saint festivities of the black *cofradia* (religious brotherhood) of Espíritu Santo, situated just north of the capital city, Santo Domingo. *Congos* are distinguished from other *palos* music in instrumentation and rhythm, phonemes and words derived from African languages in song texts, and a relatively stronger emphasis on ritual structure and religious significance. During the *Fiesta del Espíritu Santo*, and latter stages of funeral rites, *congos* accompany a traditional dance by the same name. In recognition of its historical significance, excellence as a cultural tradition, and risk of disappearance, UNESCO in 2001 proclaimed the cultural space of the *Cofradía del Espíritu Santo de los Congos de Villa Mella* a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Since the Afro-Dominican folklore movement of the 1970s, the *Congos de Espírito Santo* have been presented on festival stages, and on Dominican radio and TV broadcasts.

Congos de Villa Mella refers both to members of the *cofradía* and to the instruments and music used in their ceremonies. Funeral rites and music of the *congos* date back at least to the end of the eighteenth century, coinciding with an increase in Dominican slave trade from the port of the Congo River. Davis (1976, 70) argues that *Espíritu Santo* is syncretized with the Congo-Angola high deity Kalunga, noting, along with other evidence, a ritually significant song of the *congos* which mentions Kalunga repeatedly.

The musical ensemble is composed of one long, cylindrical, wooden drum (*congo mayor),* a second drum of similar construction but one-third the length (*conguito*), a wooden idiophone similar to the Cuban *clave* (*canoíta*) and several *maracas.* Both women and men sing, dance and play *maracas,* and men of the *cofradía* play the drums, using hands only. With an accent on the syncopated second stroke, the *canoíta* propels forward musical time with a Caribbean *tresillo* rhythm (3+3+2 eighth-note count), while the *maracas* outline the beat and its duple subdivisions. Along with the *conguito*, which combines the pulse and *tresillo* in its drum pattern, these instruments form the rhythmic foundation for the vocalists and the extended improvisations of the *congo mayor* player. While there are dozens of songs, with one exception *congos* are sung to the same rhythmic foundation, alternating variable solo verses with a fixed chorus response every couple of cycles of the percussion. Texts make reference to the spiritual voyage of the deceased, to ancestors, other members of the fraternity, Kalunga and *Espíritu* Santo, as well as to numerous more secular and mundane interests.

The combination of timbres in the *congos* ensemble is unique. Unlike other Dominican long drums (*palos)*, the *congo mayor* and *conguito* are double-headed drums, one head of goatskin and the other cowhide, though only the goatskin is struck. The drum timbres occupy the middle and lower register of the ensemble sound. A *canoíta* is larger than a Cuban *clave* and is shaped like a canoe, partially hollowed out in the center, giving it a somewhat lower and more resonant sound, though still focused. Many chorus melodies are sung in a tenor or alto register, with men and women in unison, and begin with an accented vocable held several beats before any word(s) are sung. Combined with several swishing *maracas*, the ensemble sound is rich and distinct.

The purpose of *Congo* funeral rites and music is to integrate the deceased peacefully into the world of ancestors, through a series of phases including a *novena* (nine-day ritual), a one-year anniversary of death and a final grand banquet held typically after three years. In the musical activities of the *cofradía*, *congos* are most significant, but occur alongside other types of Dominican traditional music, varying from semireligious *tonadas* and *salves,* to secular *pri-pri* (a southern regional variant of *merengue* using a *balsíe* friction-drum) and *son*. Though there are serious and solemn moments, the funeral rites and patron saint festivities of the *Cofradía del Espíritu Santo de los Congos* are on the whole celebratory, with an abundance of food, drink and laughter.

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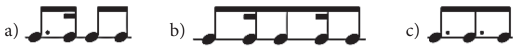
DANIEL C. PIPER

Conjunto, ***see*** **Tejano Music (Volume VIII, North America)**

Contradanza Cubana

The Spanish *contradanza*, French *contredanse*, English contradance and other variant spellings denote music and dances performed in Europe, the Caribbean, the Americas and beyond since the seventeenth century. The position of *contradanza* as art, light-classical and popular music has been flexible since its emergence. *Contradanzas* were created specifically for salon and concert performances, as well as for social dances. Eighteenth-century *contradanzas* were danced lengthways by lines of female and male dancers, with variations in square, circle and other formations. A caller, or stick-bearing *bastonero*, would often dictate figures at dances, and *contradanzas* were enjoyed by novices, as well as by more dedicated dancers. From the nineteenth century, Greater Caribbean *contradanzas* were given qualifying adjectives, such as the Puerto Rican *contradanza del país* and the Cuban *contradanza cubana*, *contradanza criolla* (Creole *contradanza*) and subsequent *danza* (dance) and *danza criolla*. Most *contradanzas* are in 2/4, although occasionally in 6/8 and 3/4, with diatonic melodies and harmonies. Their form is AABB, with each section consisting of two clearly demarcated eight-measure phrases. In dance contexts, the whole structure could be repeated for as long as desired, and combined with improvisations (León 1984, 228), different *contradanzas* and other genres.

The heyday of Cuban *contradanzas* was the nineteenth century. The earliest-known examples are scores from the beginning of that century. Cuban *contradanza* voicings were characteristically in thirds and sixths, with melodies sometimes drawn from popular songs, opera hits or street vendors' cries (*pregones*). The *tango* (or *habanera*) rhythm (see Example 1) had occasionally occurred in European *contradanzas*, including Mozart's 'Contredanse en sol' (Gadles Mikowsky 1988). However, it was the persistent use of the *tango* rhythm, and other rhythms such as the *cinquillo* and *tresillo* (see Example 1), which became markers of Cuban *contradanzas*. These isorhythms tended to occur in the bass in B sections, as well as in non-notated improvisations and percussion parts. Much scholarship has suggested that these rhythms originated from the African subcontinent, brought to the Greater Caribbean with slavery (Urfé 1976), via Moorish Spain (Fernández 1989; Sachs 1937), or both (Carpentier 2001; Lapique Becali 1995). However, as Tagg (1989) points out, rhythms linked to 'black' music have been found in some European music *and* some African music, but not all. Origins are hard to locate and were certainly multiple.



Example 1: Isorhythms: a) *tango* (or *habanera*), b) *cinquillo* and c) *tresillo*

Contradanzas could be played by any melodic instrument, and instrumentation ranged from solo violin or piano, to military and civil bands. Nineteenth-century Cuban ensembles usually featured percussion, including drums, *güiros* (gourd scrapers) and shakers. The popular Cuban wind bands known as *orquestas típicas* often included clarinets, cornet, *bombardino* (euphonium/saxhorn), *figle* (ophicleide, a bass key-bugle), trombone, violins, contrabass, two *timbales* (small timpani) and a *güiro* (Urfé 1976, 11). Although instrumentation was sometimes indicated on piano reductions, further archival research is required to understand contemporary performance practices, especially given the reliance on notated sources in *contradanza* research.

Histories

Much scholarship on Cuban *contradanzas* traces an evolving trajectory from European origins, specifically seventeenth-century English country dances and French *contredanses*, thereby eliding precursors such as the French *branle*, and foregrounding documented

European musical and choreographic practices, over undocumented contributions from the African subcontinent and from local populations. Seventeenth-century English dances, both rural and urban, were performed in circular (round), lengthwise (longways) and square formations by people of all social classes (Quirey 1993). Some indication of contemporary music and dance is provided by Playford's dance manuals, produced from the 1650s (such as 1698). Guilcher (1969) details how French dancing master André Lorin traveled to England to notate dances which, by 1688, were being performed by Louis XIV and his circle at Versailles. Whether popularized by the English elites, the French court or more humble performers, *contradanzas* (*contredanses*) were soon popular throughout Europe. They were also disseminated with colonial enterprises to the Greater Caribbean, the Americas and beyond. At the same time, millions of slaves were being violently uprooted and shipped to and around the Greater Caribbean, carrying with them their knowledge of cultural practices.

Histories of Cuban music often relate how *contradanzas* traveled a singular route from France to Saint Domingue (Santo Domingo), part of the island of Hispaniola which Spain ceded to the French in 1697. The eminent Cuban writer and musicologist Alejo Carpentier suggests that 'the black musicians of Santo Domingo adopted it [the *contredanse*] with enthusiasm, imbuing it with a rhythmic vivacity overlooked by the original model. … The so-called *tango* rhythm was featured in the bass. The percussion accentuated the cunning of the black violinists' (2001, 146). Carpentier also notes choreographic similarities with *calendas*, *congas* and other Afro-Caribbean dances. With the 1791–1804 Saint Domingue slave revolts, which resulted in the foundation of the Republic of Haiti, many Saint Domingue elites emigrated to eastern Cuba, taking their slaves and continuing sugar cultivation there. By 1808 the population of eastern Cuba consisted of 9,057 Afro-Cuban slaves, 9,226 free Afro-Cubans and 8,146 Europeans and Creoles (Duharte 2003). Given this high number of Afro-Cubans, many scholars, following Carpentier (2001), have argued that it was in eastern Cuba that rhythms such as the *tango*, *cinquillo* and *tresillo* (see above) became persistent elements of local *contradanzas*, resulting in the Cuban *contradanza*. However, Lapique Becali (1995) and Martínez Rodríguez (n.d.) propose that *contradanzas* traveled from Spain to Cuba and Lapique Becali argues that African-derived elements were added *prior* to the additional contribution from the Saint Domingue *émigrés*. It is hard to pinpoint the roots and routes of these various elements, especially given the importance of Havana as a regional port, the ongoing exchanges within the region, and to and from European, African and other territories. These exchanges were cultural, commercial, religious, political and violent. They included *contradanzas*, rhythms such as the *tango* and *cinquillo* and other music and dances which were continually modified. Whatever the origins, the popularity of *contradanzas* in Cuba was to peak in the nineteenth century, after the Saint Domingue *émigrés* arrived. It was then that substantial numbers of *contradanzas* emerged locally.

By 1800 dance was already extremely popular in Cuba. In 1798, around 50 public dances were held daily in Havana, according to estimates by the chronicler Buenaventura Pascual Ferrer (Carpentier 2001, 174). 'The enthusiasm was "almost crazed,"' comments Carpentier, 'open to all, "young lads of idle occupation were accustomed to spending all night there"' (Carpentier 2001, 155). People young and old, rich and poor, free and enslaved, danced *contradanzas*, as well as other popular genres such as minuets, allemandes, quadrilles, rigadoons and Lancers (*lanceros*). These dances were performed in rural villages, slave *cabildos* (mutual aid, recreational and religious societies), urban elite and middle-class dance halls and clubs, dance academies, homes, patios, schools and notably the *casas de cuna* ('cradle' houses), where free Afro-Cuban men and women mixed with young male Creoles (Fernández 1989; León 1984, 218, 229). Descriptions may be found in Cirilio Villaverde's novel 'Cecilia Valdés' (1882); however, a more poignant analysis of how 'race,' racism, age and gender intersected in some of these contexts is provided by Reynaldo González (1992, 188–209).

The majority of professional musicians were free Afro-Cuban men during the nineteenth century. The career of musician was considered by most Creoles to be too unstable in financial terms (Carpentier 2001, 153–4). While a few Afro-Cuban musicians came from prosperous families who could support their studying at Cuban or Parisian music conservatoires, the majority acquired their skills playing in military and civil bands. Musicians often performed in several ensembles, including symphony orchestras, military bands and elite, middle- and lower-class dance hall bands. Together with young male Creoles, Afro-Cuban musicians were important cultural mediators, transmitting fashions, music, dances and performance practices between social groups.

The nineteenth century saw a rise in local music publishing, particularly in Havana. Juan Federico Edelmann y Cayre set up the most important music publishing firm, subsequently run by his sons.

Edelmann founded his shop in Havana in 1836, importing, publishing and distributing the works of foreign and local composers (Lapique Becali 1979, 17). Significant numbers of local piano compositions were also printed in broadsheets, newspapers and, to a lesser extent, music journals, as Lapique Becali (1979) extensively documents. The anonymous 'San Pascual Bailón,' published in Havana in 1803, is the earliest-known musical illustration of a Cuban *contradanza* ('San Pascual Bailón' is reproduced in Galán 1983, 111–12; Manuel 2009, 68; and Rodríguez Domínguez 1967, 29–30). It is a piano reduction, merely indicating horn parts, but bearing the *tango* isorhythm which distinguished the Cuban *contradanza* from its predecessors. While 'San Pascual Bailón' refers to the Spanish saint Pascal Baylon, other *contradanzas* were named after notable innovations and events, such as 'La nueva cañonera' (The New Gunboat) composed by Victor Moreno and the anonymous 'La crisis o la baja del azucar' (The Crisis or the Sugar Slump) (both reproduced in Lapique Becali 1979, 38); local and foreign personalities, such as 'La Tedezco' by Manuel Saumell, named after the Italian singer, Fortunata Tedesco (*sic*) (reproduced in González 1980, 47); and Afro-Cuban culture, such as 'Tu madre es conga' (Your Mother Is Congolese) (reproduced in Lapique Becali 1979, 41). Titles of *contradanzas* did not always relate to their musical content, but could sometimes act as performance indicators.

Contradanza choreographies changed with fashion. But the majority consisted of four- and eight-bar figures, both simple and more intricate. Figures popular in early nineteenth-century Cuba included the *paseo* (promenade, performed particularly in the A sections), *cadena* (chain), *sostenido* (sustained, or holding of partners), *ala* (wing), *alemanda* (allemande), *latigazo* (whipping), *lazo* (knot), *molino* (mill), *puente* (bridge) and *rodeo* (roundabout) (Fernández 1974; Pichardo 1953). There were, however, two local steps of particular note: the *escobilleo* (sweeping) and the *cedazo* (sieve or 'passing through,' performed in the B section). In his novel *Cecilia Valdés* (1882), Cirilio Villaverde depicts the *escobilleo* as a lateral hip movement resulting in the shuffling of the dancer's feet against the floor. Until then, *contradanza* figures had been danced collectively by couples in open position (with dancers often holding one hand). However, in the *cedazo* (sieve or 'passing through'), couples danced independently in closed embrace under the arched arms of their fellows or under flower-adorned branches (Rodríguez Domínguez 1967). Moralists denounced the intimate embrace of the *cedazos*, as they would also object to the newly fashionable waltz. Their critiques were mostly highly racialized and often politically motivated.

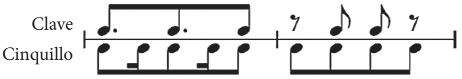
Between the 1800s and the 1830s the popularity of *contradanzas* dwindled in Europe. Meanwhile, several scholars (Castillo Faílde 1964; 1939; Sánchez de Fuentes 1928) contend that the Cuban *contradanza* was supplanted by the *danza* by the 1830s. However, the terms *contradanza* and *danza* were interchangeable in Cuba, at least initially, despite ongoing transformations to the music and dances. For many, *danza* was merely a diminutive of *contradanza*. Pichardo's definition of *danza* in his 1836 dictionary reads: 'The *contradanza*, as it was formerly called, is considered musically to be of a particular and well-known style' (1953, 258; author's translation). Terminology was further complicated by *danza* meaning 'dance,' that is a specific dance, activity or event. However, from mid-century, the term *danza* would be used more frequently than *contradanza*. And, regardless of nomenclature, there were notable musical changes including a decrease in tempo and greater variations in the B sections (creating B1, B2 and so on) (1988, 75). The first example often given of a *danza* is the anonymous 'El sungambelo,' composed circa 1813, where the *cinquillo* features prominently (see Rodríguez Domínguez 1967, 41, for a piano reproduction). Choreographically, the closed-embrace *cedazo* was extended, and the dance was increasingly performed by individual couples, rather than by couples in a group (Balbuena 2003, 27–9).

Contradanzas/danzas were composed by men, women, Afro-Cubans and Creoles. Notable composers, several of whom also led bands, included Ramón Menéndez, Nicolás Muñoz y Zayas, Ulpiano Estrada (1777–1847), Tomás Alarcón (d. 1795), Tomás Buelta y Flores (1798–1851), Claudio Brindis de Salas (1800–72), who founded the Orquesta La Concha de Oro and also gave dance classes, Vicente Díaz Comas, Agustín Cascantes, Juan de Dios Alfonso (1825–77), who led the Orquesta Típica Flor de Cuba, José 'Lino' Fernández de Coca (b. 1830), Nicolas Ruíz Espadero (1832–90), Tomás Ruiz (1834–89), Raimundo Valenzuela (1848–1905), who took over Juan de Dios Alfonso's band after he died, renaming it Orquesta Valenzuela, Miguel Faílde Pérez (1852–1921), director of the Orquesta Faílde, who famously premiered his *danzón* 'Los alturas de Simpson' in 1879 (piano version created in 1920 for Jorge Anckermann, reproduced in Castillo Faílde 1964, 191–2; see also Floyd Jr. 1999, 15) and Cecilia Arízti (1856–1930) (Carpentier 2001; Manuel 2009; Orovio 2004). However, Cuba's best-known *contradanza/danza* composers were Manuel Saumell Robredo (1817–70) and Ignacio Cervantes

Kawanagh (1847–1905), the former known for *contradanzas*, and the latter for *danzas* (see Fernández 1989; Gadles Mikowsky 1988; González 1980). Both Saumell's and Cervantes's *contradanzas/danzas* were initially published by Edelmann, and their works are still performed by Cuban pianists at the beginning of the twenty-first century, often as a form of musical nationalism. The *contradanza cubana* had, for some musicians at least, been a marker of Cuban nationalism. And while the Cuban *contradanza* could not easily be placed on either side of Cuba's independence struggles, some important musicians were patently pro-independence, including Buelta y Flores, Cervantes and Fernández de Coca (Manuel 2009, 102; Sublette 2004, 139).

Beyond Cuba, notable composers who penned *contradanzas* for piano included New Orleans-born Louis Moreau Gottschalk (1829–69) and the Mexicans Ernesto Elorduy (1854–1913) and Felipe Villanueva (1862–93) (see Campos 1930; Carredano 1992; Starr 1995). In the second half of the nineteenth century, Cuban *contradanzas* were also performed by *bufos* (comic theater groups) in Cuba, Mexico and elsewhere.

The popularity of the Cuban *contradanza/danza* began to be eclipsed by the *danzón* in the 1880s, although the distinction between the two was again not initially clear. *Danzón* would become demarcated by its rondo form, extensive appearance of the *cinquillo* rhythm within an overarching *son clave* pattern (see Example 2), and closed-embrace dancing (Malcomson 2010, 2011).



Example 2: *Cinquillo* rhythm and related overarching *son clave* pattern

Other successors of *contradanzas* included sung *contradanzas* known as *habaneras* (or *contradanza habanera*, meaning 'from Havana'), and the Puerto Rican *danza*, which emerged in the mid-nineteenth century and differs from its Cuban namesake (see Díaz Díaz and Manuel 2009). Cuban composers such as Ernesto Lecuona (1895–1963), Jorge Anckermann (1877–1941), María Cervantes (1885–1981) and Alejandro García Caturla (1906–40) continued to write *contradanzas/danzas* into the twentieth century, particularly as nationalist piano pieces. Several reconstructive recordings of *contradanzas* and *danzas* have been made in the twentieth century, for example by the Rotterdam Conservatory Orquesta Típica (1996). These recordings have inevitably focused on notated *contradanzas* and have tended to rely on descriptive writings in attempting to recreate improvisations and percussion parts. A few ensembles, in Cuba and beyond, have included *contradanzas* in revised form in their repertoire, such as recordings by Irakere and Chucho Valdés (1974, 1976), and the album '*Danzón All Stars. Mi gran pasión*' (1999) by Orquesta Todos Estrellas. In the early twenty-first century, *contradanzas* continue to be played in piano performances and danced in eastern Cuban *tumba francesa* performances (Alén Rodríguez 1991). Other parts of the Americas where *contradanzas* are still occasionally performed include Haiti (see Largey 2009), Mexico, Peru, the United States of America, where there is a revival contradance movement (see Beard et al. 1999), and the Southern Cone where the *pericón* is performed as a 'folkloric' music-dance form in Argentina, Chile and particularly Uruguay.

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HETTIE MALCOMSON

Coros de Clave

Coros de clave, literally 'clave choirs,' were ambulatory choral groups that would circulate in the streets of the western Cuban cities of Havana and Matanzas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, particularly during the Christmas holidays. Although this tradition has not been extant at least since the 1960s, its repertoire and vocal style are thought to be an important influence on *guaguancó*, the most popular style of the Afro-Cuban music and dance genre rumba. In addition to *coros de clave*, there were also groups called *coros de guaguancó*, which differed in certain ways, although the two are often discussed as the same tradition. Scholars utilize a variety of names to refer to the tradition, and it is likely that there were different appellations used in Havana and Matanzas. For example, in discussions of the tradition in Matanzas, scholars have used the terms *coros de rumba* (Grasso González 1989, 9; Évora 1997, 187) and *bandos* (Martínez Rodríguez 1977, 128; Esquenazi Pérez 2001, 210). Although mentioned by numerous scholars, there are no in-depth studies on this tradition.

History

Coros de clave were an Afro-Cuban imitation of Catalan choral societies brought to Havana in the later nineteenth century, and were named after a Catalan composer, José Anselmo Clavé, who established a choral society made up of uneducated, working-class people in Barcelona in 1845 (Sublette 2004, 262–3). (The *coros* were not, therefore, named after the percussion instrument consisting of two wooden sticks beaten against each other to provide a timeline rhythm, although *claves* were used in performance.) Several scholars discuss the emergence of *coros de clave* in terms of the specific situation of blacks in late nineteenth-century Cuba – that is, the gradual abolition of slavery in the 1880s and the large-scale migration of former slaves from rural plantations to urban centers. In addition, the tradition is often linked to *cabildos* – colonial-era mutual aid societies formed by African slaves and their ancestors along ethnic lines – with some scholars asserting that *coros de clave* functioned as a substitute in the wake of the dismantling of *cabildos* after full emancipation in 1886 (Grasso González 1989, 9; Sublette 2004, 263).

Although *coros de clave* and *guaguancó* are generally linked to Havana and Matanzas, the *tonada trinitaria* from the central Cuban city of Trinidad is sometimes discussed as part of this tradition (see León 1984, 163). Martha Esquenazi Pérez states that the *coros de clave* tradition migrated to the city of Sancti Spíritus (near Trinidad) around 1894, and that societies were founded there in the early twentieth century (2001, 210). She also discusses the *tonada trinitaria* within the *coros de clave* tradition, specifically noting that the different choral groups were, like the *coros*, defined by neighborhood of origin and engaged in competition during the Christmas holidays (ibid., 211).

There does not seem to be a consensus within the scholarship about how long this tradition lasted.

The dates given for its disappearance range from the early twentieth century (Alén Rodríguez 1998, 863; Évora 1997, 189), to the 1920s (Sublette 2004, 263), to the 1950s (Esquenazi Pérez 2001, 218). Nonetheless, both Évora (1997, 187) and Argeliers León (1984, 161) suggest that the famed Matanzas group Bando Azul was still extant in the early 1960s, and Grasso González asserts that it was still active into the 1980s (1989, 9).

Musical Description

Coros de clave were constituted by as many as 150 choral singers, and generally included a director, usually the most experienced member of the group, and a *clarina*, a female lead singer who possessed a particularly powerful voice, and who engaged in call and response with the chorus, usually singing in two- or three-part harmony (Moore 1997, 92). In addition, the *decimista* was the primary composer of the group, the *tonista* kept the group in tune and functioned as a conductor, and the *censor* was 'responsible for the quality of the song texts and the beauty of the melodies' (Alén Rodríguez 1998, 836). The *décima*, or Spanish ten-line poetic form, was the most common lyrical structure, although sometimes texts consisted of more simple rhyme schemes. Descriptions of the instrumental ensemble used to accompany *coros de clave* vary somewhat within the literature, but the most commonly mentioned instruments are guitar(s), *claves* and *viola*, a string-less banjo that was struck in a percussive manner. In addition, accompaniment could include a small harp, *botija* (earthenware jug that is blown and serves a bass function) or other instruments. It is likely that there was substantial regional variation in the instrumentation of central Cuban manifestations of the tradition, especially in *tonada trinitaria* (Esquenazi Pérez, 212).

Although *coros de clave* and *coros de guaguancó* are often discussed as the same tradition, some scholars note differences between the two, with most asserting that the latter evolved from the former (see Esquenazi Pérez 2001, 215; Sublette 2004, 263). Argeliers León differentiates them further, by noting that they developed independently of each other and that the *coros de clave* repertoire was more often appropriated for use in the *teatro bufo*, or comic theater, tradition (León 1984, 163). Robin Moore characterizes the *coros de guaguancó* tradition as more Africanized, more percussive and as having a higher proportion of male singers (1997, 92). In addition, unlike the *coros de clave*, *coros de guaguancó* incorporated membranophones, and were generally sung in 2/4 as compared with the typical 6/8 meter of the former (ibid.). In fact, some scholars assert that *coros de guaguancó* utilized *cajones*, or wooden boxes of various sizes that functioned as drums (Esquenazi Pérez 2001, 217; Sublette 2004, 263), which also constituted the instrumental ensemble of early rumba, before the incorporation of *conga* drums in the 1930s. Esquenazi Pérez implies that there may also have been a greater spirit of rivalry within the *coros de guaguancó* tradition, and presents fragments from a few songs that constitute *puyas*, or lyrical battles of wit between groups. A few of the most famous *coros de guaguancó* in Havana were El Paso Franco, Azules Amalianos (formed as early as 1862) and Los Roncos, the last of which became the most famous in part because its main composer was legendary *son* musician Ignacio Pineiro. Some of the famous *coros de rumba* in Matanzas were the Bando Azul, the Bando Rojo, El Marino and Los Congos de Angonga. The Bando Azul, which maintained a famous rivalry with the Bando Rojo, emerged in 1910 from an *Arará cabildo* (Grasso González 1989, 11), which was dedicated to preserving the religion and traditions of slaves and descendants from the ancient kingdom of Dahomey, present-day Benin. This history thus constitutes evidence of the close links between the choral societies and the Afro-Cuban *cabildo* tradition.

Although *coros de clave* and *guaguancó* are no longer extant traditions, and unfortunately do not seem to have been recorded in their original manifestations, their influence lives on in secular traditions still practiced in the early twenty-first century. For example, the mobile performance format of *coros de clave* is echoed in the Cuban carnival *comparsas*, which are also ambulatory ensembles that parade through the streets and engage in lyrical competition and friendly rivalry. In fact, León (1984, 161–2) notes that the *coros* often organized *comparsas* during Carnival, composing special songs for the occasion, and Cristóbal Díaz Ayala (2003, 109) asserts that the *coros de guaguancó* were the basis for the renewal of *comparsas* after they were banned for a period in the 1910s. The most important legacy of this tradition is in the arena of *rumba* song, and prominent *rumba* groups – such as the Havana-based Clave y Guaguancó (whose name is a homage to the defunct practice) and the Matanzas-based Afrocuba de Matanzas – still perform songs from the *coros de clave* repertoire.

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REBECCA BODENHEIMER

Corrido

The *corrido* is a Mexican narrative song or folk ballad accompanied by one or more guitars and, in the later twentieth century, accordion-driven *norteño* groups or *bandas* (brass bands from Mexico's northern Pacific coast). The *corrido* is a folksong type not primarily associated with dance, though people may dance to *corridos* when performed by dance bands in polka or waltz rhythm. The genre has evolved as a mestizo cultural form associated with the rise of a national consciousness, especially during the early decades of the twentieth century, and in the context of border conflicts with the United States. As the *corrido* has been transmitted predominantly by live performance for much of its history, its limited appearance in the form of leaflets (songsheets) and its later appearance in the form of commercial sound recordings represent an important source for the documentation of Mexico's unofficial history. *Corridos* in these forms comment not only on political events, national affairs and natural disasters, but also on subjects such as crimes, family feuds, horse races, romantic entanglements, immigration and, since the 1990s, drug trafficking. As a folk genre, the *corrido*'s characters, events and themes represent the values and histories of local communities.

Historically, the *corrido* is a Mexican folk ballad that, like the Spanish broadside ballad, stems from the Spanish *romancero*, a ballad tradition that flourished in Renaissance Spain. Soldiers, adventurers, merchants and settlers carried the tradition to the New World, where it took root among the mestizo populations with varying degrees of popular acceptance. The Spanish *romance* was a balladry of such importance in expansionist Iberia that it swept the whole of Latin America: not only are Spanish *romances* still known across Latin America, but also several ballad traditions stemming from the romance have developed throughout the continent bearing striking similarities to one another. In Argentina and Chile, compositions known as *romances*, *cantares*, *corridos* and *tonadas* have been collected since the latter part of the nineteenth century. In its poetic forms and narrative subjects the early Mexican *corrido* is true to its roots in Iberian narrative poetry, although there are some non-narrative examples, such as simple love songs or political commentaries, that are also referred to as *corridos*. Throughout the nineteenth century, a variety of terms such as *romance*, *historia*, *narración*, *ejemplo*, *tragedia*, *mañanitas*, *recuerdos*, *versos* and *coplas* were used synonymously with, or in addition, to the term *corrido*. The distinctions between these different designations were made based on the subjects of the compositions, not on their musical features. The term 'corrido' itself is probably a shortening of the term *romance corrido*, a through-sung ballad (Mendoza 1954). Its transformation into a distinct Mexican form occurred during Mexico's struggle for independence in the early 1800s; however, the formative period in the rise of the *corrido* remains a matter of speculation – mainly because both the Spanish ballad and the Mexican *corrido* were essentially oral traditions which only occasionally manifested themselves in print.

Contradicting other *corrido* scholars who believe that the *corrido* emerged and evolved within Mexican territory, the Texan folklorist Américo Paredes (1958) posited the Texas-Mexican border as the birthplace of the ballad tradition itself. Indeed, in the 1850s a number of *corridos* did begin to surface in south Texas. These early ballads depicted the cultural conflict between the encroaching Anglos who took possession of the Mexican territory in 1848 after the Mexican-American War and the Mexican farmers who had been living there since the early 1700s. The lyrics of these early *corridos* addressed the deeds of Texas-Mexican folk heroes. One of the best examples of the border *corrido* is 'Corrido de Gregorio Cortéz' which narrates the bloody encounter between the Mexican farmer Cortéz and an Anglo sheriff (Paredes 1958). Cortéz's heroic actions became an important element in the emerging group consciousness of Texas-Mexicans. This type of border-conflict *corrido* appeared up to about 1930, but the tradition of celebrating heroes continued in new *corridos*, for example, those of the 1960s about John F. Kennedy or those of the 1970s about Mexican-American union leader César Chávez and the Chicano movement (Dickey 1978).

Description

Because the *corrido*'s central function is to relate a story or event of local or national interest, renowned *corrido* scholars of the 1940s and 1950s, such as Simmons, Castañeda, Mendoza and Paredes, have focused mainly on the genre's evolution as a distinctively Mexican genre and its importance as a social and literary document. Once consolidated, the typical *corrido* features a number of formal ballad conventions: (1) a formal opening that contains the initial call of the balladeer to the public; (2) the stating of the place, time and name of the protagonist of the ballad; (3) the arguments of the protagonist; (4) the message; (5) the farewell of the protagonist; and (6) the farewell of the balladeer. Although each of these elements is not necessarily employed in any one given *corrido*, the presence of at least three of them, combined with certain features of metrical and strophic organization, is taken by scholars as an indicator of its authenticity as a folk ballad.

The *corrido* is a song with a declamatory melody in either 2/4 or 3/4 time (polka or waltz rhythm). *Corridos* are fairly simple musical constructions. Like many other folk music genres in different cultures around the world, their harmony is based on the tonic, dominant and subdominant chords. The major key is preferred. The melodic phrases are repeated for each stanza; occasionally, the *corrido* has a refrain, which may be in a different rhythm. The melodies frequently have a range of less than an octave. The short range allows the *corrido* to be sung loudly at the top of the singer's voice which is an essential part of the corrido style. Whereas in earlier times the *corridista* (balladeer) used to accompany himself simply on guitar (women did not perform in public and no women *corridistas* have been documented so far), modern singers are accompanied by *norteño* groups or full-size *bandas*. The *corrido* usually follows the literary structure of the *copla*, consisting of octosyllabic quatrains (or less frequently stanzas of six eight-syllable lines), its rhyme scheme varying between ABAB, ABBA and ABCB. Indeed, in its rhyming, metrical and strophic structure the *corrido* is quite flexible and many compositions break away from the established patterns. This flexibility contributed in no small part to the genre's popularity and survival.

In oral tradition, folk tunes exist in an array of versions or variants. Yet, folk tunes such as the *corridos* are essentially combinations of prefabricated elementary forms such as scheme, motif, theme and formula. The creation of new tunes is largely based on permutations of more or less ready-made elements. Moreover, *corridos* are largely based on literary devices: the opening statement of date and place; the introductory reference to the singing of the *corrido*; a reference to the singer, the audience or the song; dramatic speech events; journeys as a common theme; the use of particular words, exclamations, proverbial expressions, metaphors and allegories; the figure of the bird messenger; the farewell, and so forth. The use of these stock devices signals the '*corrido* world' in which the particular story unfolds.

Although the *corrido* text is extremely detailed and abounds in dates and names, its purpose is not to convey news, as often believed, but rather to interpret, celebrate and ultimately dignify events already thoroughly familiar to the *corrido* audience or community (McDowell 1981). In many ways the *corridos* were the history book of the illiterate, providing an intriguing folk counterpoint to Mexico's 'official' history. In contrast to the emotional and *bel canto* style of *ranchera* (Mexican country music) singers, the *corridista* uses a deadpan language and performance style. Even the most melodramatic incidents are described in this matter-of-fact style. Although the language employed in *corridos* is mostly simple and direct, the meanings of the texts are difficult for outsiders to understand. Not only do they feature the everyday language of the local *rancheros* (country people) or, in the more recent *corridos*, the drug traffickers, they are also full of *double entendres* and allusions to local events, places and individuals.

Corrido narratives are usually in third-person discourse (so-called *narcocorridos*, which emerged in the late twentieth century and are related to the world of drug trafficking, are an exception). Because Mexican ballads are commonly written by male authors, they display mostly masculine-oriented themes and a strongly patriarchal ideology. Like the epic *romancero* of sixteenth-century Spain which depicted bold and reckless young men, the Mexican *corrido* extols the heroic deeds of male protagonists. Women usually play secondary roles in the narratives (Herrera-Sobek 1990). Ballads and stories of heroes were part of the Mexican folklore long before the heyday of *corrido* production between 1910 and 1930, but it was the Revolution (1910–20) that generated the image of the *valiente*, the brave man, characterized by courage, presence of mind, generosity, stoicism, heroism and bravery.

Entering Popular Culture

The *corrido* was so deeply embedded in rural society that, after the Revolution, the Ministry of Education used specially composed *corridos* for their so-called cultural 'missions' to teach the rural population about a range of subjects, from hygiene to moral guidance. Some *corrido* scholars limit the production of the 'true' *corrido* to the period from 1880 to 1930. According to the Mexican musicologist Vicente Mendoza (1954), after that period the *corrido* lost its authentic folk character, its freshness and 'spontaneity that emanated from the pen of mediocre writers,' and it became 'cultured, artificial, and often false.' Thus, he concluded that 'everything points to the decadence and the near death of this genuine folk genre' (Mendoza 1954, xvi; author's translation). Similarly, Simmons (1957) feared that better communication technology, greater literacy of the masses and the influence of the radio and recording industry would condemn the *corrido* to oblivion. Contemporary *corrido* scholars disagree with this view, as many newly composed *corridos* still fit the classic heroic *corrido* style of the Revolution era, using the traditional *corrido* language, the typical 'speech event' dialogues (designed to make the *corrido* more lively and authentic, as if the *corridista* were an eyewitness), a stylized vocabulary arranged according to preset formulas, and frequent references to local men and places (Nicolopulos 1997). Moreover, throughout northern Mexico and along the Pacific coast the *corrido* remains a vital component of rural culture with an intimate connection to people's daily lives. Here, like in earlier times, the primary medium for disseminating *corridos* is live performance (McDowell 2000).

Allegations of the demise of the *corrido* in fact have much to do with the changing process of transmission that began after the Revolution and that turned an orally transmitted folk genre into a product of popular culture. When the emerging recording industry began to take an interest in the *corrido* in the late 1920s, the long-story ballads had to fit on the 78-rpm disc (*corridos* often started on side A and continued on side B). The production of recorded *corridos* reduced the narratives to the three-minute format of popular songs. However, with the spread of industrialization and urbanization, the broadcasting of recorded *corridos* and their appearance in jukeboxes became and has remained a major factor in keeping this musical tradition alive. In the early twenty-first century in northern Mexico and along the Mexican-American border and the American Southwest, the long-story ballad tradition continues, although, as some *corrido* scholars argue, not as much as a 'living tradition' but as a preservation of the old repertoire (*Heroes and Horses*, 2002).

In the early 1900s the Victor, Columbia and Edison labels recorded some 40 *corridos* on wax cylinders in Mexico City. With the onset of the Revolution in 1910, however, recording activities in Mexico came to a halt and were not resumed until 1926. The Peerless label, Mexico's first company to build recording and pressing facilities, released mostly popular Mexican music that appealed to the emerging middle class – an audience interested in *rancheras* interpreted by *mariachi* ensembles and *boleros* rather than by *corridos*. Strachwitz, in his notes to the album *Corridos y Tragedias de la Frontera* (1994), considers the decade from 1928 to 1937 the 'Golden Era of the Recorded Corrido.' Indeed, a large number of *corridos* sung by vocal duos accompanied by guitar were recorded in the US Southwest despite the financial hardship of both the recording industry and the potential consumer during the Great Depression. Because record producers lacked knowledge of the language and the repertory, they often hired Spanish-speaking intermediaries to recruit local singers. This, as well as the improvised character of the recording sessions, afforded singers some agency to decide what to record. Due to the limited shellac supplies during World War II, the major US labels abandoned the marketing of regional music. The general economic recovery and the increased buying power of the masses after the war led to a resurgence of the recorded *corrido* which now shifted into the hands of local entrepreneurs and small record companies such as Falcón, Ideal and Azteca Records. *Corridos* on records were again popular during the 1950s–1970s: the death of President John F. Kennedy – much beloved by Mexican Americans – spawned a considerable number of *corridos* (Dickey 1978) as did the Chicano Civil Rights Movement.

Corridos are populated by personages and types of figures that appeal to (or repel) the common people. They generally celebrate Robin Hood-like figures who emerge from the marginalized classes of society to perform inchoate class war: revolutionaries and all sorts of 'folk heroes' from the *tequilero* (liquor smuggler) to the *narco* (drug trafficker). Indeed, modern-day *corridos* about drug-smuggling take advantage of the traditional *corrido*, particularly the Lower Rio Grande Border contraband-type *corrido* of the 1920s–1930s, in which the smuggler was seen as an extension of the hero of intercultural conflict (Herrera-Sobek 1979). However, under the influence of a new subculture that made its fortunes with drug trafficking and was promoted by the popular music industry, the *corrido* of the late twentieth century underwent considerable change. Whereas the heroes of the Revolution fought on behalf of all lower-class Mexicans for a more dignified life, the protagonists of the more recent *corrido* production fight private and less ethical battles. *Corridos* related to drug trafficking or traffickers, so-called *narcocorridos*, have become very popular among a predominantly young, Spanish-speaking audience north of the US-Mexico border. Commercial narco-music (music related to drug trafficking – although some bands have been allegedly sponsored by *narcos*) is a fast-growing business, especially in the United States. Los Tigres del Norte ('The Tigers of the North'), a *norteño* group based in San Jose, California, launched their first big hit in the early 1970s, going on to become one of the top-selling groups in the Latino market and one of the most influential bi-national bands. Although the group succeeded in capturing the imagination of hundreds of thousands of Mexicans living in 'el otro México' ('the other Mexico') with their bittersweet immigration songs, they initiated their career in 1973 with 'Contrabando y traición' ('Contraband and Betrayal'), a *corrido* about drug smuggling. Using a clever marketing strategy of fabricated censorship, Los Tigres produced an entire album about drug trafficking in 1989, *Corridos prohibidos* ('Prohibited Corridos').

In the 1990s hundreds of *norteño* bands emerged on both sides of the border, taking up the *narco* theme. Among the most commercially successful bands was Los Tucanes de Tijuana ('The Tucans from Tijuana'). Although Los Tigres del Norte distanced themselves explicitly from the violence and drugs that mark most of the contemporary *norteño* lyrics, the majority of the songs on their Grammy-nominated 1997 album *Jefe de jefes* ('Boss of Bosses') exploited the theme again. With a few exceptions, early twenty-first-century *corrido* production is an apotheosis of the drug trafficker and his lifestyle. Although the way of life narrated in *narcocorridos* may be part of the everyday life of many inhabitants of various cities and regions in Mexico and across the border, these *corridos* can no longer be considered 'folk ballads' in the sense that the ballad is a medium in which 'the common folk' expresses its sentiments and points of view regarding its social reality. Commercially produced and mass-mediated *narcocorridos* call for a redefinition of this genre. Contemporary *corridos* not only express a commercial mystification of the drug trafficker, but are also prey to the hegemonic power of culture industry. The widespread popularity of the *corrido* in the early twenty-first century indicates that the music industry has achieved the generation of a music that speaks to an audience that is not confined by social, regional, national or gender boundaries. At the same time, there exist distinct *corrido* audiences. There are basically two types of *narcocorridos*: the commercial *corrido* and the noncommercial or *corrido* that has been privately commissioned, often to honor or commemorate a family member or friend (Simonett 2001). The second of these transcended its subcultural confines through the famed singer/composer Chalino Sanchéz (1960–92), a key figure in the musical landscape of Mexican Los Angeles in the early 1990s. Whereas the former type is recorded on compact discs and made available to a mass audience, the latter may be heard performed live in nightclubs frequented by drug traffickers. Some of these ballads may be obtained on cassettes sold in small record stores or at swap meets throughout Los Angeles' Mexican neighborhoods. Since the boom of commercial *narcocorridos* in the 1990s, commissioned *corridos*, too, have been discovered as a profitable commodity by major record companies such as Capitol Records (EMI Latin) and Balboa Records (Musart). Balboa Records purchased the rights to Chalino Sanchez's *corridos*, including ones commissioned by private individuals.

In recent years, the ensembles that have most commonly interpreted both *corridos* and *narcocorridos* have been *norteño* and *banda* groups. The *technobanda* craze that swept California in the 1990s helped the genre gain popularity and acceptance among listeners who do not sympathize in any way with the lifestyle and achievements of drug traffickers. The popularity of narco-music has provoked passionate discussions comparable to the gangsta rap debate in the United States. Based on mostly emotional and ideological judgments, *narcocorridos* are either condemned for their negative and emulative effects on the youth or applauded them for 'telling the truth,' but few have attempted to scrutinize the ambivalence at the heart of this new musical form. *Narcocorridos* are not simply people's chronicles that transgress, desecrate or question the official view. Like other popular music forms, they are a cultural commodity disseminated by the media. The same is true for commissioned *corridos*. Paired with the fictitious world of already existing *narcocorridos* and the pre-fabricated elements of the traditional *corrido* repertory, these ballads are as imaginary, or as genuine, as commercial *corridos* composed by professional songsmiths such as Teodoro Bello (who writes songs for the Tigres del Norte) or Mario Quintero Lara (a member of Los Tucanes de Tijuana).

Calls from special interest groups and politicians to control the dissemination of popular songs about drugs and violence in Mexico have led several states to remove narco-music from their airwaves. Such actions, however, had little effect on the popularity of this genre. Rather, an over-saturation of the market during the early years of the twenty-first century, together with the rise of a new popular style called *pasito duranguense* (the 'little Durango step,' which arose in Chicago and is called 'Chicago sound' in the Mexican state of Durango after which is it named), have led to a decline of the narco-music business.

From its inception in the 1940s to this day *corrido* scholarship has mainly focused on the song lyrics. With the emergence of the *narcocorrido*, more attention has been given to the social space of production and consumption, dissemination, moral values, violence, censorship and so on. A fascination with the latter subgenre has generated a number of doctoral dissertations and books that, depending on the authors' discipline, emphasize certain aspects of the narco-culture and its musical expression. The music itself, however, continues to be considered 'accompaniment' rather than constitutive of the genre's widespread appeal.

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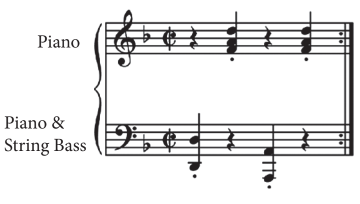
HELENA SIMONETT

Cuarteto

Cuarteto is a type of popular dance music associated with the city of Córdoba, Argentina and the centrally located province of the same name. The genre, which is a social phenomenon patronized mostly by the lower-class population in the region, is used at mass dances held on weekends at a variety of venues – mostly sports clubs – and almost nightly during summer. *Cuarteto* groups often travel extensively in well-worn band buses to get from performance to performance throughout the country. Musically speaking, *cuarteto* is identified by its *tunga-tunga* accompaniment pattern, originally heard in the string bass and piano, but later performed with the electric bass guitar and electric piano (see below for details). Various umbrella styles of *cuarteto*, described below, have emerged over time by putting standardized textures and orchestrations above the *tunga-tunga*. All *cuarteto* music is sung, and each *cuarteto* group has at least one solo singer. The genre is considered to be one for dancing – rather than just listening – and dances are said to allow participants to forget their troubles and experience *alegría* (happiness). Although *cuarteto* is called the 'folk music' of Córdoba by some, many middle- and upper-class Argentines associate the genre with a group of people they do not like, look down upon *cuarteto* and find its corresponding musical structure and the *tunga-tunga* simplistic. As a result of this prejudice, little was written about *cuarteto* – even in newspapers – until the late 1980s, and much information about the genre's history and musical evolution has been lost.

Cuarteto music was created in 1943 by Augusto Marzano, a part-time musician who performed with a large ensemble throughout the countryside of Córdoba for Spanish and Italian immigrants at weekend dances. To make traveling easier, he formed the Cuarteto Leo, a 'quartet' consisting of violin, accordion, string bass and piano; a singer who also acted as an announcer was not counted. Marzano, who was a widower, did not want his daughter, Leonor, to stay home at night when he went off to perform. As a result, he asked her to become the Cuarteto Leo's pianist. Leonor is mythically remembered by *cuarteto* fans as being the inventor of the *tunga-tunga* and the only woman to have been a full-time instrumentalist in an early *cuarteto* group. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, it is still extremely rare to see a woman performing even as a solo singer or back-up vocalist in a *cuarteto* band; instead, women usually attend dances to dance with their friends or to meet and socialize with band members and other men.

A typical example of the original *tunga-tunga* accompaniment pattern, which is said to be related to the *pasodoble* and *tarantela*, is shown in Example 1.



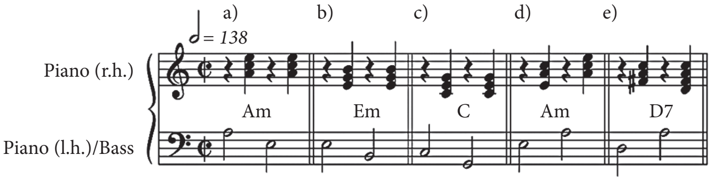
Example 1: Hypothetical example of the original *tunga-tunga* accompaniment pattern. Used with permission of SADAIC

The early *tunga-tunga* usually consisted of downward alternation between the tonic and dominant of the chord being used in the string bass and left hand of the piano (played in octaves) on the first- and third quarter notes of each measure; these notes corresponded to the '*tun*' syllable of *tunga-tunga*, which is an onomatopoeic term that imitates the sound of the rhythm. 'Tun' syllables were played louder than 'ga' ones, which consisted of offbeat triads (corresponding to the chord being used in that measure) played on the second and fourth quarter notes of each bar in the right hand of the piano. The chord outlined by the string bass and the piano was changed harmonically, when necessary, to fit with the melody, but chord changes were made only at the beginnings of measures. The *tunga-tunga* was emphasized and played quite staccato in this early style. Stanzas and refrains were sung about Córdoba, one's neighborhood friends, falling in love, objects (such as a broom) found in one's surroundings, people (such as a taxi driver) encountered in one's daily life, and topics not considered to be controversial. Despite the carefree lyrics and double meanings found in early *cuarteto* songs, most were (and still are) written in minor keys. Early *cuarteto* music often had long instrumental introductions, was played quite fast and stopped abruptly at the ends of the singer's phrases. Connecting, scalar passages in the bass part of the *tunga-tunga* were used at the ends of phrases (Florine 2001, 36–42; Waisman 1993).

When urbanization and industrialization occurred in Argentina during the 1950s with the growth in power of President Juan Domingo Perón, internal migration brought *cuarteto* to the city of Córdoba, an industrial center. *Cuarteto* first made it to the fringes of the city (1955–68), but it penetrated the city center in 1969 (Hepp 1988, 63–4). The genre surged in popularity from 1973 to 1976 after the return of Perón to the country from exile, spreading to nearby provinces and television (Hepp 1988, 64); *cuarteto* has always flourished during times of populist governments. By this time, *cuarteto* groups had grown in size to about a dozen members and had absorbed outside musical influences including *cumbia* and calypso (since the 1950s), rock (since the 1960s) and updated Argentine folk music with jazz elements. As a result, electric and electronic instruments such as keyboards began to be used in the genre. Chébere, created in 1974, was the most innovative of the new bands. It invented the *moderno* (jazz/rock-influenced) style with drum set and electric guitar and later the *tropical* (Latin/salsa-influenced) style with Latin percussion and brass. Chébere had two singers, one for each style, who took alternate sets when performing at dances; this model went on to be imitated by other *cuarteto* groups.

During the military regime of 1976–83, *cuarteto* was banned because the military apparently feared and despised the genre (Hepp 1988; Mero 1988, 53–69). Dances were held secretly, and some groups changed their instrumentation to find work and get by (Hepp 1988, 81–2). The accordion, for example, which many considered as synonymous with *cuarteto*, was often eliminated to give the appearance that a different genre (not *cuarteto*) was being performed. With the arrival of democracy in 1983, *cuarteto* once again flourished. It was in 1984 that Juan Carlos Jiménez Rufino (a.k.a. Carlos 'La Mona' [the Female Monkey] Jiménez) formed his group. He was to become the most famous *cuarteto* singer for the next two decades. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Jiménez was also the main performer of the *cuarteto-cuarteto* ('very' or 'true' *cuarteto*) style, which is linked to the early *cuarteto* style. In the *cuarteto-cuarteto* style – unlike the other contemporary umbrella styles – the *tunga-tunga* is emphasized and the accordion is still used. The violin has been dropped by all *cuarteto* bands.

Along with the development of the umbrella styles described above, the *tunga-tunga* changed over time and came to be played with electric piano and bass guitar. In Example 2, five hypothetical ways of playing the contemporary *tunga-tunga* are presented; each of these independent one-measure units would be repeated until another chord would better fit the melody harmonically.



Example 2: Five of many possible ways to play the *tunga-tunga*. The right hand of the piano plays the top line (the offbeats); the left hand of the piano and the bass play the bottom line. The *tunga-tunga* is seldom written out; the chords to be played in each measure are usually indicated with chord symbols, as is shown above, instead. Hypothetical examples by Jane L. Florine 1996

Sections 2a and 2b show how the *tunga-tunga* might be played in A-minor and E-minor and the most typical movement of the bass line, and section 2c gives an example of the *tunga-tunga* in a major key. Section 2d demonstrates that the bass line could also move upward, and Section 2e illustrates how a seventh chord might be played. It is the pianist who picks the voicing and fingering of the offbeat chords and determines how to play the bass line. The goal is to choose fingerings/spacings that involve as little movement of the fingers as possible from one measure to the next or when one-measure units are repeated. Once the pianist has decided how to play his part, he does not change it; improvisation is not a characteristic of *cuarteto* (Florine 2001, 44–5).

Piano and bass players do not usually have the *tunga-tunga* completely written out for them on their parts; instead, they read chord symbols to which they add the standard *tunga-tunga* (see the chord symbols in Example 2). It is often hard to hear the *tunga-tunga* being played by the electric piano in contemporary *cuarteto* music because the bass guitar line covers it up. Some pianists no longer play their left-hand notes in octaves, either, which also makes their lines less audible. It is possible that the *tunga-tunga* bass line might be altered rhythmically, sometimes for just a few measures (to highlight words in the lyrics, to provide contrast, to help the performer move from one chord to the next more easily, etc.), sometimes for an entire song. Groups that find it confining might play it softly or in an 'inaudible' register to hide it, or they might draw attention away from it by using overlapping rhythmic layers and percussion. A running, arpeggiated bass line or an anticipated bass pattern taken from *salsa* might be substituted for it in certain cases (Florine 2001, 45).

The history of *cuarteto* changed abruptly in 1988, when Carlos Jiménez sang at Argentina's Cosquín National Folklore Festival. Due to the unruly behavior of the thousands of his fans who traveled to hear him (*cuarteto* had been allowed at the Festival only once before, when the Cuarteto Leo had performed there in 1987), Jiménez's performance was stopped and canceled during his third song (Hepp 1988, 2–29, 74; Mero 1988, 14–15, 137–46). The national newspaper coverage generated from this incident brought fame to both Jiménez and *cuarteto* music, which had been only a regional genre up to that time. *Cuarteto* thus became known nationwide, and *cuarteto* groups started to perform in Buenos Aires at dance clubs called *bailantas*. By the end of the 1990s, however, many bands had decided to cease performing in Buenos Aires. They did not like having to perform brief 'shows' in several different *bailantas* per evening. They preferred the dances in Córdoba, which typically last from approximately midnight to 4 a.m., offer four sets, and have breaks during which dancers consume alcoholic beverages and socialize with band members (and vice versa). In Córdoba, *cuarteto* is danced counterclockwise either in couples, a circle or in a huge wheel formation in the middle of the dance floor using a special step coordinated with the *tunga-tunga*. Dances there also have a family feel in which bands' announcers greet audience members, who normally follow the same group night after night.

Although bands earn much revenue from dances, by the 1990s it had become customary for them to record two compact discs per year with new selections and innovations to keep both band members and fans interested and to earn more money. The majority of groups recorded with multinational labels in Buenos Aires at that time, but in the mid-1990s they began to record in Córdoba instead. It also became commonplace to do mixing abroad. As the genre grew more commercialized, arrangements gradually became more fluid and professional, and lyrics started to refer mostly to erotic love. Hints of other genres came to be commonplace, especially in introductions, and the underlying *tunga-tunga* began to be fairly camouflaged. Fusions of *cuarteto* with *merengue* and *cumbia* became popular with the incorporation of some Dominicans to the band of Ángel 'Negro' Videla in the early 1990s, and singers such as Edgar 'Gary' Fuentes occasionally sang *melódico* (international ballad) style songs. In 1994 Jiménez fused African-derived musical genres such as *conga* and rap with *cuarteto* in his compact disc *Raza negra* (Black Race), but he returned to his former style with *El marginal* (The Marginal Man) in 1995. Since the 1990s, bands often have several singers and use mainly the *tropical* style.

Cuarteto has gradually gained in acceptance among the middle and upper classes in Argentina. La Barra, a group formed in 1994 when it broke off from Tru-la-lá, began performing in reputable upscale clubs in Córdoba and eventually (in 2004) made it to the San Martín Theater, the temple of Western art music in that same city. The singer 'Rodrigo' Alejandro Bueno achieved great popularity – especially in Buenos Aires – in 1999 (Cragnolini 2001, 84–5); although he was killed in a car crash a year later, he continues to be idolized by fans. Jiménez has since performed in the United States, national music awards such as the *Premio Gardel* [Gardel Prize] have added categories for *cuarteto*, and recordings have been produced independently by *cuarteto* groups for economic reasons. Jiménez even collaborated creatively with a supermarket chain in 2004 to distribute his compact disc called *Selección privada 2* (Private Selection 2), a period during which some major labels were leaving the country in the wake of the 2001 financial collapse. A nationally televised, multiday *cuarteto* festival was held in Cosquín in 2003, 2004 and 2005, *cuarteto* has become popular on Argentine radio and television, and the genre has continued to be big business as it has spread and gained in status.

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JANE L. FLORINE

Cueca (Introduction)

The *cueca* is a musical, poetic and choreographic form found in the southern Andean areas of South America. It is most prominent in Chile: widespread throughout that country, it is considered a crucial element of local culture and identity and has had the status of national dance since the nineteenth century. It is also well rooted along the western border area of Argentina and in Bolivia; in both of these countries it is considered representative of national folklore. The variant in Argentina's Cuyo region (which includes the provinces of Mendoza, San Juan and San Luis), where it is practiced by broad sectors of the population, is known as *cueca cuyana*. Another variant extends from northwestern Argentina – the provinces of Jujuy, Salta, part of Catamarca and Santiago del Estero – through a large area of Bolivia in the departments of Cochabamba, Potosí, Chuquisaca, Santa Cruz de la Sierra and La Paz. This variant is known as *cueca norteña* on the Argentinian side and *cueca boliviana* in Bolivia. In Bolivia, the *cueca* is recognized as the national dance and as such is treasured and practiced by people of all sociocultural backgrounds. In Peru, another variant, known after the War of the Pacific (1879–84) as *marinera* and related to the *zamacueca*, is considered the national dance; see the *marinera* and *zamacueca* entries for discussions of these genres. *Cueca* was also popular in Ecuador in the first decades of the twentieth century, as a few recordings of *cuecas* by Ecuadorian singers show, but was never a prominent genre there. The local variants of *cueca* present differences in nomenclature, musical structure, choreography and function due to differing constructions of nationhood, histories and sociocultural representations in the various regions.

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Cueca Boliviana and Cueca Norteña (Argentina)

In both Bolivia and Argentina, the *cueca* is considered representative of national folklore. It is rooted along the border area of northwestern Argentina (the provinces of Jujuy, Salta and part of Catamarca) extending to Santiago del Estero, and through a large area of Bolivia in the departments of Cochabamba, Potosí, Chuquisaca, Santa Cruz de la Sierra and Sierra de La Paz. This subgenre of *cueca* is called *cueca boliviana* in Bolivia and *cueca norteña* in northern Argentina.

In both countries, *cuecas*, *bailecitos, takiraris* and *carnavalitos* are accepted by various sectors of the population as traditional genres on the one hand, but also as fundamental elements of a popular music repertoire that is modern, mediated and subject to continual processes of hybridization.

Status and Importance of the *Cueca*

In Bolivia, the *cueca* is recognized as the national dance and as such is treasured and practiced by people of all sociocultural backgrounds. It is present at festive occasions as well as political, military or religious ones. Presidents may dance *cuecas* at official receptions, and *cuecas* may even be danced in churches accompanied by the harmonium (Paredes Candia 1966, 40).

Jenny Cárdenas Villanueva, from La Paz, Bolivia, investigated the role played by *cuecas históricas* ('historic *cuecas*') during the Chaco War between Bolivia and Paraguay (1932–5), explaining that after that painful experience, mestizo (mixed European and Amerindian) music, including the *cueca*, spread and eventually became accepted by the elite. Willy Claure (2005) analyzed the resignification of the *cueca* in the city of Cochabamba, and in particular, the centrality of the dance in the marriage celebration, as part of the formation of kin bonds between the bride, the groom and attendants, and as an act of public gratitude toward the family and friends who are present and who helped make the wedding possible.

Origin, Modes of Circulation and Genre Transformations

Historical studies of the *cueca boliviana* and *norteña* present several different hypotheses regarding its origins and evolution. According to Antonio Paredes Candia (1966), the *cueca* stems from the mixture of *kolla* (indigenous) and Creole (Spanish-American) cultures, related to Spanish dances such as the *jota aragonesa* but different from the Peruvian *marinera* and the *cueca chilena*. José Díaz Gainza (1977) agrees, but also sees a relationship between the *cueca boliviana* and the pre-Hispanic *samakueka*, whose musical characteristics he views as similar to those of the *wayñu*. A traditional *cueca* from Humahuaca (in Jujuy), 'La cocinerita' [The Little Cook], suggests Inca ancestry in that it is pentatonic, although as such it is an exceptional case. Díaz Gainza asserts that the *cueca* appeared in the mid-nineteenth century as a decided means of expression for subaltern peoples during the South American independence wars. Originally the *cueca* was the music of the *chicherías* (canteens where people gather to drink, sing and dance communally), practiced by soldiers, artisans and farmers. Eventually it entered the salons of the elite classes, where it was first stylized, then, later, popularized. Carlos Vega (1944) also asserts that before the *cueca* was folklorized, it formed part of the salon repertoire of the provincial learned classes. For him, the *cueca norteña* came via Bolivia and Chile, giving way to differentiation through homonym forms. Finally, the explanation most commonly accepted among musicians and dancers is that the *cueca* is an Afro-American hybrid deriving from the Afro-Peruvian *zamacueca* (Claure 2005).

Different explanations also circulate regarding the transitions, modifications and borrowings that affected the genre as it passed from one country and/or social context to another. Although differences in structure, musical characteristics, choreography and general character are recognized between the *cuecas* of Chile, Peru, Bolivia, northern Argentina and Cuyo, some authors have taken nationalist and Eurocentric positions, failing to recognize the influence of the Chilean *cueca* and the African-American aspects of the genre's origins – elements which, in accordance with the configuration of the colonial population and commercial and military routes, were essential to the development and evolution of the genre. Such contradictions regarding claims of the origins of the genre have their source in narratives built around the imagined nation, in a homogenizing vision typical of traditionalist Creole movements, and most of all, as a result of the defeat of the Bolivian-Peruvian Confederation by Chile in the War of the Pacific in 1879. This event brought about changes in the genre's nomenclature to simply *cueca* in Bolivia, *marinera* in Peru and *zamacueca*, *zamba-cueca* or *cueca norteña* in Argentina.

Major Exponents

Among the genre's main composers and interpreters is Simeón Roncal, known as 'the father of the *cueca*.' He composed dozens of *cuecas* for piano, including both dance accompaniments and virtuosic concert works stylizing the genre, that were published in the early twentieth century in Argentina and in Europe. Other composers of historic and popular *cuecas* are José Lavadenz, Miguel Ángel Valda, Octavio Campero Echazú, Luis Mendizábal Santa Cruz and Ovidio Céspedes Porfirio Díaz Machicao. The genre has also been incorporated into the academic field by Willy Claure, who composed and published numerous concert *cuecas* for symphony orchestra and as *études* for guitar.

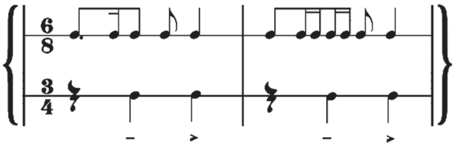
Many Argentine and Bolivian composers and interpreters helped spread the genre internationally, including Los Fronterizos, Hugo Díaz, Mercedes Sosa, Trío Cumbo-Vitale-González, Uña Ramos, Fortunato Ramos, Jaime Torres, Jaime Dávalos, Chaqueño Palavecino, William Centellas, Gladys Moreno, Alfredo Coca, Kjarkas and Tupay. Some have taken an avant-garde approach by composing instrumental pieces that do not follow traditional structures, such as Eduardo Lagos ('La Bacha' [The *Bacha*] and 'Mi amigo Waldo' [My Friend Waldo]), Lito Nebbia ('Cueca para Waldo' [*Cueca* for Waldo]) and Gustavo 'Cuchi' Leguizamón ('La arenosa' [The Sandy Land'] and 'La cucarra' [The *Cucarra*]).

Musical, Lyrical and Choreographic Features

The formal structure of the *cueca norteña*, which is the same as that of the *zamba,* has two parts, each with an introduction, two verses and a chorus (introduction-A-A-B). Within each verse, which is in octosyllabic meter, the last two lines – that is, the consequent of each verse – are repeated. In its folklorized version, the genre has two melodic themes, A and B, whereas older versions tended to only have one (an example of this older form is 'Una Boliviana' [A Bolivian *Cueca*] collected and recorded by Andrés Chazarreta). In the *cueca norteña* the minor mode predominates, with mixed scales and a bimodal minor scale.

For *cuecas bolivianas*, the predominant structure is an introduction followed by four strophes in AABA form. Each theme is 12 measures long due to the repetition of the last two lines. Differences in structure and number of verses or sections may be observed not only between the *cueca norteña* and the *cueca boliviana*, but also among subgenres of the *cueca boliviana* associated with various cities such as Potosí, Cochabamba, La Paz, Chuquisaca and Tarija. The main commonality of all *cuecas*, as in most colonial Creole genres, is a horizontal and vertical dual rhythm produced by combining 6/8 and 3/4 meters with accents on the second and third beats.

The *cueca* has a stereotypical introduction that is 8 or 10 measures long and that employs the chord progression VII-III-V-i. Its basic rhythmic motif, from which variants stem, is as follows (Example 1):



Example 1: Basic rhythmic motif of the *cueca* introduction

In the chorus a particular rhythmic motif is commonly found (see Example 2 below).

Carlos Vega affirmed in 1944 that the characteristic instrumental ensemble of northeast Argentina and Bolivia was the Creole orchestra, composed of guitar, *charango*, *quena* or violin and *bombo*. In the center-north region of Argentina, *bandoneón* and accordion might also be included. In the first decades of the twentieth century *bandurrias*, mandolins and harps appeared. As a sign of modernization, since the 1980s the *cueca* has included new sonorities such as keyboards, synthesizers, electric guitar and bass, drums, Peruvian *cajón* (box) and harmonica. In 'Cueca del Negro' ('*Cueca* of the *Negro*'), William Centellas used tambourine and wood block, a reference to the *jota*.

Song texts are generally picaresque and festive in nature. During the second exposition of the main theme, known as the *jaleo*, audience members clap along to the foot-stamping of the dancers and call out popular sayings (*aros*) and toasts between the verses. Thematically, the *cueca* symbolizes the courting ritual and conquest. However, regional differences can be discerned in the gestures and implied purpose of the dance. It may be perceived as a shy kind of seduction, more of a pursuit or almost a siege in which the man conquers the woman. For example, the tempo of the *cueca* from Tarija is faster and the dance more energetic than that from Chuquisaca, which is meant to evoke a more circumspect kind of wooing through slower, more cadenced steps.

In both the provinces of northeastern Argentina and in Bolivia, the *cueca*, in its traditional and 'urbanized' versions, demonstrates a strong presence in both family gatherings and in institutions dedicated to the formation of professional performers and teachers of folkloric music and dance. This musical and choreographic genre is an obligatory part of the repertoire of the university folklore curriculum, which supports the likelihood that the *cueca*'s presence will continue with the passage of time. In the early twenty-first century, young folklorists compose *cuecas* with contemporary sonorities and themes, respecting or, in some cases, transgressing the original formal structure. Likewise, the *cueca* is danced either with or without the typical costume, but the dancers always wave handkerchiefs, in the *peñas* (locales for listening and dancing to folkloric music) and in folkloric festivals, such as the one that has taken place annually without interruption for over 50 years in Cosquín (in the city of Córdoba).

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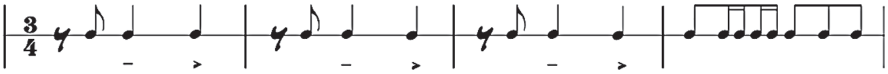

Example 2: Commonly found rhythmic motif of the *cueca* chorus

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CRISTINA FUERTES GOTH)

Cueca Chilena

Widespread throughout Chile, the *cueca* is traditionally performed by an ensemble including singers, stringed instruments and percussion. The music accompanies a non-embraced couple dance depicting, through swirled handkerchiefs and bodily movements, an amorous pursuit. The text is composed of an octosyllabic quatrain, a *seguidilla* (Spanish poetic form) and two rhymed verses (*pareado*); this structure is modified in its sung form. In the early twenty-first century several changes have added complexity to the *cueca*'s musical performance and dancing practices.

The history and development of the Chilean *cueca* is intimately connected with urban and rural musical life, the music industry and Chile's particular sociopolitical context in that change and continuity in all these areas have been reflected strongly by symbolism and discourse in *cueca*. To understand fully the introduction, dissemination and development of *cueca* during the twentieth century, it is also necessary to examine its immediate predecessor the *zamacueca,* which represents an early stage of the manifestation of social and musical issues contained in the Chilean *cueca*.

History and Development

Although the *zamacueca*'s precise ethnohistoric origins are not well understood, its rapid dissemination through Andean South America is known to have been due to three elements: the previous existence of traditional Creole dances, the circulation of armies and the increasing genre regionalization after the end of the independence process (ca. 1825).

Subsequent development of the *zamacueca*, and by extension the *cueca*, in Chile took place in three stages. In the first (1823/24–56), the *zamacueca* spread from Lima, Peru to major Chilean towns such as Santiago, Valparaíso, Coquimbo and Copiapó, propelled by the growth of theater activity, greater availability of venues for social activity such as the *chingana* or handmade tavern, and the state's recognition of the dance's symbolic value in its nation-building project (Spencer 2007). Between 1825 and 1830, the *zamacueca* spread from Santiago to a nearby Argentinian town, Mendoza (Vega 1953, 28–9), where a variant of the Chilean *cueca*, the *cueca cuyana*, took shape. Forty years later a Chilean version of *zamacueca* from Lima, known as the '*chilena*,' spread to Argentina's northern areas where it became the *cueca norteña* (Vega 1953, 73). In Chile, meanwhile, the *cueca* became accepted in both aristocratic and popular circles and continued its expansion thanks to a mulatto trio known as Las Petorquinas (Zapiola 1945, 82; see also Grez 1879, 105; Pereira 1974, 255; Garrido 1979, 180–4; Vicuña Mackenna 1882, 284; Spencer 2009a).

In a second, decisive stage of development, around the time of the publication of the first known Chilean *zamacueca* score (1856–79) the genre became entrenched as a characteristic element of written, oral and visual forms of Chilean national culture. The 1870s saw the development of a local repertoire invoking national history and traditions, prompted by the outbreak of the War of the Pacific which pitted Chile against the allied forces of Bolivia and Peru (1879–84). This war contributed to an important adjustment in nomenclature, in which the Peruvian *zamacueca* began to be referred to as the *marinera* (Vega 1953, 89–92; Garrido 1979, 62) and the Chilean dance came to be known later, through a process of aphaeresis, as *cueca*.

These name changes coincided with the start of the genre's third stage of development (1879–ca. 1910), during which new forms of collective organization associated with an emerging middle class resulted in the adaptation of old dances, such as the *zamacueca*, to new instrumental forms and salons. This stage also saw the publication of albums containing *liras populares* (a literary verse form) and nondanceable strophic *zamacuecas*. In this way, over the first three decades of the twentieth century the two genres coexisted: while the *zamacueca* gradually ceased to be a salon genre and became a source of material for printed scores, wax cylinders, phonograph recordings, piano rolls and soundtracks for silent films, the Chilean *cueca* moved toward becoming a popular genre directly influenced by social and political changes in cultural life and in the music industry.

The *cueca* was first recorded in Chile in 1906, and by 1931 more than 40 *cuecas* had been released on 78 rpm discs by several local and international record labels (Astica 1997). Between the 1920s and the 1940s a star system arose corresponding with the release of the first local recordings on the mass market. These artists, projecting a strong Creole identity, included feminine duos (*cantoras campesinas* or 'female peasant singers'), male duos and *grupos de huasos* ('cowboy groups'). Major artists of this period include Blanca Tejeda de Ruiz, Derlinda Araya, Esther Martínez, Las Huasas Andinas, Los Huasos de Chincolco (1922–1930s), Los Cuatro Huasos (1927–56), Los Quincheros (1937–), Dúo Rey Silva (1935–91), Los Hermanos Campos (1935–2009) and Los Provincianos (1938–58) among others.

Thus, through a process lasting over two centuries, the *cueca* was connected as much with oral tradition as with an emerging mass culture. Around the 1930s the dance split into two types: an urban-style *cueca* known later as *chilenera* or *cueca brava* ('rough *cueca*'), performed in a shouting style by male groups (sometimes in *ruedas* or circles), and a peasant-style *cueca*, performed by female duets or trios, which later became mass-mediated, hybridized and mass-produced. During the twentieth century, the *cueca* further diversified through the development of regional and subregional variants in Chile, notably the *cueca porteña*, the *cueca nortina* and the *cueca chilota*, associated respectively with the port city of Valparaíso, the northern regions and the Chiloé archipelago.

Between 1940 and 1973, the year that Augusto Pinochet's military dictatorship began (1973–90), Chilean musical culture underwent a change that affected the status of the *cueca*:

(a) A movement arose that was dedicated to the revitalization and documentation of popular folkloric culture. This movement was fomented by the Universidad de Chile (University of Chile) and its related institutions and through the sponsorship of the Chilean State. A direct outgrowth of this movement was the construction of a discourse that framed folkloric music as representative of the 'national' (c.f. Torres 2005, 9–11; Donoso 2006).

(b) A kind of folk associationism crystallized with the aim of encouraging the social practice of dance – particularly *cueca* – enabled by festivals, national championships, folk meetings and Clubes de Huasos ('cowboy clubs'). This phenomenon culminated in the foundation of the National Cueca Federation (1972) and was continued by Pinochet's cultural policies supporting Clubes de Cueca (Cueca Clubs) and Clubes de Huasos, among others (see Donoso 2006).

(c) At the same time a particular movement arose, known as *proyección folclórica*, whose objective was to collect, perform and record traditional (amateur) performances of Chilean genres, such as *cueca*. These genres were also approached in an innovative manner through two more movements, known as *neofolclor* (or neofolklore) and *nueva canción chilena*. Both of these movements formulated new versions of the *cueca*'s main musical and textual themes and characters, although they focused primarily on other folk Chilean and Latin American genres, respectively. *Nueva canción chilena* emphasized lyrics that expressed social commitment, and a few *cuecas* took on political overtones in the work of individual artists such as Isabel Parra, Ángel Parra and Víctor Jara and occasionally in the compositions of known groups such as Aparcoa, Quilapayún and Inti-illimani.

(d) Between 1965 and 1972 Violeta Parra's brother Roberto Parra (1921–95) immortalized a personal style of *cueca*, the *cueca chora,* opening the range of topics to include experiences from the everyday underworld culture found in brothels and marginal bohemia. Connected with this new type of narrative between 1967 and 1973 the urban *cueca* group Los Chileneros recorded three albums that were to become the main inspiration for a revival of *cueca brava* or *chilenera* in the 1990s, especially the first one, *La Cueca Centrina* (1967). Considered the most important urban *cueca* group, Los Chileneros gave voice to a marginalized social practice of singing that originated in the old downtown neighborhoods (*canto a la rueda* or 'right circling singing'), and they promoted an alternative *cueca* not immersed in mass culture (see Torres 2003).

In a later phase of the dance's development, Chile's military regime officially decreed that *cueca* was Chile's national dance (Decree 23, 6 November 1979), once again highlighting the political potential of the genre. Yet at the same time it was subverted and enriched at both the literary and musical levels through processes of fusion by rock and urban groups (Los Jaivas, Joe Vasconcellos, Huara, Congreso, Mario Rojas) and renewed through a wide range of localist discourses (Los Chinganeros, Los Afuerinos, Los Pulentos de la Cueca, Los Paleteados del Puerto, Altamar). In the 1990s, after the return to democracy, a gradual process of revitalization of traditional and urban culture and a resurrection of the 'popular' took root, prompting a spectacular revival of *cueca*. The work of emblematic 'authentic' artists from previous decades was revived and new bands were formed such as Los Trukeros (1997), Las Torcazas (1998), Los Santiaguinos (1998), Los Tricolores (2000), Las Capitalinas (2001), La Gallera (2006) and Las Niñas (2007), among many others. Since the year 2000 documentaries and other audiovisual works have been produced, recordings reissued, paintings and photographs disseminated, new dance venues for *cueca* opened and even an award for *cueca*-related research established. The emergence of all-women *cueca* groups also changed the masculine-centered singing culture and imprinted new performance trends anchored on new harmonies, fusions (rock, pop and ballad) and costumes (Spencer 2011).

Musical Elements and Scholarship

The Chilean *cueca* is in strophic form, with four strophes of 14 lines each. Each strophe contains an octosyllabic quatrain, an eight-line *seguidilla* (rhymed in paired verses) and a *dístico* or *pareado* (closing pair of rhymed verses of seven and five syllables each). When sung, this structure translates into 48–52 measures of music, known as the '*pie*' (or unit), where the quatrain and *seguidilla* are embellished by expressive refrains and repetitions (*muletillas*), which help fit the text within the music and also test the performers' skills (Garrido 1976 [1943], 124; Loyola 1999, 1082; Loyola 1997; Acevedo 1953, 41). However, within this complex form important variations do occur, such as *seguidilla cuecas* or '*cuecas largas*' (extended *cueca*) (c.f. Vega 1947, 45; Figueroa 2006, 12; Barahona 1913, 53–87).

The subject matter of *cueca* lyrics also has evolved over time. While the *zamacueca* was primarily concerned with love and the native land (Pereira 1941, 265), over the twentieth century the *cueca* embraced new subjects such as occupation, religion, conviviality, popular celebrations, flora and fauna, social criticism and commentary, history and even the *cueca* itself.

The dance begins with an instrumental introduction that invites dancers to take the floor. They dance around an imaginary circle, simulating an amorous pursuit. Couples combine waltz steps (*valseado*), skipping or dragging steps (*escobillado*) and tap steps (*zapateado*). Dancers generally dance three consecutive *pies*, moving back and forth, together then apart, in a *media luna* (semicircle or 'half-moon') pattern while punctuating the dance by shaking their handkerchiefs. Spectators encourage the dancers by clapping and sometimes by shouting popular refrains. An active audience is essential to *cueca* dancing in order to create a festive environment.

As is the case in many other genres from the southern Pacific zone, the *cueca* rhythm alternates and superimposes binary and ternary accents in 6/8 and 3/4 meters (*sesquiáltera*). Phrasing structure is based on two alternating motifs or cells (*a* and *b*), presented in eight-measure sections with a repetition of *b*, thus producing a repeated melodic structure of double consequent (*abb*). As a result, the Chilean *cueca* has four sections divided according to the verses in *abb aba* (octosyllabic quatrain), *abb* (first *seguidilla*), *ab* (second *seguidilla*) and (*ab*)*a* (*pareado*) (Claro 1979, 57–8; Claro 1982, 84; see also Loyola 1999, 1082; and González and Rolle 2005, 397–8). Phrase construction and rhythmic combinations are more widely varied in oral tradition than in recorded *cuecas*.

Although during the first decade of the twenty-first century the genre has experienced a process of revitalization due to new urban *cueca* groups, melodically the *cueca* features many repeated notes, consecutive scale degrees, and a linear melodic range between the sixth and tenth intervals with skips. The harmony is generally based on the fundamental degrees, occasionally employing the double dominant (often at the conclusion of a piece) and relative minor keys as passing chords. In spite of the fact that *cuecas* are normally in major keys, in the North it is also common to find them in minor keys and their relatives (see Loyola and Cádiz 2010).

During the nineteenth century the instruments most commonly used were Creole harp, guitar (sometimes played with *scordatura* tunings), piano (in the salon), one or two singers and percussion including *cacharaína* (scraped idiophone), *pandero* (large tambourine) and *tañidos* (tapping on the body of the guitar). In the twentieth century other instruments used to perform *cueca* included the Paraguayan harp, *bombo* (Chilean bass drum, used in the northern and Chiloé areas), panpipes, snare drums and brass bands (typically in the northern plateau). Accordion (in Chiloé) and piano are also used. Historically there were instrumental solo versions in the Arica, Parinacota, Antofagasta and Magallanes regions where *cueca* is performed as a social rite in celebration of life (see Loyola and Cádiz 2010).

Since the 1980s other instruments have sporadically been employed, including percussion (*cajón peruano* or Peruvian box drum), congas, spoons, coffee saucers (used as clashing cymbals), *guiro* (rasp) and other idiophones, chordophones (violin, *charango*); aerophones (*quena*, transverse flute, saxophone and clarinet); and rock fusion instruments (electric guitar and bass and drum kit).

Of the almost 100 books and articles about the Chilean *cueca*, only a few have contributed significantly to the study of the genre's history, music, dance and lyrics. While Allende (1930), Claro (1982, 1986, 1993) and Claro et al. (1994) have studied the influence of the Arabic-Andalusian language and singing style, Vicuña (1882), Acevedo (1953), Garrido (1976 [1943], 1979) and Pereira (1941) have published general and well-documented histories of the genre. The work of Vega (1936, 1953) and Loyola (1997, 2010) has also documented the history and circulation of the *cueca* during the nineteenth century in Argentina, Peru and Bolivia. Torres (2003), Spencer (2007, 2011a, 2011b) and González and Rolle (2005) have written from the disciplinary frameworks of ethnomusicology and social history, including ideas of gender, authenticity and nationality as springs that feed the conceptualization of Chilean identity.

In general terms, analyses of the *cueca*'s music, text and choreography can be classified into two complementary approaches: *sociohistorical* and *folkloristic-musicological*. The former, which tends to result in texts of a historiographic, literary, journalistic and critical nature, has stressed the spreading and reception of the dance in public social contexts, emphasizing its 'authentic' (i.e., oral) or erudite (i.e., print, bourgeois) properties and its presence within mass-mediated folklore and the mass-music industry of the twentieth century. The latter has emphasized the music and dance performance of the *cueca*, focusing on choreography, poetic variations and musical features such as harmony, melody, form, phrasing and meter.

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CHRISTIAN SPENCER ESPINOSA

Cueca Cuyana

Cueca cuyana is one of the popular music genres practiced by broad sectors of the population of the Cuyo region of Argentina. This area includes the provinces of Mendoza, San Juan and San Luis and is located approximately 1,000 kilometers from Buenos Aires. The *cueca* is both a song and a dance; its music, lyrics and choreography are tightly interwoven. It is part of a musical complex – which also includes the *tonada cuyana*, and, to a lesser extent, the *gato* and the *vals* – that can broadly be characterized as tradition-based popular music of Cuyo.

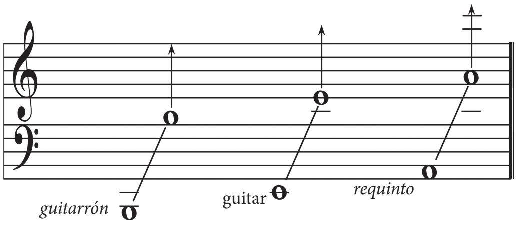
Various researchers have studied the *cueca*, focusing their work on the folkloric context and on the development of the genre in the nineteenth century. Links have been established between the *cueca* and the *zamacueca*, a very important genre in South America beginning in the 1820s (Aretz 1952; Draghi Lucero 1938; Rodríguez 1938; Vega 1944, 1953, 1956).

Until the beginning of the twentieth century these musics formed the basis of Cuyo's musical folklore and were very popular, but at the regional level only. Beginning in the 1930s, while *cuecas* and *tonadas* continued to be practiced in traditional ways and environments, they were also highly affected by the cultural industries. This period marked the start of a contemporary rebirth of the popular music of Cuyo (Sánchez 2004, 2006). New ways of constructing meaning were established, symbolic referents to modernity were created that continue to be in force in the early twenty-first century, and areas of circulation and influence of these musics were expanded. This entry presents a brief development of the history of these musics and their relationship to the culture industry during the twentieth century.

Sonic Identity of the Tradition-Based Popular Music of Cuyo

Cuecas and *tonadas* are songs whose overall timbre is created by voice and guitar. In the tradition-based popular music of Cuyo, the preferred formats are, in order, the singing duo with instrumental accompaniment, the vocal-instrumental group and the solo singer with instrumental accompaniment.

The accompanying stringed instruments range from a single guitar to more complex ensembles in which each part is given a specific role, either providing a rhythmic and harmonic base or working with a melodic function. The basic or typical instrumental ensemble consists of a *guitarrón* (a guitar-like instrument tuned a fourth down from the guitar) whose function is to provide rhythmic and harmonic accompaniment through strumming and bass notes, and two guitars, whose function is melodic, generally played in parallel lines of thirds and sixths in rhythmic unison. The guitars take a leading role during the instrumental sections, but also frequently play an active part during the song itself by providing counterpoint to the main melody. Occasionally a third guitar doubles the song's main melody one octave below. Other instrumental ensembles call for a *requinto* (a chordophone tuned a fourth above the guitar, often in double courses separated by an octave). An ensemble that includes *guitarrón*, guitar and *requinto* can work to great effect and opens up significant new possibilities in terms of timbre and register (see Example 1).



Example 1: The ranges of the *guitarrón*, guitar and *requinto* showing the fundamental notes of the sixth and first strings of each instrument and an upper range a tenth higher for each

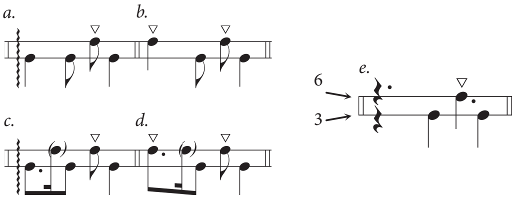
Adapting to the norms of the cultural industries, some artists have also begun to use electric bass, which extends the total range of the instrumental ensemble downward by a fifth, although this has not yet become common practice. The piano is also used less frequently, although its use has deep historical roots, especially in the work of Alberto Rodríguez and Carlos Montbrun Ocampo.

The most common vocal texture is the duo singing in parallel lines of thirds or sixths in rhythmic unison. The traditional singing style of Cuyo shows a preference for high registers and piercing timbres. The vocal production features a bright, nasal sound and the use of subtle *portamento* and sudden change in the dynamics. This combination has resulted in the singing style associated with Cuyo acquiring connotations of *canto llorado* ('sung crying') and has even been referred to pejoratively as *canto de borrachos* ('singing of drunkards') and *canto de viejos* ('singing of old people'). Singers who want to disassociate themselves from the 'traditional' style cultivate a darker, more full-bodied sound that is less nasal and features more precise attacks.

Singers usually use a portato style, but with frequent interpolations of staccato in order to reinforce the rhythmic qualities of the music and evoke the naughty, playful or festive moods associated with the dance. This is especially true of the *cueca cuyana*. The *tonada cuyana*, on the other hand, aims to convey more serious and transcendental sentiments and thus tends to use a legato and less rhythmic style of phrasing.

Typical Musical Structures of the *Cueca Cuyana*

The basic meter of *cueca cuyana* is 6/8, which alternates with 3/4. The harmonic and rhythmic accompaniment of this genre (Example 2) is produced through strumming of the *guitarrón* (or a guitar if one is being used in this capacity). The strings of each instrument can be conceptually divided into two frequency ranges, the lower and higher, corresponding to different parts of the strumming action. An analysis of the strumming (Example 2.e) shows that strings in the lower register are used to emphasize the 3/4 meter by sounding the last two quarter notes, while the higher strings correspond to the 6/8 meter by sounding on the second dotted quarter note and also, often, on the first (Example 2.b and 2.d). Chord changes tend to be approached by a rising glissando on all the strings (Examples 2.a and 2.c).



Example 2: Strumming technique on the *guitarrón* or guitar in *cueca cuyana*. Lower line: lower strings. Upper line: higher strings. Small triangle: snap. Parentheses: quieter sound

The musical form of the *cueca cuyana* is highly standardized and corresponds closely with a fixed choreography. It has two major sections containing the same music but different lyrics. Dancing takes place only during the sung parts (Figure 1).

Instrumental introduction, without dance (8–16 measures)	Song/dance (36–48 measures)	Instrumental interlude, without dance (8–16 measures)	Song/dance (36–48 measures)
Section I		Section II	

Figure 1: Major sections of the *cueca cuyana*

The structure shown in Figure 1, known as the '40-measure *cueca*,' is widely recognized as the standard contemporary form of *cueca cuyana* (though it is only one of many in use). It can be observed in works composed over a long period of time, for example 'Corazones partidos' (Broken Hearts) (Saúl Salinas), released in 1914; 'Cochero 'e plaza' (Park Coachman) (Hilario Cuadros), recorded in 1950; and 'De vendimia en vendimia' (From [Grape] Harvest to [Grape] Harvest) (Jorge Viñas), composed at the end of the twentieth century. '40 measures' refers to the song/dance portion of each major section of the *cueca* (Figure 1), which has a standard organization of 16 + 12 + 12 measures. The second most common structure has 36 measures (12 + 12 + 12). Figure 2 illustrates how the song/dance portion is broken down in the well-known 40-measure *cueca* 'Póngale por las hileras' (Work Those Vine Rows) (Félix Palorma).

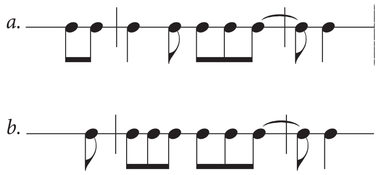
D	*Full circle*		*Arrestos*		*Half circle*	*Arrestos*		*Half circle*	*Arrestos*	*Half circle*
M	*a* (4m)	*a* (4m)	*b* (4m)	*b* (4m)	*a* (4m)	*b* (4m)	*b* (4m)	*c* (4m)	*b* (4m)	*b'* (4m)
	A (16m)				*A'* (12m)			*B* (12m)		
L	*Verse 1*				*Verse 2*			*Refrain*		

Figure 2: Song/dance portion of the 40-measure *cueca* 'Póngale por las hileras' (Félix Palorma). Lyrics (L), Music (M), Choreography (D), measures (m)

Choreographically, the *cueca* is a couple dance (Vega 1953). The dancers, a woman and a man, do not touch each other or embrace when dancing and, if there are other couples dancing, there is no interaction between them; the dance thus has a spacious, yet intimate, character. The woman and the man begin at opposing points in the dance space. The dance then consists of the couple moving symmetrically in both a circular and a semicircular manner, simulating a seductive chase at a distance, using generally slow movements and a walking step. In between the circular and semicircular displacements, the dancers perform other figures known as *arrestos* (also *paseos*, *contorneos* or *festejos*), which are freer and livelier, but within a more restricted physical area. Through the *arrestos*, flirting becomes more intimate and the seductive qualities of the dance are made more obvious through the use of gesture, facial expression and physical proximity. Handkerchiefs are also waved as tools of seduction. The four final measures correspond to the symbolic achievement of the amorous encounter, or, in the emic terms typically employed by dances in Cuyo, 'the conquest of the woman obtained by the man.'

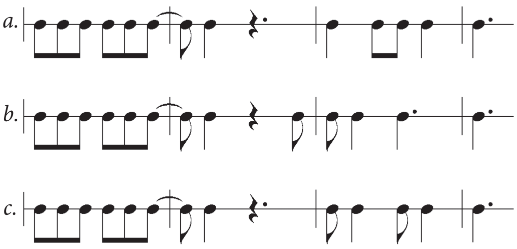
The most common harmonic progression, which we will call the 'standard progression,' is || I | V | V | I ||, always in a major key. This progression determines that in general the musical idea is completed within those four measures (as in *a*, *b* and *c* in Figure 2), and that in most cases can be subdivided into two phrases of two measures each, the first antecedent (suspense) and the second consequent (conclusion). Many other harmonic combinations are also used, such as the incorporation of secondary dominants and diminished passing chords. A frequent practice is the use of $V_{(V)}$ on the last quarter note of the first measure of the standard progression: || I $V_{(V)}$| V | V | I ||. The tonic is usually played with an added sixth and the dominants frequently employ the minor seventh.

The most commonly used literary structure within the phrases is the octosyllabic line (four or six of them); the corresponding melodies commonly adopt the following rhythmic structures (Example 3):



Example 3: Rhythmic structures of melodies in octosyllabic verse

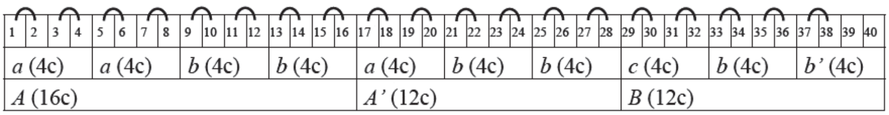
The combination of heptasyllabic and pentasyllabic verse is also very common, with other combinations used less often (Example 4).



Example 4: Rhythmic structures of melodies featuring heptasyllabic verse (the antecedent) and combined with pentasyllabic verse (the consequent)

It is very common for the first measure of a phrase to be connected to the second by means of syncopation; artists and public cultivators of the genre see this as one of its identifying features. Figure 3 below shows the placement of syncopation in one of the best-known 40-measure *cuecas cuyanas* since 1950.

The genre's sonic identity has developed, in part, by virtue of comparison with *cuecas* from other parts of South America. Although artists and public cultivators of the *cueca cuyana* recognize the Chilean *cueca* as its main precursor, through the course of the last century important differences in formal structure, timbral profile, choreography and general character have developed. For example, although the structures presented in Example 2 are the most common, there are also others that create a denser rhythm through the use of sixteenth notes; yet the more the strumming is subdivided, the more the *cueca* seems Chilean

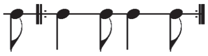


1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
a (4c)				*a* (4c)				*b* (4c)				*b* (4c)				*a* (4c)				*b* (4c)				*b* (4c)				*c* (4c)				*b* (4c)				*b'* (4c)			
A (16c)																*A'* (12c)												*B* (12c)											

Figure 3: Placement of syncopation in 'Póngale por las hileras.' (Palorma)

and therefore less Cuyano. Tempo is also a significant factor: although it is festive in character, the *cueca cuyana* typically runs at 65 dotted quarter notes per minute, much slower than the Chilean *cueca* which often surpasses 80 dotted quarter notes per minute. In addition, the dance of the *cueca cuyana* features a walked and dragged step, in comparison with the Chilean step which is characterized by small hops. Finally, from a traditionalist perspective, the use of percussion instruments in a *cueca cuyana* ensemble would be frowned upon, whereas tambourine, *tormento* (a wooden idiophone) and even drum kit are used in *cueca chilena*, and *bombo legüero* (Andean bass drum) is employed in *cueca norteña*.

Common lyrical themes in the *cuecas* include the local landscape or environment, love, deceit and occupational or regional issues, especially wine-growing and wine-drinking as a source of inspiration. Audience members frequently interrupt the performance by shouting '*aro, aro!*' and then toast or share wine with the musicians. A festive environment is created through the use of particular themes and performance practices, as well as through the participation of audience members who may dance, sing along with the choruses and clap the rhythm in certain sections. As in other South American dances, the clapping pattern accentuates the 6/8 feel (Example 5); from a symbolic point of view, the handclaps reinforce the sense of common purpose between the musicians and the audience.



Example 5: The clapping pattern in the *cueca cuyana*

Another theme often present in the *cueca cuyana* is that of the War of Independence (1810–24), particularly the role of José de San Martin and of the people of Cuyo in establishing the Army of the Andes to fight for independence. Although songs dealing with this subject are referring to events in the relatively distant past, they were composed after 1930 and form part of the era of mediated folklore. The state has frequently used these songs to manipulate processes of national and regional identity construction, thus associating nationalist ideals with the more traditionalist musicians (Sánchez 2005a). Most representative of this type of *cueca cuyana* is 'Los sesenta granaderos' (Cuadros/Pérez Cardozo).

Conclusion

Cuyoan music suffered a gradual decline in visibility on a national level starting in the mid-1950s, which led to a reduced circulation of this music during the final decades of the twentieth century. In the 1980s there was a return to local circuits in the provinces of Cuyo, where the practices of the culture industry were re-dimensioned and re-signified on a smaller scale. Despite these changes, new interpreters of *cueca* continue to give this genre an important place in large festivals as well as small concerts. In the twenty-first century the emergence of small digital recording studios revitalized the production of the music by enabling the dissemination of new works. Today, in contrast to the more contemplative *tonada cuyana*, the festive *cueca cuyana* is considered the Cuyoan genre of most presence among tradition-based popular music in Argentina.

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OCTAVIO SÁNCHEZ (TRANSLATED BY MONA-LYNN COURTEAU AND PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

Cumbia

Cumbia is the best-known Colombian genre and has been referred to as the ‘musical synthesis of the Colombian nation’ (Zapata Olivella 1962). The term refers to styles of music and dance. *Cumbia* has a ‘folkloric’ or ‘traditional’ expression, believed to be of colonial origins and still played by ensembles that present themselves as playing folklore associated with Colombia’s Caribbean coastal region. Folkloric ensembles are based on drums, rattles and cane flutes, playing a 4/4 rhythm, often without vocals, although octosyllabic quatrains may be sung in call-response fashion. The accompanying dance involves pairs of men and women who, while engaged in what is identified as a courtship dance, do not touch each other but circle around a central core of musicians, like a wheel around a hub. At night, the women often hold up bunches of burning candles. Purists might dissent, but folkloric *cumbia* can also be played by small ensembles based on the accordions which entered Colombia from the late nineteenth century (Bermúdez 1996, 116; Zapata Olivella 1962, 196).

Cumbia also has a commercial, 'modern,' 'popular music' mode of expression, which has been played by different ensembles from big jazz bands of the 1940s and 1950s (ensembles similar in makeup to popular big-band orchestras all over the Americas) to smaller combos of the 1970s onward, which include electric piano and bass, brass and/or wind, drum kit and other percussion. This form of *cumbia* usually has a vocal accompaniment and is typically danced by couples who hold each other. From the 1960s 'commercial' *cumbia* became popular in many countries of Latin America outside Colombia and was also played by local groups who adapted the style. The line between folkloric and commercial *cumbia* is flexible, of course, as folklore is a commercial product and commercial bands may present themselves as tapping into more or less 'authentic' roots.

History

Cumbia is usually presented in the literature as a style of antique origins, rooted in the Caribbean coastal region of the colonial vice-royalty of New Granada (more or less today's Colombia, but which, in the north, included parts of present-day Panama) and emerging principally out of encounters between African slaves and indigenous people, with overlays of Spanish influence (Abadía Morales 1983; Davidson 1970; Escalante 1964; Ocampo López 1988; Perdomo Escobar 1963; Zapata Olivella 1962). The word *cumbia*, and the related term, *cumbiamba*, which refers to a social festivity of dancing *cumbia*, are said to be connected to the term *cumbé* (sometimes *kumb*), identified as African (usually from Guinea). Solid historical evidence is rarely supplied to substantiate this derivation, although it is impossible to deny the African input into Colombia's Caribbean coastal culture, given the importance of slavery to the local colonial economy and the function of the local city of Cartagena as a key slaving port.

Instead, secondary sources mostly refer to each other and other twentieth-century sources. However, reference is made by Escalante (1964, 149) to the memoirs of Joaquín Posada Gutiérrez who wrote in about 1865, describing the period of his youth in the 1830s (Posada Gutiérrez 1920, 334–49): he described the Festival de la Candelaria in Cartagena and the dances of black slaves and indigenous people, as well as whites and mixed-race people (see also Simon 1994, 186). Yet Posada Gutiérrez does not mention *cumbia* as such, referring instead to *currulao*, *gaita* and *mapalé*. González Henríquez (1987, 474–5) cites a 1912 history of Cartagena by Urueta and Gutiérrez de Piñeres which described *fandangos* in the city in the late nineteenth century, but does not mention *cumbia*. The nineteenth-century travelers, described by Peñas (1988) in his account of the *bogas* (boatmen) who worked the vital Cartagena-Bogotá river transport, did not mention it either, again referring to *currulao*. Cordovez Moure (1957 [1893], 484), another traveler of the era, did the same. Fals Borda (1979, 48A) interviewed a 90-year-old ex-*boga* who referred to *bunde*, *berroche* and *mapalé*. The local black poet Candelario Obeso (1849–84) does not mention the term in his work (Obeso 1977 [1877]).

It seems that the term *cumbia* may be of relatively recent origin, even if the music and dance styles do date back to at least the late eighteenth century: colonial reports from the 1770s describe circle dances, with pairs of men and women holding candles, wheeling around a group of drummers, as do Posada Gutiérrez and other travelers of the nineteenth century (Wade 1993, 275–6). The instrumentation is also used to substantiate old origins: the *conga* drums have clear parallels in Africa, while the cane flutes used may be either indigenous or African. The long, vertical cane flute called the *gaita* or *pito cabecècera* (wax-headed pipe, so named after the wax used to seal a feather-quill air tube to the cane pipe) is of local indigenous origin, used by such indigenous groups as the Kogi, the Ika, the Cuna and the Motilones, from Panama to the Venezuelan border; the transverse cane flute called the *caña de millo* (millet cane pipe) or *pito atravesado* is identified by some as of African origin (List 1980, 572–3; 1983, 568). Some identify the old Spanish *fandango* as an important influence (Ballonoff 1971; Zapata Olivella 1962).

Cumbia formed part of the repertoire of urban and rural people of working-class status in the Caribbean coastal region at the turn of the nineteenth century, alongside a variety of other genres such as *fandango*, *bunde*, *currulao*, *mapalé* and *gaita* (Bermúdez 1996). It would have been danced in street settings, in village spaces, at festivals and carnival celebrations. In the early decades of the twentieth century, as urban centers grew and radio broadcasting and the record industry began to disseminate in Colombia, local musicians started to record national styles (Wade 2000). Jazz bands, such as the Orquesta A Número Uno and Orquesta Sosa, emerged and included *cumbias* in their international repertoire – although *porro* was a more popular style. These bands played in the new radio stations in Cartagena and Barranquilla and in elite social clubs, despite some initial resistance from conservatives. Key local figures in these bands included Antonio María Peñaloza, José Barros, Francisco 'Pacho' Galán and Lucho Bermúdez. In 1929 recordings made by Angel Camacho y Cano for Brunswick included a *cumbia*; in the early 1940s Discos Fuentes set up in Cartagena and recorded local artists playing mostly *porro*, but also some *cumbia*. *Cumbias* were also played by smaller ensembles, such as the Trío Nacional, whose two guitarists specialized in Cuban music. As played by jazz bands and trios, *cumbia* retained a simplified rhythmic marker (set by a *conga* or bass drum and a scraper), but became assimilated into a generalized umbrella genre of *música costeña* (music from the Caribbean coastal region) or *música tropical*.

In the 1940s and 1950s jazz-band *cumbia* became popular in the cities of the Colombian interior (Bogotá, Medellín, Cali), despite some early denigration of it (and *porro*) in the press as too vulgar and 'black.' The orchestra of Lucho Bermúdez was central to this popularity and he also toured and recorded in Buenos Aires, Cuba, Central America, Mexico and the United States, kick-starting the international popularity of *cumbia* and related genres. In Venezuela, Billo's Caracas Boys orchestra specialized in Colombian *música costeña*. In the 1950s the Colombian record industry, including the key Discos Fuentes firm, shifted its center of gravity to the industrial city of Medellín and became more dynamic. New rhythms were invented, such as Pacho Galán's *merecumbé* (a mixture of *merengue* and *cumbia*), which enjoyed commercial success (e.g., 'Ay cosita linda,' [Oh Beautiful Little Thing] 1955).

In the 1960s the big jazz bands began to lose some of their dominance, while smaller *conjuntos* became more successful. *Cumbia* began to displace *porro* as the central genre. In 1962 'La pollera colorá' (The Red Skirt) was recorded by Pedro Salcedo y su Conjunto, now a classic of the genre: the percussion section retains rhythmic similarity to the folkloric *cumbia* style, while the clarinet recalls the *caña de millo*'s strident tones (List 1980, 572; Wade 2000, 159). In the 1960s Los Corraleros de Majagual, essentially a Discos Fuentes house band, combined accordion (in the hands of the talented Alfredo Gutiérrez) with a brass section and electric bass to produce a distinctive sound; they included some – although few – *cumbias* in their repertoire. They became best known for a style they labeled *paseaíto*, which referred to the subgenre of *vallenato* called *paseo*: the *paseaíto* was similar to the *paseo*, but with a brass section accompanying the accordion and a faster beat (Wade 2000, 163; see also Nieves Oviedo 2008). Accordions had long been used to play *cumbias* and this became a more significant trend with the smaller *conjuntos*, although brass sections still dominated.

In the late 1960s and into the 1970s and 1980s *cumbia* was promoted by the Colombian record companies through a series of slick bands of young men, such as Los Hispanos, Los Graduados, Los Black Stars and La Sonora Dinamita, which were mainly made up of musicians from the interior of the country, rather than the Caribbean coastal region. However, some singers (Rodolfo Aicardi of Los Hispanos, Gabriel Romero of Los Black Stars, Lucho Argaín [aka Lucho Pérez Cedrón] of La Sonora Dinamita) were of coastal origin. This shift accompanied a musical change toward a more electric and mechanical sound, with simple duple beat and the use of electric keyboards and guitars becoming prominent. This shift was perceived by many (especially in the coastal region itself) as a move away from 'authenticity' toward cheap, artificial commercialism that appealed to the new middle classes. Various names were coined to denigrate this music – *chucu-chucu* (in imitation of the beat), *raspa* (scrape, referring to the mechanical beat of the scraper) and *sonido paisa* (*paisa* sound; *paisa* means from Antioquia province and its capital Medellín, the heart of the recording industry). This musical shift can be appreciated by comparing the two compilation recordings, *Cumbia, cumbia* (1989) and *Cumbia, cumbia 2* (1993): the latter has recordings that are mainly of the 1960s and the former mainly of the 1970s and 1980s. Two songs, well known beyond Latin America, that represent the later style are 'La piragua' (The Canoe), written by José Barros, but covered famously by Gabriel Romero in about 1970; and 'La colegiala' (The School Girl) by Rodolfo (Aicardi) y Su Típica RA7, which was a big hit in France in 1980. *Cumbia* in this form also began to incorporate elements of salsa (in the electric piano line) and *merengue* (in the simple fast duple beat). Manuel (1985, 256) notes that 'It is not uncommon today in the latter portion of a cumbia for the bass player to forsake the archetypal cumbia pattern [half-note, quarter-note, quarter-note] for an anticipated bass rhythm.'

In the 1990s *cumbia* continued in basically the same style, but with some new, younger groups on the scene, promoted by the record companies as exponents of tropical pop and covering old *cumbias* in a 'modern' style. Notable among these was Joe Arroyo, best known as a salsa singer, but who also did hybridized versions of *cumbia* (e.g., 'A mi Dios todo le debo' [I Owe Everything to My God], 1999). The salsa band Grupo Niche also included a *cumbia* ('La canoa rancháa' [The Old Canoe]) on their album, *Etnia* (1996). Carlos Vives, who is renowned for bringing worldwide fame to Colombian *vallenato* accordion music, also claims *cumbia* as one of his influences, and on some of his albums he includes tracks classified as *cumbias* (e.g., 'Cumbia americana,' 1997). *Cumbia* recordings continued to be released in the early 2000s, but mostly as covers or re-releases of older material.

A notable feature of *cumbia* is its internationalization (Fernández L'Hoeste 2007). Artists such as Lucho Bermúdez had popularized Colombian tropical music, including *cumbia*, internationally from the 1950s. Already by the 1960s Mexican orchestras were playing *cumbias*, while in Argentina Eduardo Armani played Colombian tropical music. In the 1970s Mexican bands followed the same trend as in Colombia, as smaller, electric ensembles produced a rhythmically simple form of *cumbia* as part of a repertoire of *música tropical* (Stigberg 1985). *Cumbia* has had a major impact in the north-east of Mexico and crossed over, via Mexican migrations, into the south-east of the United States; fusions with northern Mexican styles and with hip-hop and rock have taken place (Blanco Arboleda N.d.; Olvera 2000; Peña 1985, 107). Colombian *cumbia* also influenced the popular music scene in Andean countries. In 1960s Peru, urban middle-class youth listened to *cumbia* – and continue to do so (see www.cumbiaperuana.com) – but by the 1970s *cumbia* was fusing with highland *huayno* music to produce *cumbia andina*, better known as *chicha*, a style of music associated with Andean migrants to the cities (Bullen 1993; Turino 1993). *Chicha* is still an immensely popular style in Peru (see www.chichaweb.com) and elsewhere in the Andes and Southern cone (see, for example, a website dedicated to *cumbia chilena* at www.cumbiamania.ya.st). In the late 1990s it spawned a derivative, *tecnocumbia*, which in the hands of artists such as Rossy War, has a glossier image and uses more electronic sounds (see www.peru.com/rossywar/). In Argentina, *cumbia* was popular in the 1980s, especially among working-class urbanites, who listened to Andean *cumbia* bands, and in the 1990s *cumbia villera* emerged as an expression of the harshness of life in the *villas miserias* (the peripheral low-income neighborhoods of Buenos Aires), with rap-like lyrics making reference to drugs and crime (Cragnolini 2006; Gori 2005; Vila and Semán 2006). Yerba Brava's *100% villero* (2001) was a *cumbia villera* album popular in the early 2000s.

Styles of *cumbia*

Given the way *cumbia* has changed over time, there is no single description of how it is played and danced. Folkloric *cumbia* is typically played by a *conjunto* based either on the *caña de millo*, with two *guachos* (tube rattles), a *tambor mayor* (*conga*-style, conical drum), a smaller drum, some 30 centimeters high, called a *llamador* (caller) and a large, round, double-membraned bass drum or *bombo*; or on two *gaita* vertical duct flutes – one *hembra* (female) with five orifices and the other *macho* (male) with two – together with a maraca, *tambor mayor* and *llamador*. An accordion-based *conjunto* may also be found, with a *guacharaca* (scraper) and a small bongo-style drum (Bermúdez 1985; List 1980). The female dancers wear long, flowing, white dresses and hold lit candles, while the men wear white trousers and shirts and carry red handkerchiefs; both go barefoot. Without touching, the man courts the woman and she keeps him at bay: hip movements are central and have elicited disapproving commentary in the past (Simon 1994). When lyrics are sung – by one group member, perhaps with an answering refrain from others – they refer to rural and local themes. Amateur and professional folkloric troupes perform this kind of *cumbia* in a variety of settings, from carnival processions, through village festivals to urban concerts. Well-known professional groups include Totó la Momposina y Sus Tambores (e.g., *La candela viva* [The Burning Candle], 1993) and Los Gaiteros de San Jacinto (e.g., *Fuego de sangre pura* [Fire of Pure Blood], 2006).

Cumbia has also been played by the typical jazz bands mentioned above, with brass section, often with a clarinet, plus double bass, piano, drum set, *conga* and/or bongo-style drums, maracas and other percussion. The 1962 version of 'La pollera colorá' (The Red Skirt) involved a *conga* drum, a bass drum of some kind (*bombo* or drum-set tom-tom), maraca, scraper, piano, saxophones and clarinet. The percussion starts the song and is joined by the clarinet sounding the melody over the saxes' two-chord riff; the piano marks a simple duple rhythm with single chords. The bass adds a half note, quarter note, quarter note accompaniment and a lead male vocal, with a high, nasal tone. The lyrics, typically of *cumbia*, talk of dancing, women and partying. Later styles of *cumbia* have electric bass and piano, with the percussion often less prominent, although some types of *tecnocumbia* have strong percussive beats.

Generally, *cumbias* are played in 4/4 time with heavy emphasis on the first beat and some accentuation on the third and fourth beats, which gives a rolling rhythm that many observers say is reminiscent of riding a horse. Manuel (1988, 50–1) says that a basic rhythmic ostinato (crochet, two quavers, crochet and two quavers), usually played on a shaker or scraper, clearly identifies the style, while the bass 'generally moves in the pattern of a half-note followed by two quarter-notes; the piano completes the classic cumbia format with a chord on the second beat of each bar.'

Cumbia Colombiana?

Cumbia is a music that has lent itself to multiple adaptations and reinterpretations, from the 'traditional' versions of Totó La Momposina, oriented to the world music market, through the Caribbean fusions of Francisco Zumaqué and his Super Macumbia band (e.g., *Voces caribes* [Caribbean Voices], 1994), to the jazz-band renditions of the 1940s and all the permutations described above. It has been subject to multiple interpretations and significations: frequently seen as plebeian and vulgar – whether in the elite social clubs of early 1940s Bogotá or in hybrid form as the *chicha* music or *cumbia villera* associated with poor urban dwellers in Lima or Buenos Aires – it has also been hailed as a symbol of Colombian national identity. Interpreted as the product of centuries of intercultural exchanges between indigenous, black and Spanish peoples, its character has been neatly dissected into three racialized roots – African drums, indigenous flutes and Spanish lyrics and clothing (and perhaps dance style) – which come together in a dance of sexual encounter, making it a perfect symbol for the tri-ethnic sexual and cultural process of *mestizaje* (mixture) that is seen as underlying the emergence of the Colombian, and many other Latin American, nations (Appelbaum, Macpherson and Rosemblatt 2003). Like many popular music styles, there are endless debates about its aesthetic qualities and perceived authenticity: some denounce 'modern' versions of it as plastic and artificial, as *chucu-chucu*; others evidently revel in its constant renewal, as its long-lasting popularity has indicated. Also like many popular music styles, new versions emerge out of the lower social strata and become commercialized; what was once seen as plebeian and tasteless is then hailed as rootsy and authentic, compared to subsequent, more commercial adaptations.

Cumbia has never achieved quite the level of international success of other Latin genres, such as salsa or *merengue*, and it is not clear why. It may be related to the relative lack of influence of Colombia and Colombian migrants on the United States (compared to, say, Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Dominican Republic); it may be related to the fact that plenty of Colombians prefer salsa and *merengue* – not to mention rock and ballads – to *cumbia*. What is clear is that the developments in *cumbia* of the late 1990s and early 2000s seem to be located outside Colombia – in Buenos Aires, on the Texas-Mexico border, in Lima and so on. Especially notable is that recent fusions of *cumbia* in Peru, Mexico and Argentina have been associated with the urban working class and even marginalized people, even if there have been processes of 'gentrification' of fusion styles within these countries (Blanco Arboleda N.d.; Olvera 2000). There is a process of South-South cultural exchange here, associated with working-class identities, a process which has detached itself from the country of origin of *cumbia*. Within Colombia, *cumbia* by the early twenty-first century seems to be about recycling and re-releasing old material, partly in a nostalgic attempt by cultural activists of the Caribbean coastal region to assert a strong regional identity vis-à-vis the central regions of the highlands (Wade 2000: ch. 8). Despite the popularity among some young people of participating in folkloric dance troupes, most urban youngsters are looking elsewhere – whether hip-hop, rock, *champeta* or reggaeton – for sources of entertainment and inspiration.

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Dancehall

Dancehall (known as ragga in some places in the Caribbean and in Britain) is a style of music that emerged in the urban ghettos of Kingston, Jamaica, during the late 1970s. Dancehall is distinctively different from its predecessor, reggae, mainly in its lyrical content and tempo. The genre is characterized by a thumping beat and a singer, singjay (a vocalist who blends singing and toasting in a manner that resembles jazz scatting) or DJ who expresses everyday issues that arise in the inner city. Singjaying, which was first pioneered by DJ Big Youth in the song 'Hit the Road Jack,' allowed for the emergence of a new group of artists who had been unable to break into the music business during reggae's peak. The ability of the populace to relate to the socioeconomic currency and political potency of the lyrical content, as well as to the hard-hitting beats over which the dancehall vocalists performed, led to the emerging genre's rapid eclipse of reggae as the style of preference among the island's youth population.

As opposed to reggae, which relied on lyrics about love and protest, and which employed arrangements with horns, guitars, percussion and harmonies, the new dancehall music had none of these embellishments. Interestingly, dancehall's boom in local popularity occurred simultaneously with the rising acceptance of Jamaican reggae on the international stage. While reggae expressed resistance, liberation and Rastafari religious beliefs, dancehall lyrics were mundane and parochial, describing the everyday lives of ordinary people living in poverty and oppression. Early dancehall beats were created by recycling backing tracks derived from previously recorded songs to create what was referred to in the Kingston music scene as 'riddims.' Riddims are identified by name and a given riddim may be used as the backing track in numerous songs, resulting in an entire compilation album of recordings that utilize the same backing track or accompaniment. In dancehall the tempo and pace of the 'riddim' was significantly faster than that of reggae, reflecting the renewed energy of the music scene. Sound system selectors developed a style of using the faders on their mixers to match the rhythmic patterns of the sound system vocalist, which was known as mixing. This made the music tempo increase. Coupled with elements of dub, this practice was soon emulated by producers, engineers and musicians in the recording studios of Kingston to create the distinctive sound of analogue dancehall. 'Under Mi Sensi' by Barrington Levy and 'Under Pressure' by Super Cat are examples of this style.

Dancehall's popularity emerged from a particular set of circumstances, most important of which was the ability of its previously voiceless and relatively unseen audiences, primarily young, black, low-income Jamaicans, to identify readily with the commentary of the early DJs who shared similar socioeconomic characteristics. The performers thus held credence, which allowed them to maintain an emotional relationship and appeal with their core audience. Dancehall was also able to sustain the interest of the masses through the lyrical content of the DJs that appears to have made it easier for art to imitate life, as well as for life to imitate art, as evidenced by the major themes of the dancehall and the subculture that emerged within it.

Perhaps the most potent factor that gave rise to the popularity of dancehall was the fact that the genre did not rely on traditional means of reaching its audience. Dancehall heroes typically emerged from within the 'dancehall' space. Over time, dancehall was no longer simply a space, but an indigenous Jamaican genre and a lifestyle that included the space/venue, fashion, language and behavior.

Dancehall: The Venue

Dancehall derived its name from the space in which its fan base could easily access the emerging genre. In fact, prior to the 1980s the term 'dancehall' (or dance hall) simply described the venues for music and dance that have been integral to Jamaican popular music since the 1950s. There were two distinct types of dance halls. In the 1950s–1970s dance halls were formal buildings, where big bands such as the Granville Williams Orchestra and the Sonny Bradshaw Orchestra performed live to middle-class audiences who danced on well-prepared dance floors made of polished oak. Among the more popular dance hall venues located in Kingston were The Glass Bucket, Bournemont and Silver Slipper.

In contrast, the poorer classes danced at a number of lodge halls with music echoing from the huge boxes of the mobile turntable/speaker assemblies known as sound systems. Popular sound systems included Sir Coxsone's Downbeat, , , Thompson Hi Fi, Tom the Great Sebastian, Duke Reid and V. Rocket. Among the more famously affordable early dance hall venues used by these pioneers in Kingston were The Success Club, Foresters Hall and Chocomo Lawn.

By the 1970s however, many more informal outdoor halls were introduced. These venues were mainly open-air with basic facilities such as a bar counter and a makeshift kitchen area for curried goat and goat soup known as 'manish water,' the staple food and hot beverage of these dances. Controversially, dancehall's popularity emerged from the autonomy and independence provided by the dance hall venues. The population of urban youth was drawn to the sound in a space not dependent on the traditional mass media. Thus, dancehall artists were not dependent on conventional means of exposure. Their popularity emerged from the nightly parties, hosted in dance hall venues easily accessed by the lower classes in search of affordable entertainment. Dancehall thus did not require the popularity of a studio-produced single or album to gain public acclaim. This phenomenon resulted in a rapid democratization of the Jamaican music industry and eroded the status of reggae as the most popular indigenous genre during that period. In these spaces the toasters/DJs were able to appropriately pique and sustain the interest of younger, less conservative Jamaican masses, by echoing the content of their daily lives and experiences against the backdrop of constantly changing 'riddims.'

The broadcast rules governing conservative mainstream media challenged the ability of these emerging dancehall artists to be heard. The dominant themes of dancehall tended to reflect a subcultural lifestyle that many would have preferred to dismiss. Yet these dominant themes reflected the interest of the common Jamaican citizen.

Dancehall Genre: Origins and Musical Developments

Despite its undeniable presence and force, dancehall as a genre is problematic to define, partly due to its many stylistic changes since the 1980s. In order to simplify this effort, it is instructive to differentiate between the discrete analogue and digital periods of the genre. The early analogue period (1979–85) was decisively marked by the reuse of old reggae and rock steady backing tracks. Among the most famous riddims used during this period were the 'Real Rock,' 'Full Up,' 'Heavenless,' 'Answer' and 'Far East.' Original riddims were also created during this period and studio bands such as High Times, the Revolutionaries and Roots Radics were responsible for this output, working with producers including Henry 'Junjo' Lawes, George Phang, Jah Thomas and Jo-Jo Hookim.

The early analogue period eventually gave way to a digital period in the mid-1980s. One of the most notable songs of that period was 'Under Mi Sleng Teng' by Wayne Smith, produced by legendary producer and sound system man Lloyd 'King Jammys' James. While generally regarded as the start of the digital period, the recordings were not actually digital (digital recording began in the Kingston music scene in 1988 with the operation of studios such as New Name Music). However, the use of digital sequencers and drum machines gave the music a hard, robotic signature which differentiated it from the warm sound of live instruments. Introduced in 1983, the first popular drum machine of dancehall was the Oberheim DX, which featured 18 sounds and allowed for 6-sound polyphony and had a 4-digit, 7-segment display. This was used by musicians/producers Steelie and Cleavie on the famous riddims of digital dancehall for producers including King Jammy and Redman. The machine created 'riddims' such as 'Punany,' 'Chinatown,' 'Soap' and 'Duck' (see YouTube listings).

The shift to drum machines and synthesizers was characterized by a minimalist approach to musical accompaniment and production. The measure moved from emphasis on the second and fourth beat of rocksteady and on the third beat of the measure of reggae to an emphasis on the first and the third beats, with the kick drum and bass guitar on the first beat and the snare on the third. Examples include 'Punany' (Admiral Bailey) and 'Anytime' (Bounty Killer). Chord progressions were also limited to a basic one- or two-chord beat, and it was the beat or riddim, not the lyrics, that became the central component of the recordings. Many Jamaicans refer to the 'riddim' of dancehall as evoking an almost involuntary response, and they state that they respond to the sounds without paying much attention to the lyrics.

At first, the new music flourished in dance halls all over Jamaica. These venues were different from the old dance halls of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. The new halls were mainly open lots in the inner city where 500–2,000 people could gather and enjoy listening to their favorite singers, singjays and DJs. Some of the emerging stars included Barrington Levy, Half Pint, Michael Palmer, Tenor Saw, Little John, Yellow Man, Peter Metro, Josie Wales, General Trees, Super Cat, Frankie Paul, Burro Banton, Rankin Joe and Brigadier Jerry. Some reggae stars became dancehall kings too, including Sugar Minott (one of the founding fathers of dancehall), Johnny Osbourne and Tony Tuff. In fact, Sugar Minott recorded two seminal dancehall tunes: 'Dancehall We Deh' (We Are at the Party), which paid homage to the new dancehall venues with the lyrics 'Dancehall we deh, an we a play reggae,' as well as the quintessential dancehall anthem 'Inna Dancehall Style,' an ode to the new style emerging among inner city youth.

'Inna Dancehall Style' had all the elements of the new genre, and a great hook, but the verses were lines from old songs and nursery rhymes. These verses were not repeated in some sections of the song. Minott continued to realize his mission of promoting the new music with another song for producer George Phang called 'Riddim,' which states, 'you play de riddim riddim riddim and then yu choose the dancehall king.'

Influential Sound Systems

The evolution of the dancehall phenomenon began with the explosion of several new sound systems in the early 1980s. Without the dancehall and sound systems the genre would not survive, as it gave exposure and prominence to a host of performers who were not provided with radio exposure. Among the most popular were Youth Man Promotion, Stur Gav, Lee's Unlimited Kilimanjaro, Jah love Music, Black Scorpio, Metro Media, Stereo One, Volcano and King Jammys.

In the 1980s Youth Man Promotion was one of the biggest sound systems to spread early dancehall music throughout the island, spearheaded by veteran reggae crooner, Sugar Minott. Minott may also be credited with having developed and recorded the first dancehall crew of artists that toured with the sound system. This trend over time was to become a characteristic trait of dancehall sound systems. Among the Youth Man Promotion Crew were dancehall icons Junior Reid, Michael Palmer, Tenor Saw, Yami Bolo and Steve Harper, Minott's set developed a large fan base in the inner city and had the reputation of giving young 'wannabees' a chance to 'buss,' which was the new term for becoming popular. Minott later reflected that the name of his sound system reflected his personal ambition to give ghetto youth a chance to be as successful in music as he was (Minott 2000).

Yet another remarkable sound system owner who also wore the hat of producer was Henry 'Junjo' Lawes. His Volcano sound system was one of the biggest of the 1980s. Junjo employed major DJs including Barrington Levy, Coco T., John Holt, Tony Tuff, Frankie Paul, Michigan and Smiley, Eek a Mouse and Yellowman. They, too, performed on his sound system at nightly dances at venues in the inner city and the countryside.

King Jammy Super Power was a dominant force in the dancehalls in the 1980s. Starting out as Prince Jammy, this behemoth's crew included dancehall favorites such as Tonto Irie, Chaka Demus, Admiral Bailey, Tulloch T., Pampido, Colin Roach and Wayne Smith. The popular Kilimanjaro sound system utilized Super Cat, Burro Banton and Nicodemus; while Stur Gav sound system employed Charley Chaplin, Josie Wales and Inspector Willy. Peter Metro, Tonto Metro, Danny Dread and Jimmy Metro led the Metro Media sound system, while Stereo One sound system employed the likes of Lieutenant Stitchie, and Lee's Unlimited sound system relied on Yellowman. These sound systems and DJs charted a path for early dancehall. Indeed, their tireless efforts arguably resulted in dancehall's status as a major social force and popular contemporary genre.

Dancehall: Jamaican Politics

The advent of dancehall music in the 1980s occurred amidst political changes sweeping the world, including the decline of Communism and the rise of free market ideology. Throughout the decade of the 1970s supporters of the island's two main political parties engaged in violent ideological clashes resulting in the loss of nearly 1,000 lives in the period preceding the 1980 election. The Jamaican Labour Party (JLP), led by Edward Seaga, was ushered into power advocating free market capitalism, fully supported by the United States.

As the new political directorate brought hope to the country's middle class, Jamaican music, in contrast, echoed the challenges faced by the socially and economically disenfranchised poorer classes. The pervasive violence also significantly influenced the changing sound of Jamaican music. The black consciousness and nationalistic themes of 1970s reggae were no longer relevant, and they were stoutly denounced at the political level. Ironically, reflecting the mood of the country's more economically disengaged social classes, who were far less optimistic about their future prospects under the regime change, the music shifted to express their general feelings of discontent and despair. Thus, the 'black conscious' message of iconic reggae artists was rapidly replaced by a far more aggressive style of lyrical delivery that reflected the overarching dissatisfaction of the lower classes.

As is common among disaffected groups across the globe, song themes grew pervasively more materialistic as artists sought to highlight all that was thought to represent a better life. Despite their experience of relative poverty, the spirit of materialism seemingly grew with the corresponding increasing availability of consumer goods from the United States for those who could afford it. The message of the DJs also changed to correspond to the demographic shifts and taste preferences in the society. Ace DJs who remained topical were headline acts at popular dances. Their fresh style of chanting seemingly struck a chord with the populace through lyrics that touched on all the dominant aspects of life in inner-city Jamaica.

Dancehall: Themes

DJs have addressed issues relating to poverty and economic opportunity, police brutality, gang violence, abortion, definitions of sexuality, sexual prowess, infidelity, promiscuity and sex appeal. They also commonly advocate for the legalization of marijuana. Sexuality is one of the most central and repeated themes represented in dancehall, along with an emphasis on hetero-normative sexuality. Many dancehall artists have advocated for the rejection of homosexuality and its practices. Lyrics that promote homophobia, misogyny and the glorification of guns and gangsters have earned the genre much criticism both in Jamaica (e.g., by journalist Ian Boyne) and internationally (by organizations such as Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation or GLAAD), evidenced in the controversy and protests by international gay rights organizations surrounding Buju Banton's 1992 hit, 'Boom Bye Bye,' a song with lyrics promoting violence against homosexuals. Many major dancehall stars, including Shabba Ranks, Beenie Man, Buju Banton and Sizzla, have experienced career setbacks due to opposition mainly from gay rights groups, who have advocated banning performances by these acts in cities around the world. The music has been branded by participants and critics alike with labels such as 'slackness' ('Punanay' by Admiral Bailey), 'gun tunes' ('Bloodstain' by Ward 21) and 'murder music' ('Log On [Chi Chi Man]' by Elephant Man). However, some academics, including Carolyn Cooper and Donna Hope, have argued that the themes and ideas expressed within dancehall are specific to the region and its culture and are to be viewed within the context created. This line of argument defends the genre against its critics, both nationally and internationally.

Patriarchy can also be considered synonymous with the genre, as topics such as sexuality and other themes have, for the most part, been expressed from a male's perspective. Often, the woman is portrayed as the giver, while the male is identified as the taker and the dominant figure. However, DJs such as Lady Saw and Patra along with countless others have helped to redefine this relationship, establishing the woman in a role of power and presenting some form of gender balance. The genre itself can be characterized by its dynamism. By the early 1990s, the emergence of performers such as Garnet Silk and Tony Rebel introduced a blend of roots stylings. This allowed for a shift in dancehall's sound along with the emergence of more philosophical themes, although X-rated content still retains its popularity.

Despite the difficulty of gaining middle-class acceptance in its embryonic years, dancehall rapidly became the charge of the youth movement and quietly garnered popularity through live performances over riddim tracks in the dance hall spaces. The popularity of the new sound, with its socially conscious commentators chanting emotionally charged lyrics about sexuality, power, X-rated topics, braggadocio, opulence, gangster and gun glorification, resonated so profoundly with the Jamaican masses that by the beginning of the 1990s dancehall had firmly established itself as the most popular indigenous Jamaican genre, at least on the island.

Dancehall Styles and Culture

The acceptance of the genre by major show promoters and the media led to the evolution and acceptance of an entire subculture defined not only by the music but also by fashion, food and lifestyle. The newly developing dancehall lifestyle, in contrast to reggae's roots style, was flashy and outrageous, symbolized by big bikes, fancy cars, lots of jewelery and ostentatious living, usually associated with the very rich. This style evolved from the high fashion sense that had been part of popular music culture since the days of ska and rock steady. The style was heightened by the return of Jamaicans from England and the United States, sporting big gold chains and fancy designer clothes. This trend was manifested through dancehall figures including Henry Lawes, who drove BMW and Mercedes Benz sedans and Honda Ninja motorbikes. With the development of the Jamaican transatlantic drug trade, there was also a parallel rise in the lifestyle of the dancehall.

The style and language of dancehall was developed by DJs who adopted slang and words they heard in their communities. In so doing they popularized many of these words and phrases in songs. 'Boops' (sugar daddy), 'matie' (mistress), 'bowcat' (oral sex), 'mud up' (messed up), 'mampie' (obese), 'dash wey belly' (abortion) and 'bush to de bone' (elegant) are just some of the slang expressions popularized by dancehall.

Dancehall in the International Arena

Like reggae, dancehall has emerged as a global commodity with a rising fan base in Europe, Japan and Africa, spawning several new genres outside Jamaica including reggaeton in Latin America, dubstep and grime in Britain and kwaito in South Africa. A major issue in defining and representing Jamaican music is that many aspects have not yet been formalized and institutionalized. In many cases, nomenclatures have developed that are endemic to Jamaica. Hence what is described in international music circles may be defined differently in Jamaica. In some cases multiple and contradictory perspectives and definitions coexist, varying according to the individual's background in the music and constituency. This lack of consensus among the various sectors related to Jamaican music, national and international, can result in confusion.

Conclusion: Dancehall's Success Story

At its peak, through collaboration with international major record companies in the 1990s, dancehall acts such as Shabba Ranks, Cobra and Patra (utilizing a fusion aesthetic that combines traditional local forms and international soundscapes) rose to international prominence and sold millions of records. Later, pop-influenced acts such as Shaggy and Sean Paul achieved multiplatinum success. Shaggy sold 10 million copies worldwide of his album *Hotshot*. Since the beginning of the twenty-first century the Kingston music scene has transformed the dancehall sound and aesthetic. A new sound that fuses many styles, including dancehall, reggae, ska, hip-hop, pop and R&B (one beat) is on the rise to takes its place among the many genres of popular music emerging from Kingston.

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DENNIS HOWARD

Dande

The *dande* (dan-day) is a New Year's greeting in the Caribbean island of Aruba with musical accompaniment performed by groups of traveling musicians who are also called '*dandes*.' A form unique to Aruba, with roots stretching back into the nineteenth century, it has connections with the music of Christmas and New Year celebrations elsewhere in the Caribbean region. After a period of decline, *dande* was revived in the last decades of the twentieth century and became an important sign of Aruban national identity.

Description

During New Year festivities in Aruba, after midnight many families receive a visit by a *dande* group. Traditionally, the *dandes* visit a specific household because they wish to do so, and to show respect for those live there. The leader, who is responsible for deciding where and at what time to begin the 'revel' (*paranda* in Papiamento, *parranda* in Spanish), approaches family and friends in advance to find out if they would like to receive the *dande* (a visit would be inappropriate in a home that is in mourning, e.g.). Families may also approach the *dandes* to request a visit. The leader then obtains the names of the family members expected to be present in the home at midnight. Before New Year's Eve, a *dande* singer (usually a male) will seek information on family events that have taken place over the preceding year. This knowledge will be included in the greetings the leader composes to each individual and is evidence that the musicians are part of a specific community and familiar with a family's everyday lives.

On New Year's Eve during the Catholic midnight mass, *dande* groups arrive at church to serenade the congregation and to thank God for the New Year. Around the island, as fireworks are exploding, *dande* groups begin their 'sweep,' or 'dandering' (Orman 1996), visiting as many as 20 houses throughout the night. Formerly, extended families lived in the same neighborhood and *dandes* would visit homes on foot; but today the *dandes* travel in trucks since people now often live at considerable distances from one another. For example, the *dande* group Tipico Arubano visits family members all over the island, including those from Noord or Tanki Leendert to Pos Chikito (a distance of approximately 24 kilometers).

Dressed in their best clothes, the *dandes* begin to play as they enter the yard of the first house. The violin is the first instrument to be played 'to make the *dande* cry.' As the other instruments join in, the musicians position themselves on the threshold. The singer stands with his hand on the doorframe. He begins to sing with his hat in his other hand, wishing a happy and prosperous New Year to everyone present. When invited to enter the house, the singer steps over the threshold first (Maduro 1980).

The first verse of the *dande* brings greetings to all the family and – another important element – thanks God for bringing them a New Year. Successive verses are sung to the head of the household (man or woman), and on down to the youngest child. For each individual, the singer will sing a personal verse *ex tempore;* this demonstrates his social integration with the family by revealing information that only someone closely connected could know. The family's guests are also serenaded. The *dande* removes his hat before singing; this is done out of respect for the family and to elaborate his verses kinetically – in a sense, he is 'dancing the hat.' Each time he sings to an individual, that person shows their appreciation by dropping something into the hat – formally some food, but in recent times more often a few florins to help defray costs. Through song, the singer takes the family on a journey back through the year, celebrating the joyful events, exorcizing the difficult times and expressing hope for the year to come.

The lyrics all begin with the line 'O dande' (the precise meaning of the phrase remains unknown), and each line ends with the chorus of 'ai nobe' which is a contraction of 'aña nobo' or New Year. The recipients join in with the chorus in a call-and-response pattern. Repeated phrases include 'O dande felicidad di aña nobo' (Happy New Year) and 'O dande masha danki pas carino' (thank you for your affection).

When the *dande* is completed, the groups are invited to partake of some refreshments and toast in the New Year. Celebratory foods include *sopi cabrito* (goat soup), *suls* (pork in vinegar*), stoba di carni* (meat stew) and *bollo* (cake); refusing what is offered is considered impolite. After a toast, the group usually plays two or three family dance requests – a mazurka, a *danza* or a waltz, for example. The duration of the *dande* visit varies but is typically under an hour long. Family and friends will often follow the *dandes* to the next house. By the time 'dandering' is over, a very large crowd is often in tow.

Dande is a remarkably affirmative tradition. A fortunate and 'blessed' family might receive up to six *dande* groups at hourly intervals throughout the night. Visiting continues for a week until 6 January (Three Kings). The groups often end their week of celebration with a visit to an orphanage, hospital or old people's home.

Historical Roots and Cultural Connections

The construction and elaboration of symbols of identity form a practice found in many societies (Hobsbawm 1983). Although *dande* is considered by Arubans to be 'pure Aruban folklore' dating back to the 'time of the Indians' (Booi n.d.), oral evidence suggests the tradition dates back to the early nineteenth century. Dande singer Tony Werleman claims that both his father and grandfather played *dande;* his grandfather (1806–95) recalled seeing the *dandes* as early as 1820 (Werleman 1996). Simeon Ras (born 1905) told Harry Croes in 1980 that his father (born 1870) and grandfather (born 1840) both sang *dande*. Other claims by *dande* families also trace the genre within their families back to the early 1800s.

The origins of the *dande* are unknown, but it is probably a fusion of Spanish, mestizo and African music and customs. The most likely source of the music is coastal Venezuela, from where it was introduced (in an earlier form) during the early 1800s. Venezuelans have customarily worked on Aruba and have married into Aruban families. There is still significant trade, commerce and intermarriage between the two populations. When the music took seed on Aruba, it became differentiated from its roots. Through contact with native Aruban culture, the lyrics and performative structure of the original song were recrafted and resemanticized to such an extent by local musicians that the *dande* became, and remains, truly 'Aruban.'

During pre-Columbian times as well as during the Spanish period (1500–1636), very close contact with the mainland existed and cultural relationships were strong. After the arrival of the Dutch this did not change; the sea currents made the journey to Curacao difficult for sailing ships. Until 1754 no whites lived in Aruba except the Dutch Commander and his *ruiters* (horsemen or riders). Then, the Dutch West India Company gave permission for the first white Europeans with their slaves to settle (Hartog 1988). The African music traditions fused with the local and can still be heard in the drum. The Indian trait in the

Arubans was constantly revitalized by Indians coming to work in Aruba from the mainland. However, with constant trading between the two territories, native Arubans also married mestizos and Spanish so that the Indian-oriented population acquired a Spanish strain. Until 1849 mainly Spanish and Venezuelan priests worked in Aruba which strongly influenced the development of customs and religious life for over a hundred years. (The Dutch never had a large presence on the island and had limited cultural interaction with Arubans.) Right into the first decade of the twenty-first century a significant number of marriages have taken place between Arubans and Venezuelans, resulting in the absorption of Venezuelan customs, language, food, festivals, music (*gaitera* and *aguinaldos*) and dance, and architecture into the native Aruban culture.

Lack of employment at the end of the nineteenth century caused Arubans to seek employment as seasonal workers on the coffee and cocoa plantations in Venezuela. They also found work in Cuba and in Jamaica, and exchanges with Colombia and the Dominican Republic also became increasingly common. This period of frequent short-term migrations continued until the end of the 1920s. The music of these other places certainly impacted on the music-loving Arubans, but many Aruban families claim to have known *dande* in their families for as long as 200 years, and thus, since *dande* was already established by the time when travel to, and exchanges with, these more distant territories occurred, Spanish-mestizo ties with native Arubans remain its most likely source.

The Meaning of *Dande*

The meaning of the *dande* is twofold. First, it is an overarching folkloric symbol of native culture and, as such, plays a central role in the affirmation of Aruban identity. Second, the *dande* reflects the preferred qualities of the Aruban character. When performed appropriately, an idealized native ethos is expressed through a set of aesthetic codes that recreate proper social behavior and remind recipients of their kinship obligations and of the importance of good manners and mutual respect. By singing *ex tempore* to each family member in turn, a *dande* singer has the opportunity to display the depth and quality of his personal connection to the family, and to celebrate the eloquence of the much-loved Papiamento language through its mastery in performance. The lyrics chronicle the joys and sorrows of the past year and express hope and best wishes for the New Year. The art of the *dande* is to balance these contrary expressions of happiness and sadness through song, and through the musical qualities of *alegria* and *melancolico* – gaiety and melancholy. It is a gift of happiness 'with a taste of sorrow.'

The *dande* melody is simple, repetitive, even monotonous, especially in the chorus, 'ai nobe.' It is not the music, however, but the spirit in which the verses are sung that is important, enriched by the imagination and vocabulary of the singer. Many of the expressions are somewhat antiquated and even obsolete, but are poignant to the older generation. To the well-attuned ear, no two singers express their *dandes* in the same way, no violin 'wails' with the same feeling, and no *tambor* rolls with the same beat – yet the *dande* is always the same. For the older generation of native Arubans, the more *dandes* they receive, the better the coming year will be. But all feel glad to have had the opportunity to receive the *dande* and to 'comply with the rules of hospitality' (Maduro 1980).

Accorded little value or respect for many years, by the early 1980s the *dande* had once again grown in popularity. In 1972 Harry Croes and Maikey Croes of the group Grupo di Betico discussed the possibility of bringing the flagging *dande* back into favor through a *dande* festival. In July 1973 Croes issued a press release announcing that a *dande* competition would be held in the Connie Francis Club in Santa Cruz on 27 December. Fourteen groups entered the competition and the audience attendance exceeded expectations. The then prime minister Betico Croes promoted *dande* as a potent symbol of native identity. With many existing and newly arriving immigrants, there was a need to identify symbols of native culture to differentiate the island's ethnic groups. Over the years the annual festival grew in stature and popularity. In the early twenty-first century the *dande* is the most semantically laden of all music for the native Arubans, in the same way as the calypso is for Trinidad and reggae is for Jamaica, in that it displays the native ethos through exemplary performance.

Instrumentation

The minimum number of members in a *dande* group is five, although larger groups of six to eight are more common. The essential components are (ranked in importance) a violin, a singer, a *tambor*, a *cuatro* (a four-stringed guitar of Venezuelan origin) and a steel *wiri* (also called *wicharo* or *guïro*). The *tambor* is a small wooden drum, sometimes made from a wine cask, covered on both sides with goat or sheepskin. One side is played with the palm of the hand, while the other is beaten with a cloth covered stick, or *palito*. The *wicharo* is a percussion instrument of Latin-American origin (Brazil, Cuba and Mexico) made of a serrated gourd (CHICO 2008). In Aruba the *wiri* was originally made from a gourd or cow horn, but the steel *wiri* became more popular around the turn of the twentieth century. It is played with a single metal rod, a *wicharon*, and maintains the rhythm of the *dande*. The violin provides the melody, while the *tambor* provides the beat. The *cuatro* strengthens the rhythm and provides the harmonic three-chord structure of the music; the *wiri* sets the rhythm, while the other percussive instruments provide a fuller sound.

Dande groups can, however, be much larger and include other nonelectric instruments such as the accordion, a six-stringed Spanish guitar (*guitar seis*), a short-necked, Cuban-style, six-stringed guitar, a mandolin, a base guitar, a *raspa* (made from a serrated metal tube resembling a round cheese grater) or a *calbas raspa* made from a serrated calabash gourd. The *raspas* are played with a metal comb or *pena*. Commonly employed is the large *bass-en-boite,* a percussive instrument that developed from the *mbira* (African thumb piano). It is a unique tuned percussion instrument. Sound is produced by plucking strips of metal, wood or cane fixed across a round opening of a large wooden resonator box upon which the player also sits. The ukulele, maracas and *claves* have also been used in the larger *dande* groups.

The *dande* has a stable musical structure comprising a single melody and a single chorus – only the verses vary for each recipient. Performance protocols are properly observed by the more traditional dandes. The elements which are prescribed and subject to critical judgment are the content of the message (‘*contenido di texto/mensaje*’); the sympathetic interpretation of the message (‘*interpretacion di e contenido di texto*’); the timing, synchronicity and rhythmic flow of the singers (‘*compas di cantante/acopla*’); the pronunciation of the words ‘*articulacion*’); the melody and harmony of the singers and musicians (‘*melodia y armonia di e grupo musical*’); and the correct feel of the music which is a half-closed *tumba* rhythm (‘*medio tumba cera*’). The music is performed allegretto (Orman 1996)). Below is the basic song without the unique extempore verses:

Call	*Response*	*Call*	*Response*
O dande nos a yaga na bo porta –	Ai nobe!	Oh dande we arrived at your home –	New Year!
O dande riba e dia di aña nobo –	Ai Nobe!	Oh dande on New Year’s Day –	New Year!
O dande nos a bin pa deseabo –	Ai nobe!	Oh dande we come to wish you –	New Year!
O dande felicidad di aña nobo –	Ai nobe!	Oh dande happiness for the New Year –	New Year!
O dande prosperidad di aña nobo –	Ai nobe!	Oh dande prosperity for the New Year –	New Year!
O dande nos a trece alegria –	Ai nobe!	Oh dande we bring joy –	New Year!
O dande riba e dia di aña nobo –	Ai nobe!	Oh dande on New Year’s Day –	New Year!
O dande nos no a bin pa nada di mundo –	Ai nobe!	Oh dande we came for nothing else in the world	New Year!
O dande nos a bin pa saludabo –	Ai nobe!	Oh dande we came to greet you –	New Year!
O dande nos ta bai sigui nos caminda –	Ai nobe!	Oh dande we’ll continue on our journey –	New Year!
O dande nos ta bai cu nos paranda –	Ai nobe!	Oh dande we leave with our revels –	New Year!
O dande a yega e ora pa nos bai –	Ai nobe!	Oh dande time has come for us to leave –	New Year!
O dande masha danki pa molester –	Ai nobe!	Oh dande thank you for letting us bother you –	New Year!
O dande adios adios nos ta bai –	Ai nobe!	Oh dande goodbye, goodbye, we are leaving –	New Year!

Dande: Tumba folklorica No 34 (sheet music) Musica Folklorica; Arreglo di (arranged by) Wever, Rufo. 12 March 1973. This original song was also recorded on a 78rpm record.

The groups most associated with dande are Sixto 'Mo Tito' Croes (violin) y su Conhunto Folklorico Arubano (who made the earliest known recording of the *dande*, and fragments of performances are recorded on a VHS tape). Other well-known groups or individuals past and present are Yendi Koolman (singer), Tony Werleman (singer/instrument) y su Grupo Allegre Noord, Facundo Panneflek (singer/instrument) y su Grupo Poco Loco, Carl Ras (instrument) of Grupo Amistad, Maiky Croes (singer) and Betico Croes (instrument) of Grupo di Betico, Vicente Tromp (singer/instrument) y su Grupo, Alma Folklorico, Tipico Perla, Tipico Arubano, Tipico del Campo and Tico Oduber (singer/instrument) y su Grupo Estreyanan.

Language and *Dande*

The native language of Aruba is Papiamento (derived from the Portuguese 'papear,' to jabber), which emerged in the sixteenth century to enable African slaves to communicate with their owners. The word 'dande' is of unknown provenance, but some conjectures can be made. 'Dande' may be a contraction of the old Papiamento word 'dandara' – now 'parandia' or 'parandea' – which means to go on a spree or revel. A reveler is known as a 'parandero.' However, the *dande* is also characterized as a 'gift.' Papiamento words relating to gift are 'donador' (donor or bestower of gifts), 'duna' (to give) and 'dunado' (giver) (Ratzlaff 1992; Mansur 1991). Possible related words in Spanish which have a semantic and phonetic relationship with the word 'dande' include 'donde' (where), 'dante' (he who gives, giving), 'andante' (walking) and 'tende' (listen, to hear).

The Aesthetics of *Dande*

Although the musicians in the *dande* groups have always been predominantly male, throughout the twentieth century women joined in increasing numbers (to the dismay of some of the older men). The *dandes* pass on their art to their children, who are encouraged to accompany the adults on the *parandas* from a young age 'to put it into their blood.' Consideration is given to the *dandes*' attire. Dress must be *decente* (decent) to show respect. Thus, slacks, shirts and closed leather shoes are the norm. The singers wear formal suits with neckties, and they *always* wear a hat with a brim. In fact, the hat is an integral part of the *dande* performance. It is either a felt or cloth fedora, or a straw panama with a colored band. Baseball hats are frowned upon, as are jeans, sneakers and t-shirts.

Within the prescribed limits of performance, there is still some variation in style. Until the mid-twentieth century Aruba comprised a series of distinct regions, each associated with a few extended families, and by extension, a few *dande* groups. Over time the *dande* developed at least three distinct regional styles, such as *dande yora* (the crying dande) from the district of Savaneta.

There are some prescriptions as to performative interpretation. The singer and musicians should show that they are 'living the music' (that their performance is heartfelt and earnest). Each recipient must receive a personal message with appropriate words (selected according to the expressive aesthetics of Papiamento) and no message should be repeated. Clear articulation is important as is timing, rhythm, tone and emotional qualities of the voice. The body should incline toward the recipient with respect, deference and humility, extending the head, arms and hat. In a 1996 *dande* festival, a young singer put on a stylish, rather showy performance that was well received by women in the audience. But judged by the exemplary *dande* traditions, it was thought by most of those present to lack the qualities of generosity, humility and esteem for the recipient. (Needless to say, he did not win the contest!)

An emotional and sympathetic rendering of a verse is greatly appreciated, and many of the older folk are apt to weep with joy, for 'when your friend is singing to you, you get emotionally involved, it touches you.' It is a communal music with a strong symbolic and empathetic relationship between performer and audience – the latter's response being part of the performance.

Similar Traditions in Latin America and the Caribbean

Although the *dande* is performed during the New Year, it is similar in some respects to the European custom of Christmas caroling and to the songs known generically as *aguinaldos,* religious folksongs of Spanish origin introduced into the New World in the sixteenth century. The *aguinaldo* is performed at Christmas in Aruba, whereas the *dande* is played only for the New Year; however, they share many religious references.

In Venezuela, there is a second type of *aguinaldo* which is more of a serenade and folksong. These songs are often performed as part of a *parranda* and are known as '*parrandas*' or '*parranda-aguinaldos*.' They are performed at Christmas but also at other times of the year. Pollak-Eltz (1983) notes that during the Christmas season, groups of masked or unmasked figures roam the streets and move from bar to bar, accompanied by musicians or just singing.

Wherever Venezuelans migrated, the tradition was apt to be introduced and modified by the local environment. In Trinidad and Puerto Rico, for example, the songs are performed through the Christmas season by troupes of amateurs who travel from house to house partying, singing and playing stringed instruments (Manuel 1995). Several authors have noted that *aguinaldo*-derived music is widespread throughout the circum-Caribbean region and parts of Latin America in different guises – for example, *quesh* in Tobago and *parang* in Trinidad. These performances are all associated with the Christmas season, where roving bands of amateur musicians called *parrandas* stroll from house to house (Manuel 1995). In Tobago, a harmonic chorus of singers performs the songs, sometimes in French. In Trinidad, the carols are sometimes sung in Spanish (Pearse 1979). In Trinibago, the music is locally acknowledged to be folkloric music of Hispanic-American origins. Wherever the music is played, it has matured into a local popular form. For Trinidad and Tobago, one theory states that the music originated during the Christianization of the Amerindians by French Clergy Indians in Spanish Missions. However, this does not explain the frequent references to Venezuela. The second theory is that *parang* music was introduced by Venezuelans imported to work in the cocoa estates; this has some merit (www.tntisland.com/parang.html).

Puerto Ricans are known for their unforgettable *parrandas*, the Puerto Rican version of Christmas caroling where a small group of friends gather together to surprise another friend. Most *parranderos* play some sort of instrument, *guitarras*, *tamboriles*, *guiro* maracas or *palitos*, and all sing. Songs tend to be more secular than religious but the traditional *aguinaldos* retain the holiday spirit. On St Vincent, groups of musicians and singers go from yard to yard at Christmas playing seasonal hymns and carols. However, unlike the bawdy *parrandas* of Venezuela, they neither demand admittance to the home nor beg the family for money (Abrahams 1983).

Aguinaldos are musically rich, have alluring melodies and catchy rhythms, and the musicians execute flashy improvisations (Manuel 1995). The music contrasts strikingly with the Aruban *dande*, which has a single monotonous melody and a slow, rolling beat similar to that of the *tambu.* But both may be seen as echoing Roger Abrahams's account of the way festivals can offer highly stylized renderings of some of the 'central expressive practices and moral concerns' of a cultural community (Abrahams 1983, 98). His discussion of the symbolic meaning of the Christmas performances for Vincentians corresponds well to the meaning of the *dande* for the native Arubans. On St Vincent, the Christmas season is a time to 'reaffirm one's place in the community ... a time for good behavior and high decorum,' a time to 'emphasize order, respect, and a sense of community' (Abrahams 1983, 100–2). On Aruba, *dande* ensembles are effectively extended family groups that are ritually linked through these performances. Because modern life has seen the decline in the kin-centeredness of *barrios*, this traveling ritual brings the dispersed kin group into a coherent social whole as the *dandes* travel between family domiciles around the island. However, it is within the discourse surrounding it that the *dande* as idiom-as-symbol takes on its rhetorical power.

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VICTORIA RAZAK WITH IVAN JANSEN AND HARRY CROES

Danza

Danza is generally understood as a nineteenth-century urban Caribbean derivative of contradances introduced from Europe around the late eighteenth century. In various ways, local composers integrated imported contradance forms with elements of music of African heritage, thus creating distinctive forms of *danza*.

The family of European contradances included quadrilles, rigaudons and lancers, as well as Spanish *contradanzas* that were rooted on the 'longways' style of the English country dance. This latter type, reported in Spain around 1711, is the one usually considered to be the most common (albeit not exclusive) tableau for the emergence of *danza* in the Caribbean. The early longways consisted of two duple-metered eight-bar sections of melodies played to accompany a similar recurring dance format of men and women in two lines, initially facing each other and later evolving in figures prescribed by a dance caller, or *bastonero*. Urban dance orchestras in the Caribbean consisted primarily of low-class military band members or musicians of African ancestry, who slowly but surely converted *contradanzas* into a Creole genre known as *contradanza del país*. As local, white, upper-class patrons entered the dance arena to the 'stately and dignified' melodies of the opening part, they were exposed to, or 'ambushed' by, voluptuous Afro-Caribbean rhythms in the latter section. The earliest-known published example of local *contradanzas* is 'San Pascual Bailón' (Cuba, 1803), containing elements such as the so-called *habanera* (as a rhythmic pattern) in march-like melodies common in military repertoires. Frequently, composers drew for their melodic styles on Italian arias performed in opera productions sponsored mainly by local merchants and the buoyant sugarcane industry. Under the influence of European Romanticism, *contradanza del país* emerged in the 1840s as background for dancers to reject the authoritarian caller and the longways system in favor of the independent couple, a modality observed in the slow, moderate and fast dances of urban societies in the early twenty-first century. Events such as the Paris Revolt of 1848 inspired local writers to adopt Creole *contradanza* as an emblem of an antimonarchic Caribbean, free from the chains imposed by Spain and Roman Catholicism. Perhaps not coincidentally, these *danzas* seldom featured the Andalusian cadences associated with Peninsular Spanish music.

Variants of contradance existed with similar or different names in many countries, including Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Lesser Antilles, Venezuela, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Mexico, Curazao, Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay. Whenever these distinctive versions were performed in Europe, Peninsular Spaniards referred to them indistinctly as *danza antillana* (Antillean Danza), or *danza americana* (American Danza). The popularity and significance of the Antillean *danza* is documented in 'La Borinquena,' a suave and romantic *danza* that became Puerto Rico's national anthem.

Danza in Cuba and Puerto Rico: Contrasting Histories

Nineteenth-century Cuban and Puerto Rican composers proposed to develop forms of Antillean *danza* as means of demonstrating a distinctive musical idiom for the region. But the Puerto Rican and Cuban versions were dissimilar to each other due to a number of factors, including demography and migration. In Cuba, the *contradanza* featured a two-part structure with the repeating *habanera* rhythm as its most distinctive feature. Later, this so-called *contradanza habanera* was renamed *danza,* and subsequently known as the *danza cubana* that evolved shortly thereafter into the Cuban *danzón* by the 1870s.

While Cuban composers considerably infused the *danzón* with elaborate African rhythms and drew on repetitive or circular formulas, composers in Puerto

Rico enlarged the *danza* form in melodic sections, and took from any of the various rhythmic and metric systems at hand. The *danza* of Puerto Rico became as popular and influential as the widely acclaimed *danzón* of Cuba, but did so with its own distinctive form, melodic style and texture, as reflected throughout the region well into the 1920s and beyond.

Puerto Rican *danza* was originally known as *merengue*, in which the two-part form consistently inscribed a 2/4 time signature, although it often dictated the performance of triplets more suitable to 6/8 or 3/4. This metro-rhythmic ambivalence points to the contribution by a significant Venezuelan migration fleeing the Bolivarian revolution by the thousands, especially in 1821. On their arrival in Puerto Rico, they introduced two-part *contradanzas* in *sesquialtera* patterns, that is, a binary feel in 6/8 alternating with a ternary meter (like 3/4). The unprecedented arrival of a Spanish regimental band from Cuba around 1839 may have inspired local composers to include *habanera* rhythmic patterns more frequently into this local *contradanza* form. In 1848 the local press in San Juan made explicit mention of *merengue* as the national music of the country. This prototype of *danza* came to be a local synthesis of Venezuelan and Cuban contributions.

Another difference between the Cuban and the Puerto Rican versions lay in their structure. In their beginnings, both Cuban and Puerto Rican *danzas* almost invariably comprised only two parts. In Cuba, the parts were called *prima* and *segunda* and were repeated *ad infinitum* in the dance context, perhaps with ornaments or improvised variations, while in Puerto Rico *danzas* a first part, called *paseo,* was followed by a section called *merengue.* But in contrast to the Cuban *segunda*, *merengue* evolved into a multipart form generally consisting of three 16-bar melodic sections, often concluding with the theme of the introduction or one of its parts. The expansion helps explains why the entire genre was also known as 'merengue.' In 1849 Governor Juan de la Pezuela issued a decree banning *merengue* in Puerto Rico. Dance organizers, musicians and the public responded by disguising the expression under the name 'upa' and later as 'danza.' By the mid-1850s Spanish military bands were including *danzas* in regular nightly outdoor concerts known as *retretas*, occasions at which bandleaders could show their instrumental expertise through *obligato* arrangements of popular arias and cavatinas. The presence of the mid-low register of a brass instrument known as *bombardino* (alternately translated in English as 'baritone euphonium.' 'baritone horn' or 'saxhorn') enticed the development of a local *obligato* style (known popularly as *contracanto de bombardino*) throughout the entire *merengue* section. A likely contribution by Frenchman Charles Allard during his tenure as major of local Spanish regimental bands, this subordinate line became one of the most distinctive elements of Puerto Rican *danzas*. It was often transcribed for the piano as a left-hand countermelody in the petit salon *danzas* that became popular among local elite dilettante ladies. 'Un viaje a Bayamón' (A Trip to Bayamón, 1867), by Manuel G. Tavárez (1843–82), reveals the use of low-register melodies much like the third-section solos for the *bombardino*.

For the regimental ensembles, *danza* composers embraced specific snare-drum rolls in the *paseo* section, thus invoking the 1870 adoption of similar patterns for the 'Marcha Real,' the Spanish national anthem.

San Juan and Ponce: Two Schools of *Danza* in Puerto Rico

After Tavárez moved to Ponce around 1870, two schools of *danza* were discernible in Puerto Rico, based on differences that had developed in formal, rhythmic and stylistic areas of the music. In San Juan, *danza* kept its ties with the old Spanish *contradanza* while maintaining the prominence of the accompanying *habanera* rhythms by inserting boisterous and lighter themes in short and equidistant phrases. This is reflected in suggestive titles, such as 'Zabaleta, rabo de puerco' (Zabaleta, Pork Tail) and 'Ay, yo quiero comer mondongo' (Hey, May I Eat Some Mondongo?).

At the time Ponce, Puerto Rico's second city, was considered a hub of sugar-plantations owned mostly by non-Spanish Europeans, whereas the Spanish controlled the commercial sectors. It was in this sociocultural realm that Tavárez, educated in Paris, established the basis of a more elaborate and cosmopolitan style. Much as Louis Moreau Gottschalk during his 1857–58 visit to that city (e.g., in his *Souvenir de Puerto Rico*), Tavárez instilled his *danzas* with elements of contemporary European Romanticism, together with rhythms he heard from black slaves in nearby plantations. His *danzas* consisted of enlarged melodic phrases, with triplet and quintuplet figures evenly inscribed, as, for example, in scores such as that for his *danza* 'Margarita' (1870). Local performers transformed these left-hand obligato figures into alternating African-related uneven patterns of 3-3-2 and 2-1-2-1-2, resulting in the voluptuous languidness characteristic of the slow *danza romántica* for piano. Another of Tavarez's contributions was the occasional use of distant tonalities, as in his *danza* 'Un recuerdito' (A Little Souvenir, ca. 1877).

Danza is often considered to have reached its highest musical level with Juan Morel Campos (1857–96), a pupil of Tavarez and the most prolific composer in the region. Most of his estimated 300 *danzas* were written for dance ensembles combining military-band and string-ensemble formats. Eventually, orchestras in Puerto Rico drew on his ensemble to standardize a format consisting of flutes, clarinets, violins, *bombardino,* trumpets, bass, *guiro* and *timbale*. A *bombardino* player (or *bombardinista*) himself, Morel Campos established the tradition of double-horn *contracanto* (in thirds and sixths) along with *bombardinista* Domingo Cruz ('Cocolía'), whose improvised 'talks' on this instrument (recorded by Columbia in 1910) are known to have predated, by some considerable time, the era of jazz improvisation. Campos had a hugely varied career, including the roles of orchestra conductor in South America and the Caribbean, and arranger for traveling Cuban minstrel, Italian opera and Spanish *zarzuela* companies. Together with his reputed capabilities on various musical instruments, he demonstrated prodigious ability in improvising *ad hoc* arrangements in remote cities where ensembles lacked the instruments prescribed in scores. Trained by Tavárez and Antonio Egipciaco (who was educated in Spain), at the zenith of his career (from 1882 until his death) Campos applied the knowledge he gained in making his local adaptations of the latest opera scores by Giuseppe Verdi to his own compositions. Thus, he gave more freedom to the standard *paseo-merengue* structure of the *danza*, and endowed the genre with melodic and harmonic sophistication while maintaining the austere, provincial, sober and defiant character of his native city of Ponce. Traces of Italian *cantabile* are clear in *danzas* composed in the 1880s, such as 'Alma sublime' (Sublime Soul), 'Tormento' (Torment) and 'Influencia del arte' (Influence of Art). His *danza* 'Felices días' (Merry Days, ca. 1892) was popular in his time and continues to be widely played. While these works also show marked contrasts in tonal harmony, and others such as 'Sí te toco' (Yes I Touch You, ca. 1885) use augmented triads, *danzas* such as 'Noche deliciosa' (Delicious Night) play with distant tonalities. In the hands of pianists such as Julio Arteaga, Gonzalo Nuñez, Anita Otero and Elisa Tavárez, piano reductions of *danzas* by Morel Campos became widely acclaimed in nineteenth-century concert halls around the world, along with similar salon piano compositions by Chopin, Schumann, Liszt and others. These *danzas* were recorded in the 1940s by Jesús María Sanromá on RCA Red Seal, a label at the time exclusively reserved for 'classical' music.

Danza in the Twentieth Century

After the United States acquired Puerto Rico as a territory in 1898, the prospect of 'Americanization' was set in motion with the purpose of assimilating the island's culture and society to national standards. But for a correspondent of the *New York Times*, writing in 1904, Puerto Rican music was 'an amiable trait of character that needs no Americanization,' and the *danza*, 'a music of a distinctly high order.'

Despite the increasing presence of the Cuban *danzón* in Puerto Rico, the early years of the twentieth century saw *danza* preserve its standing as the most popular genre in and beyond artistic circles.

In Ponce, the legacy of Morel Campos was continued by Juan Ríos Ovalle, Jaime Pericás and Arturo Pasarell, while in San Juan it inspired compositions by Braulio Dueño Colón and Julián Andino. In between these two schools was Angel Mislán, whose *danza* 'Tú y yo' (You and I) (1882) is considered to predate the modern *bolero*. José Ignacio Quintón (1881–1925) maintained – and indeed closed – *danza*'s creative cycle by enlivening it with *jíbaro* (peasant) music, or by using concert-related contemporary formulas, especially for the *paseo* section.

Local *danza* recordings made in 1910 by bands such as the Cocolía orchestra and, in 1917, by the San Juan Municipal Band (dir. by Manuel Tizol), received national attention due in part to the clarinet and baritone horn improvisations that until then had rarely been heard on cylinders. By the eve of the United States' involvement in World War I, most members of Tizol's orchestra and other San Juan-based groups had become part of James Reese Europe's 369th Regiment 'Hellfighters,' the pioneering African-American band that provoked an unprecedented craze among Europeans during the war.

In the 1920s Rafael Hernández's Trío Borinquen helped create a new 'romantic' genre distinct from the Cuban *bolero*, although structurally closer to the *danza* than previously assessed by scholars and amateur writers. This new kind of song is known as the modern *bolero latinoamericano*. Composer Pedro Flores often referred to the modern *bolero* as 'danza moderna,' due to its resemblance to the romantic *danza*.

By the mid-1930s the introduction of the *bolero* in the main social venues led to the marked decline of *danza* as a live symbol of collective aspirations, but in the 1970s – a period of renaissance in the local mass media – *danza* regained its luster as a popular and patriotic song. The most representative example is Antonio Cabán Vale's 'Verde luz' (Green Light), a song recorded in 1975 that became popular in political rallies as well as in intimate celebrations.

Danza as *Merengue* in the Dominican Republic

In the Dominican Republic, newspapers, chronicles and other documents report early *contradanza* derivatives such as the *tumba dominicana* overlapping with the 'intrusive' *merengue* that was introduced by itinerant musicians and military bands from Puerto Rico around 1854, 8 years after it was reported in San Juan. 'Danza' and 'merengue' had always been terms used to denote music introduced by military bands from Puerto Rico. Between 1869 and 1892 several Puerto Rican musicians abandoned their regiments and remained in the Dominican Republic to found nearly all of the regimental and municipal bands and help make a larger contingent of Dominican composers, who continued to promote the *danza* in urban dance halls. Peasant musicians who joined the military bands were trained on instruments like the *bombardino* and several military drums. They introduced *danza*-related styles such as the introductory drum roll, as well as the *contracanto de bombardino*, to their local *conjuntos*. These styles were later adopted in rural *perico ripiao* ensembles, consisting of accordion, gourd-scraper, *tambora* (a two-sided membranophone evolved from military drums) and saxophone. For example, *bombardino* solos, or *cantos de bombardino* in the third section, may be seen in saxophone *jaleo* sections of the Dominican *merengue* and the Haitian *méringue*. Versions of double-saxophone counterpoint reminiscent of Morel Campos's style for *bombardino* can be heard in late-1950s and 1960 recordings of Haitian *méringues* by orchestras such as the one directed by Nemours Jean-Baptiste, father of *konpa dirèk*. Upper-class Dominicans, who favored the urban *danza* that had been in vogue since the 1870s, rejected the musical contributions of local peasants, but during the US occupation of the Dominican Republic (1916–24), an identity crisis in the Dominican Republic compelled writers and composers to embrace a nationalist stance which closed their world to external influences, to the extent of denying any linkages between *merengue* and *danza*. Eventually, a form designed as *jaleo* – synthesizing styles of Dominican folklore – was appended to the *danza* in much the same way as the rural *son* became attached to the urban *danzón* in Cuba around 1910. In this way, *danza* came to be presented to the world, by official decree, as 'the Dominican Danza.' After 1940 composers in Santo Domingo systematically displaced the original multipart *merengue* section by expanding the *jaleo* to the point that *merengue*, as it is known today, is a quite distinct and unique reaffirmation reminiscent of the long-postponed autochthonous legacy of Dominican music.

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EDGARDO DÍAZ DÍAZ

Danzante

The *danzante* is an indigenous musical genre danced to during Corpus Christi festivities throughout the highland region of Ecuador. The term *danzante* also denotes both the dance and the dancers who thank the *Pachamama*, or Mother Earth, for the blessings and harvest she has bestowed. The celebration of Corpus Christi takes place on the Thursday after the seventh Sunday after Easter, and syncretizes elements of Roman Catholicism with native Andean and pre-Incaic rituals, such as processions, games and sharing of the harvest. Salient aspects of this festivity are the *danzantes* (costumed dancers), the pipe-and-tabor musical accompaniment and the erection of *castillos* (fruit-bearing poles).

Due to their colorful and fancy costumes, the best-known *danzantes* in Ecuador are from Pujilí, a small town in the province of Cotopaxi. Their white outfits are complemented by a handkerchief tied around the neck and small bells attached to the feet. They carry a richly ornamented headdress and breastplate with colorful ribbons, religious images, feathers, coins, bells and pieces of mirror attached to them. They usually dance in a circle to the accompaniment of a *pingullo* (a three-hole cane flute) and a *tamboril* (a small drum), which are played by the same person. For several decades, *bandas de pueblo* (small brass bands) have also marched behind the *danzantes* to augment the musical accompaniment. *Danzantes* usually dance in a circle with short steps and slow movements.

Musically, the *danzante* is characterized by a pentatonic-based melody and a rhythmic pattern formed by long and short notes (a quarter and an eighth note). Indigenous and urban renditions of the *danzant*e greatly differ from each other. The former is always instrumental music. The melody consists of short phrases that are repeated with slight variations. The latter includes Spanish lyrics, a binary musical form and guitar accompaniment.

Despite its significance as an 'authentic' vernacular music from Ecuador, there are not many urban *danzantes* in the national music anthology. The most popular *danzante* within Ecuador, and the only one widely known outside Ecuador, is 'Vasija de barro' (Clay Pot), written in 1950 by a group of Ecuadorian intellectuals in a bohemian gathering at painter Oswaldo Guayasamín's house. Three poets and one painter wrote the stanzas, which were set to music by Dúo Benítez-Valencia, among the most popular performers of Ecuadorian national music. The lyrics talk about death and the desire to be buried in a clay pot in order to return to the earth, the place where one's ancestors belong. This song has been recorded by different types of vocal and instrumental ensembles, including the National Symphony Orchestra.

Academic composers such as Luis Humberto Salgado, Segundo Luis Moreno and Gerardo Guevara stylized the *danzante* and inserted it into their cyclic nationalist compositions for piano, choir and orchestra.

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KETTY WONG

Danzón

Danzón is a traditional Cuban genre of music and dance; since the end of the nineteenth century it has also been considered a traditional salon dance. It is recognized as Cuba's national dance, although no official documents appear to exist to verify a date when this recognition took place. As early as the 1920s, according to Alejo Carpentier (1979 [1946]), the idea existed that *danzón* would one day become Cuba's national dance; and indeed, 'for forty years there was no event that was not glossed or celebrated through a *danzón*' (189).

Danzón is dance hall music, predominantly instrumental but with some variants that are sung. It arose in the mid-nineteenth century in the northwestern cities of Matanzas and Havana; its various styles were consolidated in the first decades of the twentieth century. In the nineteenth century *danzón* was performed in Cuba by *orquestas típicas*, the principal dance music ensemble of the day, consisting of two violins, two clarinets, cornet, trombone, ophicleide (bugle), contrabass, timpani (*timbales*) and *güiro* (scraper). This format remained unchanged until approximately the first decade of the twentieth century. The *orquesta típica* was replaced by the *charanga francesa*, which emerged at the end of the nineteenth century, and in which the clarinets and brass instruments were replaced by the five-key wooden flute, which predominated, together with the violin; the timpani was replaced by the *paila cubana* (also known as the *timbal cubano*) (see '*Danzón in Cuba*' below). Vocals were also added. Some *charangas* included a Cuban harp (Giro 2007, 9), and sometimes also a cello or a viola.

Danzón is performed all over the island of Cuba, as well as in some Mexican cities such as Mexico City, Mérida and Veracruz, where the tradition is also strong. The differences between Cuban and Mexican *danzón* can be seen in the way it is danced, the basic rhythmic patterns underlying the music, and the types of ensembles that perform it. In Mexico *danzón* is performed by *danzoneras*, who appeared around 1910 (see '*Danzón in Mexico*' below).

The Genesis of *Danzón*

The origins of *danzón* have been the subject of much debate. Cuban Miguel Faílde is often considered to have created the *danzón* with his classic composition 'Las alturas de Simpson' (1879), but it is more accurate to see the idea of Faílde's paternity as inventor of *danzón* as responding to a kind of myth, a manner of simplifying the historical record of the emergence of the genre, which has been constructed without historical or analytical foundations. According to Castillo Faílde (1964a), Faílde was responsible for establishing the style, rhythm and dancing norms in the structure of *danzón*. As a result, the invention of the genre was attributed to this composer and led to his creation being considered as a model for the genre. Argeliers León (1984, 281) considers that Faílde succeeded in giving the genre a specific expression – the result of the constant transfiguration in the folk arena in which the composer was a participant.

As Zoila Lapique has pointed out (2007), there are ample references to *danzones* in the nineteenth-century press prior to 1879. These *danzones*, predating the formal, choreographic and melodic-rhythmic model that was recognized in 'Las alturas de Simpson,' represent the beginnings of *danzón* as it is known today. One of the earliest authors to mention *danzones* is Alejo Carpentier (1979 [1946]), who also comments that the relevance of Faílde and 'Las alturas de Simpson' is a response to the fact that, at the time, the sectors of society that frequented the Liceo de Matanzas had socially accepted the previously known *danza*. Both Argeliers León (1974) and Leonardo Acosta (2004) reject the idea of genres having a single inventor, asserting that this is in fact part of musical restructuring processes.

Over time, scholars have come to see the process in which *danzón* emerged as a wider one involving a continuity or consequence of the 'Cubanization' or 'criollización' (Creolization) of the *contradanza*. This Creolization has to do with the performance of these musical genres by blacks and mulattos and the role they had in the development of popular salon music. The emergence and development of *danzón* have been seen (e.g., by Alen Rodriguez [1998]) as one history within a wider 'danzón complex,' involving a process that began with the *contradanse* in Europe, the *contradanza* and *danza* in Cuba, and reached its final variants in the twentieth century with *mambo* and *chachachá*. Leonardo Acosta, however, refutes the idea of generic complexes in the historical narrative of Cuban music. In his view *danzón* along with *son* and *rumba*, is one of three historical pillars of popular dance music in Cuba, from which (and in their combinations) many variants emerge – subgenres, hybrids, styles, and even intergeneric currents and modalities such as *mambo*, *danzonete*, *danzón de nuevo ritmo* and so on. Acosta asserts that *danzón* is the result of a gradual process of 'criollización' or 'Cubanization' of a European musical form (country dance-*contredanse*-*contradanza*) and accepts the presence of *contradanza-danza-danz*ón in the process, but not that of the *mambo* (Acosta 2004, 42–3).

In Argeliers León's view (1984), the emergence of the genre is a consequence of a process of transformation of a style from the *contradanza* to the *danzón*, in which the convergence of 'topical factors' that are characteristic of Cuban musical folklore gets emphasized. As the process unfolds, some of these factors disappear while others become assimilated or are combined. Among these topical factors that mark the genre's development, León mentions the appearance of rhythmic combinations – from rhythms in the *tango* or the *habanera* – and their use in *contradanzas* and other dances, which creates a space for the Cuban *cinquillo* (282–3) (see below). León also considers *danzón* to mark the close of a historical cycle of stylistic definition in the musical history of Cuba, which started with *contradanza* and other courtly dances (ibid., 281).

Robin Moore (1997, 52), meanwhile, highlights how the history of *danzón* is important to the interpretation of the most common attitudes of the Afro-Cuban musical forms of the twentieth century. There exists a vast academic output by Cuban historians who include *danzón* within Afro-Cubanist polemics of nationalist positions from the mid-nineteenth century (see, for example, Fernández Robaina (2009), Félix Julio Alfonso (2008), Iglesias Utset (2010), Basail Rodríguez (2004), among others).

Historical Development

Danzón *in Cuba*

While Faílde's contributions to the emergence of *danzón* as a distinctive genre were clearly significant, the development of the dance, music and repertoire of the *danzón* had already been in the making since the 1850s, and the social issues in which it was involved had also been in place for some time.

The documentary evidence for the existence of the term *danzón* in the mid-nineteenth century suggests that the name appeared well before the style, rhythm and dance norms that were to be defined and popularized by Miguel Faílde. But there was more to it than simply the name. Newspaper reports indicate that by the early 1850s *danzón* was developing among the poor blacks in the northern city of Matanzas, and that it also spread to Havana around this time (Castillo Faílde 1964). By 1870 *danzón* had already been adopted by members of the black middle class in their social clubs, and had been transformed into a respectable salon dance (Moore 1997, 49). Between 1870 and 1880 controversy grew around the music, spreading throughout the island. Some newspapers attacked *danzón,* calling it 'an immoral dance that was infiltrating the educated segments of society' (Castillo Faílde 1964, 125). One of the factors behind this attitude was the dance which, as it involved embracing, was seen as immoral, erotic and lascivious.

This is the context in which *danzón* was officially introduced to *criollo* high society, in the form of Miguel Faílde's 'Las alturas de Simpson,' on 1 January 1879. The event took place at the Liceo Artístico y Literario de la Ciudad de Matanzas, where it was danced to by the *sacarocracia local criolla* (the Cuban aristocracy, founded on sugar commerce, which saw itself as being in opposition to Spanish society) (Moliner 2007, 148). Conservative newspapers criticized this event, while the nationalists and progressivists defended it. Faílde himself was a mestizo musician whose orchestra was acclaimed by white society at a time when, as local newspapers made clear, stances with regard to 'negritud' ('blackness') were radicalized. For most of the nineteenth century, black people had not been seen as belonging to Cuban culture but rather as posing a cultural threat. Nonetheless, the dance was one of the most important forms for socializing and the majority of orchestras were made up of blacks and mulattos.

In the 1880s and 1890s the controversy around *danzón* deepened as the debate took on political and racial overtones. The genre was labeled Africanist due to its timbral and rhythmic elements associated with the *abaku'á* and the *bembé* drums. Middle and upper classes, as well as Spanish descendants, the Autonomist Party and the conservative press described it in these terms (i.e., Africanist). Others, however, considered it as a 'symbol of the first Cuban attempts to define itself in cultural terms that excluded Afro-Cuban expressions' (Moore 1997, 49). Experts at the time such as Eduardo Sánchez de Fuentes denied the African influence on *danzón*, although Sánchez was alluding to discrete Africanisms (ibid., 59). According to various sources, those who were hostile to the genre labeled the use of musical instruments such as the *güiro* and *chekere* as savage Africanisms imported into the salon, while the blackness of the genre's creators and performers defined the steps as degenerated versions of the African *tango*. They also pointed to the choreography of the paired dance, even alluding to the similarity between *danzón* and prenuptial rites in their physical closeness and public movement. In addition, *danzón* was condemned because white social classes and poor blacks alike were performing what were widely seen as immoral dances. All of this served political agendas which questioned the values of the *criollo*, black and poor classes.

The main causes of the polemic surrounding *danzón* were the links with Afro-Cubans and Haitians (Moore 1997, 49). The controversy was generated in terms of *danzón* (as music, dance and social expression) representing a cultural change: a form of resistance against the foreign, which resulted in *danzón* being understood as a referent of national *criollo* identity. The many quarrels between conservatives and nationalists around *danzón* showed how the ideas of a Cuban nation were being constructed, and how the value judgments of nineteenth-century Cuban society changed, engaging in dialogue, as well as imbuing the genre with a nationalist sense.

By 1890 the dance – an embraced couple dance, unlike the *contradanza* – was prohibited in many cities and was labeled as improper in recreational societies of the middle class; the prohibition formed part of the campaign measures for the 'blanquaemiento' (whitening, or purification) of culture. But *danzón* was being danced in both public and private (and black and white) dance halls. It was also performed during all types of social events, especially those connected to the *criollo* society. In the 1880s *danzón* gained acceptance in the 'superior classes' by dint of its popularity, and between 1887 and 1890 a number of *danzones* were unveiled during Carnival seasons, which were the main dance seasons at the time. At around the same time, according to Marial Iglesias Utset (2010, 99), a type of stylized *danzón* emerged that 'has pauses, fan strikes on the part of women, and a modest embrace keeping prudent distance' and that exists in salons of 'good society.' The same author speaks of *danzón* as replacing the *zapateo* as the traditional dance at the end of the nineteenth century.

By 1898 the link was clear between *danzón* and the growing sense of nationalism and sense and opposition to the musical influence from the United States. From that point, the dance became labeled as the essence of Cubanness.

Notable early exponents of the modern form include composer, bandleader and trombonist Raimundo Valenzuela (1848–1905), who is said to have incorporated fragments of Spanish *zarzuelas* and Viennese operettas into *danzones*, and pianist and composer Antonio Torroella 'Papaíto' (1856–1934). These and other musicians directed very popular *orquestas típicas* of the time and sold out ballrooms with their music, contributing enormously to the development of the genre.

The relationship between the *danzón*'s choreographic and musical structures was essential to the genre's development from the time of its first appearance. Pre-Faílde *danzones*, also known as '*danzones coreográficos*' (choreographic *danzones*), are accepted (at least by Cuban specialists) as a variation of *danza criolla* (Creole dance), a term used to draw a distinction between the imported *danza* and the local, Creolized form. They had the binary form of the *danza criolla*, but the music was lengthened to accommodate the addition of new dance steps and combinations. For some time, even after 1879, the terms *danza* and *danzón* were used interchangeably within the binary form-based repertoires of composers and bands. A fundamental point is that the rhythmic basis of the music relied on the pairing of the *timbales* and the *güiro* or *calabazo*, instruments which brought elements of Afro-Cuban music to the dance hall, thus Creolizing the sound of urban music.

The search for new sonorities, together with the construction possibilities and the mobility of the instruments that existed in the island, resulted in major developmental processes affecting the format of instrumental ensembles performing *danzón*. In the move from *orquesta típica* to *charanga* the European timpani or *timbal*, which had arrived in Cuba with the Spanish military bands, became Creolized. The first changes concerned size (smaller), playing techniques (sticks instead of mallots) and sonorous capacity (moving toward a higher register to make the instrument more audible). Later, the *timbal* evolved into what came to be known as *pailas cubanas* or *timbales cubanos*, the names used to differentiate the instrument from the original. These instruments, which come in pairs (male and female) and are mounted on a tripod, consist of a pair of cylindrical casings covered by a membrane that is tightened by a ring. Membrane tension can be adjusted by keys but it lacks the capacity for fine tuning. The instruments are played with wooden sticks without a head. A smaller variant was known as *timbaleta* (Neira 2012). At times, in traditional Cuban ensembles the timpani and *pailas cubanas* and even other membranophone variants coexisted, according to the instrumentation options and to the musical experimentations of each orchestra, as can be seen in the visual records of orchestras since the nineteenth century.

Danzón *in Mexico*

Danzón experienced its golden age in Mexico in the 1940s and 1950s, but many questions surround its initial establishment and early development there. It may have arrived in Mexico by way of the city of Mérida around 1870; alternatively, it may have taken root, along with other Cuban genres such as *guaracha* and *danza*, in the 1870s through the influence of

Cuban comedy theater (*bufos)*, following long performance runs by Cuban theater troupes in regions such as Veracruz as well as appearances in theaters in Mexico City and Mérida. It would appear that *danzón* was already being heard by 1895, at gatherings held in the homes of Cuban families who settled in Mexico (many of them moving there during the Cuban wars of independence), at which *danzones* were played on the piano. Other repertories were introduced through musicians such as José Urfé, Luis Casas Romero and Jorge Anckermann. The latter composed numerous *danzones*, stylizing the genre by using them as overtures for Cuban theater performances.

Important *danzón* orchestras were Los Hermanos Concha and Los Chinos Ramírez. Cubans Tiburcio Hernández 'El Babuco' and Tomás Ponce Reyes founded their orchestra in Veracruz in 1905. It was Babuco who applied the term '*danzonera*' to the style. At first *danzoneros* were similar to the Cuban *orquesta tipica*, but with the inclusion of violas, cellos and flutes. By the 1920s the Orquesta Conchain was already a hybrid between *tipica* and *charanga*, featuring cornet, trombone, bugle (ophicleide), clarinets, strings (violins and basses, sometimes violas and cellos), piano and flute in addition to the percussion (that always included *timbales* – never *pailas* or *tumbadoras*, which began to be incorporated only recently and very sporadically – *güiro* and *claves*). In the 1950s the lineup changed substantially with the inclusion of saxophones in the manner of American big bands. The format of Acerina y Su Danzonera was two trumpets, trombone, two tenor and two baritone saxophones (sometimes clarinets), two violins, bass, piano, *timbales*, *güiro* and *claves*. In the modern era in Veracruz some *danzoneras* use a reduced and more economic lineup that locals call 'guerrilla,' featuring two trumpets, two saxes (tenor and baritone), electric bass, *güiro*, *claves* and solo *timbal* (Madrid and Moore, 2013).

Salón México, known as 'La Catedral del Danzón' (The Cathedral of the *Danzón*), opened its doors in 1920 and was in operation until 1962. Its opening helped to encourage a rapid growth of new dance halls, each with its own resident orchestra. Consejo 'Acerina' Valiente, a Cuban resident in Veracruz, moved to Mexico City and founded his orchestra Acerina y su Danzonera, which was active in the area for many years.

Danzones were also incorporated into the repertoire of some *marimba* ensembles. This practice was also widely adopted in the Guanacasteca region of Costa Rica, with some of the repertoire based on melodies heard on the radio and some composed locally.

Musical Characteristics of Cuban *Danzón*

Danzón evolved from several styles generated by modifications to the formal structure, timbral profile and musical dramaturgy. It is important to note that the lyrical character of danzón melodies is considered essential to the delineation of danzón as a genre and allows one piece to be distinguished from another. Despite many of these styles coexisting within the repertoires of specific composers or orchestras, the following time periods have come to be widely recognized, highlighting the periods during which these styles were consolidated:

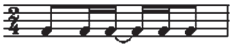
- Classic *danzón* (1879–1910)
- Classic modern and sung *danzón* (1910–40)
- *Danzón de nuevo ritmo* (new-rhythm *danzón*) (1940–51)

Classic Danzón *(1879–1910)*

During this period, the classic *danzón* 'Las alturas de Simpson' by Miguel Faílde becomes a structural, rhythmic and timbral model. The piece, written in 2/4 time, adopted a rondo structure (ABAC). However, the number of sections included in a *danzón*'s rondo structure will vary with each individual work, expanding infinitely – for instance ABACADAE – or, like some *danzones*, preserving a binary structure. In some of these early *danzones*, (A) functions as a ritornello or refrain that is alternated with the other sections (B and C, also known as *danzones* or *trios*), acting as a break between sections. It is called *paseo* or *floreo* by the dancers. (In Mexico*, florear* means 'to turn,' usually during the *montuno* section later.) During this section women often fan themselves, using the language of the fan in their interactions with the men. The first (B) section – played by the clarinet in the *orquesta típica* or by the flute in the *charanga francesa* – is lively and virtuosic in character, and is generally 16 measures long. The second *danzón* (C), played by the violin (or by a brass trio in earlier versions) and usually of 32 measures, is slower and more melodic. The (C) section often contains references to *zarzuelas* and arias from operas and operettas. Trombonist and bandleader Raimundo Valenzuela was one of the first to introduce such references into *danzón*. These two sections (B and C) provided many opportunities for displays of technical virtuosity. Melodic and harmonic elements utilize the major-minor tonal system.

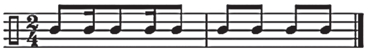
The distinctiveness of the rhythmic pattern, which marked it out as Cuban, was present before *danzón*, when the *cinquillo* arrived from the Eastern regions of the country, influencing all other musical genres. The *cinquillo*, a short rhythmic pattern or cell (see

Example 1), is considered by Carpentier (1970[1946], 189) to come from the French black population of Santiago de Cuba.



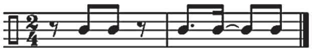
Example 1: *Cinquillo cubano*

Very frequently, the *cinquillo* cell is followed by four eighth notes, which may be expressed with or without pitch information (Example 2).



Example 2: Extended form of *cinquillo*

Other patterns are also used, such as the Cuban *clave de son* in Mexican repertoires (Example 3).



Example 3: *Clave de son*

Classic *danzón* was performed by the instrumental ensembles characteristic of the nineteenth century, the *orquesta típica* or *orquesta típica de vientos* (*orquesta típica* with wind instruments) and *charanga*.

Associated with the idea of a new anticolonial nation, the presence of the *cinquillo* preceded the *danzón*, and as it spread from the eastern part of the country to other areas it was interpreted and attacked from various perspectives. By the mid-nineteenth century it was influencing various genres. Its arrival resulted in changes in the manner of playing the *timbal* (timpani), including the introduction of the *baqueteo* rhythmic pattern (*baqueto* is a technique of playing the *timbal*, in which hand-playing is combined with stick-playing).

Classic Modern and Sung Danzón*, 1910–40*

In 1910 José Urfé broadened the structure of the *danzón* when he adopted the format ABACAD for his composition 'El bombín de Barreto.' He introduced a new D section, a third *danzón,* played by the brass section and known as the *montuno*, which consisted of a new rhythmic section with a faster tempo and employing elements related to, or characteristic of the *son*. Rhythmic and harmonic vamping underscores improvisational passages executed primarily on the flute or piano. This section tends to bring in elements from popular genres such as *son, canción*, jazz, *rumba*, *bolero*, American ragtime, street-vendor calls (*pregones*) and so forth.

Following the change in structure, the *charanga francesa* became established as the typical *danzón* ensemble, taking the place previously occupied by the *orquesta típica*. According to Cuban musicographer Ezequiel Rodríguez Dominguez (1967), the first ensemble dedicated to the interpretation of *danzones* to incorporate the piano was the ensemble of Papaíto Torroella, which also featured two violins, flute and bass. It also appears that Romeu, at some point during the first decade of the century, was a pianist for the ensemble of Leopoldo Cervantes, another important personality of *danzón* who did not leave any recordings. Rodríguez comments that the first to develop the format of the *charanga* is Tata Alfonso, and that the nickname 'francesa' 'is derived from the influence or reciprocal exchange that was established between the music from the south of the United States and Cuban music, because the music of that North American region is colored by the French influence' (Casanella Cué n.d.).

With the change to *charanga francesa*, the *concertante* style began to be notated. In addition to the *cinquillo* pattern and its variants, the percussion section, whether it consisted of a single instrument, or two or more played simultaneously, perform patterns that differentiate one musical section from another. These sections are known as *paseo* or *acompañamiento* (patterns played during the improvised portion of the introduction), *otras* (for the first *danzón*), *reparto* (performed on the *timbales* during *montuno* sections) and *baqueteo* or *fondo rítmico* (variants on the *cinquillo*), among others.

During this phase three forms of *danzón* coexisted: instrumental *danzón* with *montuno*, *danzonete* and sung *danzón* with *montuno*. Instrumental *danzón* lost its relevance with the rise of the sung form. Some scholars maintain that the sung *danzón* emerged from the *danzonete* during the 1930s (Torres 1995, 194) and represents a progression from the vocal-instrumental form (Loyola 1997, 60). Both sung *danzón* and *danzonete* contributed to the introduction of a singer to the *charanga* ensemble.

The inclusion of sung phrases or sections had their precedent in nineteenth-century *danzas*, *contradanzas* and even *danzones*. What is distinctive about the sung *danzón* variant is the integration of vocal parts from various Cuban music genres, primarily the *bolero*, into the *danzón*'s formal structure.

No single formal structure is imposed on sung *danzones*, only general principles. Among them are that the introductory instrumental A section is retained within the formal structure but is not repeated between the subsequent sections; the lead instrumentalists sometimes double the melody or add flourishes and countermelodies; and a bridge or instrumental segment is included between song sections, utilizing melodic material from the introduction or quoting other well-known melodies, especially *boleros*.

This new version of *danzón* was popular with almost all Cuban orchestras in the 1930s, notably the Gris orchestra, Fernando Collazo's orchestra and that of Cheo Belén Puig with Pablo Quevedo. Barbarito Diez became an emblematic figure, accompanied by Antonio María Romeu's orchestra and later by his own. Many *bolero* melodies were heard in sung *danzones,* thus introducing the *bolero* to the dance hall, and bringing forward a vast repertoire performed by great singers of the day.

Alongside the sung *danzón* and the instrumental *danzón* with *montuno*, the contributions of pianist Antonio María Romeu, 'El mago de las teclas' (The Keyboard Magician), stand out equally for their performative character. Some of his innovations include the use of new harmonic progressions, longer and more technically complex and virtuosic passages, and increased melodic lyricism. In 1926 'Linda cubana' appeared for the first time in the form of a piano solo. The level of virtuosity increased even further in other pieces such as Reverón's 'El violín mágico,' Israel López's 'Canta contrabajo' and José Urfé's 'Fefita.' Virtuosity is widely seen to have been a determining factor in the interpretation of *danzón* in this orchestra. Thus, the musicians privilege piano improvisations as well as violin and flute solos, while at the same time continuing to emphasize sections of exceptional polyrhythmic activity and always performing at the service of the dancer (in *montunos*, especially) (Casanella Cué 2011).

Unlike the *danzonete*, the lyrics of which are specially composed, sung *danzón* adopts popular texts interpreted by a solo singer over a rhythmic base of *cinquillo* or one of its variants, with the orchestral accompaniment kept subordinate to the singer. Sung *danzón* involves an instrumental section, a sung section and a refrain (*montuno*) which is also sung.

As well as the *charanga*, another type of twentieth-century ensemble whose repertoire was dominated by *danzones* was the *órgano oriental* (organs accompanied by *pailas* and *güiro*). The composer Carlos Borbolla created adaptations of *danzones* for this type of ensemble.

In the early twentieth century *danzones* were recorded by many Cuban orchestras, including those of Enrique Peña, Felipe B. Valdés, Pablo Valenzuela and Antonio María Romeu and others, and these were widely disseminated. Major labels included RCA Victor and Panart.

Danzón de Nuevo Ritmo *(New-Rhythm Danzón), 1940–51*

This style was given its name by flautist Antonio Arcaño, leader of Orquesta Arcaño and responsible for that orchestra's outstanding contributions to the revitalization of instrumental *danzón*. It began in the late 1930s with the *danzón* 'Mambo' by Orestes López, who is a well-known composer of *danzones*. In this *danzón*, López added a syncopated instrumental section at the end called 'mambo.' The closing was done by the *timbalero*, and the technique of the *abanico* (a rimshot and a sextuplet roll played on a *paila macho* to mark the beginning of the improvised section of the *danzón* [Neira 2012]) was used as one of the characteristic effects by the percussion (see Acosta 1985, 72–5). Over *sonero*-style syncopated motifs – small musical structures in which syncopation predominates – Arcaño developed three sections: A (for the flute), B (for the piano) and C (to be sung). The *danzón* unfolds as a virtuosic *tumbao*-inspired dialogue between the flute and the violins, emphasizing intricate rhythms and harmonies and building up in pitch to reach a climax for the dancers, allowing for more choreographic freedom through the use of new steps, gestures and movement vocabulary. Arcaño's improvisational style on the flute was taken up by other *charanga* orchestras (after 1940, the name '*charanga francesa*' was truncated to '*charanga*').

Orestes López paved the way for the rendering of the *tumbao* (a rhythm played on the bass) on the piano, and his brother, bass player Israel 'Cachao' López, also a member of the orchestra, contributed to the *descarga* (jamming) that characterized the new style. A large number of *danzones* were produced in the 'new rhythm, 'transforming the genre in the 1940s. An important element was Arcaño's introduction of the *tumbadora* (*conga* drum) into the *charanga* ensemble to reinforce the *charanga*'s percussive qualities, as was the sounding of the *baqueteo* rhythmic pattern on the *pailas* (Cuban *timbales*).

In 1940 Romeu expanded his *orquesta charanga* by incorporating instruments that were common in the *orquestas típicas* of the late 1800s: two clarinets, trumpet and trombone. He called this new formation 'orquesta gigante' (giant orchestra or big band). In this manner he combined the timbral characteristics of the two most important instrumental ensembles of *danzones* (Casanova 1995).

The invention of *chachachá* is often mentioned in connection with the development of *danzón*, becoming fused with it to form *danzón-chá*, which consists of an instrumental introduction, a *danzoneada*, and a second sung section, with rhythmic changes in the time of *chachachá*. Performed mostly by *charangas*, this variant highlights flute improvisation over a piano *tumbao* and instrumental *contracantos* played by the violins.

In the 1950s a chorus section of mostly male voices was added to the *charanga* ensemble and the repertoire began to change as material from other danceable genres was integrated. Popular *charanga* orchestras included La Aragón, La Sensación, La Sublime, La América, La Ideal, Las Melodías del 40 and the three orchestras led by the famous Cuban flautist José Fajardo. All these orchestras played *chachachás* and became popular precisely because of this repertoire. However, many of them started by performing *danzones*, a repertoire which they later maintained. With the rise of *son* and the groups that performed it in the 1950s, *danzón*, with its stylistic variants and *charanga* orchestras, no longer reigned supreme on the Cuban dance floor. Although *danzón* continued to be a significant force, a new danceable genre, *mambo*, replaced it as the most popular music of the day.

Classic Repertoire

Danzones considered classics include Miguel Faílde's 'Las alturas de Simpson' (1879), José Urfé's 'Fefita' and 'El bombín de Barreto' (1910), Antonio María Romeu's 'La flauta mágica' (1919, an arrangement of Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte*) and 'Linda cubana' (1926), Abelardino Valdés's 'Almendra' (1937), Electo 'Chepín' Rosell's 'Bodas de Oro' and Orestes López's 'Mambo' (1938), among many others. 'Nereidas' (1932), by Amador 'Dimas' Pérez, is considered the classic of Mexican *danzón par excellence*.

As Carpentier (1979 [1946]) observed – a point that is corroborated by the *danzón* repertoire – *danzón* made use of many available musical elements, such as fashionable *boleros*, US ragtime, *pregones callejeros* (street cries), Rossini arias, Spanish *cuples* and Chinese melodies. In addition, he (Carpentier) comments on the classical 'packaging' of many classic *danzones* from the point of view of harmony, of melodic characteristic and formal structure.

Dance Styles

Cuban *danzón* is an embraced couple dance in which the man leads, featuring small steps, torsos kept erect, arms always in held place, and locked gaze, always face-to-face. The steps are defined by the movements of the feet and knees and the knees are always kept bent. In general the embrace is maintained throughout the dance. In Mexico City, the open *danzón* features frequent turns. There is moderate movement of the hips. The basic steps include the introduction or *paseo* (the couple moves, holding each other with one arm while the woman fans herself), turns on the basic step (moving forward and back), *cajón* or *caja* (both man and woman dancing in a square, with both feet, usually facing one another), *vuelta tornillo* (the man plants his left foot and spins in place; the woman spins also, using more open steps). The latter practice is common in Mexico and among some dancers in the east of Cuba.

In Cuba a number of variant dance styles have evolved, including a more traditional form in the east of the island that emphasizes offbeats, while a stress on the on-beats is characteristic of the west. Sung *danzón* is danced differently. There is a pause during the introduction, then no further stop until the end of the dance. During the moment where the woman passes her fan from one hand to the other, she keeps it in her right hand until she moves behind her partner's shoulder, when she switches to her left.

In Mexico there are several dance styles and there are many different ways of executing the steps in relation to the venue where the dance is taking place. Basic steps include the *cuadro* (box/square) and the *columpio* (swing). In general the Mexican styles can be divided into two broad, well-differentiated categories: open and closed.

Musical Infrastructure

In contemporary Cuba, there are two organized events dedicated to *danzón*: Cubadanzón in Matanzas and the Festival Internacional Danzón Habana in Havana. Cubadanzón launched in 1989 and was instigated by José Loyola, composer and at the time vice president of UNEAC (Unión de Escritores y Artistas de Cuba [Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba]), and Ildelfonso Acosta, a well-known guitarist from Matanzas. Danzón Havana was started in 2004, sponsored by UNEAC and presided over by José Loyola. Both events feature dance competitions, a competition between the best *danzón* orchestras in the country, social dance events, dance classes and discussion panels.

In the early twenty-first century Cuba's national *danzón* scene features more than 150 clubs with a total membership of approximately 50,000, of which around 90 percent are more than 50 years old. These clubs are part of a national movement led by a board of directors chaired by Caridad Rodríguez Cervantes, a 66-year-old dancer from Camagüey. Each club has its own president and runs its own local activities. The oldest of these clubs is Amigos del Danzón Miguel Faílde, a group in the province of Matanzas. The newest is La Isla de la Juventud.

Radio programs such as *Felicidades* and *Tiempo de Danzón* focus on the dissemination of the genre past and present, recreating experiences and providing historical data about composers, performers and repertoires. Cuban radio show director Aurelio Rodriguez ('Yeyo') co-authored a book on *danzón* in Mexico with Simón Jara, a Mexican dance hall promoter, and anthropologist Antonio Zedillo (Jara Gámez et al. 1994).

Current Orchestras

The *orquesta típica* is obsolete in the early twenty-first century, although three such orchestras still exist (one each in Havana, Camagüey and Santiago de Cuba), aiming to preserve the acoustic environment of the first *danzones*. Notable *danzón* orchestras of today include Acierto Juvenil in Matanzas; Charanga de Oro, Panorama and Orquesta Loyola in Cienfuegos; and Orquesta Siglo XX, Aché Juvenil, Piquete Típico Cubano, Orquesta de Efraín Loyola, Estrellas Cubanas, América, Siglo XX, Sublime, Barbarito Diez, Charanga de Oro, Orquesta Aragón and Orquesta All Stars.

Fragments of classic *danzones* have been used in symphonic music; for example, the *danzón* 'Triunfadores' (Champions) by Antonio María Romeu was borrowed by Darius Milhaud for the overture of his *Saudades do Brasil,* while Aaron Copland included a section called 'Danzón' in *Salón México* and Leonard Bernstein's ballet *Fancy Free* features a section of the *danzón* 'Almendra' (Almond) by Abelardito Valdés (Giro 2007, 10).

Many Cuban art music composers have been inspired by *danzón* and have brought it into the jazz and concert music repertoires, be it for solo instruments or chamber or symphony orchestras. Among the most important is Cuban composer Alejandro García Caturla, who wrote nearly ten *danzones* as well as arrangements for jazz bands between 1922 and 1925. Among his *danzones* we find 'El piano de Colín' (Colín's Piano), 'Las calles de Campoamor' (The Streets of Campoamor), 'El cangrejito' (The Little Crab), 'El olvido de la canción' (The Song's Oblivion), 'Tu alma y la mía' (Your Soul and Mine), 'Ay, mama, yo te vi bailando' (Ay Momma I Saw You Dancing), 'El saxofón de Cuco' (Cuco's Saxophone), 'Laredo se va' (Laredo Is Leaving), 'Tócala con limón' (Play It with Lemon) and 'Cine Méndez' (Méndez Cinema) (Giro 2007, 256–8). Other composers include Emiliano Salvador, Gonzalito Rubalcaba, Chucho Valdés, Andrés Alén, Leo Brouwer, Argeliers León, José Ardévol, Jorge López Marín and Harold Gramatges.

In 2012 the genre is performed by different types of ensembles, including ones using electronic instruments. The reinvention of *danzón* following its fusion with other genres such as jazz, and a marked interest (in Cuba) in rescuing it as part of the Cuban concert repertoire are predominating factors currently. Young musicians such as jazz musicians Roberto Fonseca, Dayramir González, Orlando Valle 'Maraca,' Alejandro Falcón, singer-songwriter David Torrens, and Cuban rap and alternative music exponents such as Francis del Río are reinventing the genre on the basis of diverse constructions of identity.

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LILIANA GONZALEZ (TRANSLATED BY PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ AND MONA-LYNN COURTEAU)

Danzonete

Danzonete is a sung form of the *danzón* which arose when the instrumental form of *danzón* was in decline in Cuba, as a result of the rise of *son*. Credit for the first *danzonete* is usually given to Aniceto Díaz, a musician from Matanzas, in the north of the island, whose composition 'Rompiendo la rutina' (Breaking the Routine) was premiered in 1929 at the Sociedad Casino Español de Matanzas. Among the limited repertoire of danzonetes, other *danzonetes* by the same composer are known, including 'El trigémino' (The Trigeminus) and 'Son igual que el cocodrilo' (They're Just Like the Crocodile).

The lifespan of *danzonete* was short – barely a decade – but during that time this variant came to be known throughout Cuba, as a result of the enormous popularity of radio performers such as Pablo Quevedo, 'el divo de la voz de cristal' (the crystal-voiced divo) and Paulina Álvarez, known as 'la emperatriz del danzonete' (the Empress of the *Danzonete*). Quevedo, who sang with Cheo Belén Puig's orchestra, made no recordings, dying in 1936. Álvarez sang with Neno González's orchestra and later started her own. Other notable orchestras included that of Antonio María Romeu, a *charanga* orchestra, featuring Barbarito Diez as lead singer, that excelled at performing *danzonetes*, as did Fernando Collazo's orchestra, La Maravilla del Siglo.

In its formal organization 'Rompiendo la rutina' is structured much like a *danzón*, with an A section alternating with sections known as *tríos* or *danzones*. It retains the introduction (A), the violin-dominated B section, then the return to A with some improvisations. During the second *danzón* section a long instrumental section is added, with vocals sung in the time of a *bolero-son*. It ends with a more lively *sonero*-style *montuno* section, which includes improvised texts and a brief coda. The lyrics were designed specifically for the sung section, unlike in the *danzón cantado,* in which a complete song written for another genre is incorporated into the formal structure of *danzon*. Attention is focused on the singer's voice, thus ensuring the adoption of this form by *charanga* ensembles.

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Décima

The *décima*, a poetic form developed in Spain in the 1500s and brought to Latin America during the Conquest, consists of stanzas of ten octosyllabic lines. In the Hispanic Americas, *décima* is also known as *espinela* in recognition of Spanish poet and musician Vicente Espinel (1550–1624), who set out in his book *Diversas rimas* (originally published in 1544) the strophic structure of the rhyme, abbaaccddc, which went on to become a form of literary and musical expression of great importance in numerous folkloric festivals in the continent. Although the *décima* faded in Spain, it thrived in Latin American literature and popular song forms in countries including Peru, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Argentina, Chile, Panama, Uruguay, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba and Brazil. Despite its obvious literary syntactic associations with the Spanish language, *décima* performance in Latin America also incorporates African-derived musical aesthetics (such as call-and-response vocals) that shape the general character of the *espinela* in Latin-American countries and situates and places it within the context of religious and festive celebrations of a popular, syncretic and mestizo nature.

History

Décima harks back to the era of the medieval European troubadours, and indeed, even earlier. Since medieval times, troubadours, regarded as princes of the sung word and interpreters of the histories of peoples and places, developed the art of narration through melodies, turning them into song-based common knowledge. Their works were taken up by minstrels who spread the messages of troubadour-style poetry. Minstrels performed the compositions of the troubadours, and they also created their own narrative messages. Together, they were the creators and diffusers of the popular poetic arts.

In the eighth century Arab poets introduced to Al-Andalus (today's Andalucía) the art of setting to music the monorhyme verses known as *zéjeles* that lie at the origin of popular verse in Muslim Spain and that led to the *zejelesca glosa,* a Castilian poetic form. These *zejelesca glosas* are at the root of the *décima de pie forzado* (forced foot *décima*) of Hispanic poetry. In this form, each ten-line strophe concludes with the same line of text.

The development of the *zejelesca glosa* led to the emergence of the Castilian *glosa* or *trovo*, a poetic form that became popular by the seventeenth century and whose structure consisted of one *copla* (four octosyllabic lines) and four *décimas*, whose final lines correspond consecutively to each of the verses of the initial *copla*. This 44-line *décima* structure is known in Hispanic America as *glosa*, *palabreo* or *trovo.*

Thanks to the influence of literature during the Spanish Golden Age (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), the poetic sphere flourished within Hispanic America, tied to the work of academic poets. This gave rise to the first works set in *décima* form.

Some of the classics of Mexican poetry constitute exquisite examples of the use of the *décima* form and in that country the *décima* moved into the world of popular song. It spread throughout Latin America and came to be accepted in Puerto Rico as a suitable vehicle for popular improvisation. Puerto Rican researcher Ivette Jiménez de Báez points to the use of the *décima* poetic structure in Peru and Mexico by the sixteenth century, and Cuban musicologist María Teresa Linares affirms that it was present in Cuba by the early seventeenth century.

The golden age of the *décima* in Hispanic America took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, during which time it was even more popular than in its country of origin, Spain, where it was limited to the regions of Andalucía, Murcia and Canary Islands. In the New World it became a compositional form of the masses and was present from California to Patagonia.

Cuban researcher and critic Virgilio López Lemus attributes the introduction of the *décima* form in the Americas to a theatrical oral tradition, transferred to the *Autos Sacramentales* (a popular religious theater form of Hispanic origin presented in open spaces in some areas of Venezuela) via staged representations of rural life. *Décima* was thus used by popular composers as a mnemonic tool to help facilitate, in the manner of an exercise, the memorization of various subjects, *a lo humano* and *a lo divino* (categorized as secular and sacred in theme), for song and recitation.

Nonetheless, the development of sung *décima* in the Americas rose to such heights that appreciation became a matter of great prestige for all *décimistas*. Demanding of themselves the requirement not to repeat memorized texts, singers preferred to compose original texts and employ improvisation which, when executed skillfully in situations of dispute or during literary challenges, had the effect of boosting the performer's esteem in the eyes of opponents.

Following a period during which the *décima* became generally accepted by academic poets such as Nicaragua's Rubén Darío, Argentina's Leopoldo Lugones and Mexico's Alfonso Reyes and Amado Nervo, among others, in the early twentieth century the *décima* as high art went into partial decline throughout Latin America as it gave way to improvised manifestations by popular poets. At this time, a popular regionalist poetics was developing, fed by *criollismo*, *costumbrismo* and other literary trends. In this literary context, the *décima* was transformed by cultured poets into an expressive resource and the form took on new thematic and linguistic dimensions. These new literary trends, along with growing censorship in some Latin American countries, critical acclaim, irony and local humor, became decisive elements in the reassertion of popular poetry. *Décima* became an expressive medium widely used by poets by virtue of the compositional challenges posed by its complex literary structure.

Décima's Manifestations in the Americas

The *décima* is practiced widely throughout the Americas and, while there are many similarities in its uses, in each country the *décima* also incorporates distinctive local characteristics and names. In Mexico's Sierra Gorda region, the *décima* type known as *valona* is performed as part of *contraversias* and *topadas* (popular festivals). In the Veracruz region, *fandangos* and *sones con fuga* are recited in *décima* form. In Panama, *décima* is employed in the *cantos de mejorana* song genre. The *puntos* and *torrentes* (tunes and accompaniments typical of *mejorana* songs), set to *décima* form, function as a vehicle for the banter and jeering taking place between the singers. In Colombia, *décima* forms the basis of verbal confrontations or duels between singers of the *guabina* genre and as a vehicle for improvisation between oral poets; it is used similarly within the plains-style *porro* and *cumbia lenta* (slow *cumbia*). In Argentina and Uruguay, *décima* is an element of the *payadas* (improvised musical dialogues) performed in *cifra* or *milonga* songs. In Chile, *décima* stand-offs are known as *verso* or 'poetic singing' as well as *tonada*. In the Afro-Ecuadorian region of Esmeraldas on the Pacific coast, *décima* (spoken or chanted) is practiced as a recited dispute between *mulato* singers and is typically accompanied by the African-descended *marimba*. In Cuba, *décima* is associated with the *punto*, a song type with many regional variants throughout the island, including *punto fijo*, *punto libre*, *punto spirituano*, *seguidilla de décima* and others. In Puerto Rico, *décima*-based singing can be found in the *seis* in its various forms, including *seis de comerío*, *seis de mapeyé* and *seis fajardeño*.

These forms, which arose during the process of *mestizaje* based on poetic structures inherited from Spain, give shape to literary and musical forms of expression that are now considered important cultural legacies from the peoples of the Americas to the rest of the world.

Décima in Venezuela and Peru

A more detailed description of the *décima* in two particular countries illustrates how, while the *décima* is widespread as a shared poetic form throughout Latin America, it also acquires a distinctive character in each country based on local traditions, literary culture and social relations. While a closer look at the *décima* in any of the countries named above would yield rich comparative data (and other entries in this volume explore the *décima*'s use in the *payada* of Argentina and Uruguay, the *punto* of Cuba and other genres), the following discussion will focus briefly on Venezuela and Peru.

The popular improvised *décima* has existed in Venezuela since the sixteenth century, but it gained popularity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, extending throughout almost the entire country. The Venezuelan *décima* is especially prevalent in peasant regions during popular festivals in celebrations *a lo humano* and *a lo divino*. Singers utilized, and continue to utilize, nicknames to introduce their sung participation.

In Venezuela, *décima*-based singing occurs in religious songs throughout most of the country during agrarian and devotional celebrations in honor of the Cruz de Mayo [May Cross], the Virgin Mary, the saints and Jesus. In eastern Venezuela, this religious *décima* appears in *fulía*, *punto* and *galerón* songs, forms whose roots lie in older Spanish singing practices. The *décima* in the minor mode that is performed in Zulia state and dedicated entirely to human (e.g., secular) themes is identical in structure to the *gaita oriental* of Zulia and Falcón states (not to be confused with other popular variants of *gaita*). In the central part of Venezuela, *décima* is subsumed within a religious song structure incorporating the *salve*, the *fulía* and the recited *décima*, combining a Spanish literary form with an African musical aesthetic in a way typical of the syncretism that characterizes mixed peoples. A secular form is also present in the central region in the *golpe* and the *joropo*, and especially in their musical variants, the *yaguazo* and the *pajarillo.*

In western Venezuela, *décima* is used in devotional activities directed at the most popular deities and is part of a religious musical structure made up of the *tono*, the *pasacalle* and the *décima*. In the Venezuelan plains and Colombia's eastern plains, *décima* is accompanied by the *tonos de velorio* (religious ritual songs). Finally, the *espinela*, a religious devotional form featuring six-syllable verses, constitutes a curious variant of *décima*. It occurs in the Venezuelan Andes, especially within the state of Trujillo.

As in other parts of Latin America, in Peru from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, the *décima* thrived primarily among European-identified sectors, but in the mid-nineteenth century it was abandoned in literary, 'cultured' circles (Santa Cruz 1982, 39, 69; Tompkins 1981, 160–1). The *décima* survived as a popular form in lower and working-class neighborhoods (Santa Cruz 1982, 82), especially among black Peruvians (Santa Cruz 1970, 14; Tompkins 1981, 161).

Until the early twentieth century Peruvian *décimas* were performed in contests at homes or taverns. The contest began with exchanged greetings (*saludos*), followed by biographical *décimas (décimas de presentación*) and then by 44-line *décimas* (improvised or memorized) performed by each poet in alternation (Santa Cruz 1982, 77–96). Themes were both sacred (*a lo divino*) and secular (*a lo humano*). *Decimistas* chronicled important historical events including the Spanish Conquest, the rebellion of Túpac Amaru, independence and the War of the Pacific (Durand 1979; Santa Cruz 1982).

Before about 1925 *décimas* typically were recited in declamatory style, accompanied by a slow precomposed solo guitar melody in the major mode and ¾ meter called *socabón* (Tompkins 1981, 162). The guitar player added melodic interludes during pauses between each couplet (while the poet composed the next rhyme) (Santa Cruz 1975, 24, 1982, 76–7), serving as timekeeper for the contest. After 1925 décimas were recited *a cappella* (Santa Cruz 1975, 24; Tompkins 1981, 164). In 1958 Nicomedes Santa Cruz and guitarist Vicente Vásquez created a new accompaniment for the *décima* by adapting a slower version of the melody of an obsolete genre called *agua'e nieve* (Santa Cruz 1975, 24).

Because popular *décimas* were an oral tradition, many *décimas* and the names of their authors were lost by the mid-twentieth century (see Donaire Vizarreta 1941; Durand 1979; Santa Cruz 1982). By the 1940s, according to Nicomedes Santa Cruz, the *décima* was nearly extinct in Peru (1982, 17–18). Santa Cruz repopularized the *décima* in the 1950s to 1970s and became Peru's most internationally renowned *decimista*, addressing contemporary national and international issues, especially racial injustice. Santa Cruz had apprenticed with Don Porfirio Vásquez (1902–71), who, in turn, had learned from Hijinio Matías Quintana (1881–1944) in rural Aucallama (Feldman 2006; Santa Cruz 1982). Quintana belonged to a group of competing *decimistas* called 'The Twelve Pairs of France,' whose colorful competitions and exploits are chronicled in Nicomedes Santa Cruz's *La décima en el Perú* (1982, 82–3, 100–7). Santa Cruz performed his *décimas* on television, radio and stage in the 1950s, and he later published them in books (Santa Cruz [1959] n.d.; 1962; 1964; 1966; 1971a; 1971b) and recordings (1994, 2000). His book *La décima en el Perú* (1982) provides a historical overview and over 300 pages of collected *décimas* dating from the colonial period to the contemporary era.

At the turn of the twenty-first century the *décima* survives in Peru, though it is not typically performed in large public venues. In some private *peñas*, *decimistas* still recite their compositions. In 2005 Octavio Santa Cruz, host of one such *peña*, launched a project called 'Today's *Decimistas*,' geared toward creating a network of living Peruvian *decimistas*.

Conclusion

Throughout the Hispanic Americas, the *décima espinela* surely embodies popular song *par excellence*. As can be seen in the variety of examples given above, it can be said that the *décima* put down roots in the Americas and then branched out, becoming one of the most-employed poetic and musical forms by a large proportion of cultured poets from both the high art (compositional) and popular (improvisational) spheres.

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MARÍA TERESA NOVO AND RAFAEL SALAZAR (OVERVIEW AND VENEZUELA; TRANSLATED BY MONA-LYNN COURTEAU) WITH HEIDI CAROLYN FELDMAN (PERU)

Diablada

Diablada is a Bolivian form of music and dance that carries great symbolic significance in Andean thought and among the mestizo population. The most important avenue for the dissemination of *diabladas* is the Carnival of Oruro in the western region of the country.

The *diablada* evokes and recovers the memory of *Autos Sacramentales* (a form of dramatic sacred literature) that were practiced in Spain during the Middle Ages. This is likely the result of colonization. However, the dynamic of hybridization in this and other musical forms in Bolivia incorporates elements from Andean worldview systems. For instance, *diabladas* feature the character of the 'tío,' a creature related to the devil in Western thought that in local cultures is believed to come from the underworld (Manqha Pacha) and is not necessarily representative of evil. This character commands respect and has become a guardian for mine workers. *Diabladas* portray and develop this relationship between the 'tío' and the miners. The performance also features a confrontation between good and evil. This section, which is the dramatic climax of the dance, concludes with a type of coda called *wayñu*. In this manner the form of the *diablada* exists between two musical worlds: Western and Andean.

The *diablada* is structured in three sections of eight measures each. The symmetric relationship between sections is rarely varied. The first two sections are in duple meter, while the third and final section is set in 6/8.

Diabladas are performed by brass ensembles to accompany dancers. In sung versions, the ensemble features singers, guitars, *charangos*, traditional aerophones and membranophones such as the double-headed *bombo* (bass drum).

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OSCAR GARCÍA GUZMÁN (TRANSLATED BY PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

Dobrado

Dobrado is a term popularly used in Brazil to refer to musical compositions within the *marcha* genre, performed predominantly by instrumental ensembles known as *bandas*, *bandas de música* (music bands) or *bandas de coreto* (gazebo or bandstand bands) and composed of brass, woodwind and percussion instruments. The term *dobrado* is derived from the name of a historical subcategory of *marcha* known as *marcha-dobrada* or *marcha-dobrado*, distinct from other types of *marcha* such as *marcha-lenta/grave* (slow march), *marcha de procissão* (processional march), *marcha-de-rancho* or *marcha rancho* (a Carnival march of the old *ranchos*; see entry for *marcha*) and many others.

The *marcha-dobrado*, or simply *dobrado*, is associated with the *passo dobrado* (double march), a marching technique designed to speed up the progress of a group parading in the street by getting the band (be it military or civilian) to march more quickly. The *marchas-dobrado* are linked historically to military events, as are the bands themselves, which continue to play a role in the activities of these institutions. It is worth noting that the term exists in other languages, such as *pasodoble* (Spanish) and *pas redoublé* (French).

The various historical distinctions are no longer made, and the term *dobrado*, at least from a popular point of view, has become simply a generic term for marches performed by the bands mentioned above, irrespective of the speed at which the band is moving or of other musical characteristics. It is a very popular genre in Brazil despite the music being performed and composed in general by musicians with specialized training. Its popularity is in a separate class from that enjoyed by the styles of mass music – mainly vocal music – associated with the media, recorded on CDs, heard on radio and television and at concerts centered on singers. *Dobrados* are more commonly heard in the cities in Brazil's interior in the form of live performances by the *bandas* in public plazas, festivals, commemorations and street parades. The genre's importance is associated with the very existence of the *bandas*, which in Brazil have been historically responsible for the training of many generations of musicians, as well as being a factor in the shaping of popular musical sensibilities.

Structurally, a *dobrado* is typically divided into three sections or parts and is in duple or quadruple time or, occasionally, in compound time. Historical variations notwithstanding, the *bandas*' instrumentation includes flute, piccolo, clarinet, saxophone, trombone, trumpet, euphonium, saxhorns (E♭ tenor horn or alto horn), sousaphone, etc., as well as percussion, mainly bass drum, snare drum and crash cymbals; in some cases in more recent times, a drum kit has been added for performances not involving marching. There are dozens of *dobrados* that, despite not having been recorded or aired on radio and television, are well known throughout the country and firmly established within *banda* repertoire. Although these instrumental groups now number few around the country as compared with past times, it is nonetheless impossible to understand the music of Brazil without taking them into consideration, with their varied repertoire of popular music, *dobrados* and even arrangements of passages from works by art music composers. In northeast Brazil, especially in the cities of Recife and Olinda in the state of Pernambuco, the *bandas* continue to enjoy a high profile during the Carnival period, as they animate the parades of the *frevo* (a musical genre within the *marcha* complex) clubs, attended by thousands of participants who parade with the clubs and dance in the streets.

ALBERTO T. IKEDA (TRANSLATED
BY MONA-LYNN COURTEAU)

Dub

Jamaican dub is a subgenre of reggae involving the remixing of recordings. First developed in the 1950s by Jamaican DJs in Kingston dance halls run by companies nicknamed 'sound systems' (Barrow and Dalton 2004, 11–18; Davis 1982; Stolzoff 2000), it was further advanced in the late 1960s and 1970s by Jamaican record producers, engineers and musicians.

Dub remixes involved many techniques that were pioneered by Jamaican DJs – notably Lee 'Scratch' Perry, King Tubby and Augustus Pablo – beginning with a mix that reduced or entirely eliminated the vocals to leave the backing tracks with a few slight alterations. Sometimes, however, the melody was replaced by an instrumental rendition and/or by additional percussion overdubs or instrumental solos (see representative recordings in Discographical References by King Tubby 2003; Augustus Pablo 1994, 1987, 2002, 2008; and Lee Perry 1997, 1998). Studio effects (such as reverb, echo and equalization) were added to individual tracks, which were faded in and out without regard for their role or function within the original mix, creating new soundscapes that took on a life of their own.

In the early 1950s DJ Count Machuki (Winston Cooper) started 'toasting' (a style of rhythmic, intoned speech that was one of the antecedents of contemporary African-American rap) at sound system dances. Other DJs, including Sir Lord Comic (Percival Wauchope), King Sporty (Noel G. Williams) and King Stitt (Winston Spark), imitated Machuki, and soon every sound system featured a toasting DJ. Unfortunately, however, none of these early toasting performances were recorded. In the 1960s Jamaican recording engineers created unique mixes of recordings for sound systems, pressed on acetate discs called 'dub plates,' or 'dubs.' In the early 1970s toasting became known as 'rub-a-dub' or 'dub' (Veal 2007, 62).

Reggae musicians also used the term 'dub' to label a particular way of performing. As Bob Marley described it, 'Dub means right and tight, the perfect groove. When [the] Wailers say "dub this one," dis mean "we gonna play it right and tight"' (in Hebdige 1987, 82). Musicians also used the term 'dubwise' to label parts of a live performance in which dub remixing techniques were replicated, or when bass and drums played alone (Veal 2007, 62). In the mid-1970s a group of Jamaican poets (including Oku Onuora [Orlando Wong], followed by Michael 'Mikey' Smith, Mutabaruka [Allan Hope] and Linton Kwesi Johnson) read poems over nyabinghi (Rastafarian music), reggae or jazzy instrumentals – which they called 'dub poetry' (Morris 1982, 189–91; Katz 2003, 294–7).

Aside from the use of 'dub' to refer to a Jamaican musical style, in the 1950s and 1960s 'dub' was used in recording studios worldwide as an abbreviation of 'overdub' – the process or product of recording additional sounds synchronized to, and combined with, prior recordings, and also to refer to the process of creating a copy of a recording, or a copy of a copied recording. In the early twenty-first century the term 'dub' usually refers to *any* remixed recordings – not just Jamaican ones – and/or to the process of creating a dub recording.

Origins of Dub and Toasting

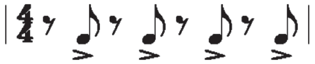
In the early 1950s sound systems became popular at rural and urban Jamaican dances by playing US R&B, pop hits, swing, Latin music and mento recordings, but their DJs did more than simply spin records. They blended live performance with prerecorded music – altering the mix through the use of electronics, adding their own voices while the records were playing and altering the length and arrangement of song structures by manually resequencing the records (Johnson and Pines 1982, 66; White 1984, 49).

By using the treble, mid-range and bass tone controls of their amplifiers (along with some custom-made sound-processing equipment), DJs boosted the bass frequencies of records significantly, then created tension by pulling the bass frequencies out and 'plunging' them back in (Bradley 2000, 36–7; Ehrlich 1982, 106; Gayle 1982, 112; O'Gorman 1972, 51; Stolzoff 2000, 44). They also used reverb and tape-delay devices to echo and repeat the treble range, creating polyrhythms and explosion-like effects (Davis 1982, 33–4).

DJ on-mic vocalizing included echoing vocal and instrumental phrases, and adding refrains, responses, countermelodies and percussive noises (usually emphasizing offbeats) – all saturated in reverb and delay. Audience members sang and clapped along, and some even toasted on the microphone.

DJs altered song structures by extending, resequencing or editing songs by lifting the record player needle to repeat, reorder or skip sections. To fill the gap while they moved the needle, they toasted or encouraged audiences to sing, chant or clap (Bradley 2000, 10–1; de Koningh et al. 2003, 17; Pinnock 2002, 103; Stolzoff 2000, 54–5).

The roots of toasting have been traced to traditional West African griot storytelling – which is characterized by the rhythmic delivery of tribal histories and social commentary (Chang and Chen 1998, 73). DJ toasts included Jamaican proverbs, nursery rhymes, ring songs, word games, Anansi stories and work songs (Jones 1988, 29; Stolzoff 2000, 54–6). Their rhythmic delivery was influenced by West African, African-American and Jamaican musics. The Jamaican influence was manifest in DJs' tendency to enter between beats (corresponding with the strong 'afterbeat' accents – a term preferred by Jamaican musicologists to refer to 'offbeats,' which are found in all Jamaican folk, religious and popular musics; see Example 1), and to set their phrases and rhymes to rapid rhythms, usually subdividing the beat into four parts that could theoretically be notated in sixteenth notes, although DJ toasts were never notated. Davis notes that many DJs repeated a phrase twice before rhyming it, a practice that might be derived from the 'a-a-b' phrase structure of African-American blues choruses (Davis 1982, 33).



Example 1: Afterbeat accents

Because of the frequent conflation of the term 'offbeats' with 'upbeats' and 'backbeats,' Jamaican musicologist Garth White and American musicologist and reggae bassist Luke Ehrlich suggest using the term 'afterbeat' for the consistently accented, louder and heavier sounds that appear between beats in Jamaican music. Jamaican afterbeats can be accented in a variety of ways, from single notes to full chords, and most often by percussive instruments or sounds, and they sustain the harmony of the previous beat rather than anticipating the harmony of the following beat. (See 'Reggae' entry for a more detailed discussion of the term 'afterbeat.')

Acetates (Instrumentals) and First Toasting Records

In the 1950s and 1960s most Jamaicans heard contemporary popular music primarily at sound system dances – not on radio, at home or on stage, since JBC (Jamaican Broadcasting Corporation) radio gave limited airplay to popular music – and because records and live musicians were generally unaffordable for the lower-class majority. Recording studios made special remixes of recordings for sound system DJs to use that were not sold to the public (Stolzoff 2000, 129). Using two-track tape recordings – with instruments and voices on separate channels – studio engineers reduced the volume of vocals, removed them completely, or overdubbed organ, saxophone or guitar playing the melody (usually with improvisations) (Davis and Simon 1982, 105). These unique remixes were pressed on acetate discs, which only lasted around 20 plays, so few survived. By 1965, due to public demand, some remixes began to appear as B-sides of singles, but many remixes were never released commercially at this time. By 1967 most B-sides were sound system-style instrumental remixes of the A-side (Bradley 2000, 312–13), although there were also many remixes that were created exclusively for DJs, and therefore only heard at a sound system dance.

When listening to and evaluating Jamaican dub remixes (many of which have been released commercially in the late twentieth- and early twenty-first centuries on CD for the first time) from a present-day perspective, or in contexts outside of Jamaican dance halls, it must be remembered that dub producers' decisions and priorities were primarily to create recordings for presentation by a DJ on a huge sound system in a dance hall, with live DJ interjections and audience interaction. Present-day listening to these remixes omits the DJs' toasting, manipulation of recording frequencies, moving the needle to resequence songs, and audience interaction with the DJ and each other. In addition, dancing with other people while singing and clapping along to new material created and improvised on the spot by the DJ added to the experience. DJ-audience interactions were central in shaping DJs' toasting and manipulation of records, and the impact of hearing these recordings on typical consumer playback systems (either at the time of release in the 1960s and 1970s or in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, once these previously noncommercially released recordings became available on CD) pales in comparison to the physical sensations of hearing them on massive sound system PA speakers and amplifiers which were much louder and had much better frequency response – especially in the bass register. These remixes thus not only sounded different in the dance hall, but also generated different corporeal, social and emotional activities and responses. Thus, even those original remixes from the 1970s that have survived or have been presented in contemporary CD box sets only present a part of how they were experienced by Jamaican audiences in a dance hall at the time of their release. As to the context and experience of dub recordings in nondance hall settings (e.g., by Jamaican audiences who purchased singles or albums at the original time of their commercial release), there has been no study of these practices, although it would be reasonable to assume that they would likely have been played at house parties and for personal enjoyment. Since there is unfortunately no historical film of these dance hall performances, the complete musical picture and analysis of most dub recordings has essentially been lost forever.

The first recording of a sound system DJ toasting was Sir Lord Comic's 'Ska-ing West' (1966). Two other 1966 singles featured a DJ toasting: Baba Brooks's 'One-Eyed Giant,' and Soul Brothers' 'Lawless Street.' However, all were instrumentals with episodic toasting influenced by contemporary US radio DJ patter rather than the toasting style typically used by Jamaican DJs in the dance halls (Chang and Chen 1998, 68–71). In 1969 King Stitt released five singles (similar to these earlier recordings) that were big dance hall hits ('Fire Corner,' 'Herbsman Shuffle,' 'Lee Van Cleef' 'Vigorton Two' and 'The Ugly One'), but none of these records received any airplay because JBC radio did not play toasting records at this time (Barrow and Dalton 2004, 120–1; Bradley 2000, 300; Gayle 1982, 114). Like earlier acetates, present-day listening to these recordings alone omits the elements added in the dance halls: the type of improvised toasting involving audience interaction and technical manipulations of the recording itself.

'Versions'

In addition to Jamaican innovations, these first acetate remixes were also influenced by record releases by US R&B artist James Brown and by new recording technology. Brown wrote long singles that continued on the B-side – usually called '(Song Title) – Part Two,' which were similar to Jamaican remixes (Bradley 2000, 313; Clarke 1980, 130; Ehrlich 1982, 106). Brown's B-sides featured instrumental solos, vocal improvisation and often just bass and drums for extended periods – a blend of prearranged musical ideas with improvised ensemble interaction, although the use of effects such as reverb and delay was much more subtle than on Jamaican remixes. Another notable difference was that Brown's producers and engineers sought to replicate what might happen in a live performance. On Jamaican B-Sides (and acetates), on the other hand, many engineers and producers may have been inspired by, and even emulated, Brown's improvised interaction, but they usually created distinct variations of the original recordings – without any input from the original artists – and most significantly, with no intention of replicating live performances. Jamaican producers sometimes added new instruments, and they remixed everything using equalizers, reverberation and delay equipment to change the tone and volume of instruments and voices, and to create unusual electronic effects. Their goal was to produce unique, one-off remixes for individual sound system DJs to use and manipulate further in dance halls with electronics, toasting and audience interaction.

A major technical innovation that enabled the types of technical manipulations that characterized dub was the introduction of four-track recording in Jamaica in the mid-1960s, which permitted greater separation of parts and remixing possibilities. Rudolph 'Ruddy' Redwood was one of the first Jamaican engineers to use this new technology to drastically alter original instrument levels, balances and combinations of instruments, which came to be called 'versions' (Katz 2003, 165). Other Jamaican engineers and producers – Lynford Anderson, Clement Dodd, Clancy Eccles, Joe Gibbs, Bunny 'Striker' Lee, Duke Reid, Errol Thompson, King Tubby (Osborne Ruddock) and Lee Perry – imitated Redwood and introduced other innovations (e.g., filters, extreme equalization, phasing, percussion overdubs and added sound effects of animals, machines, etc.). King Tubby's remixes were considered the most creative in this style (Thompson 2002, 101; Veal 2007, 108). He featured interlocking drum and bass patterns (which came to be called 'riddims' – although 'riddim' was also eventually used to refer to the entire backing track), and unconventionally equalized instruments and background vocals in altered balances and combinations – all drenched in reverb and delay. Since each sound system had its own unique version of the same songs, audiences found the unpredictability exciting. The best remixes created the effect of a rhythm track that was constantly mutating, which became even more dynamic when heard on the huge sound system speakers (Barrow and Dalton 2004, 220). The work of many of the aforementioned producers can be heard on the CD compilation *The Rough Guide To Dub* (2005).

Rub-a-dub Toasting and Dub Plate Specials

Some DJs' toasting and technical manipulations were so creative that the results often sounded like new songs. In 1970 DJ U-Roy (Ewart Beckford) created three unique dance hall-style toasts over King Tubby's remixed versions of the Paragons' rocksteady hits 'Rule the Nation,' 'Wake the Town' and 'Wear You to the Ball.' These versions were so popular – the top three spots on Jamaican charts – that even JBC radio played them (Gayle 1982, 114). U-Roy spoke in free and rhythmic Jamaican Creole – vernacular Jamaican English – in a highly spontaneous manner that became known as 'rub-a-dub,' filled with joyous vocal interjections and asides and silly, fun rhymes (Bradley 2000, 296). Tubby's remixes became known as 'dub plate specials' or 'dubs' (Veal 2007, 54).

Soon, other rub-a-dub DJs had similar hits: Dennis 'Alcapone' (Smith)'s 'Mosquito One,' 'Guns Don't Argue' and 'Teach Your Children' (1971–72); Scotty (David Scott)'s 'Draw Your Brakes,' 'Sesame Street' and 'Skank in Bed' (1971); Big Youth (Manley Buchanan)'s 'S. 90 Skank' (produced by Keith Hudson) and 'Screaming Target' (produced by Augustus 'Gussie' Clarke) (1972); Dillinger (Lester Bullocks)'s many hits starting in 1976, compiled on *CB200* and *The Prime of Dillinger*; 'Papa' Michigan and 'General' Smiley (Anthony Fairclough and Erroll Bennett)'s 'Nice up the Dance' and 'Rub A Dub Style' (1979); Eek-A-Mouse (Ripton Hilton)'s many hits starting in 1980, compiled on *The Very Best of Eek-A-Mouse*, *Vols 1 and 2*; and Yellowman (Winston Foster)'s 'Mad Over Me' (1982). Soon female DJs emerged, such as Sister Nancy (Ophlin Russell) with her 1982 hit 'Transport Connection.' (For analyses of these DJs' styles, see Barrow and Dalton (2004, 121–4, 187–9); Katz (2003, 167–8, 203, 207); Salewicz and Boot (2001, 97); Veal (2007, 55–61, 108–34, 140–60).)

By the mid-1970s dubs were commercially released in three main formats: B-sides of singles, disco 45s/12-inch singles introduced in 1976 which offered extended length and greater dynamic range (Ehrlich 1982, 108), and albums featuring only dub versions. Many new producers and engineers specialized in this new style, such as Clive Chin, Keith Hudson, Herman Chin Loy, Derrick Harriott, Augustus Pablo, Errol Thompson, Linval Thompson, Jack Ruby and Scientist (Overton Brown).

These producers promoted toasting and dub for both economic and aesthetic reasons. Since singers and musicians were paid only for the initial release, remixed versions could be produced at little additional expense (Barrow and Dalton 2004, 215; Ehrlich 1982, 105; Veal 2007, 90–1). Throughout the 1970s dub releases and DJ toasting records were the most popular music in Jamaica – promoted mostly by dance hall play (Barrow and Dalton 2004, 230; Ehrlich 1982, 108; Veal 2007, 46), whereas foreign sales of Jamaican music were dominated by reggae artists such as Bob Marley and the Wailers, Jimmy Cliff, Toots and the Maytals and Burning Spear – who promoted themselves primarily through concert appearances, since foreign airplay of reggae was often limited. Other than a few one-off successes in the United Kingdom, most foreign markets (notably North American radio stations) were not receptive to dub, and there were few dub releases (other than the odd single B-side) outside of Jamaica. In the 1980s, however, Jamaican dub producer Mikey Dread (Mikey Campbell) achieved significant success in Britain producing not only dub recordings (e.g., *World War III* in 1980), but also recordings by the Clash (including the 1980 reggae-influenced 'Bankrobber,' their first entry into the British charts, and *Sandinista!*, voted best album of 1980 by *The Village Voice*) and UB40's 'Red Red Wine,' a rocksteady hit that topped both UK and American charts in 1983.

Between 1972 and 1975 the emergence of roots reggae inspired a slower, heavier drum-and-bass toasting-mixing style – called roots toasting or mixing – that was based on Rastafarian philosophies and nyabinghi music (Bradley 2000, 302). Roots toasting and mixes were designed to create the same type of simmering, meditative 'righteousness' and smoky intensity as nyabinghi music, and to 'strike dread' – literally and figuratively – in the heart of Babylon (Bradley 2000, 310). Rastafarians use the term 'Babylon' – the ancient Mesopotamian city described in the Old Testament as a symbol of evil and oppression to the exiled Israelites – to represent the bondage of any person held in slavery and oppression – especially black people – and/or to represent any institution or activities that only benefit the oppressors (i.e., the upper-classes) (Foehr 2000, 62, 64). Roots DJs commented upon ghetto sufferers' problems and presented 'history lessons' from a black perspective, praising influential Jamaica-born writer and orator Marcus Garvey (whose back to Africa ideology – espoused in the 1920s and 1930s – formed the bedrock of Rastafarianism) and Haile Selassie (the ruler of Ethiopia whom Rastafarians also considered to be God incarnate). These praises often resembled the chanting of psalms (Barrow and Dalton 2004, 187).

Noted roots toasting producers include Glen Brown, Clive Chin, Augustus 'Gussie' Clarke, Keith Hudson, Vivian Jackson (aka Yabby U/You), Lloyd 'King/Prince Jammy' James, King Tubby and Lee 'Scratch' Perry. In addition to the artists mentioned above, other successful roots toasters and recordings include Prince Jazzbo (Linval Carter) ('Step Forward Youth,' 1974); Prince Far-I (Michael James Williams) (*Psalms For I*, 1976, a collection of Old Testament Scripture chanted over reggae rhythm tracks, and *Under Heavy Manners*, 1977); Tappa/Tapper Zukie (David Sinclair) (*MPLA*, 1976); Trinity (Wade Brammer) (*Three Piece Suit*, 1977); Dr Alimantado (Winston Thompson) (*Best Dressed Chicken in Town*, 1978); and Mikey Dread (*Dread at the Controls*, 1979). (For analyses of these roots toasters' styles, see Barrow and Dalton (2004, 219–25, 230–40); Bradley (2000, 328, 359); Ehrlich (1982, 105–7); Katz (2000, 2003, 175–9, 187–9); Salewicz and Boot (2001, 90–7); Veal (2007, 47, 51–4, 108–34, 140–60).)

Dub Strategies, Characteristics and Techniques

Michael Veal (2007) has provided scholars with a penetrating analysis of dub strategies, characteristics and techniques, and the following discussion draws significantly on his approach and terminology. Many Jamaican producers and engineers were influenced by the late-1960s/early-1970s British and American psychedelic music and progressive rock which integrated experimental studio effects with musical content. King Tubby and Lee 'Scratch' Perry were impressed by the late-1960s/early-1970s recordings of Pink Floyd and the Jimi Hendrix Experience, especially their highly innovative use of reverb and sound effects (Masouri 2008, 267).

Jamaican dub remixers use many different creative strategies and techniques, involving three overlapping areas: (1) the creation of new musical patterns through editing, remixing and overdubs, (2) technological devices and effects and (3) new aesthetic principles that emerge from using technology (especially the recording console) as an instrument or a creative tool.

The dub aesthetic is based on ongoing variations and surprise, usually disrupting the flow and expectations of the original recording. There is an emphasis on incompletion and unpredictability that emerges from the deliberate fragmentation or interruption of the original rhythms, phrases, melody, harmonic resolution, cadences, etc. Many of these mixes subvert or delay traditional goal-directed musical gratification, and create feelings of chaos, confusion and imminent collapse. As a way of generating unpredictability, some producers – such as Lee Perry – improvise their mixes at the mixing console as if it were a musical instrument. Perry is seen mixing 'on the fly' in the 1977 film *Roots, Rock, Reggae*.

The most basic remixing technique involves the use of equalizers (a bank of narrowly focused tone controls) to create timbral and textural effects. Equalizers remove or accentuate specific frequencies, which can alter a sound's timbre, boost or mask its presence, or transform it into another sound. Boosting upper frequencies not only makes a sound brighter, but also increases its attack, which can alter a sound's character or function within the arrangement. A decrease in upper frequencies can blur a sound's attack and diminish its prominence. Similar changes to other frequencies can make sounds warmer, darker, louder, or create a radically different timbre from the original sounds. Equalization can also be used to create or exaggerate distortion and produce a deliberately low-fidelity sound quality. Sometimes defects in a sound or a recording (e.g., poor frequency response, hiss, wobble or other 'flaws') are enhanced to create unusual timbres and effects. Alteration of playback of tape speed is also used to manipulate the timbre and pitch of sounds. Slower speeds are most often used to create thicker timbres. Changes in equalization and tape speed combined with reverb and echo can also alter the impression of a sound's size or source.

In most dub remixes, isolated bass and drum parts/patterns (i.e., 'riddims') are the main musical focus, but they are often stripped of their harmonic implications. These parts/patterns are often fragmented, juxtaposed and treated with repeating echoes or delays that can produce patterns that are quite different from what the original player or programmer created. Silence or the absence of sound is often treated as a musical 'event,' rather than simply space between musical sounds.

When chords played by keyboards or guitar are highlighted in the mix, they often function merely as bits of abstract color and texture that ornament bass and drum parts, rather than as tools of harmonic movement and progressions. This technique can generate pitch combinations and tonal movement that differ significantly from the conventional goal- or tonic-oriented harmony that underlies traditional European folksongs and Christian hymns (Veal 2007, 58).

Dub mixes often prioritize an aesthetic of fragmented interlocking parts – the result of suddenly bringing sounds in and out in ways that differ significantly from the original musicians' intentions – producing new patterns and rhythms. The result of this fragmentation resembles a West African style of interlocking parts, which the producers separate and rearrange in different balances, by using reverberation and delays to create striking and disorientating effects (Veal 2007, 70). This fragmentation technique is even applied to vocals – which can be erased or broken up into syllables – transforming words into emotional sounds, often with little semantic meaning.

The most common studio effects are reverberation (or 'reverb') – that is, 'echo' – and delays or multiple repeats, in which the original sound is repeated from one to many times, either at the same intensity as the original or as a series of sounds that gradually fade out or the reverse – they fade in with *increasing* intensity. Reverberation creates a sense of space, from small, dry rooms to large, highly ambient cavernous spaces. Different reverb effects are often employed simultaneously within one recording, so that different parts sound like they are being played in difference spaces (e.g., a small room, theater, arena or cave). Sometimes the emphasis is primarily upon the effects, with the original sound either mixed much softer than the effect or omitted entirely, creating strange, swirling, ambient sounds that can be difficult to identify. Short sounds may be extended and sustained with reverb, creating trails and echoes of sounds that mingle together and provide continuity between one sound and the next (Veal 2007, 71). At times, microphone bleed (a sound other than the one intended to be picked up) is highlighted with reverb and/or delay to create distant-sounding ambient textures.

Delay/echo effects are often used to create timed repeats of rhythms, which can intensify the basic groove, disrupt it or create unusual or unpredictable rhythmic or harmonic patterns. Echo can sometimes sustain chords or repeat them – which can disrupt or alter their original harmonic function.

A nontraditional aesthetic orientation that emerges out of dub techniques is the inclusion, and sometimes a focus upon, sounds that are normally excluded from finished commercial recordings, for example, tuning up, mistakes, chatter, noises and tape rewinding. Such 'noises' are sometimes incorporated as musical elements in a dub mix. Some producers (e.g., King Tubby and Lee Perry) have been known to deliberately drop or hit equipment (notably spring reverb units) to produce loud, clanging sounds or feedback that would usually be considered as undesirable noise. Sometimes noise that is unrelated to the recording is also added to the mix, for example, sound effects such as wind, explosions, gunfire, breaking glass or animal sounds become musical/compositional elements, treated and fragmented using the same techniques as the original recorded sounds.

Other unusual mixing techniques include the simultaneous presentation of different vocal and instrumental takes and tape splicing to create unconventional shifts and transitions. Until the 1980s, when digital recording was introduced, all dub mixing was made on analog tape, which could be cut up and spliced as a way to resequence patterns and sections, and to create collages, sometimes combining different performances at different tempos.

Conclusion

Dub releases faded in popularity in Jamaica in the early 1980s, but in the early twenty-first century Jamaican dub has become a major influence upon many non-Jamaican musical styles, especially in dance music. In particular, the use of massive sound systems, the creation of special 'DJ-only' mixes, the foregrounding of bass and drums, and especially rapping over instrumental tracks have become the norm in the worldwide club dance scene (Barrow and Dalton 2004, x). Jamaican-style remixes have been used by African-American rap, hip-hop, ambient music, electronica, jungle, house, garage, trance, trip hop and alternative rock artists (Veal 2007, 233–60), and with the advent of inexpensive consumer-oriented computer mixing software, social media websites such as YouTube, Facebook and MySpace often present remixes by amateurs of virtually every style of music, sometimes involving a synchronous mix of two entirely different recordings ('mash-ups').

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ROBERT WITMER AND LEN McCARTHY

Duranguense, *see* Duranguense (Volume VIII, North America)

Embolada

Embolada is a popular musical genre of the Brazilian North-east, typical of the coastal zones but also found in the backlands (*sertão*). One of its defining features is its poetical structure, which takes the form of a stanza with lines of varying syllables (sometimes as many as ten) usually followed by a set refrain. Often improvised, the stanzas are typically humorous, sometimes nonsensical, and are performed at a high tempo by a duo of *emboladores* in a competitive manner. *Embolada* is also connected to a form of *coco* called *coco de embolada*; the two terms have sometimes been used synonymously. As an integral part of the poetry of the *cocos*, *embolada* is presented in two primary forms. The type that is danced is known as *coco dançado*, and the type that is sung by a pair of singers (the *emboladores*) is known as *coco de embolada* or simply *embolada* (Azevedo 2000). In the latter, the improvisation of lines is a major component. Travassos (2001, 91) emphasizes the speed of the recited text, which typically obscures the understanding of the content.

Researchers such as Renato de Almeida (1942), Oneyda Alvarenga (1982), Mário de Andrade (1989) and Câmara Cascudo (2000) have highlighted the characteristic rhythmic-melodic construction of the stanzas of *emboladas*, which they consider to be an integral part of the creative performance techniques of northeastern singers known as *repentistas* (improvisational musician-poets). *Embolada* can therefore be seen as a 'musical poetic process,' which links it to other cultural practices, such as *dança do coco* (a dance with responsive singing). Alvarenga (1982, 297) defines *embolada* as a *pure song* – alongside other such genres as *desafio, romance, moda* and *toada*, among others – by which she means that *embolada* integrates those song modalities 'of individual and free use, which represent the exercise of activities of an exclusively poetical musical nature' (ibid., 297; author's translation). According to Andrade (1989, 199–200), the word *embolada* comes from '*bola*' (ball) in Portuguese, a word that is very confusing in the terminology of the northeastern singer. Its most perceptive meaning is: a 'poetical-musical way of singing.' The verb '*embolar*' refers to 'the singing process' and 'manner [of singing unintelligible words]' which not only demand wit (sharp mind, intelligence) but oral dexterity (Andrade 1993, 72). Thus its performance demands great agility in the articulation of verses, which function much as a 'tongue twister' (hard-to-say sentences or phrases spoken rapidly and repeatedly, as in the contemporary duo Beija-Flor e Vem-Vem's 'O cachorro e a cadela' [The Dog and the Bitch]). Ayala has also pointed to the free transit of verses and melodies across more than one dance, music and song manifestation as evidence of a cultural approach that regards borders as permeable (Ayala 2000, 10). This fact had already been perceived by Gustavo Barroso (*O sertão e o mundo*, 1923, quoted in Almeida 1942, 168), who denounced the distorted appropriation of the *coco praieiro* (cocos from the beach) songs in the Carnival of Rio de Janeiro.

Embolada can be found as an oral production in live performance or printed in pamphlets. The stanzas, in syllabic metrics (in which lines are controlled by the number of syllables), are sung in a declamatory way at a high tempo. Fixed lines can be included, especially in the refrain, which is peculiar to each *embolada*. The verse structure is varied (lines of seven, eight, ten syllables) and has abundant rhymes, but there is a predominance of *redondilha* (a line of five or seven syllables). Themes are wide-ranging and refer to daily life or even to historical facts. In the former case, there is a wider choice of themes, and humor becomes a highlight. The *emboladores* are accompanied by the tambourine and an instrument called the *ganzá* (a cylindrical percussion instrument filled with seeds). Performers need to be very quick-witted in order to produce the lines of the song, which also often include nonsensical or hard-to-say phrases and vocal 'pranks' to entertain the listeners. The performance is characterized by a heated dispute between the protagonists, who alternate around the refrain, which both of them sing. In an alternative form, one *embolador* sings the verses alone, while his partner sings the refrain, as a 'response.'

The *embolada* style first began to appear in commercial recordings via the compositions of the musician-poet João Pernambuco (1883–1947), author of several *emboladas* and considered one of those responsible for the diffusion of the genre in the south-east of Brazil. Among other pieces, he composed 'Seu Coitinho pegue o boi' ([Mr Coitinho Catches the Ox] recorded by Patricio Teixeira for Odeon in 1926), and made arrangements of several traditional items, such as 'Meu noivado' (My Engagement), 'Perigando' (In Danger, 1930) and 'ABC' (all recorded by Jaracara [José Luis Rodrigues Calazans] in 1930). Before João Pernambuco, that is, until the 1920s, the process of unintelligible singing (*cantar embolado*) had been inserted into the first recorded versions of the old song/dance style known as *lundu* (e.g., 'Bolimbolacho,' recorded by Eduardo das Neves in 1908).

In the 1950s the singer Jackson do Pandeiro (the nickname of José Gomes Filho, 1919–82) played an important role in the media in both the north-east and south-east, making several northeastern musical genres better known (among which was the *coco*), and in the process revealing himself as a great tambourine virtuoso. His inventiveness always appeared to be open to a free communion with other genres that were in fashion in the major cities. By the turn of the twentieth century e*mbolada* was very much in fashion, presented by well-known protagonists in public squares and auditoriums as well as in the media. Striking examples are the duos Castanha & Caju and, Beija-Flor e Vem-Vem. Also noteworthy are the daring experiments by Chico Science and Nação Zumbi (1990s) into interactions between Brazilian musical traditions and different cultural tendencies, including the amalgamation of songs with an *embolada* cadence and rap.

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ELBA BRAGA RAMALHO

Estilo, ***see*** **Cifra/Estilo**

Fandango

The *fandango* is a dance of Spanish (and possibly Moorish) origins, popular in Europe in the eighteenth century as a courtship dance and also a song style. In Spain, it was a couple dance in 3/4 or 6/8 time, in which the male and female teased and pursued each other. It was exported to the Americas in the 1700s. In colonial times it was subject to censure by the Church and Crown for its supposed lewdness: in the 1730s the bishop of Cartagena (in modern Colombia, on its Caribbean coast) banned *fandangos* for the 'inconveniences and sins' which originated in 'such dishonest diversions' (Wade 1993, 279) and in 1776 they were prohibited by the Viceroy of Río de la Plata (roughly, modern Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia). It is not clear what form the dances took at this time, but in Cartagena, they may have been performed by a circle of dancers, whirling around a core of drummers and hand-clapping singers (Bensusan 1984). *Fandangos* were clearly popular among the lower classes, which in Cartagena, Buenos Aires and Montevideo would have been home to significant numbers of African and African-descended slaves and freed blacks.

For late nineteenth-century Cartagena, there are descriptions of *fandangos* as events, rather than as a style: they were 'nocturnal civic processions' with carnival-style floats, a music band, 'African drums' and women singing and clapping. *Fandango* associations, sponsored by the elite families, organized these processions (González Henríquez 1987; Wade 2000, 54). Although *fandango* might still have been seen as plebeian and even morally dubious, regional elites were at this time sponsoring popular musical forms as part of a populist form of political control and the building of regional and national identities. At this time, the history of *fandango* becomes inextricably linked to that of *porro*, a genre from the Caribbean coastal region of Colombia. *Fandango* became a key element in the repertoire of wind bands, which were playing European, but also local, styles of music, to accompany festivals (Fortich Díaz 1994; Wade 2000, 58). In the twentieth century, as the popular jazz-band format spread over the Americas, Colombian ensembles picked up *porros*, *fandangos* and *cumbias* and began to popularize them. *Fandango* became part of the repertoire of key bandleaders such as Lucho Bermúdez, Pacho Galán and, especially, Pedro Laza. Musically, a *porro* and a *fandango* were similar in the use of trumpets, saxes and clarinet interweaving short riffs, with a clarinet taking solo parts, on a steady 2/4 rhythm driven by a scraper, maracas and/or cow-bell playing a steady rhythmic cell (crochet, two quavers, crochet, two quavers), but the *fandango* was more rapid (around 250 bpm compared to *porro*'s 180).

The *fandango* was a lesser cousin of the *porro* in terms of popularity, possibly because its rapid rhythm was less comfortable for couple dancing, and like the *porro* was eclipsed from the 1960s by the *cumbia* which became internationally popular. However, as late as 1983, Jose Arroyo, better known as a *salsa* artist, covered Clímaco Sarmiento's *fandango* hit 'El conejo' (The Rabbit).

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PETER WADE

Fandango (Brazil)

Fandango denotes two types of dance events in different areas of Brazil: a particular kind of ball typical of the coastal areas of the states of Paraná and São Paulo, and any popular ball in the state of Rio Grande do Sul.

The first practice is related to what is known as *caiçara* culture (Setti 1985). *Caiçara* is a Portuguese term used to denote the people of rural, coastal areas of Paraná and São Paulo states. In these areas, where fishing and plant foraging are the main economic activities, *fandangos* are important leisure-time events. The *fandango* is practiced as a sequence of dances, called *marcas* or *modas*. These are associated with particular regions and bear specific names, such as *anu* (cuckoo), *andorinha* (swallow), *marinheiro* (sailor) and *chamarrita* or *querumana* (names of musical genres) (Martins 2006). A sequence is classified either as a *bailado*, where any couple in attendance may dance, or a *batido*, in which only some couples may dance, often older couples or people linked with the organization of the dance. The couples dance specific choreographies, embraced, in a circular pattern. A prominent feature of the *batido* is that the men dance in wooden clogs, achieving a percussive effect as the clogs strike the wooden floor.

The *fandango caiçara* is accompanied by three instruments: the *viola fandangueira* (a five- or six-string acoustic guitar), the *rabeca* (a bowed lute with three or four strings) and the *adufe* or *adufo* (a circular, two-headed frame drum). An important musical element is the dialogue between the rhythmic patterns of the wood clogs rendered during the dance and the *rabeca* (Gramani 2003; Marchi, Sanger and Correa 2002).

In the state of Rio Grande do Sul, the term *fandango* has a broader meaning, in that it is a generic term denoting any popular ball. This is an older sense of the term, originating in the nineteenth century, when it denoted any popular ball for white people (as compared to *lundu*, which denoted any ball for black people). The typical music of Rio Grande do Sul, known as *música gauchesca* or *música gaúcha* ('gaucho' or cowboy music), predominates in *fandangos* of this region, at which many different local dances may be practiced, such as *xote, chamamé* and *bugio*. The musical accompaniment is played by an ensemble including acoustic guitars, frame drum and *gaita*, a kind of accordion (Lucas 2000).

The use of the term *fandango* to denote any popular ball is similar to the way it is commonly used in Hispanic America. However, Brazilian *fandangos* are different from those typical of Hispanic America. Some similarities exist in choreography, which may be attributed to common European origins, but the musical elements are different. For example, the Spanish *fandango* has a ternary beat, whereas the *fandango caiçara* is binary and the *gaúcho* includes both binary (e.g., *bugio*) and ternary (e.g., *chamamé*) dances.

In the 1990s an interest in *fandango caiçara* arose among the young musicians of the independent musical scene in the states of Paraná and São Paulo. *Fandango* elements (percussion with wooden clogs, for example) were mixed with an aesthetic of pop, rock or *MPB*, with the aim of stamping their works with a mark of authenticity, a reflection of the fact that *fandango* is widely seen as the traditional musical practice of rural people. This had continued to be important for many musicians interested in demonstrating 'Brazilianness' in an increasingly global music market.

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ALLAN DE PAULA OLIVEIRA

Festejo

The *festejo* is a music and dance genre from coastal Peru, predominantly associated with populations of African descent. The name is derived from the Spanish verb *festejar*, which means 'to celebrate,' and for many Peruvians its lively tempo and vigorous choreography have come to symbolize the spirit of cultural resistance of the Afro-Peruvian community. The contemporary form of *festejo* began to take shape as part of the Afro-Peruvian music and dance revival that occurred between the 1950s and the 1970s. During this time period, Afro-Peruvian musicians and intellectuals sought to reconstruct the genre using a number of surviving song fragments that were no longer actively performed but that had been preserved orally within families of Afro-Peruvian musicians. Many of these fragments dated back to the early and middle parts of the nineteenth century when they were likely performed at a variety of festive events. The lyrics generally described celebratory occasions while at the same time commenting on the hardships of various types of agricultural work, thus suggesting a possible connection to one or more musical genres associated with slave and marginal Afro-Peruvian populations. Nevertheless, because much of the contextual information associated with these songs, such as types of accompanying rhythmic patterns or use of particular instrumentation, was unknown by the turn of the twentieth century, it is difficult to ascertain whether or not these various fragments originally were part of a single, clearly defined genre.

Between the 1950s and the 1970s Afro-Peruvian musicians consolidated these fragments into an increasingly clearly defined genre, adding to the repertoire new compositions that continued to reference themes associated with celebration, various types of agricultural work and slavery. Guitar and percussion patterns became standardized as a series of melodic, harmonic and rhythmic ostinatos. The percussion section was also expanded from *cajón* (box drum), *cajita* (a small box with a hinged lid, used as a percussion instrument) and *quijada de burro* (jawbone) to include a number of nontraditional instruments such as *conga* drums, bongos and cowbells. Dance movements that were described by Afro-Peruvian elders as being free and unrehearsed prior to the revival were transformed into group choreographies for male-female couples that featured alternating pelvic and upper torso movements along with the vigorous shaking of hips and shoulders as markers of the joy and exuberance associated with the genre. Much of this standardization was tied to the emergence of professional dance troupes such as Peru Negro, who specialized exclusively in Afro-Peruvian genres and made the *festejo* their signature dance. These groups popularized Afro-Peruvian music and genres with non-Afro-Peruvian audiences in Lima and the coastal region more generally through live performances, audio recordings and live radio and television appearances. This popularization was paralleled by the institutionalization of Afro-Peruvian music and dance as a regional form of folklore, which led many of the musicians from these professional groups to become teachers at a number of private and state-sponsored schools and dance academies.

Since the revival, the *festejo* has become characterized by a quick compound duple rhythmic feel marked by the *cajón* with accents on the fifth and tenth eighth notes of a twelve eighth-note cycle. The guitar ostinatos feature cross-rhythmic relationships with the bass line outlining a simple triple meter that moves through the first, third, fourth and fifth scale degree, while the upper strings perform arpeggios that outline a I-IV-V chord progression. Vocal melodic lines tend to exploit the same cross-relationship between simple triple and compound duple meters, often oscillating between them. Along with the *landó*, the *festejo* remains one of the main musical genres associated with the Afro-Peruvian community and a key symbol of Afro-Peruvian identity.

Since the early 1990s musicians have continued to transform the genre, while at the same time finding ways of maintaining connections to the earlier repertoire. Artists including Eva Ayllón, Andrés Soto, Félix Casaverde and Susana Baca have expanded the harmonic language of the *festejo* to include ninth and eleventh dominant chords, and at times to experiment with chord progressions in minor keys. Newer *festejos* have begun to move away from themes specifically dealing with rural life and the experience of slavery, but many still continue to be used more broadly as anthems of Afro-Peruvian cultural identity, as is the case with compositions by artists such as Roberto Arguedas and Juan Medrano Cotito. The *festejo* has also been the preferred genre for artists seeking to cross over into world beat fusion, rock, electronica and jazz such as Miki Gonzalez, Peru Jazz, Gabriel Alegría and his Afro-Peruvian Sextet and Novalima.

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JAVIER F. LEÓN

Filin

Filin is a jazz-influenced style of Latin American *bolero* composition and performance which flourished in Cuba in the late 1940s and was influential on the new genre of *nueva trova*. *Filin* originated during jam sessions ('descargas') in private homes in mid-1940s Havana, Cuba's capital city. The participants at these formative sessions shared a passion for US jazz, particularly the music of Al Cooper, Chick Webb, Ella Fitzgerald, Cab Calloway, Sarah Vaughan and Nat King Cole. At these meetings, the musicians would both improvise and write new tunes to be performed in a jazz combo style (Acosta 2001). *Filin* moved out of private homes when the ensemble Conjunto Casino included some *filin* numbers in dance hall performances. Soon after, artists in Mexico and South America recorded *filin* songs, for example, Chilean Lucho Gatica's 'Contigo en la distancia' (With You in the Distance, 1953) and 'La gloria eres tú' (The Glory Is You, 1955). This new style of songwriting and performing came to be known by the English word 'feeling,' 'feelin' or 'filin,' because it was considered extremely expressive, full of a bohemian sentiment.

In terms of compositional style, *filin* proposed a new approach to *bolero* melody and harmony. *Filin* melodies include extensive use of chromaticism and wide melodic leaps, such as minor sevenths, and arpeggiated diminished and major seventh chords. *Filin* expanded the harmonic language of earlier *boleros* by adopting the harmonies and voicings of contemporary US jazz: tonic chords often incorporated major sevenths and ninths, and dominant chords may feature major and minor ninths, augmented elevenths and thirteenths (Giro 2001). The most important *filin* songwriters are César Portillo de la Luz (b. 1922) ('Contigo en la Distancia,' 1946, 'Tú, mi dlirio' [You, My Delirium, 1954]), José Antonio Méndez (1927–89) ('La gloria eres tú,' 1946), Frank Domínguez (b. 1927) ('Tú me acostumbraste' [You Made Me Accustomed], 1955) and Marta Valdés (b. 1934) ('Tú no sospechas' [You Don't Suspect], 1958).

Guitar-playing *filineros*, such as Méndez, Portillo de la Luz and Ñico Rojas, speak of having a self-conscious interest in harmonic innovation that was to expand traditional guitar accompaniments (Contreras 1989). None of them claims to have been influenced by each other, but rather to have been amazed to discover that others were experimenting with similar harmonies. Their use of the guitar laid down the foundation for the late 1960s political-song style known as *nueva trova*.

Lyrically, *filin* was also a departure from earlier forms of *bolero*. For the most part, *filin* composers wrote their own words, and they tried to make lyrics more realistic and colloquial. They preferred everyday words, rather than the modernistic poetry of early *boleros* and Lara's fondness for somewhat convoluted metaphors (Évora 2001). *Filin* composer José Antonio Méndez said that the genre 'wasn't about subtlety, but about saying something; if you said something, it already had *filin*' (Restrepo Duque 1992, 168). *Filin* songs often celebrate the joy that love brings, rather than unrequited love or the bitterness of parting.

Filin also featured a new attitude toward singing and instrumental performance. *Filin* singing is often described as 'saying' (*decir*) instead of 'singing' (*cantar*), a style that strongly contrasts both with the bel canto delivery that dominated *bolero* singing in the 1920s through the 1930s and with the nasal tone of Cuban *son* singers (Acosta 2001). Many *filineros* had a well-documented disinterest in conventional notions of perfection or even beauty in the voice and musical accompaniment (see the first-person accounts in Contreras 1989). Sentiment and expressiveness was the primary goal. Musicians were expected to play with rubato and sing differently each time they performed a piece (Giro 2001). As a performance style, *filin* could be used to sing and play any type of popular song, from traditional *boleros* to *guajiras*.

Filin songs were more successful when recorded by professional singers than in the composers' own versions. As a result, the founding members of the movement never became hugely popular. In the early years, the only *filin* performers who appeared on Cuban TV and toured internationally were the members of the vocal quartet Las D'Aida, formed by Elena Burke, Moraima Secada and the sisters Omara and Haydée Portuondo. Las D'Aida debuted in 1952, and was one of many Cuban vocal ensembles that followed the style of contemporary US quartets. Of the members of D'Aida, Omara Portuondo and Elena Burke went on to have successful solo careers in the island. Portuondo participated in Ry Cooder's Grammy-winning album *Buena Vista Social Club*, and Elena Burke (a.k.a. 'Señora Sentimiento') was for decades the most popular *filin* singer in Cuba.

The *filin* singer who achieved the greatest international success is Cuban Olga Guillot (1922–2010). Despite being recognized in the Spanish-speaking world as 'The Queen of *Bolero*,' Guillot is absent from most Cuban *bolero* histories because she defected in 1961, heading first to Venezuela, then Mexico and finally Miami, Florida. Guillot took the concept of *filin* performance in a new direction. She dramatized songs in theatrical fashion, which included sobbing, sighing and screaming in order to express the content of the song. Her style was deeply influential on singers from *bolero moderno* star Lucho Gatica to her clearest follower, singer La Lupe (1939–92).

Early ideologues of the 1959 Revolution, most notably Lázaro Peña, supported *filin* because it seemed to represent a return to the pre-Batista national roots of *vieja trova*. After the Revolution, however, government support for *filin* was short-lived. By the mid-1960s the lack of engagement with political issues in *filin* lyrics was being seen by the authorities as a shortcoming; even worse, *filin* reminded critics of jazz, an unmistakable symbol of US influence. The government's position regarding jazz eventually changed when officials learned that it was being produced in other socialist countries, such as Poland (Díaz Ayala 1993). In the mid-1960s a younger generation of musicians rejected *filin* as an 'evasive' form of popular music (Giro 2001). This, coupled with the lack of governmental support, led to *filin*'s decline in the late 1960s (Díaz Ayala 1993).

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DANIEL PARTY

Film Music, *see* Film Music (Volume XII, International)

Film Musical, *see* Film Musical (Volume XII, International)

Folclore (in Argentina)

Folclore (also spelled Folklore) is the label attached in the media, in popular parlance, and since the late 1990s also in academic discourse, to musics based on the traditional practices of the rural *criollos* or *gauchos* (descendants of Spanish settlers, often with Indian and/or black blood input) of Argentina, but produced in urban centers by professionals and distributed mainly through the national media.

Issues of Definition

Although *folclore* designates a phenomenon largely common to countries in South America's Southern

Cone (Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Southern Brazil), the various national cultural structures and communication networks have made it difficult to describe it as a whole in its full geographical spread. The unending arguments about a proper definition of the term, and about what it includes or excludes, have always had a strong ideological component – discussions are invariably supported by a nationalistic substratum, but come to widely diverging conclusions depending on the speaker's affiliation with the 'conservative' right or the 'progressive' left. The term's synonyms usually betray one of those two political outlooks: *nativismo* ('nativism'), *tradicionalismo* ('traditionalism') and *música autóctona* ('autochtonous music') belong to the first, more exclusionary approach, and *proyección folklórica* (a term introduced in 1969 by the scholar Augusto Raúl Cortázar to identify 'manifestations produced outside the geographic and cultural environment' of folklore, 'designed for a general, mostly urban, public and transmitted by institutionalized and mechanized media' [(1977, 77]) and *música de raíz folklórica* ('folkloric roots music') belong to the second. In both *proyección folklórica* and *música de raíz*, the accent is more on the popular roots of the music and less on its locality. The former set of terms tends to reject modernizing, urban and non-Argentinian influences and developments, whereas the latter two favor the view of a pan-Latin-American (or even Third-World) patrimony and often include 'urban folklore,' such as *cuarteto* and *tango*. The present article, however, will be confined to the heritage of the rural Argentinian tradition.

The rare academic discussions of *folclore* in the second half of the twentieth century used to emphasize the difference between the 'authentic' rural tradition, for which the term '*folclore*' was reserved, and its 'commercial' variants, but new conceptions of tradition, gaining strength since the 1980s, have made such a hard-and-fast distinction obsolete. *Folclore* in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries may be best understood as a 'field' in Bourdieu's sense (1979): a dynamic structure including (1) a repertory that is open but subject to certain rules for inclusion, exclusion and transformation, (2) a number of creators (composers, lyric-writers and performers), (3) a group of producers, (4) a consuming public and (5) a distribution network that coincides in part with the networks of the national and international music industry. It has its own internal power structure (with attendant struggles), its own dialect and its own set of practices, used to legitimize products, people and institutions. Of course, given the dual nature of the field (traditional and modern values), uncertainty and disagreements about its limits are inevitable.

Historical Outline

The term 'folclore' has been popularly applied to this field from its very inception in the 1930s and 1940s. Previously (since the late 1880s) it had designated anonymous, traditional customs and artistic objects, as well as the discipline that gathered and studied them. Throughout this earlier period, *criolla* (Creole), *tradicional* (traditional), *gauchesca* (of the *gauchos*), *nativa* (native) and *nacional* (national) were the preferred adjectives used in reference to urban presentations and adaptations of the rural heritage. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, urban culture, under the influence of the ideologies of progress and Europeanization, had gradually become estranged from that of the hinterland. Paradoxically, it was the European ideology of cultural nationalism that belatedly sparked the interest of urban dwellers for the music of the rural *gauchos* (cowboys and, more generally, peasants). A first wave followed on the heels of the immensely popular *Martín Fierro* by José Hernández, a long poem that idealized the *gaucho*'s customs and wisdom (68,000 copies sold between 1873 and 1879, when the total population of Argentina was under 2 million, largely illiterate). Traveling circuses as well as stable theaters began to highlight the performances of singers in fancy *gaucho*-like attire, who rendered *zambas, milongas, estilos, rancheras* and other genres from the southern pampas to the accompaniment of one or more guitars. The inclusion of these songs and dances within pantomimes and spoken plays (*zarzuelas, sainetes, criollos*) induced many authors to write their own songs in imitation of the traditional ones. At this time, collectors and composers began publishing anthologies of 'national songs' (Ventura Lynch 1883; Antonio Podestá 1896), as well as sheet music editions of new songs cast in traditional molds. The dozen or so respectable publishing firms in Buenos Aires at the start of the twentieth century (e.g., F. Núñez, Casa Breyer) were complemented by a significant number of mere printing shops, of which Ortelli Hnos. is a good example. Songwriters had their works printed by these shops, retaining the copyright. The *gaucho* thus invented was rather one-dimensional and embodied the romantic-nationalist reaction against modernization and the huge wave of immigration that transformed Argentina's life between the 1870s and 1914. The challenge posed by these new forces was answered by the foundation of *centros criollos* (Creole centers) – clubs or associations where the urban lower bourgeoisie learned to sing and dance traditional music, thus absorbing *argentinidad* ('Argentinian-ness').

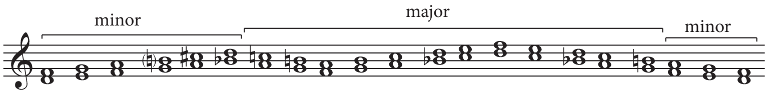
After a short-lived downturn of the nationalist mood during World War I, the shows and triumphant tours of Andrés Chazarreta's company of musicians and dancers from Santiago del Estero (beginning with his 1921 appearance in Buenos Aires) set the stage for the emergence of a *folclore* field. To a large extent, they also determined the musical traits of the folkloric genres as they would be cultivated and expanded later on: the *santiagueño* versions became standard, ignoring the vast diversity of previous local traditions. Only the *criollo* or *campero* (country) repertoire of the southern pampas, by this time assiduously adopted by composers, soloists and duos who cultivated the nascent *típico* (*tango*, *milonga* and waltz) repertoire, represented a different strain of *folclore* until the arrival in Buenos Aires, in the 1930s and 1940s, of groups from Cuyo and from Mesopotamia (westcentral and northeastern Argentina, respectively), although the latter performed almost exclusively to lower classes on the outskirts of the city. Beginning in the restricted circuit of *centros criollos*, these new groups gradually acquired a wider audience through recitals in theaters, radio performances and recordings, two media that by this time were reaching almost all the urban population. By the 1940s, within a media scene dominated by *tango*, *folclore* had acquired a national dimension and a mass of fans. Foremost among the host of artists who contributed to and enjoyed this success (Antonio Tormo, Margarita Palacios, Hilario Cuadros, Julio Argentino Jerez, Eduardo Falú and the Ábalos Brothers) was Atahualpa Yupanqui, whose songs quickly became classics. A long-time affiliate of the Communist Party, he included in his lyrics, in addition to the traditional celebration of local landscape and regional heritage, strong denunciations of poverty and inequality, which were to spark off an important line of development within *folclore*. His life as an errant laborer had afforded him a direct experience of traditional musics of different Argentinian regions; his pieces were widely recognized as 'authentic.'

By the late 1950s the stage was set for a *folclore* 'boom.' The younger generations seized upon the fare offered to them, through TV shows, recordings and massive festivals, by a host of new quartets (four singers in *gaucho* attire, accompanying themselves on three guitars and *bombo*) and soloists. Although the northern province of Salta was at the time the main site from which *folclore* artists were recruited, the recording studios in Buenos Aires and the festivals in Córdoba Province were the centers of irradiation; control over programming and budget in these was soon assumed in most cases by people linked to the recording industry and mass media (most notably, Julio Márbiz at the festival in the town of Cosquín). The old, traditional *centros criollos* were replaced by more informal *peñas folklóricas* (folklore bars or pubs), catering mostly to a youth whose musical tastes embraced both international pop and national *folclore* (*tango* was definitely 'not cool'). Festivals and TV shows instituted country-wide competition networks for new performers and songs, with a hierarchy of local, regional and national events. Among the most popular groups were Los Fronterizos, Los Chalchaleros, Los Cantores del Alba and Los de Salta (all of them from Salta), Los Tucu Tucu from Tucumán and Los Cantores de Quilla Huasi (from different provinces). Among soloists may be mentioned Eduardo Falú and Horacio Guarany (singers/guitarists) Ramona Galarza (singer), Ariel Ramírez (pianist) and Jaime Torres (*charango* player). In the early and mid-1960s, a new crop of solo singers joined them; Daniel Toro, Jorge Cafrune, César Isella and Mercedes Sosa were the most popular. The new groups at this time were more 'modern': dressed in jeans and sweaters, Los Huanca Hua, Grupo Vocal Argentino, Los Trovadores, Las Voces Blancas, Cuarteto Zupay and Dúo Salteño incorporated elements of international youth culture and more sophisticated arrangements. At this time a political split became apparent in the field. The left (including the *nuevo cancionero* led by the Mendoza poet Armando Tejada Gómez) took up Yupanqui's legacy of commitment to indigenist or populist causes, while the right wing, exemplified by the solo singer Roberto Rimoldi Fraga, defended the conservative's slogan 'fatherland, family and tradition.' The latter found favor with successive military regimes, while the former often suffered censure, blacklisting and persecution.

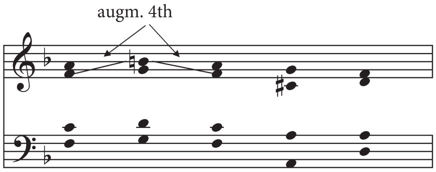
Folclore entered a stage of decline in the 1970s. This was due partly to the repressive military governments, which looked askance at the attitudes and ideologies of the rebellious younger generation who sustained *nuevo cancionero* and similar repertoires. But the main reasons for this decadence should be sought in internal factors and market conditions. Dedicated radio and TV programs went off the air, and very few new recordings were issued. Many composers and performers had to go abroad, both to make a living and to safeguard their lives. Only a few, like the *litoraleños* Teresa Parodi and Antonio Tarragó Ros, kept the *folclore* scene alive. Many youngsters shifted their allegiance to Argentinian rock and international pop music. The most important festivals were still held yearly, but their importance within the music business and their status as national symbols were strongly diminished. To counteract the loss of revenue, many of them started diversifying their musical fare; others simply folded. The 1990s witnessed a revival, which has continued to some extent into the twenty-first century. The younger generations (notably teenagers) took up *chacarera*, one of the western Argentinian genres, as a symbol of identity. They recovered the dance dimension of music that had been treated during the boom years mainly as songs, and improvised new choreographies or reproduced the traditional ones in discotheques, where they shared time with rock and other pop music. Audiences began to return to festivals in numbers and the national media again promoted and broadcast Cosquín, Jesús María and the like. Peteco Carabajal and Soledad Pastorutti have been key figures in the *chacarera* revival. 'Chaqueño' Palavecino has extended it both in terms of his wider gamut of genres and of his tremendous popularity among all age groups. Another facet of the revival is 'romantic folklore' (Los Nocheros, Los Guaranys, Jorge Rojas), which may be understood as *fusión* between *folclore* and *bolero*. The frankly erotic lyrics and genre mixtures performed by these groups (traditionalists have called them 'lingerie *folclore*') also appeal to a wide variety of audiences from middle- and low-income strata. (For a fuller account of the origins, regional variants and history of *folclore,* see Waisman and Restiffo 2005.)

Description

The only firm constants between rural tradition and modern *folclore* seem to reside in the rhythmic patterns associated with the different species that the genre encompasses. In order of decreasing importance, we may include other earmarks: formal structures, instrumentation, vocal styles, topics and vocabulary of the lyrics, choreography and the performers' costumes. From its protean rural origins, several species crystallized during the first half of the twentieth century. (In common Argentine parlance *folclore* as a whole is usually referred to as a 'genre,' and the different types of songs and dances within it are commonly called 'species' – rather than 'subgenres,' as is common elsewhere.) First and foremost is the *zamba*, the standard bearer of the genre, considered representative of a nationwide ambit. *Chacarera, cueca, litoraleña, chamamé*, *milonga*, *vidala* and *gato* are other species with wide but less universal appeal. *Carnavalito*, *huayno*, *baguala*, *chaya*, *bailecito* (northwest), *rasguido doble* (littoral – the River Plate area in the northeastern part of the country, bordering with Uruguay), *tonada*, *estilo* and *valsecito* are closely tied in the *folclórico* imaginary to particular regions, and have been favored mainly though not exclusively by local composers. Additionally, there are several dozen folk genres – sung and, especially, danced – that are still heard in their traditional melodies, mostly in folk-dancing academies and companies. These are mostly genres with only one exemplar: *La firmeza*, *El cuando*, *El escondido*, *El palito*, *El pericón*, *La media caña*, etc. Some species that were extremely popular in the nineteenth century, such as the *cielito*, have scarcely been tapped by modern *folclore*. The formal schemes of the different species are varied, but a common disposition comprises two or three sections, each one constituted by several stanzas followed by a refrain. Rhythmic patterns are also diverse, but many of them are based on hemiola-related devices, both simultaneous and successive. The common practice of singing in parallel thirds is congruent with the prevailing ending of melodic phrases on the third degree of the scale (5-4-3 for the top voice, 3-2-1 for the lower voice). A large proportion of the repertoire (excluding the northeastern species) relies on what Carlos Vega has called 'bi-modality,' assuming the double scales in parallel thirds to derive from standard European major and minor modes (Example 1). Although this phenomenon may be more simply understood as a particular variant of the first ecclesiastical mode (Dorian) current in early-modern Spain, Vega's terminology is widely employed. Twentieth-century arrangements intensively exploit the augmented-fourth relationships produced by alternation between the I and II degrees in the major segment of the scale (Example 2).



Example 1: 'Bi-modality' according to Carlos Vega (1998 [1944])



Example 2: One common harmonic scheme in 'bi-modality'

The one instrument that functions as a steady feature of *folclore* is the acoustic guitar (though fusions with rock usually substitute the electric instrument). Only for *huaynos*, *baguala* and other species of the extreme north-west is the *charango* (small plucked chordophone made from an armadillo shell) considered an adequate replacement for the guitar. Harp and *bandoneón* (a type of concertina), still common nationwide in the early decades of the twentieth century, have become unusual in *folclore*. A single violin is a traditional addition for *chacareras* that modern *folclore* has highlighted, and a double bass is often included in versions of themes from the *litoral*. Northwestern music makes use of the *quena* (notched vertical flute) and other aerophones of indigenous parentage, and the species from the *litoral* feature prominent use of *verdulera* (a type of concertina) or accordion. Pieces derived from dance music (though not often danced nowadays) incorporate percussion: the *bombo* (two-headed long cylindrical drum) is by far the most frequent, but the *caja* (flat snare drum) is often substituted for it in northwestern music. The piano, frequently used in the first half of the twentieth century, dropped out of most ensembles in the heyday of the *folclore* 'boom.' 'Modernizing' ensembles, often with college-educated players, include prominent use of an orchestral flute and/or a cello, as well as a wealth of Latin-American percussion instruments such as the Peruvian *cajón*; fusions with rock and jazz include drum sets, saxophones and all sorts of electronic and amplified instruments, such as keyboards and bass guitars.

In the first decades of the twentieth century the vocal duo accompanied by several guitars was a widespread type of ensemble, offering both *típico* and *folklórico* repertoire; most famous in the 1910s were the duos of Carlos Gardel and José Razzano and Francisco Brancatti and Léon Lara, followed in the 1920s by that of Agustin Magaldi and Pedro Noda. In the ensuing decades larger ensembles became common (Los Hermanos Ábalos, La Tropilla de Huachi Pampa), but the standard since the 'boom' years has been the vocal quartet with guitars and *bombo* accompaniment (Los Chalchaleros, Los Fronterizos, Los Cantores de Quilla Huasi). The more 'progressive' trends initially favored *a cappella* groups with frequent vocal imitations of instrumental sounds or scat-type singing (Los Huanca Hua, Grupo Vocal Argentino, Buenos Aires 8), but soon came to include all sorts of vocal and instrumental combinations. Concurrently, during the entire history of *folclore* there have been well-known soloists, many of them also poets and/or composers, who accompany themselves on the guitar (Atahualpa Yupanqui, Eduardo Falú, Horacio Guarany); others function only as singers (Antonio Tormo, Mercedes Sosa, Chaqueño Palavecino). In the 1990s groups and soloists such as the violinist-singer-composer Peteco Carabajal often incorporated some of the perks of pop shows: choruses, movement, lighting effects. The older type of vocal quartet, with a new sensual *romántico* touch, has been continued in the first decade of the twenty-first century by the wildly popular Los Nocheros.

Arrangements in the *folclore* idiom in the first part of the twentieth century were fairly standard: the tendency was for the melody in parallel thirds, with straightforward guitar strumming and percussion ostinatos as accompaniment and short instrumental introductions and interludes provided by a solo instrument to the same accompaniment. The quartets of the boom often duplicated the melody at the higher octave or sixth and introduced *solo-tutti* effects within a limited variety of vocal scoring. Soon afterward, arranger-composers such as 'Chango' Farías Gómez or 'Cuchi' Leguizamón became central figures. Vocal groups in the 1960s (Los Trovadores, Las Voces Blancas, Los Andariegos, Cuarteto Vocal Zupay) relied on the resources of choral academic composition and on more complex harmonies, sometimes in a barbershop quartet configuration. A delicate use of harsh dissonances, a thorough exploitation of the falsetto register and extremely slow tempos to highlight the resulting sonorities were the trademarks of the Dúo Salteño. Instrumental virtuoso display and jazz-like improvisation were slowly incorporated, featuring the guitar in the 1960s (Tres Para el Folclore), and other instruments in the 1980s (Lito Vitale on the keyboards, Dino Saluzzi in *bandoneón*). The *litoraleña* (northeastern) segment, however, has mostly retained the simple harmonies and arrangements of earlier times, in spite of the emergence of youthful new figures in the 1980s (Antonio Tarragó Ros, Teresa Parodi).

The lyrics of *folclore* are varied in topic and language. They include a large proportion of love poetry (which was the almost exclusive concern of the previous rural tradition), a nearly equal share of verses extolling the beauties of local landscape (often expressing the nostalgia of the migrant worker for his native soil) and quite a few poems celebrating the virtues of traditional rural trades: carpenters, quarry workers, woodsmen, cowboys, teachers, etc. References to actual people are fairly common, be they historical personalities (here the ideological slant – right or left – is usually conspicuous), local figures or simply the author's friends and companions in wine-drinking. The more traditional lyrics use the language and syntax invented by *gauchesca* literature (poems and dramas describing rural customs and imitating the speech habits of the *gaucho*) in the decades around 1900 on the basis of popular rural language; this may be spiced up by the introduction of local expressions, words in Quechua or occasional references to current slang. Since the 1940s, however, several poets, such as Manuel J. Castilla, Jaime Dávalos (from the neo-romantic and nationalist '*generación del '40*') or Armando Tejada Gómez (influenced by Chilean poet Pablo Neruda and the leftist avant-garde), adopted a more 'literary' manner, highly metaphorical, often relying on a more complex syntax and a sophisticated vocabulary. Strangely enough, this has not stopped their verses from attaining widespread popularity. 'Protest' or *testimonial* 'lyrics have always been a prominent strain within *folclore*, embracing all the popular causes of the left: the poor, the migrants, indigenous people and the defense of national patrimony against imperialism, of human against commercial values and of nature against its senseless exploitation. Mention must be made of the illuminating and witty parodies of *folclore* produced by Les Luthiers, the best-known Argentinian musico-comic ensemble: by over-emphasis and by recourse to the absurd, they unmask some of the ideological assumptions undergirding the idealization of *folclore* as 'the essence of the nation.'

Folclore is practiced in multiple ways. In small towns and rural areas, convivial gatherings often include '*guitarreadas*' (roughly, 'guitar parties'), where local traditions, local composition and media-circulated repertoire coexist. Urban fans get together to sing, either in private homes or in *peñas,* the dedicated pubs, where anyone may pick up a guitar provided by the house, and sing, and which may also offer shows by professionals, who perform as well in auditoriums and clubs. Many large, open-air, weeklong festivals are held every summer in different locations, featuring famous artists. Some of them (e.g., Cosquín) have national networks of sub-festivals where new talent is scouted. International record labels have paid varying attention to this music ever since the 1920s: during the 1960s and 1970s Philips was hegemonic; since the 1990s it has been partly replaced by smaller local labels. TV and radio programs played a major role in generating the 'boom' around 1960, but their coverage was greatly reduced later on; although there are some specialized FM and cableTV stations, at the beginning of the twenty-first century the mass media do not reflect the size of the *folclore* public. Sheet music was plentifully provided by many specialized publishers until the 1960s (Breyer, Lagos), later superseded by lyrics printed as *cancioneros* (songbooks) or in fan magazines (such as *Folklore*).

Folclore in the Early Twenty-first Century

Contacts between *folclore* and other fields of popular music have multiplied, including joint projects with rock and *tango* artists. One especially celebrated example of this was León Gieco's *De Ushuaia a La Quiaca*, a four-CD set (2005) in which the rock singer performed together with more than 100 professional and amateur *folclore* musicians from around the country. The blending of elements from *folclore* with *tango*, rock and jazz idioms and instruments is known in Argentina as *fusión*. The limited media exposure that *folclore* receives in the early twenty-first century hides its persistent cultivation by an important segment of the Argentinian population. Argentine *folclore* was very popular all over Latin America and Spain in the 1960s and 1970s, with enclaves as far as Japan; in 2011 there were still a number of *folclore* groups in several distant countries, and the more celebrated contemporary Argentinian performers frequently carry out international tours. Although oral traditions have long been the subject of serious study (Vega, Aretz-Thiele), little academic attention had been paid to urbanized *folclore* before the work of scholars such as Díaz (2009), Kaliman (2003) and Sánchez (2004).

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LEONARDO WAISMAN

Folguedo

The term *folguedo* has been used in Brazil since the 1940s to indicate the widespread practice of collective dancing around a traditional theme, organized in a succession of parts and combining music, dance and drama (Marcondes 2003). Câmara Cascudo (2001a) defines *folguedo* as a folkloric event with lyrics, music, choreography and dramatization. Some *folguedos*, such as *reisados*, have a religious connotation and are held on sacred festivals such as Christmas, while others are secular.

The practice of *folguedos* often takes place in rural areas or among rural migrants to the cities. Reflecting this, the study of *folguedos* as folklore that took place between the 1940s and the 1980s was related to theories of the urbanization and transformation of rural zones. For many years, *folguedos* were studied from the perspective of resistance or survival – a powerful trend among Brazilian folklorists, and one that was slow to reflect changes in practice (Vilhena 1992). Beginning in the 1980s, however, *folguedos* became a research theme for social scientists, guided by new perspectives and interested in observing their internal dynamics.

Mário de Andrade (1891–1945) was the first to engage in a serious study of *folguedos*, which he called *danças dramáticas* (dramatic dances) (Andrade 1982; Cavalcanti 2004). He described some of them in the book: *reisados*, *maracatús*, *caboclinhos*, *cheganças and bumba-meu-boi*. For Andrade, *folclore* was the basis of artistic production, providing elements that it was the artist's task to rework. Andrade's ideas, which have been compared by some authors (e.g., Travassos 1997) with those of Hungarian composer Béla Bartók on the same theme, gave the impulse to the study of *folclore* in Brazil and made the *folguedos* one of its central themes.

The early history of Brazilian *folguedos* is one of a mixing of elements from Portuguese, African and indigenous traditions between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. By the second half of the eighteenth century there are narratives, written by travelers, in which descriptions of *folguedos* appear (Câmara Cascudo 2001b).

Within the body of *folguedos*, several common features can be discerned (Marcondes 2003; Araujo 1964). There are *folguedos* which dramatize the relationships between the kingdoms of Europe and Africa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for example the *congada,* the *moçambique* and the *maracatu*. The *congada* occurs on dates when black Brazilians pay homage to Our Lady of Rosary (October) and Saint Benedict (the Moor) (April) – or on days in the Catholic calendar called *Ciclo de Reis* (Three Kings Cycle), between 25 December and 6 January. Two other *folguedos*, *catopês* (Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo states) and *taieira* (Bahia and Alagoas), are also performed in honor of Our Lady of Rosary.

The *maracatu*, which is very common in Pernambuco, is also traditionally performed in honor of Our Lady of Rosary, but it occurs in the Carnival period as well. Other *folguedos* dramatize the encounter and the battles between Christians and Moors, as, for example, *cheganças* (Crook 2005). The *Ciclo de Reis,* cited above, is central to the *reisados*, a group of *folguedos* performed in honor of the Three Magi, of which the *folia-de-Reis* is an example (Reily 2002). C*aboclinhos*, *dança-dos-tapuias* and *torém* are among the *folguedos* that dramatize the encounter between the Portuguese and the indigenous people in Brazil.

Some *folguedos* are dramatizations centering around mythologies related to animals, such as the ox. *Bumba-meu-boi*, for example, is for many authors the most complex and important Brazilian *folguedo*, because it occurs in many areas. The common thread is the character of the ox. Found most often in rural areas in the north and north-east, *Bumba-meu-boi* occurs with variations and other names (*Boi-bumbá*, *Boi-de-mamão*) in areas of the 'middle-south' or in northeastern coastal areas (*cavalo-marinho*).

The musical elements of these *folguedos* are very diverse. Some, such as those related to African traditions (as *maracatu* or *congada*), have a predominant percussive part, using such percussion instruments as *adufe* (a little frame drum), *ganzá* (a kind of rattle) or *alfaia* (a kind of bass drum). For those that are related to Portuguese and indigenous traditions, such as *cheganças* and the *folia-de-Reis, viola* (a kind of acoustic guitar), *rabeca* (a kind of fiddle) or *pife* (a kind of flute) are commonly used.

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ALLAN DE PAULA OLIVEIRA

Forró

Throughout northeastern Brazil, *forró* is considered more than a popular music genre; it is an always-present ‘state of mind’ that changes along with the two seasons of the year in the region: the rainy and bountiful one and the drought period. During the droughts, poor northeasterners often leave behind their homeland in the *sertão* (‘hinterland’) in search of better living conditions. Long before *forró* emerged as a popular music genre and was transformed into a national phenomenon by Luiz Gonzaga (1912–89) and the Rio de Janeiro-based music industry, poor northeasterners from the *sertão* carried their love of *forró* deep within them on their migrations during cyclical drought periods. Thus, it is difficult to unravel the musical and social history of *forró*, a genre that was transformed into a popular music genre in the 1940s and 1950s but that seems to have existed since much earlier.

A traditional *forró* ensemble uses only three instruments: a button or piano accordion, a triangle and a *zabumba*, which is a kind of side drum without snares that is as large as a bass drum. The *zabumba* is always played with a drumstick on the upper side and a wooden (or metal) rod that strikes the lower rim and/or drumhead. In this traditional ensemble format, sometimes the accordion is replaced with a ‘*pife*’ (‘wooden fife’) and/or a ‘*rabeca*’ (‘fiddle, violin’). The traditional form of *forró*, always referred to in the north-east and elsewhere as *pé-de-serra* (literally, ‘the foot of the mountain’), differs vastly from the modern urban, stylized, electronic variety that emerged in the 1970s and became a craze in the 1980s, even though both types occupy their respective places in the Brazilian music scene (Murphy 2006).

From the mid-twentieth century on, the term *forró* has served as an umbrella within which many rhythms and genres are classified, such as *baião*, *coco*, *rojão*, *xaxado*, *xote*, *xamego* and so on, with each of these rhythms often regarded by *forró* fans as separate subgenres or rhythms, even if some of these fail to classify as music genres *per se*. Most *forró* composers tend to choose a rhythm that corresponds with a song’s tone and tempo: a song that is slow, sentimental, sad and/or nostalgic might be set as a *baião*, *xamego* or *xote*, while a faster and happier tune would be better suited with a *coco*, *xaxado* or *rojão* arrangement. A simple review of numerous composers’ choices in naming the genre of their songs suggests that this tendency has not changed much over the years, with the exception of genre variation imposed on songwriters by the music industry (e.g., when *forró* became fashionable with Luiz Gonzaga’s *baião* recordings, and accordion players were all the rage in Brazil’s largest urban areas from the mid- to late 1940s to the early 1960s).

In terms of its musical characteristics, *forró* is a secular style from the Brazilian North-east that may be arranged for vocals, instruments or both. *Forró* music employs a particular vivacious rhythmic swing in duple meter, in which the accordion plays a central role, supported by the rhythmic work of the triangle and the *zabumba* drum. *Forró* music accompanies the homonym dance that traditionally is performed by couples. The dancers keep one arm around their partner’s waist and the other extended, ready to grasp hands with the partner or swing up and down, according to changes in the music. The movements are relaxed, casual and sensual, contributing to a joyful ambience. In the ‘modern’ setting of electronic *forró*, bands incorporate a contracted chorus line of male and female dancers – the latter usually wearing scanty clothing – adding to the musical performance a sensual, theatrical nuance. The stage dancers move athletically and tease the audience below the stage into performing the same dance movements.

Etymology

The word *forró*, which originally referred to the place where popular balls were held, was used in northeastern Brazilian magazines and newspapers beginning in the 1830s (Marcondes 1998, 301; Cascudo 1999, 412–13). There is some discrepancy between scholarly and popular versions of the term's etymology. However, both etymologies share the conviction that the word *forró* initially referred to the place where parties were held among the poorer strata, rather than the music genre *per se*. Marcondes (1998, 301) traced the origins of *forró* to a reduction of the term *forrobodó*, meaning 'fuss, feud, confusion, fight, disorder, uproar,' apparently because there was occasional violence among fans whenever *forró* music was played and danced to in the north-east of Brazil and among northeastern migrants in the south. 'Forrobodó' was also the title of a successful 1911 vaudeville theater operetta with music by Francisca Edwirges 'Chiquinha' Gonzaga (unrelated to the celebrated singer, accordionist and composer Luiz Gonzaga). However, the operetta's title, setting (the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro), colloquial language and original urban music had nothing to do with northeastern *forró*.

According to folk etymology, the word *forró* is derived from the English expression 'for all.' Two stories tend to be cited to support this popular etymology. First, it is said that in the early 1900s 'for all' reminders were hung at British railroad construction yard headquarters in the Brazilian North-east to indicate that everyone, rich or poor, was welcome at parties held there, since there were no other parties to which the poor were invited. A second story refers to the time during World War II when the US military supposedly held 'for-all' parties at an air force base located just on the outskirts of Natal. As capital of the northeastern Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Norte, in the 2000s Natal was home to some of the best *forró* venues in the north-east. In 1997 the Brazilian motion picture *For All: O trampolim da vitória* (Springboard to Victory) reinscribed this second story by blending fiction with bits of actual history, such as the visit of US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to the Natal air force base during World War II. As a result, younger movie-goers across the country began subscribing to the 'for-all' story, and so an urban legend gained widespread credence, though not without controversy.

Historical Origins

Forró's exact origins are difficult to verify because the word *forró* was not popularized throughout Brazil to describe an urban music genre until the time of Luiz Gonzaga's success in Rio de Janeiro, the historical birthplace of most urban Brazilian popular music and one of its most important distribution centers throughout the twentieth century. As a rural, folkloric music tradition, *forró* is likely to have emerged in the backlands of northeastern Brazil either by the late 1800s or even earlier, around the 1830s. The European accordion (*sanfona*, in Portuguese), including both the 8-bass button and 120-bass piano models, reached Brazil with European immigrants, mainly Italians and Germans, who settled in the southern region. Around the 1830s the button accordion received the name '*gaita*' in southern Brazil (Cascudo 1999), where it is still widely used in folklore. But in this folklore music from southern Brazil no ensemble is or was composed of a *gaita*, a triangle and a *zabumba* drum – at least not in the manner of the northeastern *forró* developed by Luiz Gonzaga in more modern times.

When Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina joined military forces to fight Paraguay in the War of the Triple Alliance (1864–70), returning northeastern Brazilian servicemen took both models of accordion back home, and the *forró* tradition began as a folkloric style, with the accordion as the main instrument (Cascudo 1999). Since contemporary *forró* is rhythmically similar to older rural southern music genres, such as *rancheira*, and more modern ones, such as *vaneirão*, it is not impossible that *forró* may have evolved from the music those northeastern servicemen brought home from the south.

Forró and the Recording Industry

The Brazilian music industry, based in Rio de Janeiro (and São Paulo), had, during its inception, a history of assimilating rural, folkloric music for consumption by urban audiences across the country, especially music from the north-east. Since Rio de Janeiro was the center of the Brazilian music industry, success in the Rio market was obligatory for any popular music style in order to achieve status as a 'national' popular music expression.

Forró is an example of a style that became 'national' in spite of being originally from the north-east. In the 1940s Luiz Gonzaga came to be fully identified as a northeastern artist and known as the 'king of *baião*' who sang and played *forró*, *baião* and other related styles. Soon afterward, Jackson do Pandeiro (1919–82) became popularly known as the 'king of *rojão*' and also the 'king of rhythm.' Well deserved or not, these nicknames, often used by radio DJs of the era, caught on almost instantly.

In the 1930s *forró* was not yet considered a music genre by the recording industry. Yet most of the songs recorded by artists including Luiz Gonzaga, Jackson do Pandeiro and others were consistent with the *forró* genre, even when they used other descriptives to indicate the genre of their songs on record labels. Exceptions are the recordings of waltzes, polkas, mazurcas, marches, *choros* and other styles that Gonzaga had to make to prove his talent as an accordionist at the beginning of his career in the early1940s, before he became famous and was allowed to craft his stage persona as a northeastern herdsman/cowboy, which remained with him until his final days.

The first time the word *forró* appeared on a record as part of a song title was on 2 July 1937 (Azevedo ['Nirez'] 1982). The song was 'Forró na Roça,' composed by Xerém and Manoel Queiroz, and recorded by the brother-and-sister duo Xerém & Tapuia. Although the word *forró* is included in the song title, the genre was labeled *choro sertanejo*. No other *choro sertanejo* songs can be found from this era, and the song sounds more like the early form of southern folkloric music brought back to the north-east by soldiers in the nineteenth century than it does like twentieth-century *forró*. Therefore, it is likely that this 1937 song evolved into *forró* some time later or that the record industry chose not to give *forró* the status of new genre in the 1930s for fear the recordings would not sell, either because the word *forró* had not yet been used previously to describe a music genre or because of its clear associations with the poorer strata.

Even though Luiz Gonzaga was not the first artist whose records were described on their labels as *forró*, he is commonly credited as the founder and/or forerunner of *forró* and of all northeastern music (Albuquerque Jr. 2001). Gonzaga started recording strictly northeastern music in the 1940s, and his importance for northeastern music is unquestionable. In 1949 he recorded 'Dezessete légua e meia' (Seventeen and a Half Leagues), a *baião* composed by Humberto Teixeira and Carlos Barroso, and 'Forró de Mané Vito,' a *forró* composed by Gonzaga himself and Zé Dantas. Surprisingly, the genre for the second track was not identified at all on the record, which was released in July 1950, perhaps because the genre was implied in the song title. In 1949 perhaps Gonzaga could not yet publicly identify *forró* as a music genre, or perhaps RCA-Victor would not allow him to name the genre of his own songs. This latter scenario seems unlikely, however, because, after introducing *baião*, Gonzaga rose to stardom in Brazil and, in theory, could do anything he wanted with his music.

Indeed, throughout his career, Gonzaga recorded only four songs with *forró* as part of the song title ('Forró do Mané Vito,' 'O Forró do Quelemente,' 'Forró no escuro' (Forro in the Dark) and 'Forró do Zé Tatu'). Just two of Gonzaga's songs were specifically identified as *forró* by record labels: the aforementioned 'Forró no escuro' and 'Sanfoneiro Zé Tatu.' 'O Forró do Quelemente' was composed by Luiz Gonzaga and Zé Dantas, and sung by Luiz's brother, Zé Gonzaga, while Luiz himself recorded 'Sanfoneiro Zé Tatu,' composed by Onildo Almeida, and 'Forró do Zé Tatu,' composed by Zé Ramos and Jorge de Castro (Azevedo ['Nirez'] 1982).

The first time the word *forró* was used on a record to designate a genre was in April 1956. The song that achieved this distinction was 'Forró no Alecrim,' composed by Venâncio and Corumba and recorded by Zito Borborema (Azevedo ['Nirez'] 1982). The difference between perceptions of Luiz Gonzaga's early recordings (those not labeled as *forró*) and Zito Borborema's recording of 'Forró no Alecrim' may be ascribed to signs of an increasing regional indifference on the part of the music industry in the 1940s toward northeastern music. This attitude was evidenced when radio program directors did not at first allow Gonzaga to dress like a northeastern herdsman/cowboy during his live radio performances, only to perceive immediately that it was an inseparable part of his act. This regionalist attitude diminished a great deal in the 1950s, but by the end of this decade it returned strongly with the birth of *bossa nova*. Coincidentally this is also the time when Gonzaga's fame began to recede in Rio de Janeiro. At the same time, as a result of his musical success in Rio de Janeiro, his fame flourished in the north-east at unprecedented levels because he was the first to succeed nationally as a northeastern artist playing northeastern music.

In the mid-1940s Gonzaga was the first artist ever to convince music industry bosses in Rio de Janeiro that his northeastern music was suitable for records and radio and, especially, that his northeastern dress style was fit to be seen and enjoyed by urban audiences during his live performances at Rio de Janeiro's radio station auditoriums. At this time, during World War II, the Brazilian music scene was flooded with US big band jazz and a great deal of Spanish-language music with Latin American and Caribbean rhythms (*bolero*, *chachachá* etc.). Nevertheless, *forró* music and Gonzaga himself (as *forró*'s most prominent exponent) thrived in the media at unprecedented levels for almost fifteen consecutive years, until the mid- to late 1950s. Northeastern music had captured Brazilian audiences because it carried an undeniable 'national ingredient,' which, although originally from the north-east, the whole country seemed to have identified with during World War II (Azevedo ['Nirez'] 1995). For a short time, *baião* almost seemed poised to replace *samba* as the internationally acclaimed icon of Brazilian popular music. Perceived as a 'new genre,' *baião* flourished in the urban music scene.

International Fame

Before the international advent of Brazil's *bossa nova* music in the early 1960s, *forró*, in its rhythmic format as *baião*, became the most successful and influential Brazilian music genre abroad, especially in Europe and the United States. In 1951 US jazz singer Peggy Lee recorded 'Wandering Swallow,' her rendition of a popular Brazilian *baião* ('Juazeiro') composed by Luiz Gonzaga and Humberto Teixeira and originally released in 1949. The original composers were not credited (and other composers were erroneously named) when the Peggy Lee record was released in the United States, and Humberto Teixeira filed a lawsuit in New York on behalf of both composers (Azevedo ['Nirez'] 1995). The song was recorded again in 2006 by Forró no Escuro, featuring Bebel Gilberto, the only daughter of *bossa nova* greats João Gilberto and Miúcha, on vocals. In 1953 a *baião* from the motion picture *O cangaceiro* (The Bandit), the early folk (anonymous) classic, 'Mulher Rendeira,' received high acclaim. The film itself was awarded an honorable mention at the Cannes Film Festival in France, and the song became an international hit recorded in several rhythms and arrangements in different countries. For example, US folk singer Joan Baez's 1964 album *Joan Baez/5* included the song 'O cangaceiro,' based on an instrumental arrangement of 'Mulher Rendeira' originally recorded in 1958 by Alfredo Ricardo do Nascimento ('Zé do Norte'), who had appeared in the film, and French maestro Henri Leca. In 1956 US maestro Percy Faith and His Orchestra recorded a 1950 instrumental song by Waldyr Azevedo, 'Delicado' (Delicate), originally a *baião*. Despite such international success, *forró* moved gradually into partial oblivion in the following decades in urban Brazil (where it was viewed in a derogatory fashion as 'music in bad taste from the north-east') as well as abroad, where it was eclipsed by the *bossa nova* boom in the United States during the early 1960s.

Forró in the 1960s and 1970s in Brazil

From the mid-1960s to the 2000s, *forró* took refuge back in the north-east where it had originated, as well as in poorer urban areas of large southern cities such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. There, *forró* seemed to await the opportunity to show its strength again in the media. Northeastern people who migrated to major urban areas in the South in search of a better way of life helped keep *forró* alive. Northeastern capital cities also embraced *forró* more thoroughly beginning in the 1960s, due primarily to Luiz Gonzaga, who, as the first popular artist in the history of Brazilian popular music to sing and play in the name of the North-east, became a representative of his regional identity (Albuquerque Jr. 2009).

In the 1960s and 1970s João do Vale (1934–96) was the last representative of traditional *forró pé-de-serra* to emerge in what was now called *MPB*, an acronym for 'Brazilian Popular Music' created by journalists who covered the music scene in Rio de Janeiro in the 1960s. Do Vale was among those poor northeastern people who had migrated to Rio de Janeiro and who kept *forró* music alive, despite its lowered status during the *bossa nova* fad in the early 1960s. In 1964 and 1965, for instance, he was part of an MPB show called *Opinião* that presented three artists: João do Vale, himself, representing northeastern music; Nara Leão (1942–89), a singer and guitar player of *bossa nova* fame (later in 1964 replaced by Maria Bethania, Caetano Veloso's sister); and Zé Keti (1921–99), an 'old school' *samba* performer from Rio de Janeiro. The *Opinião* show incorporated a mix of the two music styles that form the backbone of urban Brazilian popular music: *samba* and *baião*, which is a type of *forró*. For both *MPB* fans and *MPB* artists, including those involved in the project and those who were not, the show constituted the very beginning of an ideological stance against the military dictatorship that lasted from 1964 until the mid-1980s, increasing its repression at the end of 1968.

Electronic *Forró* Music

During his tenure as a 'living legend' of *forró*, Luiz Gonzaga never allowed any electronic device to permeate his acoustic accordion, triangle and *zabumba* music. But many contemporary *forró* artists have abandoned Gonzaga's traditional views by using modern electronic instruments to play their music. The use of electric and electronic instruments to play *forró* music dates back to the mid-1970s, when such instruments were used for the first time and achieved national success in *double entendre* songs composed and sung by Genival Lacerda (1931–). Fans of the original *pé-de-serra* style were critical of this new form of *forró* – mainly because of its supposedly 'modern' electric sound, but also because of its promotion of a caricature of northeasterners, with *double entendre* lyrics in what was perceived as 'bad taste,' to which urban audiences often laughed their hearts out. Even during its brief success, this new trend for *forró* appeared to many to be manufactured by the music industry and the media to fill a gap in the music scene and to raise record sales.

Lacerda's first national hit, 'Severina Xique Xique,' released in 1975, proved that *forró* could occupy the forefront of the music business, despite regionalist and prejudicial perceptions of Lacerda's 'odd' appearance, strong northeastern accent and *double entendre* songs (Severiano and Mello 1998). Suddenly, Lacerda became a national *forró* clown of sorts, but his success did not last long, and in the late 1980s his career returned primarily to his native city of Campina Grande, in the state of Paraíba, where, in the early twenty-first century, he lived modestly, had his own radio show at a local AM/FM station, and occasionally still performed.

In the 1980s it became easier to produce independent records, and recording studios seemed to proliferate everywhere across the country, especially in the north-east, where several studios started to provide opportunities for a younger generation of *forró* artists. *Double entendre* lyrics in 'bad taste' were now sometimes replaced with lyrics about love and relationships, and a new array of modern electronic equipment and instruments were incorporated in recordings made in the new local recording studios. In the mid-1980s *forró* bands were formed in major capital cities such as Fortaleza, Natal, Aracaju, João Pessoa and Recife, along with other northeastern cities such as Campina Grande, in the backlands of the state of Paraíba, and Caruaru, in the neighboring state of Pernambuco, both known as '*Forró*'s World Capital.' Every year during the months of June and July, these two cities hold immense outdoor festivals known as '*festas juninas*' (June festivities in honor of Anthony, John and Peter, Saints of the Catholic Church), and compete to be viewed as the biggest *forró* venue in the world, although such festivities are also held elsewhere across the country on a more modest scale.

In what appears to be a decolonizing experience for the Brazilian music industry (which was historically located in the Southeast), recording technologies and music industry facilities were decentralized and made newly accessible in the north-east, and the new *forró* became electronic in its own right beginning in the 1980s. This change may be explained in part by the fact that new artists were more practical about 'national success,' which was then almost unattainable without local success. New *forró* bands in the early 1980s grew to include more than six musicians on average along with several male and female professional dancers under contract. A group aesthetic prevailed, contrasting the emphasis in Luiz Gonzaga's time on a leading individual artist. If they succeeded locally, *forró* bands would try to achieve national recognition; if not, they would break apart, and try again sometime later with some other band. But the most significant part of this process was the pivotal role played by the bands' owners and/or agents, always working behind the scenes, who controlled the bands' repertoires as well as their image rights, recording contracts and performances. These band owners also held the rights to the bands' names, and they replaced musicians, singers and dancers who tried to break free to pursue solo careers (Pires 2009a).

By the end of the millennium, the electronic wave seemed to have taken control of local scenes in major capital cities across the north-east, which at last enjoyed some freedom from the guidance and supervision of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Since its inception, this stylized, electronic *forró* has drawn more of the music market in comparison with the *pé-de-serra* variety, largely due to the larger number of bands playing electronic *forró*. The epicenters of consumption in Brazil were distributed in higher concentration among the poorer classes for electronic *forró*, while the middle and upper classes dominated the audience for the more traditional style (Pires 2009b, c, d; Pinheiro and Paiva 2010). Much of electronic *forró* derived from the state of Ceará, where most of the band owners and agents lived and built their businesses. The giant among these entrepreneurs is Emanuel Gurgel, who owns a company by the name of Somzoom (www.somzoom.com.br) with its own recording studios (Pires 2009b, d; Pinheiro and Paiva 2010). In the 1990s Gurgel kept three or four bands under contract, began controlling a local FM radio station whose satellite signal soon covered the whole country, and even sold his bands' CDs at half their usual market price and published a monthly magazine (Pires 2009b, e, f; Pinheiro and Paiva 2010).

In the late 1990s the traditional *forró pé-de-serra* style also saw a greater urban development of sorts, both in the national and international arenas (Murphy 2006, 107–8). Mestre Ambrósio, a now-defunct band from the state of Pernambuco that was a leading representative of the Recife-based *manguebeat* movement (a genre that blends Brazilian local styles including *forró* '*pé-de-serra*' with global forms of electronic music), toured the United States, Europe and Japan. US accordionist Rob Curto's band, Forró in the Dark, was visible in New York club engagements (Murphy 2006, 108). Another band, Falamansa (www.falamansa.art.br), from São Paulo, was very popular with Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo college students, resulting in the designation *forró universitário* (literally, 'college *forró*'), which challenges electronic *forró* by claiming to be a more ‘traditional descendant’ of *pé-de-serra* despite its use of electric instruments. ‘College *forró*,’ briefly described by Murphy (2006, 107–8) as ‘an even more pop-sounding substyle,’ also includes other bands, such as Forroçacana from Rio de Janeiro. From the early 2000s on both Falamansa and Forroçacana have released hit songs and made national TV appearances.

Conclusion

For many reasons, *forró* is more than a popular music genre; it is an originally rural music style that survived after migration to an urban environment, most importantly, without losing most of its original northeastern characteristics and identity. Brazilian musical culture is world-renowned for its rhythmic diversity, and *forró* has been a part of its urban scene since the 1940s, when Luiz Gonzaga became famous in Rio de Janeiro, recording his *forró* music, playing his accordion and wearing special outfits that showed he was from the north-east. Although Gonzaga was not the first northeastern recording artist in Rio, it was the first time an artist was so thoroughly identified as a northeasterner.

As an artist, Gonzaga was aware that he was part of a community of millions of north-easterners who had fled their homeland in the *sertão* to seek better living conditions in major southeastern cities such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. While the other poor north-easterners had migrated mainly to escape poverty and hunger, Gonzaga had other plans, which included becoming a famous musician – and he was persistent. Gonzaga began his career in Rio, but he never stopped reminiscing about his birthplace, and always made it clear to his fans where he had come from. The importance of Luiz Gonzaga to *forró* is thus measured by his dedication toward his beloved *sertão*, its people and their life stories, which became the main thematic focus of *forró* lyrics.

Although the *forró* genre was built around Luiz Gonzaga’s musical *oeuvre*, it was reshaped and restyled through great contributions by subsequent *forró* artists, all of whom shared a sense of gratitude toward Gonzaga for his groundbreaking steps within the music market in the 1940s and 1950s. Many forró composers and fans agree that, because of Gonzaga, everything musical in *forró* has been re-elaborated in such a way as to recall and/or revive his genius. Although much has been written about *forró* and the genre’s prominent exponents, more scholarship is necessary to uncover the liaisons between *forró* and the music industry that from the 1940s on sought to establish the genre in the media as one of the greatest northeastern music genres of all time. While there have been few academic studies of electronic *forró* exploring, for instance, how and why it became electronic amid the decentralized music industry in the north-east, it is noticeable that *forró* never lost its appeal for the lower classes. In fact, *forró* audiences increased and the genre proved that it had come to stay when it appropriated electronic equipment and instrumentation in its second coming to the urban scene of Brazilian music.

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WANDER NUNES FROTA

Frevo

Frevo is a dance music genre that emerged in association with street carnival in the early twentieth century in the cities of Recife and Olinda, in the northeastern State of Pernambuco, Brazil. The word is a variation of the Portuguese verb *ferver* (to boil), which was used to describe the movement of the crowd during Carnival parties that was thought to resemble the movement of a boiling liquid. 'Frevo' also refers to the dance performed to the music of the same name.

Types

There are three types of *frevo*: *frevo-de-rua* (street *frevo*), which is instrumental, *frevo-canção* (vocal *frevo*) and *frevo-de-bloco* (a street band with a group following it). The latter two types include vocals. In Pernambuco, the word *frevo* (plural: *frevos*) commonly describes *frevo-de-rua*, the oldest form of *frevo*. The explicit division among the three types most typically occurs in its original state of Pernambuco, where the association of the genre with the carnival period remains strong. Music compositions written and performed since the late 1950s by professional musicians outside of Pernambuco (or any Carnival context) tend to be called *frevo*, whether vocal or instrumental. During the 1970s Carnivals, a type of vocal *frevo*, known as *frevo-baiano* (*frevo* from the state of Bahia), became popular throughout Brazil.

History

The first written musical reference to the word *frevo* appeared on 12 February 1908. On that date, *Jornal Pequeno*, a journal from Recife, published the repertoire of the brass band Clube Empalhadores do Feitosa, including the march 'O frevo' among the compositions to be performed (Oliveira 1971,12). The word *frevo* did not indicate a music genre but rather the title of a carnival march.

Since the late twentieth century Recife and Olinda carnivals have included corporate clubs with names referencing their members' occupations. In addition to the aforementioned Clube Empalhadores, other significant clubs include the Clube das Pás de Carvão (founded in 1888), Clube Carnavalesco Vassourinhas do Recife (1889) and Clube dos Lenhadores de Olinda (1907). Such clubs, exclusively comprised of male members, danced in the Carnival parades to music by the brass bands who played successful genres of the time such as *dobrados*, marches, polkas and *tangos*. Little by little, as first the musicians and later the composers from Pernambuco gradually transformed the rhythmic character of the music they played in a dialogue with the dancing carnival crowd, *frevo* became defined as a distinct genre. The songs 'A Província,' written by Juvenal Brasil in 1905 for Clube Lenhadores, and 'Gonçalves Maia,' written by Zeferino Bandeira for Clube das Pás in the late twentieth century, were among the first to start developing the distinctive features of a new genre. However, the majority of *frevo* researchers and songwriters considers José Lourenço da Silva (1889–1952), also known as Maestro Zuzinha, conductor of Recife's Fourth Infantary Brigade's band, to be responsible for the consolidation of *frevo* as a music genre by defining meaningful distinctions between '*marcha-frevo*' (*frevo* march) and '*marcha-polca*' (polka march).

Later, songwriters including Levino Ferreira (1890–1970), Nélson Ferreira (1902–76) and Capiba (1904–97) codified the main characteristics of instrumental and vocal *frevos*. The subdivisions established in the genre (*frevo-de-rua*, *frevo-canção* and *frevo-de-bloco)* appear to have been recognized since in the 1930s. *Frevo-de-rua* is the original *frevo*, as described in the previous paragraphs: purely instrumental, performed by brass bands and danced by the street crowd during Carnival. *Frevo-canção* is derived from *frevo-de-rua* but includes a vocal part performed by a solo singer. *Frevo-de-bloco* displays a different instrumentation, slower pace and the use of a female chorus to perform the main melodic part. *Frevo-de-rua* and *frevo-de-bloco* are related to distinct types of Carnival groups: the former belongs to the clubs created since the late twentieth century by manual laborers and exclusively (later, predominantly) joined by male members, while the latter belongs to middle-class Blocos Carnavalescos Mistos (co-ed carnival street groupings) created since the 1920s, and joined by both male and female members. *Frevo-canção* is not intrinsically related to Carnival groupings, although it is also performed during Carnival.

Frevo was first recorded by local musicians and singers in Rio de Janeiro in the late 1920s. 'Borboleta não é ave' (Butterfly Is Not a Bird) and 'Não puxa, Maroca (Shut up, Maroca),' by Nélson Ferreira (with Baiano and Grupo do Pimentel and Orquestra Victor Brasileira, respectively), are the earliest examples known. Until the early 1930s the term *frevo* was not explicitly used in recordings; instead, designations such as 'March from Pernambuco' and 'Northern March' are found. Later, musicians from Pernambuco were hired for *frevo* recordings in Rio de Janeiro. Rozenblit, the first record label in Pernambuco, was founded in 1954, and *frevo* stands out with a large number of recordings in its catalogue. During Carnival in 1957, 'Evocação,' a *frevo-de-bloco* composed by Nélson Ferreira and recorded by Ferreira and Batutas de São José at Rozenblit, became highly successful throughout the country. By then *frevo* was being produced in the Carnivals of several Brazilian cities outside of Recife and Olinda, including Rio de Janeiro and Salvador. In Salvador, a style of vocal Carnival *frevos* called *frevos-baianos* was popular during the 1970s. Among the songwriters and recorded singers of this type of *frevo*, two of the most important were Caetano Veloso ('Atrás do trio elétrico') (After the Trio Elétrico), 'Chuva suor e cerveja' (Rain, Sweat and Beer), 'Um frevo novo' (A New Frevo) (1977) and Moraes Moreira ('Pombo correio') (Homing Pigeon) (1976). *Frevo-baiano* was responsible for the nationwide popularity of the *trio-elétrico*, an instrumental ensemble who were to perform a fundamental role 15 years later in the broadening of *axé-music*, another Brazilian genre. During Carnival and other festive occasions, the *trios-elétricos* perform on top of trucks outfitted with sound amplification systems that travel slowly through the streets, guiding the dancing crowd.

Although *frevo* musicians have complained about a supposed decline of *frevo* and about its limitation to the Carnival period, in the last decades of the twentieth century each of its subgenres resurged. With regard to *frevo-de-bloco*, since the 1970s several new *blocos* have been founded, accompanied by the emergence of new compositions and by new recordings of old ones. In the area of *frevo-canção*, singer/songwriter Silvério Pessoa's works combine *frevo* with elements of pop-rock (namely Batidas urbanas/Projeto Micróbio do Frevo, 2005). Finally, Spokfrevo Orchestra has successfully integrated jazz elements into the genre of *frevo-de-rua*, playing concerts and festivals in periods not limited only to Carnival (*Passo de Anjo*, 2005).

Since the 1960s *frevo* has been considered the most representative musical genre of Pernambuco State. In 2007 the genre was registered by the Brazilian Ministry of Culture as Intangible Cultural Heritage.

Rhythm

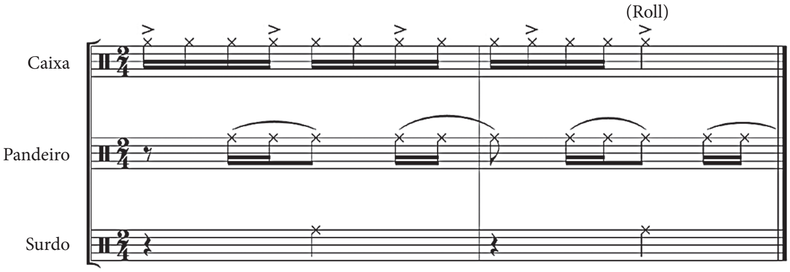
Rhythm is the main similarity among the three types of *frevo*. Indeed, it is possible to refer to a '*frevo* rhythm' common to all of these types and performed primarily by two instruments: bass drum (*surdo*) and snare drum. The bass drum rhythm emphasizes the offbeats: in a 2/4 measure, the first beat is a rest and the second a strike. The snare drum's rhythm is considerably more complex and extends across two 2/4 measures. Thus, the snare drum's rhythm could also be notated in 4/4. A third rhythm instrument very commonly used is called *pandeiro,* a type of frame drum similar to a tambourine. A common *frevo* rhythm for bass drum, snare drum and *pandeiro* is presented in Example 1 below.

The music in Example 1 can be performed in several different tempos: *frevo-de-bloco* is characterized by moderate tempos (100–110 MM), whereas *frevo-de-rua* and *frevo-canção* are played at fast tempos (140–150 MM).

Instrumentation

The classic *frevo-de-rua* instrumentation is called band or *frevo* orchestra. It consists of wind and percussion instruments. Brass instruments (trumpets, trombones and tuba) predominate, but wind instruments (saxophones, clarinets, Eb clarinets called *requintas* in Portuguese, flutes and piccolos) are also used. Additionally the ensemble includes percussion, comprised of the bass drum, the snare drum and the *pandeiro*. Since at least the 1970s smaller ensembles have been used, limiting wind instruments to saxophones, trumpets and trombones. In studio recordings and stage performances, electronic instruments such as keyboards, electric guitars and basses are added. There is no place for electronic instruments in street performances (for obvious reasons), with the exception of the previously mentioned *frevo-baiano*, typically performed during Carnival by *trios-elétricos*.

Frevo-canção instrumentation is basically the same as *frevo-de-rua*, with the addition of a solo singer. Of the three types of *frevo*, however, *frevo-canção* has the strongest association with professional staged performances and the recording industry; for this reason,



Example 1: A common *frevo* rhythm for bass drum, snare drum and *pandeiro*

the use of electronic instruments (and the absence of clarinets, *requintas* and tubas) is much more common in this *frevo* variety.

Frevo-de-bloco instrumentation is totally different from the other types. A *pau-e-corda* ensemble is centered around fingered or strummed strings for harmonic accompaniment (mainly guitars and *cavaquinhos*, which are small, 4-stringed, guitar-type instruments) and wind instruments (primarily flutes, clarinets and saxophones) for introductions, counterpoints and obligato passages. Most often, percussion is performed on the bass drum, snare drum and *pandeiro*, but shakers, wood or bamboo scratching instruments that produce a ratchet-like sound called *recos-recos*, and other instruments may be incorporated. Melodic instruments generally double the sung melody, and in this group it is possible to include instruments such as the mandolin and others that can be adapted to the parade occasion. The absence of polyphony (except for occasional passages sung in thirds) and the lack of musical organization into sections of similar instruments, along with less demand for instrumental virtuosity compared to *frevo-de-rua* or *frevo-canção*, facilitate an *ad hoc* free musical expression by the instrumental *pau-e-corda* ensemble.

Melody

Frevo initially developed as an instrumental genre. Its most typical melodic nature is expressed, therefore, in the instrumental subgenre *frevo-de-rua*. Some typical characteristics include scales with more than one octave, continuous sequences of sixteenth notes, as well as the broad use of chromaticism and frequent dialogues among instrumental sections, all at a fast tempo.

Sung *frevos* begin with an instrumental introduction in which the melody follows the general features of *frevo-de-rua*. *Frevo-de-bloco* sung passages, however, are completely different: their melodies are voiced purely vocally, accommodating tessitura as well as melodic and rhythmic articulations. These features, along with a slower tempo, enable ease of pronunciation and comprehension of lyrics.

Frevo-canção occupies a middle-ground between the other two types: its vivid melodies prominently feature syncopation, and it is played at a fast tempo, which makes it closer to the instrumental version, but there are still 'song melodies,' presenting melodic patterns adapted to the voice of a standard popular singer. Compared with *frevo-de-bloco* lyrics, its lyrics are very often cheerful and humorous.

Dance

As stated earlier, before it designated a music genre the word *frevo* was applied to the movement of the dancing crowd at Carnival parties. *Capoeiras* played an important role in the development of a dance from this crowd movement. In the early twentieth century, in Pernambuco, *capoeira* did not designate, as it does now, an Afro-Brazilian martial art registered as intangible cultural heritage of the country. Instead, it referred to a class of people who were considered by members of the Brazilian elite to be socially dangerous: street-fighting experts who generally used weapons such as truncheons and daggers. According to Valdemar de Oliveira, the brass bands and carnival clubs that paraded in Recife and Olinda were rivals and engaged in serious fights. For this reason, they frequently placed *capoeiras* at the front of their parades, both in order to open space within the crowd and to protect their members against rivals. The *capoeiras*' dance in front of their groups was athletic and threatening, and from such movements and from such movements and their close relationship to the rhythmic vividness of Carnival music, *frevo* dancing was born. Indeed, the *frevo* is a solo dance that requires a high degree of physical skill and presents, in some of its moves (known as *passos*, Portuguese for 'steps'), similarities with *capoeira* strikes.

During the twentieth century *frevo* dance became an established and continuously growing movement repertoire. Body movements emphasize the legs and feet; movements are quick and sometimes quite acrobatic. Beginning in the 1960s the dance was also taught in schools and presented by amateur and professional folk dance groups. Its typical costumes include comfortable and colorful clothes, women's attire that reveals the legs, tennis shoes and the use of an umbrella (an object that, according to some, would have been used as a weapon by the *capoeiras* in the beginning of the century).

Frevo is today a widely known and appreciated genre in Brazil. It remains strongly associated with Carnival and with Pernambuco's main cities, Recife and Olinda. Street groups such as *blocos* and *clubes* make thousands of people dance to *frevo* music each Carnival year after year, but it is quite rare to find a new *frevo* hit. In the last few years, Spokfrevo Orchestra has been successful in playing *frevo* beyond Carnival for attentive listeners in concert halls and at jazz festivals in Brazil and abroad. Musically speaking, Spokfrevo Orchestra's main innovation was introducing jazz-like improvisation choruses. Conservative critics denigrate the creation of a fourth subgenre, stage-*frevo*.' But Spokfrevo Orchestra, along with Silvério Pessoa and others, demonstrates that even though *frevo* is now an official 'intangible heritage' genre, it still leaves room for innovative approaches.

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CARLOS SANDRONI (TRANSLATED BY MAIZA DE LAVENÈRE BASTOS)

Funk Carioca and Música Soul

In a poem published in 1919 entitled 'Muzica brazileira,' Olavo Bilac defined Brazilian music as 'flor amorosa de três raças tristes' (the loving flower of three sad races) – the Portuguese, the African and the indigenous Amerindian. *Samba* rose from outlawry in the 1930s to become an icon of Brazilian unity, offering the black and the poor symbolic compensation for material exploitation. Since the 1960s, however, some have found in African-American soul and funk an antidote to the ideology of subaltern integration. The core of *música soul* consists in a set of 1970s albums by Cassiano, Carlos Dafé, Hyldon and Tim Maia. *Funk carioca*, the first Brazilian genre of electronic dance music, was born in 1989. It circulates freely on the web and is sold by street vendors on pirate CDs and DVDs. MCs earn their living from live performances, whereas DJs can also count on studio production as a source of income.

Also known outside Brazil as *baile funk* (funk dance), the music Brazilians call *funk carioca* (funk from Rio de Janeiro city) derives not directly from African-American funk but from a variety of US hip-hop known as Miami bass. The name 'funk' has clung to the music because of its roots in the *bailes funk* of the 1980s, which were fed by US funk and rap. *Bailes funk* in turn relate to the *bailes black* (black dances) of the 1970s, which had themselves been fed by US soul and funk.

The huge popularity of both *bailes black* and *bailes funk* can be judged from some estimates of those attending. According to the journalist Lena Frias, who named and disclosed the scene in one of the main Brazilian newspapers in 1976, every weekend the 'Black Rio' dances used to attract from 500,000 to 1.5 million black or black-identified – that is, poor – young people of the Rio de Janeiro slums and periphery to dance to the sounds of James Brown and other soul brothers in big *bailes* promoted by *equipes de som* (sound crews), the local equivalent of the Jamaican sound systems of the 1960s and DJ Kool Herc's Bronx, NY, block parties of the 1970s. Some of them reached an attendance figure of as many as 15,000 (Frias 1976, 1). When, in the 1980s, electro and Miami bass replaced funk and soul as the soundscape of choice for the marginalized youth of Rio, the anthropologist Hermano Vianna estimated that 700 *bailes funk* were taking place every weekend in the greater Rio area, each attracting from 500 (a failure)–1,000 (the average), 2,000 (no less than 100 dances) to as many as 10,000 *funkeiros* (*funk carioca* funksters), making a total of at least 1 million young people every Saturday and Sunday (Vianna 1988, 13). In 1996 DJ Marlboro estimated that every week in the Rio de Janeiro state 800 *bailes* were each bringing together an average 2,000 *funkeiros*, amounting to at least 1.5 million young boys and girls each week (Matta and Salles 1996, 42). In 2008 the prestigious Fundação Getúlio Vargas (FGV) calculated, with a margin of error of five percentage points, that an ensemble of 67 *equipes de som* was doing an average of 878 *bailes* a month, of which 552 were in clubs of the greater Rio area, 185 in the *favelas* and 140 elsewhere in the Rio de Janeiro state, with an average of 1,810 tickets sold in each club, and 1,232 in each *baile de favela* (FGV Opinião 2008, 60).

Música Soul

The appropriation and resignification by Brazilian artists of African-American music from the United States is as old as the recording industry itself. George Washington Johnson's 'Laughing Song,' the biggest-selling record of the 1890s, appeared in the southern hemisphere as early as 1902. Recorded on disc under the title 'Gargalhada' (Laugh) by Eduardo das Neves with words by Vagalume in 1906, it remained in the Brazilian Odeon catalogue for approximately a quarter of a century. But whereas in his recording Johnson, despite being African-American, caricatures the behavior of a black man according to white stereotypes, Neves, also of African descent, mocks bootlicking, which he presents as a widespread trait of Brazilian society. In the process, a 'coon song' became a *lundu* (a Brazilian urban song), as 'Gargalhada' was consistently marketed until 1926. With Kerry Mills's 'At a Georgia Camp Meeting,' recorded in 1898, the reverse occurred. A cakewalk of worldwide renown, Mills's piece appeared in Brazil under various guises in the earlier decades of the twentieth century, one of which was the song 'O mulato de arrelia' (The Quarrelsome Mulatto), recorded in 1907. But whereas a cakewalk entails an African-American choreographic parody of white upper-class behavior, 'O mulato de arrelia' involves an ethnically unspecified male singer impersonating the bravado of a rustic Afro-Brazilian in the Europeanized capital of the nation. In the process, a cakewalk was turned into the Brazilian counterpart of a 'coon song.'

Resignification follows from a fundamental property of phonography: a sound produced at one time at one place resounds here, now, and acquires thereby inherently new meanings. In the late 1960s the Prague Spring, the Paris riots and the Civil Rights movement shook Europe and the United States. In Brazil, the military shut down the Congress and gave the *de facto* president legislative and judiciary powers.

In 1961 the LP *Os anjos cantam* (The Angels Sing), by Nilo Amaro e Seus Cantores de Ébano (Nilo Amaro and his Ebony Singers), announced the soul craze of the early 1970s in Brazil with eclectic repertoire, doo-wop arrangements and Platters-like vocal styles. The forceful appearance of unheard-of 64-year-old Clementina de Jesus surrounded by the elite of *samba* in the musical *Rosa de Ouro* (Golden Rose) in 1965 could have provided the blueprint for radical Afro-Brazilian vocality. Instead, Brazilians turned to soul and funk as signs of freedom.

On 24 June 1967, on the first anniversary of black megastar Wilson Simonal's TV show, recorded live for a double LP, 3,000 white people sang along as he performed his 'Tributo a Martin Luther King' (with lyrics by Ronaldo Bôscoli), with its exhortation: 'cada negro que for, mais um negro virá para lutar, com sangue ou não, com uma canção também se luta, irmão, ouve minha voz, luta por nós!' (each black that's gone, one more black shall come to fight with blood or without, we also fight with songs, brother, listen to my voice, fight for us!). Recorded in the previous February, the single of the song had been waiting in the drawers of the censorship service; now, in June, it was finally released. Three years later, soul and funk were exploding on national television with the rapid rise of black performers Toni Tornado and Trio Ternura in 'BR-3,' by white composers Antônio Adolfo and Tibério Gaspar, and of black singer Erlon Chaves and Banda Veneno (Poison Band) in 'Eu também quero mocotó' (I Want Knuckle of Veal Myself Too) by black composer Jorge Ben. Despite these popular successes, the sight of undomesticated Afro-Brazilian showmanship triggered a multimedia war: two years later, Tornado was driven away from the country, Simonal brought to court and slandered; deeply wounded, Chaves died of a heart attack in 1974. In 1971 white star Marcos Valle and white superstar Elis Regina released 'Black is Beautiful,' by the Valle brothers, demonstrating the acceptability of female or male blackness as a luxury item provided for whites by whites. Any unsettling feelings that the image of a white woman singing her surrender to a black male body on prime time TV might arouse were conveniently deflated by her characterization as a clown. The year 1975 saw the release of Tim Maia's ascetic first *Racional* album, the crowning achievement of Brazilian soul. *Maria fumaça*, by Banda Black Rio, blended *samba* and funk in a collection of instrumental tracks in 1977, and *Tim Maia disco club*, by Tim Maia, restored Brazilian disco to the blackness of the original US movement in 1978. The contemporary cultural press viewed such novelties as threats from the foreign music industry. For their part, Brazilian DJs of the 1970s and 1980s, whether black or white, saw disco music as the unfunky white thing that killed the *bailes*.

In the decade from the latter half of the 1960s numerous Brazilian artists, some of them – for example, Roberto Carlos and Elis Regina – hugely successful, flirted with African-American soul or funk. Their relation to the *bailes black* was nil. In the same period, a number of Brazilian artists, one of them (Tim Maia) also hugely successful, devoted themselves mostly or exclusively to the same music. Whatever their relationship to the *bailes black* – and except for Gerson King Combo it was almost certainly insignificant – it is clear that the *bailes* could make good without them.

From *Bailes Black* to *Bailes Funk*

The question of the relationship between the *bailes black* of the 1970s and the *bailes funk* of the 1980s is not a settled one. In her remarkable study of the Renascença Clube, where, from 1972 to 1975, Asfilófio de Oliveira Filho, a.k.a. Dom (Sir) Filó, hosted Noite do Shaft (Shaft's Night), one of the most influential of the 1970s *bailes*, Sonia Giacomini resorts to interviews with former participants to highlight ruptures rather than continuities between the two scenes (see Giacomini 2006, 189–256). Journalists and scholars agree that in the second half of the 1970s the *bailes* were dealt mortal blows by a combination of factors: negative attention triggered by Frias's article (see above); the hostility of the *samba* world; and the arrival of disco in 1978. Vianna nevertheless records the existence of *bailes funk* in which DJs played 'an older kind of funk' – very likely, funk *tout court* – in the mid-1980s. He also provides details concerning the shifts first from African-American soul and funk to disco, then to a slower kind of rhythm and blues locally known as *charme*, and finally to African-American hip-hop, a process he deems completed in 1985 (Vianna 1988, 11, 30–1). On this basis, it seems appropriate to emphasize connections that link the places where *bailes black* and *bailes funk* took place, the social status of their dancers, the places they came from, the relationship of their clothing and dancing patterns to those of the so-called Zona Sul, and, more than anything else, their common reliance on African-American vinyl. However, if it is indeed the case that in the grooves of such vinyl the kinship between African-American soul, funk and hip-hop is inscribed, it is also true that participants looking back on the *bailes black* of the 1970s have often voiced their contempt for early twenty-first-century *funkeiros*, as have Brazilian hip-hoppers. In Vianna's words, *funk carioca* is 'o excluído do excluído' (the excluded of the excluded) (2005, 20). Even so, Oséas Moura dos Santos, a.k.a. Mr Funky Santos, the DJ/MC behind some of the early *bailes black* of the 1970s, in the later defunct Astoria Futebol Clube in Catumbi, begrudgingly acknowledges the kinship between both scenes by admitting that 'if there is *pagode* today – see the way the guys look and talk –, if there is *funk* [*carioca*] today – no matter how mediocre it may be –, if there is rap today – but a beautiful rap, like that of Racionais MCs – it is all soul's fault' (Essinger 2005, 48; author's translation).

Not unlike Northern Soul, a scene that developed in northern towns in the United Kingdom in the mid–late 1960s, centered around the spinning of obscure up-tempo Motown-type US-made records, the Rio de Janeiro *bailes* relied, from 1970 to 1989, on the spinning of US-produced African-American musics in poor neighborhoods of Rio and its peripheral cities. Nonetheless, while the Northern Soul scene lost momentum when African-American music moved into Philly soul and funk in the early 1970s and there were no more obscure records of the right kind to unearth, the Brazilian *bailes* showed a willingness to assimilate a variety of black musics – from Wilson Pickett to Stevie B – and thus feed on US imports for two decades, before generating their own sound.

Execrated and extolled by the media, for whom the slum dweller is either a bandit or a very creative person, and figuring side by side with *música sertaneja* (Brazilian country music), *pagode romântico* (1990s romantic pop *samba*) and *axé* (up-tempo Afro-pop from Bahia) among the most cited genres in lists of musical abominations, *funk carioca*, in which the slum dweller can be at the same time violent and very creative, constitutes the first Brazilian genre of electronic dance music, Brazil's equivalent of house music. Like Chicago house, *funk carioca* results from the creative appropriation of cheap technology by people with no formal musical training to produce music for segregated segments of the population: for young black gays of Chicago in the mid-1980s read young inhabitants of economically deprived urban areas of Rio de Janeiro and other Brazilian cities from the late 1980s onward.

A constant item on the agenda of the Legislative Assembly of the Rio de Janeiro State, which, with precarious syntax and concord, once declared 'forbidden the execution of pieces of music and procedures of crime apology in places where social or sportive events of any nature take place' (Clause 6 of Law 3410 of 29 May 2000; author's translation), *bailes funk* share with UK rave the privilege of being fed by a music governed by specific legislation: Law 3410/2000 (abrogated), Law 4264/2004, Law 5265/2008 (abrogated), Law 5543/2009 and Law 5544/2009. They must be understood in the context not only of the appropriation of African-American musics from the United States by marginalized sectors of the Brazilian urban population but also of the acts of physical and cultural violence perpetrated against these populations by individuals, civil society, the media and the state, of which the compulsory crimination of the poor is only one instance (see Araújo et al. 2006). The history of *funk carioca* consummates the brutal disruption of the mystique of joyous interaction between masters and slaves, the slum and the beachfront, the living room and the kitchen, the *modinha* and the *lundu*. The nationhood that *funk carioca* portrays is almost irretrievably partitioned. Yet, in the historiography of *funk carioca*, the integrationist paradigm holds sway.

For most authors, the *Baile da Pesada* (heavy party), which white middle-class radio-DJ Newton Duarte, a.k.a. Big Boy, and mestizo club-DJ Ademir Lemos put on in the upmarket Canecão beerhouse in the early 1970s, plays the role of founding myth. If Vianna and Marlboro are right, *funk carioca* appeared when a white upper-middle-class anthropologist – Vianna himself – presented a white lower-middle-class DJ from the Rio periphery, Luís Fernando Mattos da Matta, a.k.a. DJ Marlboro, with a drum machine. The first commercial release of *funk carioca* – the LP *D.J. Marlboro apresenta funk Brasil* (DJ Marlboro Presents Brazil funk), produced and co-authored by Marlboro in 1989 – followed thence, an interpretation endorsed by Marlboro himself on the LP sleeve. Even *proibidão* (literally, big forbidden thing), a subgenre dealing with the feats and fights of the criminal factions, is presented by Essinger (2005, 91) as originating from the first album of clean-shaven media-friendly Marlboro.

In addition to *proibidão*, also known as *funk proibido* (forbidden funk), *rap de contexto* (context rap) or *funk de facção* (faction funk), the roster of musical subgenres includes *funk sensual* (sensual funk) or *putaria* (harlotry); *funk consciente* (conscious funk); *funk melody* (sweet funk); *funk de raiz* (rootsy funk); *gospel funk* (evangelic funk); and *montagem* (montage), exploring the rhythmic repetition of vocal fragments, as in early house. The boundaries between crime, sex, awareness, romance, rootedness, the Gospel and dehumanized speech were and are often difficult to ascertain. The dances may be divided into many types: *bailes de comunidade* (community dances) take place inside the *favela, bailes de asfalto* (asphalt dances) happen outside it, whereas *bailes de rua* (street dances) may happen outside or inside it; *bailes do bicho* (murder dances), *bailes de briga* (fight dances), *bailes de corredor* (corridor dances), *lado A e lado B* (A-side, B-side) and *15 minutos de alegria* (15 minutes of joy), each extinct by the twenty-first century, all featured violence with a recreational character. In any of these events, the music comes from a DJ who plays *funk carioca* tracks from vinyl, CDs, a drum machine or a portable computer; from one or more MCs who rap/sing – often accompanied by a group of dancers (the combination of MC and dancers forming a *bonde*) – to the sound of a DJ who plays tracks on vinyl, or a combination of beats and breaks triggered from a drum pad; or from an often invisible DJ who releases an elaborate prerecorded track on top of which the MC raps/sings live. Whatever the format, a massive wall of loudspeakers is *de rigueur*. *Equipes de som* are owned by *donos de equipe* (sound crew owners), who hire DJs, sound technicians and dancers in addition to producing CDs and DVDs, owning phonographic copyrights, hosting radio and TV shows and maintaining DJs and MCs under more or less exclusive contracts. According to a leading MC, the major *equipes* are 'os cânceres do funk' (the cancers of funk). However, FGV has shown that, in 2008, MCs received by far the largest share of profits, 61 percent of them having never been under contract with an *equipe de som*.

The loop that underscores rapping has evolved so far in cycles of approximately 10 years. DJ Battery Brain's '808 Volt Mix' (1988) prevailed in the first decade (1989–98), although Willesden Dodgers' '122 BPM' (1982), Hassan's 'Pump Up the Party' (1987), Ice-T's 'What Ya Wanna Do' (1989) and other electro, Miami bass and freestyle tracks were also used. In 1998 DJ Luciano Oliveira created the Tamborzão on a Roland R-8 Human Rhythm Composer, combining the musical patterns of Miami bass with the rhythms and sounds of *maculelê*, *capoeira* and *candomblé*. Tamborzão reigned over *funk carioca* until 2010, when it was replaced by the anonymous Human Beatbox loop, emulating the spontaneity of rapping to the rhythm of handclaps and vocal noises, as seen in Denise Garcia's 2005 documentary.

Conclusion

The end of the millennium saw a rebirth of interest in *música soul* (a phrase that, in Brazilian parlance, may also encompass African-American funk, so as to distinguish it from the less prestigious *carioca* brand), to some extent due to the emergence in the media of issues related to racism and affirmative action policies. Since that point, new artists have appeared, old ones have returned and the careers of others who never stopped performing have received a new lease of life. Revival *bailes black*, where 1970s DJs perform their repertoires of yore, attract young crowds. In addition, house, drum 'n' bass and hip-hop DJ-producers have been remixing selections of 1970s soulful and funky Brazilian music. As to the world of *funk carioca*, it is alive and always changing. According to FGV, in 2008 the earnings of the 164 MCs, 90 DJs, 67 *equipes* and 248 peddlers whose income depended on the *bailes* added up to well over R$17 million in the city of Rio alone (FGV Opinião 2008, 79). A diachronic study of the music, however, is yet to be undertaken.

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CARLOS PALOMBINI

Fusión (in Venezuela)

Fusión and *música de fusión* are umbrella terms used in Venezuela to denote new compositions by popular music artists and groups who use elements from folk music without producing a recognizable traditional folk piece, and in which formal, instrumental, linguistic, stylistic and conceptual propositions are different, personal and experimental in nature. *Fusión* is separate from the nationalist intentions of academic composers, although it involves similar musical procedures, being active within the field of popular music.

Fusión artists may be found within a wide spectrum of musical ideas, from simple use of a folk rhythm to digital experimentation with folk instruments. In the early twenty-first century, it may still be too early in its development to be able to group tendencies together, but a recurrent influence, similar to that in neofolklore, has been the integration of highly skilled performers of symphonic instruments with the folk and pop music worlds. The main characteristics of *fusión* are

- It involves professional music productions (live and recorded) of new compositions with elements of traditional folk music
- No specific folk piece is recognizable.
- It contains different formal, instrumental, linguistic, stylistic and conceptual propositions from traditional folk music

- It is personal and experimental in nature
- It is specific to popular music, although may come into contact with the academic music world

As in neofolklore, the use of folk instruments with different music assures an imprint of traditional folk culture, as well as the use of folk music styles with non-folk instruments. Antonio Lauro, guitarist-composer, who led one of the first important popular music groups in 1935, the Cantores del Trópico, created many guitar compositions with Venezuelan folk rhythms, such as the series of *Valses venezolanos*, the *Merengue para guitarra*, *Seis por derecho*, *Pasaje aragüeño,* among many others. With his guitar compositions, Lauro has become part of the basic program of all classical guitar schools in the world, and at the same time his music has remained very popular, despite the fact that the guitar has never been a prominent instrument in Venezuelan folk music, with the exception of a declining role in *joropo central* music.

The *cuatro,* as the national instrument, appears in almost all of the country's folk music, but its role has been always reserved to one of an accompanying instrument. In the 1950s Freddy Reyna turned it into a solo virtuoso instrument, transcribing folk repertoire into tablature, publishing a method in 1957 followed by a series of recordings, and a new, improved method for the *cuatro* in 1996, 5 years before his death. Reyna's work was expanded by Hernán Gamboa in the 1970s and by Cheo Hurtado of Ensamble Gurrufío, from the 1980s onward. Young *cuatro* performers have since taken the instrument to new frontiers, including jazz, where the folk reference is considerably lessened, as in the case of the *cuatro* group C4 Trío.

Fusión means in Spanish joining or mingling, and in the developing of new popular music it applies preferentially to the mixing of different rhythms to produce a new one. This is what Aldemaro Romero achieved and became famous for, first with his orchestral arrangements of Venezuelan folk and pop music in his album *Dinner in Caracas* in 1955, and later by mixing *bossa nova* with Venezuelan rhythms within a band concept to create a new style, *onda nueva* (New Wave) in 1971. Another successful example of *fusión* music in Venezuela is the world hit 'Moliendo Café' by Hugo Blanco in 1959, the most covered song in Latin America. Using the *cuatro*, the Venezuelan *joropo llanero* harp, the maracas, *güiro*, the first electric bass in the country and the *son clave* in 3–2, he created a song with an intro in the Andalusian cadence and a rhythm with a Caribbean flavor which he named *ritmo orquídea*. In this the ternary meter of the folk repertoire with which the harp and the *cuatro* were identified is adapted to sound in a four-beat, binary-subdivided rhythm.

An important popular music group named Guaco was formed in 1960 and grew in the west part of Venezuela, in the city of Maracaibo. Using the traditional rhythm of the *gaita zuliana* as its base, in its different forms which are traditionally performed at Christmas time, Guaco succeeded in detaching the *gaita* from its folk-calendar tradition and creating a personal 'Guaco sound.'

Further developments of *fusión* music introduced simultaneously all kinds of variations, including instrumental switching, rhythmic mixing, to changes in the social function and contexts. From 1967 the large production of original *canciones de protesta* (protest songs) by Alí Primera included the use of Venezuelan folk rhythms and instruments, enhancing the cultural and social relationship of his music. Within the rock influence of the early 1970s, Vytas Brenner, of German origin, produced an important track, 'Frailejón,' in his record *Ofrenda*. Here he mixed the harp of the *joropo llanero* with a rock band and Latin percussion. This tendency was immediately followed by the jazz pianist Gerry Weil, from Austria, mixing Venezuelan rhythms in his influential, experimental group La Banda Municipal in 1973–74, leaving only an old concert recording, *En vivo,* edited in 2008. Gerry Weil has continued to produce original *fusión* music in different instrumental combinations until today, a permanent resident of the country and jazz teacher of generations.

The Orquesta de Instrumentos Latinoamericanos ('Odila') established as a *grupo de proyección* in 1982, included in its concert program a Latin American folk repertoire as well as commissioned experimental compositions for a 30-member orchestra of folk and indigenous instruments. Compositions such as *Etnocidio* by Emilio Mendoza, its director until 1987, were part of this alternative repertoire, which was bringing together indigenous, folk, pop and academic influences.

It is common for solo singers in Venezuela to experiment with folk music in one way or another. María Rivas, a successful jazz singer appearing as soloist in 1987, experimented with Afro-Venezuelan rhythms and *joropo* folk music. Carlos Baute learned to play and dance folk music in the *Talleres de Música Popular* (Workshops of Popular Music) of the Bigott Foundation in Caracas, before adventuring himself in his *Orígenes* albums of 1994 and 1997. Within Latin-ska and reggae, groups such as King Changó included an amplified *cuatro* in the track in their music, such as 'Confesión' in 1997, made possible by the new technology of the luthier Luis Ruiz in Caracas with his ‘Gordation’ *cuatro* series similar to the electro-acoustic Ovations guitars.

The ingredients of the Venezuelan *fusión* development are completed by the addition of an influence from the academic symphonic world. This is present also in neofolklore music, as a by-product of the youth symphonic movement. Academic instrumental virtuosity with extended compositional procedures has reached the production of popular music that is at the same time folk in essence. The neofolklore groups which started in the 1980s eventually progressed to experiment with *música de fusión*, such as the compositions for El Cuarteto and for the Ensamble Gurrufío involving symphonic orchestras. Gurrufío conducted in 2001 a project known as the ‘Camerata Criolla,’ in the same direction as the Odila two decades before, but for a hybrid-chamber ensemble. They commissioned and performed works by composers such as Paul Desenne with his *El Reto*, crossing the border between academic and pop music with this initiative.

Numerous groups and soloists have evolved in the last 20 years, and Venezuelan popular music is very active in its production of *música de fusión.* Some artists who have had a sustained level of production for over 10 years, mostly with hybrid ensembles, are Arcano, Onkora, Saúl Vera y su Ensamble, Caracas Sincrónica and the guitarist Aquiles Báez. They give different names to define their music, such as Saúl Vera with his ‘*Música instrumental venezolana de nueva tendencia*’ (Venezuelan Instrumental Music of New Tendency), in which he incorporates the *bandola llanera*, a folk relative of the mandolin, into his jazz ensemble. Vera is also active as academic composer, completing his *Concierto para bandola y orquesta* (Concerto for Bandola and Orchestra) in 2000 and writing a method for the instrument. Andrés Eloy Medina, oboist of Arcano, defines it as ‘*Música nenezolana contemporánea*’ (Venezuelan Contemporary Music) (Mendoza 2000), in which the boundaries in terminology and music-making between contemporary academic music and progressive popular music are diffused. Other names which have been coined in the media are ‘*música contemporánea de raiz venezolana*’ (contemporary music of Venezuelan roots) and ‘*música folklorica urbana*’ (urban folk music). The joining of borders between these music worlds is one of the most important results of the *fusión* category, as well as the creation and advancement of the new Venezuelan popular music.

Some newcomers should be mentioned because of their surprisingly high level of music production, despite having only recently appeared: C4 Trío, the new *cuatro* music of Venezuela, Huáscar Barradas, a flutist proclaiming and taking advantage of the validity of neofolklore in its general meaning, Ensamble Catako, Akurima, Pabellón sin Baranda, Kapicúa, Germaín Coronado with Toberías and Ozono Jazz, among many others, with propositions that blend influences from folk music, jazz, rock and new academic music. The latter group has developed an adaptation of the *joropo*-playing technique ‘*jalao*’ of the *bandola llanera* to the nylon-string guitar, as in the track ‘Espirales.’

An initiative called ‘VenezuelaDemo,’ led by Alejandro Calzadilla, Luis Laya, Raúl Abdueza and Germán Acero, has achieved in producing from 2005 until 2008, 24 compact discs which include one track of each artist or group of popular music recorded in Venezuela since the year 2000. This valuable collection, covering over 400 artists of all genres, was financed by the government. Its international distribution has just began, which may mean an opening to the world of the new Venezuelan popular music.

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EMILIO MENDOZA

Gagá

Dominican or Haitian-Dominican *Gagá* is a Lenten season religious society, appearing first in the 1920s, whose rituals and carnivalesque processions make extensive use of an exuberant style of music and dance, also known as *Gagá*. Its members are now mostly fourth- and fifth-generation Haitian-Dominicans who are bilingual and of mixed ancestry, although more recent Haitian migrants and numerous Dominicans with no Haitian ancestry also participate in *Gagá*. Since the 1990s its music has also been of influence in Dominican Carnival and modern popular music including Afro-Dominican fusion (Luís Díaz, Xiomara Fortuna, Roldan Mármol, José Duluc and others) and, to a minor extent, urban *merengue* (Amarfis y La Banda de Atakke, Diómedes y El Grupo Mío, Omega y Su Mambo Violento). *Gagá* songs are mostly in Haitian Créole (there is also some repertoire in Spanish) and singers are joined by an ensemble of *petró* drums, one-tone bamboo trumpets played in hocket, metallic horns, whistles and idiophones. *Gagá* leaders carrying titles such as president, coronel and minister of war wave flags, blow whistles and crack a whip to disperse dangerous spirits. In elaborate dress, including multicolored skirts, headdresses and sequined vests, male and female dancers twirl sacred batons and perform acrobatic routines in tribute to *Gagá* patrons and protective spirits, while others solicit offerings of money and alcohol. While known more widely for their public processions just before Easter and in Carnival, the more private rituals and underlying religious foundation of *gagá* groups contribute to much of the music's character and meaning.

Gagá songs may have two or more sections and alternate several lines of verse with refrain. Sacred and secular themes intermingle in lyrics rich in figurative meaning, including frequent sexual metaphor. A set of songs may be sung over the same hocketed pattern of the *bambúes* (bamboo tubes), while other song groups are set to different patterns. One of the *bambúe* pitches usually functions as the tonal center of *Gagá* songs, but tuning is without harmonic intent and often dissonance between some *bambúe* and song pitches adds tension to the ensemble sound. A one-headed long drum of the Central African type is played vertically by hand, while a smaller double-headed *catalié* is played horizontally with one or two sticks. The *bambúes* are four in number, range in size from two feet to over three and are not only blown but also struck by a stick in *tresillo* rhythm. Other aerophones are conch shells and thin metallic tubes with elliptical appendages (*tatua*), and idiophones including the lead singer's metal maraca (*cha-chá* or *zambá*), and a triangle or two pieces of iron. Unlike Haitian *Rara,* in *Gagá* a number of *pitos* (whistles) tend to be blown simultaneously in coordination with the rhythms of other instruments.

The religious and musical roots of *Gagá* are intertwined with its Haitian parallel *Rara*, although since *Gagá* appeared, along with massive early twentieth-century migration of Haitian workers to Dominican sugarcane plantations, both traditions have developed independently and are musically quite distinct. Haitian *Rara*, from which *Gagá* was originally inspired, may have developed from the French colonial period when slaves dominated a secondary carnival during Lent in which they visited the houses of important patriarchs performing and wearing costumes mocking French royalty, and soliciting food and money. The ritual calendar of the syncretic Vodú religion and leadership by members of *Petwo-Kongo* secret societies were also foundational to the rituals, instruments, songs and aggressive or spiritually 'hot' character of *Rara* performance. However, while Haitian *Rara* continued to develop and exploit its connections with Carnival, mass participation and cultural politics, Dominican *Gagá* remained closely tied to its religious society, and the alienated subculture of rural Haitian-Dominican cane workers. In response to inhumane conditions approximating slavery on the *bateys*, lack of citizenship and access to education and health care, together with feelings of sociocultural alienation, the members of *Gagá* have emphasized the militaristic *petró* cult and protective guardians of the ancestor spirits (*guedes*) within the African-derived religious practices of these labor communities. Also, while contemporary Haitian *Rara* groups have incorporated instrumentation and arrangements from urban popular music, *Gagá* music generally maintains an ensemble of traditional percussion fabricated from woods, bamboos, animal skins and scrap metal by members of the cult society.

Since the start of the twenty-first century, with more urban migration and greater integration of Haitian-Dominicans into Dominican society, there have been some new developments with *Gagá*. Several *Gagá* groups have been included in Santo Domingo's Carnival processions before a massive Dominican and international audience, and some are now adding snare and bass drum, trombones and additional rhythms popularized in Dominican Carnival. Likewise, *Gagá* has inspired Carnival themes written by Marcos Caminero and Luís Díaz among others. In 2008 an electronic version of *Gagá* created by members of Gagá Andres (just east of Santo Domingo) and dubbed 'Mambo-Gagá' was rapidly pirated across the Dominican Republic and appropriated by Dominican rap and reggaeton producers in highly popular dancehall remixes. Traditional *Gagá* ensembles have also participated directly in the development of Afro-Dominican fusion, including songs recorded on *Música raíz Vol. 1* (1997) and *Sí Gagá* (2008), in collaboration with several artists including Luís Días, Roldán Marmol, Xiomarra Fortuna, José Duluc, Rafelito Mirabal, Titico Carrión (Concepto Lotus) and Magic Mejía (Marassá).

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DANIEL C. PIPER

Gaita (Colombia)

In Colombia, the word *gaita* refers to three things: a traditional wind instrument found along the country's northern coast; the instrumental ensemble to which it belongs; and a type of fast *cumbia*, a common dance genre from the mid-twentieth century that is commonly performed by an orchestra.

As an instrument, the *gaita* belongs to the aerophone family and is divided into two main types: *gaita larga* (long *gaita*) and *gaita corta* (short *gaita*). The long *gaita*, measuring approximately 80 centimeters in length (approximately 32 inches), is further divided into *gaita hembra* (female *gaita*) and *gaita macho* (male *gaita*). In performance, both *gaitas* are played simultaneously and complement each other. The female *gaita* has five finger holes and carries the melody, while the male *gaita*, with only one or two finger holes, highlights some of the pitches played by the female *gaita* and keeps a constant rhythm. The body of the instrument, or *palo*, is made from wild cactus-like plants called *bledo*, *cardón* and *pitahaya*. The mouthpiece is made of beeswax and vegetable carbon, to which a duck or turkey quill is inserted as a blowhole. The sound is produced by blowing through the opening and breaking against the edge of the tube which has been filed down.

A traditional *gaita* ensemble features a *gaita hembra*, a *gaita macho*, a *maraca* (played simultaneously by the *gaita macho* player) and three *tambores* (drums): one *alegre* (an open conical drum of a variable height between 60 and 75 centimeters that repeats, improvises and accompanies the female *gaita* in dialogue); one *llamador* (a shorter open conical drum between 30 and 60 centimeters in height that is limited to the counter-beat); and one *tambora* (a low-pitch, double-headed drum played with sticks).

Gaita larga ensembles interpret three basic *gaita* genres (*gaita corta* ensembles do not perform the *gaita* genre): *gaita*, *porro* and *merengue*. Some recognize a fourth genre called *puya*, which is a variation similar to the *merengue*. One should not confuse *porro*, *merengue* and *puya de gaitas* with other genres bearing the same name. Both the *gaita* and *porro* are genres with a moderate tempo (metronome markings between 75 and 100) in duple meter. They differ in their basic patterns from the *tambor alegre* and in their instrumentation the *gaita* is always instrumental while the *porro* involves some singing. The introduction of singing in the music of *gaitas* (specifically the *porro*) is a recent development no more than a hundred years old and is a result of intercultural borrowing and exchange. The singing lines in *porros* are infused with characteristics similar to those of other regional genres and of popular music in general, such as the presence of a clear tonal center and the use of melodies that outline arpeggios, creating chord progressions typical of functional harmony. Furthermore, *porros* often have a responsorial character similar to that of the *bullerengue* and the *tambora*, which are musical forms found in the northern coastal regions of Colombia. The *gaita* genre, on the other hand, shows original melodic material; its melodies, though clearly built from the superimposition of arpeggiated thirds, in many cases do not allow for the easy identification of elements of functional harmony such as the use of a tonic. The third genre, *merengue*, is also in duple meter like the *gaita* and the *porro*, but is characterized by a faster tempo (metronome markings between 110 and 145) and it can be instrumental or accompanied by singing.

The melodies of the *gaita* genre are marked by the possibilities afforded by the instrument its relative tuning that produces scales similar to A dorian (i.e., A minor with a raised sixth), and the instrument's tessitura of an octave and a half that typically extends from A4 to E5, with the occasional use of E4 and D4.

While the *gaita* instrument is of pre-Hispanic indigenous origin and has been used by ethnic groups located in Central America and the northern tip of Colombia, its exact origin is unknown. The most important development in the *música de gaitas* occurred in the region of Serranía de San Jacinto (also known as Montes de María), between the departments of Sucre and the north of Bolívar, in municipalities such as Ovejas, San Jacinto, Carmen de Bolívar and San Juan Nepomuceno in Colombia.

Although traditionally the music of *gaitas* has been the exclusive domain of men, the presence of women is of vital importance as this music is meant to be danced to in pairs. In recent years, women have started performing this music in addition to their role as dance partners.

The main avenue for the dissemination of *gaita* music has been the work of the renowned ensemble Gaiteros de San Jacinto. Formed in the mid-1950s, the group has recorded extensively and has been the recipient of several awards, among them the Latin Grammy in 2007 for best folk album in the folklore category. In addition, a *gaita hembra* was used in various recordings by Colombian pop artist Carlos Vives, introducing the instrument (not the genre) to a wider audience. Despite the revitalization of Colombian folk music in recent decades, the genres interpreted with *gaitas machos* and *gaitas hembras* continue to exist only in the margins.

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Gaita (Venezuela)

In Venezuela, *gaita* is a term used most commonly for a genre of Christmas-season party songs that address history and geography, regional pride, religious devotion and political protest. The word itself is related to the terms for various wind instruments in Spain, North Africa and the Middle East, and is used for several distinct genres of music in Venezuela and Colombia, regardless of instrumentation. To distinguish this particular form of *gaita* from other lesser-known forms that use the same name, experts refer to it as '*gaita de furro*,' a reference to the '*furro*,' the characteristic bass friction drum. In the 1960s this regional folk music from the city of Maracaibo and its state of Zulia in northwestern Venezuela gained nationwide popularity through radio and television broadcasts and performances in the capital, Caracas. By the 1970s and 1980s *gaita* was overtaking other Christmas-season musics throughout the country, and through increased commercialization in the early twenty-first century, it has become one of the main genres of Venezuelan popular music.

Gaita is forceful music. Perhaps its most distinctive feature is its particular 6/8 rhythm, traditionally performed by an ensemble including *furro* and *tambora* (a large barrel drum played with sticks) accenting the offbeat second, third and fifth eighth notes of each measure with booming low tones. The *charrasca*, a loud scraper made of metal pipe with grooves cut in it and played like a *güiro* with a metal nail or rod, provides a constant eighth-note pulse with accents on the strong beats of the first and fourth eighth notes, though with many rhythmic variations. A similar rhythm is provided by the four-string *cuatro*, a small guitar, which offers considerable tonal harmonic complexity in both minor and major keys. Since the late 1960s some groups have added more instruments to this traditional ensemble such as electric bass, keyboard, congas, *timbales* and other percussion, salsa-like horn sections, electric guitar and trap drumkit.

Equally forceful is *gaita* singing. Normally, a soloist sings the verses, and a chorus of four to seven sings the refrains. Most singers are male baritones, and many groups include a female vocalist or two. Singing is dramatic and expressive, and in live performances audiences are encouraged to sing along on the refrains.

Gaita is seasonal music. Groups spend the first half of the year composing, rehearsing and recording new songs that are released in September and October in preparation for the holiday season. In Maracaibo, the season peaks around 18 November, the feast day of the patron saint, La Chinita (an image of the Virgin

Mary). Since the mid-1960s the weeklong Féria de la Chinita (Chinita's Fair) has featured performances by *gaita* groups and marked the beginning of the long holiday season. The climax of the Féria is the traditional *amanecer gaitero*, which literally means partying with *gaita* music, and lasts from the night of 17 November to dawn on the following day.

History

It is impossible to say when *gaita* first came into its own as a genre. By the first half of the twentieth century, people sang *gaitas* at parties in the patios and streets of Maracaibo, and the term *gaita* was used not only for the music but also for the party where the music was played. In this era *gaitas* were often improvised. Based on stock poetic structures, someone would invent a refrain for the *gaita del día* (gaita of the day), and people at the party would gather in a circle to improvise verses. Vocal improvisers of particular skill are known as *repentistas* (although by the early 2000s this improvised tradition had all but vanished), and they would take center stage at *gaita* parties. Partygoers would signal their urge to improvise a verse by waving a handkerchief (nearly everyone carries a handkerchief to mop their brows due to the intense year-round heat). Often, one singer would challenge another at the party to respond in a verse, and if the challenged could not respond effectively, that person would be expected to go and purchase the next bottle of liquor to keep the party going. This oral, communal, improvised origin is cited by *gaiteros* as the reason for *gaita*'s reliance on relatively fixed rhyme schemes and four-line verse structures, and also why topics such as partying and local culture are more common than love songs – the drunken singing circle being a poor place to confess one's heart. During this prerecorded phase, the predominant instruments were *furro*, *cuatro*, *charrasca* and maracas, with the stick-played *tambora* coming into the ensemble perhaps as late as the 1950s.

Around 1960 *gaita* began its transformation from a popular folk form to a mediated popular music. The first recordings of *gaita* were made around 1958 and 1959, with limited commercial impact. In the early 1960s businesses began sponsoring folk music competitions, and *gaita* groups organized and named themselves in order to compete. A *gaita* from this era that is still widely performed is Moises Martínez's 'Gaita Zuliana,' now popularly known as 'La campeona' (the Champion) because it won so many festival competitions. When Martínez's group made their first television appearance, in 1962, the host, Oscar García, dubbed them 'Saladillo' after the old neighborhood in downtown Maracaibo that claimed to be the birthplace of *gaita*. Within the next few years many other groups organized themselves, took on names and uniforms and began recording albums of new *gaitas* for each season. Groups such as Cardenales del Éxito, Rincón Morales, Guaco, Barrio Obrero and Gran Coquivacoa have continued to be popular, although with ever-changing personnel. By the mid-1960s *gaita* groups were regularly traveling to Caracas, the Venezuelan capital, to perform in concerts and on television and radio. As the performance venues grew, so did the size and volume of the percussion instruments. Other instruments such as electric bass and keyboard were added, often offending *gaita* traditionalists.

The 1960s saw the advent of the first 'stars' of *gaita*, most notably the singer/composer Ricardo Aguirre, dubbed 'El Monumental.' With *furrero* Douglas Soto, Aguirre founded the group Cardenales del Éxito in 1963. After scoring numerous hits with Cardenales, conflicts led Aguirre to join Saladillo, with whom, in 1968, he recorded 'La Grey Zuliana' (The Zulian Flock), which was to become known as the 'hymn of the *gaiteros*' and serve as a model for protest *gaitas*. In 'La Grey,' in the form of a prayer to La Chinita, Aguirre pleads for the government to improve the living conditions of Zulians. The implication here, as in many protest *gaitas*, is that Zulia state, the source of much of Venezuela's petroleum, contributes much of the wealth of the country but receives little in return, due to centralization of the oil industry. Aguirre was killed in a car accident on 8 November 1968 at the peak of his popularity, leading to his immortalization in *gaita* history. The date is now celebrated in Maracaibo as the Day of Gaiteros. Aguirre's powerful, yet restrained baritone voice has served as a model for generations of *gaiteros*.

By the early 1970s *gaita* had become a small music industry of its own, with dozens of active professional groups. Perhaps the most popular *gaita* of all time, 'Sin rencor' (Without Resentment) by Neguito Borjas and Gran Coquivacoa, was first recorded at this time; unlike most *gaitas*, it is a song about a lost love. While some groups, notably Barrio Obrero, maintained a traditional instrumentation and sound, others, most prominently Guaco, have created a unique fusion sound by incorporating influences from Latin America and beyond. This has created a variety of music that can be identified as *gaita*, and a lively discourse about what is or is not *gaita*. While some lament the loss of the original familial folk performance setting, most Zulians are proud of the ever-growing popularity of their regional music. In the early 2000s government support for *gaita* increased with the creation of entities such as FUNDAGRAEZ, *la Fundación para la Academia de la Gaita 'Ricardo Aguirre' del Estado Zulia* (the Foundation for the 'Ricardo Aguirre' Academy of Gaita of Zulia State). By 2008 hundreds of *gaita* groups were active throughout Venezuela.

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ROBERT T. CARROLL

Galopa

Like the Paraguayan *polca*, to which it is closely connected in terms of both origin and development, the *galopa* is a dance which uses a lively rhythm in compound duple meter with *sesquialtera* or *hemiola* rhythmic elements.

The name *galopa* derives from the European salon dance the gallop, introduced in South America, first in Montevideo, Uruguay, around 1849 (Ayestarán 1953). Boettner (1997, 198) indicates that before the Paraguayan people adopted the term *polca* in the second half of the nineteenth century, the term *galopa* was used in reference to this already existing dance in 6/8. The distinction between the *polca* and the *galopa* remains hazy, although some explanations have been offered in an attempt to differentiate between the two. *Galopas* seem to have a closer association to folk and traditional dancing with the accompaniment of a *banda típica* or *banda koyguá* (folk band), an ensemble comprising two trumpets, two saxophones or clarinets, two trombones, a tuba, a snare drum and a bass drum with two crash cymbals on top. While the *polca* is composed as one continuous musical section, the *galopa* is a *polca* divided into two rhythmically distinctive sections. The second section presents significant variations in the accentuation of the rhythmic patterns played by the percussionists. Mauricio Cardozo Ocampo (2005, 70–1) believes that the *galopa* and the *polca kyre'ỹ* are intrinsically similar in spirit. Inspired by the vivacious musical tradition of the *galopa* dance, Cardozo Ocampo's original composition 'Galopera' (The *Galopa* Dancer) has become one of the most internationally recognized songs from Paraguay. 'Galopera' encapsulates the melodic, harmonic and rhythmic features found in the traditional instrumental and vocal music repertoire of Paraguay. Since other Paraguayan folk music ensembles do not typically use percussion instruments, the *galopa,* when accompanied by a band, appears to be the only genre within the Paraguayan folk tradition that exhibits a systematic use of percussion. *Galopas* or *fiestas de la galopa* constitute popular gatherings and usually take place outdoors in connection with a Catholic festivity or a social occasion. In order to fulfill a *promesa* (religious vow), *galoperas* (female *galopa* dancers), dressed in traditional attire, perform improvised dance steps in a circle while balancing *cántaros* (clay pitchers) or glass bottles on their heads. Watkins (2008, 380) explains that 'the symbolism of water [carried in the *cántaros*] and fruit [which may also be carried in baskets by the *galoperas*] and sensuous motions of the dancers, … seem to identify this dance as a type of disguised fertility ritual.' In the early twenty-first century an annual *concurso de galopas* (*galopa* [dancing] contest) takes place in early September in Yvysunú, Guarambaré (a town in the Departamento Central), as part of the Catholic feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary (celebrated in Paraguay on 7 September) and as part of the musical activities centered on the Festival del Takuare'ẽ [Music] Festival of the Sugarcane) in Guarambaré. Curiously, when a Paraguayan *polca* is played by a *banda típica* with the rhythmic characteristics of the two sections of the *galopa* dance, the performance style of the piece is described as a '*polca-galopa*.'

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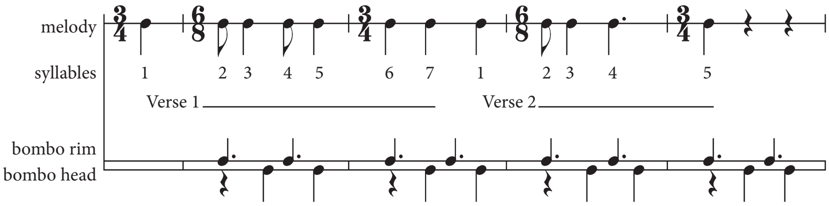
ALFREDO COLMAN

Gato

The *gato* was the most popular folk dance in Argentina during a large portion of the nineteenth century, when it was called '*Gato mis-mis*' or '*Perdiz*.' In the late 1700s it was also danced in neighboring areas and throughout the Spanish American Viceroyalties, as far away as Peru and Mexico. In the early twentieth century, when folk song collecting resulted in the crystallization of genres and conventions, it was considered a major genre in Argentina, but not so in other countries which are also heirs of the Spanish colonial tradition. In modern Argentinian urban, media-disseminated *folclore*, however, it has occupied a modest and gradually receding position.

The accompaniment pattern for *gato* is the same as that for *chacarera*; the mode is traditionally major. The choreography, for independent couples, includes finger snapping, heel-and-toe tapping and simple evolutions; it is picaresque but decorous and graceful. The lyrics are usually cheerful, sometimes humorous; typical subjects are the dance itself, courtship and happy evocations of past local scenes. The lyrics consist traditionally of four quatrains of *seguidillas* (alternating hepta- and pentasyllabic lines, rhyming ABCB), two each for the *primera* and the *segunda* (the two musical and choreographic sections). Following an instrumental introduction, the first two lines are sung and repeated; next, lines 3 and 4 are also repeated. After an interlude, the next stanza is sung, with a further interlude between lines 2 and 3 (Introduction – ABABCDCD – interlude – AB[AB] – interlude – CD). Both versification and musical scheme are freely modified in *gatos* of the second half of the twentieth century: the regular octosyllabic line that predominates in *folclore* is sometimes introduced. The basic rhythmic scheme for each pair of lines, transmitted by tradition (Example 1 below) is also often ignored, as are the details of the overall musical form; consequently, modern *gatos* are seldom danced.

In spite of all these adaptations, some trademarks of the genre remain: irregular or short line-lengths and instrumental interludes within the stanza.



Example 1: Traditional *gato* melodic/rhythmic scheme

Like other genres within *folclore*, *gatos* have been composed, arranged and performed in many guises. One of the most talked-about, 'El huajchito,' by Enrique 'Tata' Farías Gómez, adheres closely to the traditional rhythm, melody and versification, but became famous in the early 1960s through the *a cappella* performance of the ensemble Los Huanca Hua (2008), with voices imitating the effects of the usual accompanying instruments (guitar, *bombo* drum, harp and violin). Another celebrated *gato*, 'Gato de la fiesta,' by Zulema Alcayaga and Waldo Belloso (recorded, for example, in 2005 by Los Tucu Tucu), is written mostly in lines of nine and ten syllables in alternation, with a refrain that incorporates various other meters. 'Gatito 'e las penas,' by Raúl Carnota, (1983), replaces the repetition of the first pair of lines with an instrumental interlude, and substitutes sung stanzas (with lines of 8-8-7-8 syllables) for the traditional instrumental interludes. The rhythmic patterns of its melodies (similar to the *chacarera trunca*) and its 'bimodal' harmonic setting (to use Carlos Vega's term – see Vega 1988 [1944]) are imaginative transformations and intermixing of traditional elements from different genres.

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LEONARDO WAISMAN

Goombay

Goombay is the term originally used in the Bahamas to designate the musical style that, by the late 1960s, came to be called rake-n-scrape. But even before rake-n-scrape emerged as a new way of describing traditional goombay music, the label took on another, much more specific and localized meaning within the entertainment industry in the capital Nassau. Beginning in the years following World War II, goombay came to be used in order to distinguish the musical style of local popular musicians and nightclub entertainers from the sounds of pan-regional musical styles. That this was a strategically important shift in meaning becomes especially clear when considered against the backdrop of rapidly increasing tourist presence in Nassau and the parallel rise in the popularity of calypso and Cuban dance band musics throughout the Caribbean, and especially in the United States (whence most tourists visiting the Bahamas hail). In the decade following World War II, then, musicians in Nassau found themselves in need of a product, one that would represent a pan-Caribbean feel without losing its Bahamian specificity. Goombay was the perfect solution to this dilemma, both in terms of its etymology and with regard to the stylistic and rhythmic possibilities it afforded to entertainers.

Goombay thus came to reference Bahamian popular music, not only in name but also symbolically (through exoticizing 'native' folk heritage) and sonically (in and through allusions to musical style). This representation was made possible in large part through an active discourse linking traditional goombay music with the popular music being performed in Nassau and through the simultaneous silencing of that traditional practice within the modern spaces of Nassau's nightclubs. The goat skin drum – often called the goombay drum by Nassauvian entertainers, further signifying the genre's appropriation into the nightclub scene – came to stand in for authentic Bahamian culture in an environment where the claim itself was more important than the practices that were being invoked. Many artists, for example, did not use the goat skin drum *per se*, choosing instead the more efficient (and more cosmopolitan) *conga* drums. The bands that played goombay music, moreover, made an increasingly clear distinction between the inspiration they drew from traditional practice (history/memory/folklore) and the music that they now played (modern/immediate/metropolitan).

Rake-n-scrape's characteristic rhythms thus made rather subtle appearances in the goombay music performed in Nassau's nightclubs, usually through transfer to other instruments. The saw rhythm, for instance, was often played on maracas, and the rhythms usually played on the goat skin drum were often (but certainly not always) translated in some fashion to the *conga*. In both cases, however, the translation was partial and incomplete. Artists such as Blind Blake, George Symonette, Eloise Lewis, Charlie Adamson, Freddie Munnings, Sr., King Eric, Count Bernadino and Peanuts Taylor, to name but a few, were active on the scene and each made significant contributions to the nightlife of Nassau during the 1950s and into the early 1960s. It is significant, moreover, that the repertories of these goombay artists included songs in a wide range of styles, ranging from calypso to *merengue*, from *chachachá* to locally composed material. Goombay music, then, was a way of providing a catch-all label for a highly diverse repertory that needed a specifically Bahamian anchor in order to appeal to tourist audiences.

An important aspect of this moment in Bahamian popular music concerns the fact that two distinct but interrelated nightclub scenes had developed in Nassau during the 1940s and 1950s. On the one hand was a group of venues known as the Bay Street clubs. This scene included all of the major hotels of the day, most of which operated several rooms where live music could be heard, and all of which welcomed only white clientele. Representative examples include the Jungle Club at the Montagu Beach Hotel, the Playhouse at the British Colonial, the Rum Keg Room at the Nassau Beach Hotel and the Jubilee Terrace at the Emerald Beach Hotel.

Another group of nightclubs, known collectively as the over-the-hill scene, comprised the center of entertainment by and for Bahamians. This scene was a part of the so-called chitlin' circuit and, as a result, Bahamians had the opportunity to see many of the major African-American and Caribbean entertainers of the day. Performers such as Nat King Cole, The Mighty Sparrow, Sam Cooke, Perez Prado, Harry Belafonte, Duke Ellington, Brook Benton, Count Basie and Byron Lee thus all found their way to Nassau during the 1950s and 1960s. The most famous of these clubs included the Silver Slipper and the Cat and Fiddle Club, but many others, including the Zanzibar, Blue Note, Lemon Tree, Conch Shell and Drumbeat Club, thrived during the middle decades of the twentieth century. Importantly, both tourists and local Afro-Bahamian clients were welcome at these clubs and it is significant that the exoticized floorshow routines so popular in the Bay Street clubs also played well in the over-the-hill clubs.

By the mid-1960s a younger generation of musicians, including performers such as Carl Brice, Smokey 007 and Richie Delamore, and bands such as Rupert and the Rolling Coins, The Blue Notes and Kenny and the Beach Boys, were playing in an increasingly competitive market in which the over-the-hill clubs found themselves placed at a distinct disadvantage vis-à-vis the larger, better-funded and air-conditioned hotels of Bay Street. The sounds of goombay music also began to shift away from the need for exploring a specifically Bahamian identity (even if it was predominantly discursive) and to move toward skillful covers of songs that were doing well on the US *Billboard* charts. This was a calculated move, designed to illustrate to tourists a local interest in, and connection with transnational media flows and musical trends, but it effected a gradual uncoupling of the symbolic relationship between the Nassau nightclub musicians and their (goombay) music.

By the early 1970s the over-the-hill scene was faltering and the 'golden age' of goombay was coming to a close. As independence arrived (1973), musicians were increasingly turning toward exploring the possibilities of using junkanoo rhythms in their popular music, and artists such as Dr Offfff, The Beginning of the End and T-Connections experimented with funk, soul and disco without feeling the need to label themselves as goombay musicians. The goombay music of the Bahamas, then, is as much about the musical negotiations that were important within the tourist-driven economy of Nassau, as it is about naming an era of nightclub entertainment that lasted from the mid-1940s through the early 1970s. The first 20 years of this era were devoted to symbolic and discursive explorations of goombay rhythms and native heritage in order to present the Bahamas as a unique Caribbean destination with a distinct musical product. The last 15 years of this era, by contrast, were essentially bound up in shifting the goombay paradigm away from links with heritage and toward unabashedly cosmopolitan, transnational musical ideas. They were also tied up in facing the collapse of the over-the-hill scene amidst a concomitant and rapid expansion of the tourist market. The goombay years, as this era is called in the Bahamas, thus provide a particularly interesting example of the shifting needs and expectations that emerge in the course of negotiating musical style within a tourist economy.

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TIMOTHY ROMMEN

Guajira

There are two main forms of *guajira.* The first, in both 6/8 and 3/4 meter (in alternation), is related to the *punto cubano*, a form of *música campesina* (country music) that was adapted and performed in the theater in both Spain and Cuba in the early decades of the twentieth century; the second form, in 4/4 time, was known initially as *guajira de salón* and later as *guajira-son*. The latter *son*-influenced *guajira* form became well known in Cuba through radio shows in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, popularized by artists such as Guillermo Portabales, Celina González and Joseíto Fernández.

The meaning of the word *guajira* can lead to some confusion when it comes to labeling *música campesina* or 'country music' styles. The term is used to refer to the *guajiro* or Cuban peasant farmer or to the countrywoman (*guajira)*, as well as to many forms of music referring to the countryside and rural living. Not all songs with 'guajira' in the lyrics, for example, are musically related to the *guajira-son* style. However, the idealization of rural life and the portrayal of Cuban national identity through the image of the Hispanic farmer are prevalent in most *guajira* forms, from the composed pieces in Cuban musical theater works (in *zarzuela* and *teatro bufo*) of the early twentieth century to the *guajira* songs of the *son* and *charanga* dance bands from the 1930s and 1940s onward.

The Guajira Family

Peter Manuel has documented both the Spanish vernacular roots of the *punto cubano* and the later *flamenco guajira* style which developed in Spain as a result of theater troupes performing in both the peninsular and Cuba (see Manuel 2004 for more detail on this 'ida y vuelta' ('departure and return') cultural exchange between Spain and the New World). The *punto cubano*, with its lineup of vocal, guitar, *bandurría* (type of mandolin), *laúd* (type of lute) and hand percussion, could be said to be the wellspring of the *guajira* theater genre. This form of *música campesina* uses 6/8 and 3/4 meter, a particular style of guitar technique called *punto,* instrumental interludes between verses, and *décima* (ten line declarative sung poetry using eight syllables per line); these lines are either improvised ('libre') or fixed ('fijo').

The Theatrical Guajira

The composed *guajiras* of the Cuban *zarzuelas* and *teatro bufo* performances in the early twentieth century were similar in structure to these *punto cubano* country forms in that they employed the alternation of 3/4 and 6/8 meter, *décima* form, and lyrics which promoted idealized Hispanic images of rural Cuba. Composers such as Jorge Ankermann (1877–1941), inspired by *música campesina*, wrote *guajiras* based on the *punto cubano,* and Ankermann himself is sometimes credited with being the creator of the *guajira* style (Orovio 1981). According to *zarzuela* composer Sánchez de Fuentes (1874–1944), a *guajira* comprised a section in a minor key followed by one in a major key, finishing on the dominant, with verses arranged in *décimas* with alternating 6/8 and 3/4 meter (Orovio 1981). Used in the theater to represent stereotypes of the archetypal Cuban peasant, these theatrical *guajiras*, by composers such as Ankermann, Sánchez de Fuentes and Gonzalo Roig among others, portrayed Cuban identity as essentially Hispanic. Robin Moore (1997, 131) notes that the *guajirismo* nationalism of the 1920s and 1930s enabled white middle-class Cubans to embrace a Cuban rather than Spanish identity without having to confront or acknowledge the Afro-Cuban presence and influence on the island. The idealization of rural life thus entailed promoting a vision of Cuba populated by hardworking 'white' peasant farmers, as opposed to the *Afrocubanismo* movement of the same period which had begun to valorize (and idealize) working-class Afro-Cuban culture as a form of national identity.

The *Guajira de Salón* and the *Guajira-Son*

In the 1930s, with the influence of the Cuban *son* from the *trova* tradition, the *guajira de salón* emerged, and while it was not strictly a musical evolution from the theatrical form, this style nevertheless continued to portray similar themes of nostalgia for rural ways of life, albeit with more focus on the hard realities of working on the small farms and plantations. Credited with being the inventor of the *guajira de salón*, the guitarist, singer and composer Guillermo Portabales is said to have been the first to interpret the theater *guajiras* in the *trova* style in the 1930s. Between 1937 and 1939 he recorded several of these *guajiras de salón* for RCA Victor such as 'Al vaiven de mi carreta' (To the Swaying of my Cart) by his mentor Ñico Saquito in 1939 and he is remembered most for his composition 'El carretero' (The Cart Driver) which has been performed and recorded by numerous artists including the Buena Vista Social Club in 1996.

Afro-Cuban elements became increasingly part of the *guajira* style, although some alternation between the early *guajiras* of the theater and the more Afro-Cuban-influenced *guajira* did occur. For example, in the *guajira-son* composition by Rosendo Ruiz (1885–1983) *Junto a un cañaveral* ('By the Sugar Plantation' – see Cañizares 1992 for the score), both elements of the stage *guajira* and the *son* are combined. In general, however, the later *montuno*-based (repeated *ostinati*) style has been the more enduring form of *guajira*.

The *guajira-son* developed from the smaller, *trova*-based *guajira de salón* form and is now generally considered to be the most representative of the idiom. The ubiquitous 'Guajira Guantanamera' by Fernández has probably played a bigger role in defining the *guajira* style than has any other song. Fernández (a singer from Havana and not a *guajiro*) ran his own radio shows from the late 1920s up until the late 1950s (Sublette 2004, 488–90), as did many other singers of the time, such as Miguel Alfonso Pozo, known as 'Clavelitos' (Marrero 2008, 54). The 'Guantanamera' melody served as a template on which Fernández could improvise lyrics in response to listeners' requests or to the news of the day. Initially a love song for a countrywoman from Guantánamo, it has had many other lyrics attached to it, including a poem by José Martí, recorded by Pete Seeger in the 1960s as an anti-Vietnam war song. Thus 'Guajira Guantanamera' has been repeated in many forms, appearing on the 1992 compilation album *Joseito Fernandez … y su Guantanamera* under various titles such as 'Cuento mi vida' and 'Mi biografia' with different lyrics for the verses. In the *punto cubano*, archetypal melodies also served as templates for *décima* improvisations about the news of the day, and therefore one can see this as a wider Cuban tradition in which lyrics are used to provide commentary on daily life.

Musical Elements of the *Guajira-Son*

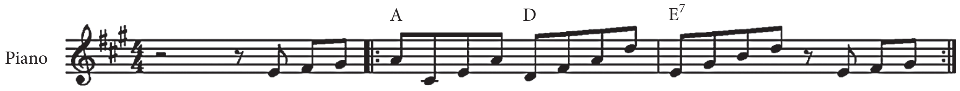
'Guajira Guantanamera' uses a lineup of guitars and *laúd*, piano, bongos, maracas, cowbell (on beat 1 only), main vocal and *coro* voices and a standard chorus-verse structure preceded by a floral 'ad lib' introduction. This could be seen as a template for the style, in that the use of anacrusis and arpeggiated *montuno* are the main signifiers of the *guajira*. The Guantanamera *montuno* is a four-bar I–IV–V progression (with I–ii–V variants) in the key of A major, as in Example 1 below.

The *guajira-son* style typically contains anacrusis and arpeggiated *montunos* using specific types of chord progression, such as the I–IV–V Guantanamera *montuno* above, but also the following 'Spanish-sounding' progressions in the minor, such as the i–iv–V (Example 2) and the i–VII–VI–V^7 progression (Example 3).

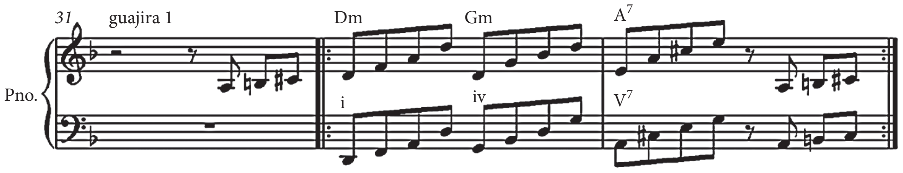
All *guajira* progressions finish on the dominant, setting up the expectation for the cycle to recommence in a never-ending ostinato accompaniment to the lyrics and solos. Originating in the *trova*, rhythmic patterns for the *guajira*, such as those played on the *timbales* and maracas, are closely related to those of the *bolero.* As a consequence of this *bolero* connection, one can often hear straight eighth notes alternated with *bolero* patterns (Example 4).

Boleros, however, are typically reserved for love songs, whereas *guajiras* are used for stories about life in the country or news of the day and have a strong narrative quality to them, inherited from the *punto cubano*.

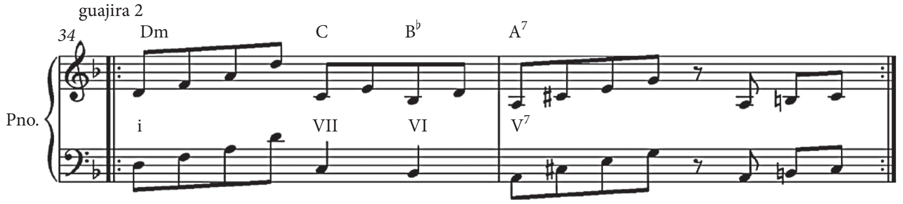
Stylistic elements from the *guajira* are not only found in guitar-based *música campesina* but are also adapted to larger dance band formations. Benny Moré



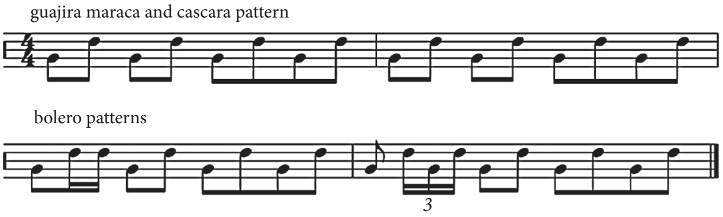
Example 1: *Guajira Guantanamera Montuno*



Example 2: *Guajira Montuno* (transcribed by Sue Miller during flute lessons with Richard Egües, Havana 2001)



Example 3: *Guajira Montuno* 2 (as demonstrated by Egües, Havana 2001)



Example 4: Rhythmic patterns used in *guajira-son*

employed elements from the style in his Banda Gigante in the late 1950s, with numbers such as 'Soy campesino' (I'm a Country Boy) and 'No hay tierra como la mia' (There's No Country Like Mine). Orquesta Broadway, led by Cuban flautist Eddy Zervigón, has even adapted the opening of Beethoven's *Symphony no. 5* to the *guajira* style with their 'Quinta guajira' (Fifth Guajira). The slower tempo *guajira* is characterized in the violin and flute-led *charanga* lineup by arpeggiated figures on the piano and violins (*pizzicatos*), as illustrated by Ray Barreto's 'Te traigo guajira' (I Bring You Guajira). A good example of a big band *guajira* is 'Amor verdadero' (True Love), a *guajira-son* by José 'Cheo' Marquetti recorded by the Afro-Cuban All Stars.

Some Conclusions

The first theater *guajiras* are linked to the *guajira-sones* of the mid-twentieth-century dance bands mainly through their lyrical content, portraying Cuban identity through the image of the hardworking Hispanic farmer 'guajiro' or the beautiful country girl 'guajira.' Musically, however, they are distinct, with the theater *guajiras* based on Spanish vernacular forms such as the *punto cubano* with its alternating 6/8 and 3/4 rhythms and *décima* poetry, and the second with its more Afro-Cuban influence of 4/4 meter and cyclical *montunos* and *coros*. The foregrounding of the guitars (including the *bandurría*, *laúd* and *tres*) unites both forms, but the *guajira-son* style has been the more enduring. Since the late 1930s the *guajira-son* has been taken up by a variety of dance bands, from the traditional *son* band variety to the *conjuntos*, *charangas*, Cuban jazz bands and later salsa formations in Cuba and abroad. The international level of fame for 'Guantanamera' has elevated the *guajira-son* form (now known simply as *guajira*) to worldwide recognition, due to three decades of its radio broadcasting in Cuba, followed by popularization by world artists as disparate as Pete Seeger, Robert Wyatt, Celia Cruz and Wyclef Jean.

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SUE MILLER

Guaracha

Guaracha is a Cuban musical genre that combines song and dance. Due to the tendency of *guarachas* to present a combination of features of other song types, genres and styles, especially the *son*, *guarachas* tend to be associated interchangeably with these other styles. The definition of *guaracha* is complex in that it has changed over time. In addition, many models or prototypes of *guarachas* that are associated with different historical periods do not necessarily share the common features necessary for categorization. A first prototype is the *guaracha* that developed within the Cuban nineteenth-century *bufo* theater. This theater *guaracha* is the type that migrated into other Latin American countries such as Chile. Important composers wrote *guarachas* that transcended the theater repertoire and became autonomous, securing their relevance in the second stage or prototype in the 1920s, when theatrical and singable *guaracha* became intertwined with the Cuban *son*. This marked the genre's departure from the theatrical stage and the emergence of the *guaracha-son* subgenre.

Origins and Historiography

The origins of *guaracha* have not been systematically collected and they appear dispersed in the existing bibliography. However, a large part of this bibliography acknowledges its Spanish ancestry and describes it as both song and dance. Some sources suggest *guaracha* was present in Cuba in the sixteenth century in the streets, public parks and circuses, or in brothels and port bars in Havana later in the eighteenth century. Other sources date its origins in the eighteenth century in the form of Spanish *zapateo andaluz* (from Andalucía). The *Diccionario provincial casi-razonado de vozes y frases cubanas* (Pichardo 1976) places the *guaracha* at the beginning of the nineteenth century – a date widely accepted – and defines the genre as a 'dance of the riffraff that is almost outdated.'

Some scholars discuss the origin of the genre exclusively within the context of Cuban *teatro bufo* of the nineteenth century. According to Robin Moore, the term 'guaracha' was used in theater to describe a vocal duet in a moderate tempo between a *mulata* and a black man that emphasized immodest humor and sexual innuendo (Moore 1997, 92). Generally speaking, the festive connotations of *guaracha* are transposed to daily life into terms such as 'guaracha' (rowdy party), 'guarachero' (partygoer) or 'guarachar' (to party), just as the term 'sandunga,' found in theatrical *guaracha* librettos and scores as a performance marking and in the typical 'mulata sandunguera' character, is used in social contexts to mean 'spice' and 'salaciousness.'

Stages and Development

Guaracha was initially performed in the sixteenth century in urban street parades such as *serenatas*, *comparsas* and *recorridos*. *Guarachas* also appeared in dance halls, where sung fragments were superimposed over *contradanza* melodies. In fact, a number of *contradanzas* were written from old *guarachas*: a notable example is 'El sungambelo' (1813, anonymous), which served as the theme for the first part of the *contradanza* of the same name. During the wars for independence in the nineteenth century, newspapers referred to the existence of 'camp' *guarachas*. The genre also existed as part of the *trovador* repertoire across the country, but most importantly, *guarachas* were incorporated within Cuban *teatro bufo*, a vernacular nineteenth-century form of comic musical theater that relied heavily on the use of blackface and depicted 'typical' characters that represented racial groups and social classes.

In the context of the theater, *guaracha* replaced *jácaras* or picaresque songs that were interpolated in *tonadillas*, *sainetes* and *entremeses* of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish Siglo de Oro theater represented in Cuba. *Guaracha*'s rise in fortune begins in the second half of the nineteenth century, a process driven by Francisco Covarrubias and Enrique Guerrero. In this type of *guaracha*, many elements that were present in other manifestations of the genre became amalgamated and first crystallized: its popular character, the jocular and ironic language, as well as its links to song. Thus, the *guaracha* of the *teatro bufo* era concentrates the principal music-text features of the time and fulfills, in the words of Moore, 'a crucial role during almost a century in a place of social and ideological mediation' (Moore 1997, 101). The performance of *guaracha* was carried out by popular characters such as the *negrito* (black male), the *mulata* (*mulata* female) and the *gallego* (Galician) who criticized 'everything in daily life that may be used for joking, derision, and denouncing' (Linares 2000, 98) and made references to social and political events, customs, characters, dances and modes of dress in the manner of a chronicle. Texts from this stage served to channel elements of a nascent national identity, idiosyncratic features and sociopolitical and cultural concerns, while the music nurtured the sound amalgam that marked its birth – mainly that of the more popular context, although it also fostered expressions closer to those of lyrical song.

With the popularity of *son* during the first decades of the twentieth century, a second important event in the history of *guaracha* was the emergence of a canon established by the *guaracha-son* form, which combines the *guaracha* with the classic structure of the *son* genre (introduction, body and *montuno* section). This second prototype was established within the *trovador* tradition, whose defining feature was a *sonero* singing style with a quicker tempo and with texts that were already known. This 'familiar air' allows for other pieces to be considered as part of the genre, tied to the prototype by one of their features. *Guaracha-son* was adopted by septets and other ensembles, which encouraged both a widespread danceable version of the *guaracha* and new forms of manifesting itself within the vernacular theater.

Music-Text Characterization

Until the nineteenth century some *guarachas* could be very close to other song types due to the lyricism of the performance style, but they differed in the lyrical approach from these other songs, which were typically comical, ironic or satirical, as is the case in 'La reglana' by Eliseo Grenet. The strong presence of basic multivalent and reciprocal accented rhythmic patterns called *cinquillo*, *tresillo*, *anfíbraco/tanguillo* and *habaneroso* (Orozco 2001a, 29), juxtaposed and superimposed over performance modes for the stage defined *guaracha* as a synthesis of styles that converged in Cuba during the era of vernacular theater, particularly the *son*, *danzon* and *bolero*. This generated hybrid works that represented a complete fusion of multiple genres such as the aforementioned 'La reglana' by Eliseo Grenet and 'El golpe bibijagua' by Julio Cuevas. Both songs are performed by Rita Montaner.

Theater *guaracha* was initially conceived in 6/8 with occasional use of short note values (i.e., sixteenths and 30 seconds) on the accented beats. Later, the use of duple meter became intensified and more regular, making 2/4 the standard. Emilio Grenet alludes to a singable type in 6/8 and describes a 'set of rhythmic combinations (6/8 or 3/4 with 2/4) arranged without regimentation' (*Música popular cubana*, 39). This set generates rhythmic contrasts with a more dynamic effect.

Starting in the second half of the twentieth century, the *guaracha-son* was consolidated. The generic type *guaracha-son* assumed a quicker tempo with more jocular and picaresque lyrics than the *son*, and the accompanying guitar moved closer to the *tanguillo* style used in the rhythmic strumming figures performed by trios and other combinations of chordophones.

With regard to song texts, the language is popular, on occasion coming very close to vulgarity. In more lyrical *guarachas* the message may be diluted or softened, while in other contexts the joking character predominates. The jocular, ironic or satirical nature of the lyrics is a defining characteristic of the genre, intensified by the use of literary devices such as the purposeful mispronunciation of words to represent lower social classes – pejoratively stereotyped in the *negrito bozal* (an unacculturated black African slave in Cuba) and the *catedrático* (a 'black professor' feigning education and social status) – play on words, allegory, personification and *double-entendre*. These resources were utilized in accordance with the patrons of the era's preferences for what they perceived as taboo and comic, which may limit the relevance of some *guarachas* to posterity. Historically, these features were also used to mask themes of politics and sex, and a large number of works were censored. A classic example of *guaracha-son* with fable-style lyrics is 'Cuidadito Compay Gallo' (Watch Out, Rooster Buddy) by Ñico Saquito (Antonio Fernández, Santiago de Cuba 1901–82).

Guaracha form does not follow a set pattern; *guarachas* feature *cuartetas* or other strophic species of four verses, *décimas* or free strophic forms, as well as variable use of rhymed and unrhymed verses. The presence of an *estribillo* is common, which coexists with the *copla* in a solo-chorus alternation.

Ensembles and Performers

Early *guarachas* were performed by small itinerant ensembles such as Tandas de Guaracheros and Grupos de Cantadores, as well as by *estudiantinas*. In colonial times and up until the twentieth century, *estudiantinas* were groups of youths that gave serenades and sang and played music on the streets, in neighborhoods and in the homes of friends in the cities. During the wars of independence, *guarachas* were performed by military bands. In the context of the theater, they were performed by guitars (duos or trios), the theater's orchestra, or by a piano. The most important performer of *guarachas* in this context was Rita Montaner.

Within the *trovador* tradition of the first half of the twentieth century, *guarachas* adopted a style accompanied mainly by guitar and, depending on duo or trio format, employing two voices, based on the work of Miguel Matamoros, Ñico Saquito and the duo Los Compadres. In later years, the *trovadores* Faustino Oramas 'El guayabero' and Pedro Luis Ferrer became the principal exponents of the genre.

As far as dancing, the genre is adopted by *son* septets, ensembles, *charangas*, jazz bands and *orquestas típicas*. Alejo Carpentier includes *guarachas* in the repertoire of some important dance orchestras around 1878, such as the Miguel Faílde orchestra from Matanzas and the Raimundo Valenzuela orchestra from Havana. These *guarachas* were performed alongside *rumbas*, *boleros*, *puntos de claves*, *guajiras* and *danzones* (Carpentier [1946] 2004, 160).

Important works include those by Bienvenido Julián Gutiérrez and Marcelino Guerra as well as performances by ensembles such as Casino and Roberto Faz y la Sonora Matancera, whose vocalist Celia Cruz was known internationally as the 'guarachera de Cuba.' Today, *guaracha* is interpreted by ensembles of varying instrumentation such as Raison and Juego de Manos, the latter led by David Álvarez.

The Dance

Historiography of *guaracha* refers to a dance in the nineteenth century that was similar to the *rumbita flamenca* taught in academies along with other Hispanic dances. In the context of the theater, *guarachas* were danced within the *sainetes* and during *intermedios* (e.g., short theatrical interludes performed between acts of a theatrical play), in a manner similar to the *rumba teatral*. After its intersection with *son*, *guaracha* absorbed some of the characteristics from this couples' dance including the figures in casino-style that are still maintained today.

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NERIS GONZÁLEZ BELLO AND LILIANA CASANELLA CUÉ
(TRANSLATED BY PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

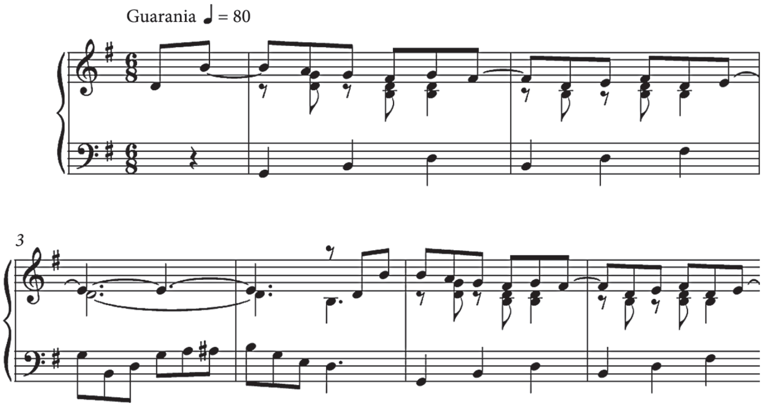
Guarania

The *guarania* is a vocal and instrumental urban musical genre created in 1925 by Paraguayan composer José Asunción Flores (1904–72). In that year, while receiving musical training with the Banda de Música de la Policía de la Capital (Asunción Police Academy Music Band), Flores experimented with an arrangement of 'Ma'erápa reikuaasé' (Why Do You Want to Know[?]), a popular Paraguayan *polca* attributed to composer Rogelio Recalde. Concerned about the correct notation of Paraguayan music, Flores thought that using a slower tempo for this arrangement would facilitate the accurate performance of its phrase accentuation and syncopation. The experimental tempo and its resulting aural effect inspired Flores to produce other compositions with a similar rhythmic pace and style. Thus in 1925 he composed the instrumental piece 'Jejuí' for violin, cello and piano, following this shortly afterward with 'Kerasy' (Somnolence) and 'Arribeño resay' (The Tears of the River Dweller), for wind, brass and percussion instruments. Piano versions of these pieces were published later in Buenos Aires, for purposes of copyright registration and wider dissemination.

The term *guarania* was later applied by Flores to the musical genre he had created. Some sources attribute the composer's adoption of the term to a line found in a poem by Guillermo Molinas Rolón (1892–1945) entitled 'Canto a la raza' (Song to the [Guaraní] Race), 1910. This poem had a great impact on Flores, who was influenced by the notion, current at the time, that the ideas and philosophy of the ancient Guaraní community and its role in the colonial miscegenation process were essential to Paraguayan identity, and believed that the term *guarania* captured the essence of the Paraguayan sentiment in music. Other musicians embraced the rhythmic innovation proposed by Flores, and soon thereafter other *guaranias* were composed and disseminated. With the collaboration of close friend and poet Manuel Ortíz Guerrero (1894–1933), Flores produced some of his most celebrated *guaranias*, among them 'Buenos Aires, Salud' (Hail, Buenos Aires), 1933, a salutation to the city where Flores received political asylum (1936–72) after his expulsion from Paraguay due to his association with the Communist Party, 'India' (Indian Girl) ca. 1930, a reflection on the attributes and qualities of an exotic Guaraní girl, 'Ne rendápe ajú' (I Come to You[r Side]), ca. 1930, a song of a traveler who dreams of returning to his beloved, 'Panambí-verá' (Shining Butterfly), ca. 1930, mixing themes of nature and romance, and 'Paraguaype' (Asunción), ca. 1932, describing the emotions felt while walking through the city. In the 1950s Flores experimented with the *guarania* and the symphonic form, premiering and recording in Buenos Aires and in Moscow his three *Guaranias sinfónicas*: *Pyharé Pyté* ([In the] Deep [of the] Night), 1930–54, for vocal soloist, double chorus and orchestra, *Ñanderuvusú* (Our Great Father), 1957, a ballet inspired by the Guaraní legend of Creation, and *María de la Paz*, 1961, a cantata dedicated to the city of Hiroshima and its inhabitants.

Two official government documents have recognized the *guarania* as a national genre within the body of Paraguayan music. The first, signed by President Higinio Morínigo on 24 July 1944, designated the composition 'India,' with lyrics by Manuel Ortíz Guerrero and music by José Asunción Flores, as *Guarania nacional*. The second document, signed by President Juan Carlos Wasmosy on 25 August 1994, established Flores's date of birth, 27 August, as the *Día Nacional de la Guarania* (National Day of the *Guarania*).

Although the *guarania* shares similar melodic and harmonic features with the Paraguayan *polca*, its slow rhythm in compound duple meter offers the possibility of creating longer musical phrases and variations in its melodic accentuation and syncopation. Specifically, the slow rhythmic nature of the *guarania* emphasizes the *sincopado paraguayo* (Paraguayan syncopation), which ties the last beat of the melodic line of a given measure with the first beat of the following (Boettner 1997, 205) (see Example 1).



Example 1: Guarania showing *sincopado paraguayo* (© Florentín Giménez. Used with permission)

Originally conceived as an instrumental genre, the *guarania* quickly became known as a song form. Both Cardozo Ocampo (2005, 72–3) and Giménez (1997, 126) believe that the performance style of the *guarania* is strongly connected to that of the *purahéi asy* (mournful song), a genre previously cultivated by nineteenth-century popular musicians, and that through the *guarania* the musical creativity and inspiration of Flores revitalized this old practice. The live broadcast of popular regional music from radio stations in Buenos Aires – the main center for the promotion of the arts during the early to mid-twentieth century – as well as the development of the recording industry, helped to disseminate the *guarania* in Argentina and Paraguay and later in other Latin American countries. Since the early 1960s and with the establishment of the recording industry in Paraguay, local labels such as Blue Caps Producciones Fonográficas, Discos Cerro Corá and The Song Producciones Fonográficas have regularly released old and newly composed *guaranias*, proving that a market for the genre continues to grow. In general terms, since the late 1950s, the singing style has become more mellow and breathy, with the addition of straight-tone and vibrato effect at the end of phrases. Nowadays, *guaranias* are usually performed with the accompaniment of the guitar and the Paraguayan diatonic harp (see Discography); however, ensembles of various instrumental combinations may accompany its interpretation. Most *guarania* texts emphasize romance and nostalgia themes with a high degree of emotion, usually related to melancholy and yearning. In addition to those by Flores, some of the most frequently performed and recorded vocal *guaranias* include 'Lejanía' (Distance), 1958 (1941), with lyrics and music by Herminio Giménez, 'Mi dicha lejana' (My Distant Joy), 1944 with lyrics and music by Emigdio Ayala Báez, 'Mis noches sin ti' (My Nights Without You), 1950, with lyrics by María Teresa Márquez and music by Demetrio Ortíz and 'Recuerdo de Ypacaraí' (Memory of Ypacaraí), 1953, with lyrics by Zulema de Mirkin and music by Demetrio Ortíz.

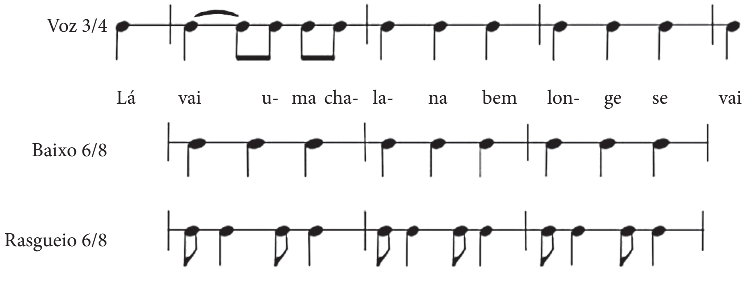
The *Guarania* in Brazil

During the 1940s, at a time when US country music and its symbols of modernity were being mixed with Brazilian *música caipira*, Brazilian musicians such as Raul Torres, Nhô Pai, Mário Zan and Capitão Furtado visited Paraguay and discovered in Paraguayan music an opportunity to renovate the country music of Brazil. Thereafter, the presence of Paraguayan *polcas* and *guaranias* with lyrics translated into Portuguese became common in *música caipira*. Also, the technique of *rasgueo* or *rasgueado* (strumming), known in Brazil as *rasqueado*, was incorporated by Brazilian guitar players. Later, the name *rasqueado* came to be used also to refer to all the songs with rhythmical 6/8 accompaniments that reminded Brazilian people of Paraguayan music.

Raul Torres visited Paraguay on several occasions and composed at least seven *guaranias* and eight *rasqueados* (Nepomuceno 1999, 123). Popular *guaranias* such as 'Recuerdos de Ypacaraí,' 'Lejania' and 'Índia' were translated into Portuguese and were recorded by the voices of Nhô Pai & Nhá Fia, Irmãs Castro and Cascatinha & Inhana.

Guaranias by Brazilian musicians do not show the same degree of complexity as do the Paraguayan *guaranias*. A very popular Brazilian *guarânia* composed by Arlindo Pinto (lyrics) and Mário Zan (music) is the 'Chalana,' in which the vocal line is in 3/4 time while the guitar accompaniment and bass line maintain 6/8 (Example 2).

Versions of Paraguayan *guaranias* in Portuguese, the incorporation of the *rasqueado* guitar accompaniment technique and the creation of *rasqueados* not only alert Brazilians to Paraguayan music but also draw attention to the southern Brazilian states of Mato Grosso and Mato Grosso do Sul with their fields, farms, little remote villages and their frontiers, where cultural interchange between Paraguay and Brazil has resulted in the formation of a unique identity.



Example 2: Extract from 'Chalana' showing vocal line in 3/4 and accompaniment in 6/8

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ALFREDO COLMAN (PARAGUAY) WITH
EVANDRO RODRIGUES HIGA (BRAZIL)

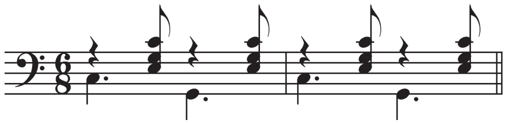
Guarimba

The *guarimba*, also known as *seis por ocho* (six by eight), is one of the most characteristic *marimba* dance musics practiced in urban areas of Guatemala by *Ladinos* (the mestizo, Spanish-speaking population of the country). *Guarimba* is a composite word formed from 'Guatemala' and '*marimba*,' and thus refers both to its place of origin and to the instrument which made it popular.

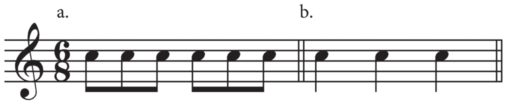
The first *guarimbas* were piano pieces written in the 1920s by Víctor Wotsbelí Aguilar (1897–1940) in Quetzaltenango, Guatemala's second city, located in the western highlands. Aguilar discovered the *guarimba*'s rhythmic formula while experimenting with playing a foxtrot in a 6/8 meter instead of its traditional 2/2. The foxtrot, a North American dance associated with the repertory of jazz bands, had been brought to Guatemala by successive waves of local chromatic *marimba* ensembles (a group of eight musicians who play two *marimbas* and a double bass), who toured the United States after 1915. Once in Guatemala, it acquired its own personality in the context of the local performance and repertoire.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the *marimba* had emerged as the favorite instrument for *Ladino* dance music, thanks to the instrument's local evolution from its diatonic simple form to the double chromatic *marimba*. This allowed *guarimbas*, originally written for the piano, to be transcribed for the chromatic *marimba* ensemble, gaining popular acceptance in local ballrooms, where they competed with the common international saloon music forms (waltz, schottische, mazurka and polka).

The *guarimba* is characterized by a moderately quick 6/8 meter with alternate bass and offbeat harmonic accompaniment (Example 1). Recurring groups of three eighth notes and *hemiola* patterns are often used as rhythmic figures in the melodic part (Example 2). The use of added sixths chords, secondary dominants and direct modulations in ternary structures is also common.



Example 1: *Guarimba*'s accompaniment pattern



Example 2: *Guarimba*'s melodic rhythmic patterns

Among the most popular *guarimbas* are 'Los trece' (The Thirteen), 'Aromas de mi tierra' (Fragrance of My Land) and 'Tristesas quezaltecas' (Quetzaltequian Sadness) by Wotsbelí Aguilar; 'Juventud antigueña' (Antiguan Youth) by Manuel Samayoa (b. 1928), 'Turismo guatemalteco' (Guatemalan Tourism) by Higinio Ovalle (1905–81), 'Boca con boca' (Mouth with Mouth) by Rocael Hurtado (1900–73) and 'Callecita de los alamos' (Little Street of the Poplars) by Domingo Bethancourt (1906–80). Guitar transcriptions of some of these pieces were popular toward the end of the twentieth century.

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IGOR DE GANDARIAS

Gwoka Modènn

Gwoka modènn, or modern *gwoka*, is a form of music which emerged in the French Caribbean island of Guadeloupe in 1969, when guitarist Gérard Lockel proposed a way to adapt the melodies, scales and rhythms of traditional *gwoka* in order to play them on stage using modern instruments such as guitar, trumpet, saxophone and drum set. While, strictly speaking, *gwoka modènn* only refers to music based on Lockel's concepts, at the beginning of the twenty-first century the term is often extended to describe many other forms of instrumental *gwoka*.

Gwoka traditionnel (Traditional *Gwoka*)

As early as the seventeenth century, European chroniclers observed African-derived, drum-based dances among the slave population of the French Antilles (Du Tertre 1654; Rochefort 1665). The term *gwoka* (also spelled *gro ka* or *gwo ka*), however, seems to have come into widespread use in the second half of the twentieth century to describe both a drum and a set of dances accompanied by that drum. The *gwoka* (or *ka*) is a single-headed, barrel-shaped drum, characterized by a system of tension using nautical rope and wooden keys. *Gwoka* is generally performed during outdoor celebrations on Friday or Saturday nights, mostly during the summer, called *swaré léwòz*. During a *léwòz*, *gwoka* generally involves three drummers, a *chantè* (lead singer), several *répondè* (singers forming a chorus) and a succession of dancers performing individually. Two *boula*, lower-pitched *gwoka* drums, play a constant rhythmic pattern in unison. A single higher-pitched drum called makè improvises above this rhythmic ostinato in response to the movement of dancers. The songs – always in French Creole – follow a call-and-response pattern, with the *répondè* repeating a set refrain while the *chantè* improvises new lines of text. Call and response often, but not always, alternate at regular intervals. Even though it is generally said that there are seven *boula* rhythms, most *gwoka* musicians commonly play eight different basic patterns: *woulé*, *kaladja*, *toumblak*, *graj*, *léwòz*, *menndé*, *pajanbel* and *granjanbel*. Beyond these traditional rhythms, some groups have introduced new patterns, such as the *takout* created by the group Takouta in the 1970s. Each *gwoka* song is set to a specific rhythm that defines its mood, character and dance steps.

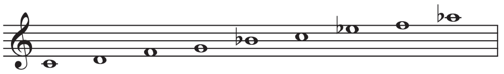
Following the abolition of slavery in 1848 in the French Antilles, the mulatto bourgeoisie denigrated African-derived dances because of their association with slavery. Seduced by jacobinical promises for radical egalitarianism, this rising middle class pushed for greater cultural and political assimilation with France through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The push for assimilation culminated in the 1946 law of departmentalization which integrated Guadeloupe, Martinique, French Guiana and Reunion into the French political system. By the 1950s *gwoka* was systematically stigmatized as the music of 'vié nèg' (literally, 'old blacks'), a derogatory term akin to hoodlum or hobo (Gabali 2003, 8).

Gwoka Modènn

A growing economic crisis in the 1960s and the brutal repression against demonstrators in May 1967 fueled the growth of a separatist movement on the island. This movement joined together factory and agricultural workers, trade unions, Guadeloupean intellectuals and members of the General Association of Guadeloupean Students (AGEG). Influenced by Marxist and Maoist ideology, these nationalist militants argued that, more than *biguine* or *quadrille*, *gwoka* represented the only truly Guadeloupean form of music. They then set out to revitalize the tradition (AGEG 1970).

Gérard Lockel played a central role in this program. In the 1950s and 1960s Lockel had a successful career as a jazz guitarist in Paris. In 1969 he moved back to Guadeloupe where he offered the first concert in a new musical style that he dubbed '*gwoka modènn*' (Lockel 1989). A fervent nationalist, Lockel insisted that music should serve political ends. He used *gwoka modènn* to illustrate the specificity of Guadeloupean culture and to push for the island's independence. He presented his musical and political theories through a series of concert-debates, and several self-produced recordings and publications, including his monumental, 527-page *Traité de Gro Ka Modên* [Treatise of Gro Ka Modên] (1981), a method book gathering over 350 exercises.

Lockel based his system on an interpretation of *gwoka* as an 'atonal-modal' music. As such, he rejected any form of tonal tertian harmony in *gwoka modènn*. Furthermore, Lockel devised a new scale which he called 'gamme gwoka' [*gwoka* scale]. It consists of a regular succession of alternating whole steps and minor thirds which takes 24 pitches over five octaves to loop upon itself. Lockel recommends that improvisers limit themselves to the first nine pitches of the series (see Example 1) and mix together as many transpositions of the scale as they see fit.



Example 1: *Gwoka* scale

The structure of Lockel's compositions differs from that of traditional *gwoka* and is reminiscent of a practice that is common in jazz. Melodic instruments within the band introduce a theme in unison. This theme is then developed through a series of individual solos before being restated. The theme is also often used as an interlude between each solo.

Lockel's treatise offered the first published prescriptive notation of the rhythms played on the *boula* drums. The book describes seven rhythms, omitting the *pajanbel*. According to Lockel, *gwoka modènn* refers exclusively to instrumental music using the *gamme gwoka* and one of the seven rhythms listed in his treatise. However, several musicians have expanded this definition.

Antecedents and Influence

Lockel was not the first musician to add instruments to the drums found in *gwoka* music. Traditional *gwoka* singers Dolor and Robert Loyson joined forces with *biguine* musicians on some recordings as early as the 1960s. In the 1970s, as Lockel developed *gwoka modènn*, songwriter Guy Conquête (spelled 'Konket' in Creole) integrated dance band musicians within his *gwoka* ensemble, yet his music remained close to the tradition in its melodic and rhythmic vocabulary. Konket also kept the traditional responsorial structure of *gwoka* but complicated it by dividing his compositions into several sections that used different responses. For example, his song 'Lapli ka tombé' [It Is Raining] (Vélo & Guy Conquête 2008) starts with a long refrain (18 syllables). Halfway through the performance, the *répondè* introduces a short response (a single word of only two syllables), thus intensifying the performance by speeding up the exchange between *chantè* and *répondè*. Although the text of many of Konket's songs reflected the political and economic difficulties of the time, such as 'La Gwadloup malad' [Guadeloupe Is Sick] (Vélo & Guy Conquête 2008), Konket refused to align himself with any political party (Konket 2008).

While Gérard Lockel never managed to attract a broad popular following, he has nonetheless inspired numerous Guadeloupean musicians to express their national identity by playing *gwoka*, and in the early twenty-first century he remains the outstanding reference point for instrumental *gwoka* musicians. Trumpeter Edouard Ignol-Hélène – a.k.a. Kafé – led what was probably the most popular of the many instrumental *gwoka* groups that have emerged since the 1970s. Other groups of note include Gwakasonné, Katouré, Foubap, Kimbòl, Horizon, Simen'nkontra, Trio Laviso and Eritaj. These groups present a wide variety of musical styles and often use labels such as *gwoka évolutif* (progressive *gwoka*) to differentiate their music from Lockel's. For example, Horizon and Eritaj mix Lockel's *gwoka* scales and pentatonic scales within complex arrangements of mainly original compositions. On the other hand, Simen'nkontra specializes in instrumental improvisations over traditional *gwoka* songs.

In 1989 Lockel affirmed that even though jazz and *gwoka modènn* were both virtuosic musical expressions of the African diaspora in the Americas, they remained separate musics with separate bases (Lockel 1989). However, several musicians, both within and outside of Guadeloupe, have sought to mix the two traditions. Since 1998 US jazz saxophonist David Murray has been touring and recording with the Gwo-Ka Masters, a group that features percussionists and singers Klod Kiavué and François Ladrezeau as well as guitarist Christian Laviso. The group recorded the album Yonn-dé with Guy Konket in 2000. In 2002 Guadeloupean trumpeter Frank Nicholas released Jazz-Ka Philosophy accompanied by famed jazz/*biguine* pianist Alain-Jean Marie and expatriate saxophonist Jacques Schwarz-Bart. The latter released his own Soné Ka-La to great critical acclaim in 2006. As most *gwoka modènn* groups in Guadeloupe produce their own recordings and so do not benefit from widespread distribution outside of the island, Murray's and Scharz-Bart's albums have contributed to the slightly greater exposure *gwoka* has received in Europe and North America.

Conclusion

When Gérard Lockel introduced *gwoka modènn* in 1969, he saw the music as a weapon of cultural and political activism. He strove to restore *gwoka's* status within Guadeloupean culture and to ennoble the music by expanding its instrumentation and codifying its practice. Even though he never achieved the popular recognition that he wanted or indeed deserved, Lockel by and large succeeded. His concerts, recordings and publications have inspired numerous Guadeloupean musicians. Furthermore, the *ka* has now become a potent musical signifier of national identity in Guadeloupean popular music. This is probably best illustrated by the fact that the band Kassav originally chose the *gwoka* drum as a way to mark the Antillean specificity of *zouk* (Guilbault 1992, 22–3). At the beginning of the twenty-first century the influence of *gwoka* on Guadeloupean popular music continues to be felt through the work of artists such as Soft and Dominik Coco.

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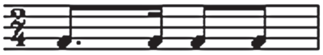
JÉRÔME CAMAL

Habanera

The *habanera* is a vocal and instrumental genre of urban origin that became part of the Cuban song movement in the second half of the nineteenth century. It is defined as a melodic line of lyrical romantic character, with an instrumental accompaniment that performs a stable rhythmic bass pattern (dotted quarter note, eighth note, two quarters (see Example 1).



Example 1: *Habanera* bass rhythmic pattern

The latter, known as *habanera* rhythm, *tango* or *tango congo*, which according to Cuban musicologist

Danilo Orozco (2000) originates from an African Bantu-Dahomeyan nucleus of rhythmic accentual relations, is the most important element of identification of the genre. It has a simple binary structure and a 2/4 meter; it is performed in tempo *lento* and generally uses texts made of octosyllabic lines with the purpose of maintaining its formal design.

The term *habanera* spread in the creative and interpretive context of the *contredanse*, a *criollo* form (i.e., created in Cuba but derived from European predecessors). At the beginning of the nineteenth century examples of the *habanera* were described with the name of *contradanzas habaneras* (Havana *contredanses*). For this reason, a number of sources agree that the *habanera* originates from a ball dance. Further evidence is provided by the fact that some '*dances* with a native influence, with a better rhythmic elaboration, … assimilated a text, and new songs that were simply called habaneras emerged' (León 1974, 187). Those songs took from the previous Cuban *contredanses* and dances the so-called *tango* rhythm and used it as a guiding pattern. Thus, this model was named *habanera* rhythm until it gained enough autonomy to designate a song style.

The first published *habanera* appeared in *La Prensa* newspaper in 1842. It was 'El amor en el baile' (Love in the Dance), which was signed by 'C.P.' and was identified by the publication as a 'new *habanera* song.' Cuban researcher Zoila Lapique writes: 'This song … may be considered a precursor to the *habanera* because it shows the characteristic cells … always present in the genre. It is the first found piece written for voice and piano that uses in its rhythmic accompaniment the *tango* pattern until then reserved for Cuban *contradanzas*, which were called … *danzas habaneras*' (Lapique 2011, 132).

The origin of the *habanera* is also linked to another Cuban vocal genre, the *guaracha*, since there are scores in which the formal structure of the melody is similar to the rhythmic and harmonic accompaniment. The main differences are found in the content of the text: the *habanera* is focused on love and poetry, while the *guaracha* is centered on humor and social critique.

The fact that the development of the *habanera* as a genre mainly occurred in areas near ports such as Havana meant that it entered the repertoire of sailors, who took it to other countries, contributing to its diffusion to the Americas along with Spain and other European countries. The ostinato featured in the traditional bass line was incorporated in the song repertoire of Spain, Mexico, Peru, Venezuela and Argentina. As Erdfehler notes, the influence of the *habanera* on Argentinian music can be seen in the fact that the first manifestations of *tango* appeared in the 1880s under the format of *habaneras* (2001, 49). In his book *The Latin Tinge* (1979), John Storm Roberts classifies the *habanera* as one of the first styles to influence the music of the United States. Precisely one of the elements that contributed to the genre's assimilation is its rhythmic pattern, which is contained within a single measure. This pattern had been previously introduced in the bass line of piano works, which were published as printed scores. The oldest example of these works is 'La pimiento' with a publication date of 1836 (1979, 5–6). Roberts asserts that toward the end of the 1870s the United States had clearly been exposed to the *habanera* rhythm through works such as 'La paloma' (The Dove) by Sebastián Iradier, a piece that is considered the first great Latin American success in the country (1979, 30–1).

Other information about the dissemination of *habanera* in the Americas indicates that it reached Chile around the year 1870, after touring Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru and Argentina. In this regard, Argentinian musicologist Carlos Vega wrote in *El origen de las danzas folklóricas* (The Origin of Folkloric Dances) that this dance was first reserved for the halls of the aristocracy and later became popular among the middle class (Vega 1956, 142). The Spanish influence introduced an element of reciprocity to the development of the genre. Here '… at the end of the nineteenth century the habanera grew independent from the dance as musical genre, it developed into a romantic and lyric version though it maintained the same pattern' (Guerrero 2005, 27).

The *habanera* became internationally known and well defined as a result of its use by Spanish composers of theater genres such as the *zarzuela*, who inserted the *habanera* into the *zarzuela*. Here, too, 'La paloma' by Sebastián Iradier (written about 1863, and one of the most famous *habaneras* around the world) constitutes a classic example.

Composers from other European countries who searched for innovations in their music by introducing Spanish elements, such as Bizet, Glinka, Lalo, Saint Säens and Ravel, used the rhythms and melodies from well-known *habaneras*. The influence of Spanish *zarzuela* composers also was seen in the works of Cuban composers who produced plays on national topics, music and characters, incorporating *habaneras* in late-nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century works such as *La mulata María* (The Mulatta Maria) by Raimundo Valenzuela; *El submarino* (The Submarine) by Ignacio Cervantes; *Los Saltimbanquis* (The Acrobats) by Manuel Pérez de la Presa; *El hijo del*

Camagüey (The Son of the Camagüey) by José Marín Varona; and *La Plaza de la Catedral* (The Cathedral Plaza) by Ernesto Lecuona.

The Cuban lyric song attained greater standing at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century. The best example is *Tú* (You) (1892) by Eduardo Sánchez de Fuentes, in which the *habanera* crossed the boundary between 'popular song' and 'concert song.' Other composers such as Antonio Peñez, José Marín Varona, Luis Casas Romero, Rogelio Dihigo, José Castro Chané, Ernesto Lecuona, Jorge Anckermann and Gonzalo Roig also composed and edited lyric *habaneras*.

The *habanera* was also used in the *trova* song 'Veinte años' (Twenty Years) by María Teresa Vera, 'Mariposita de primavera' (Little Spring Butterfly) by Miguel Matamoros and 'La rosa roja' (The Red Rose) by Oscar Hernández are examples that are well known in Cuba and around the globe.

After the first decades of the twentieth century the genre's status declined, though some plays with music featuring recognizable *habanera* rhythmic pattern have been produced. In this context, the *habanera* has been used by contemporary academics to express Cuban identity. New plays have been produced for the Habanera Festivals, held since 1986 in order to preserve musical and cultural Cuban patrimony since the *habanera* no longer plays a major part in the contemporary song movement.

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AILER PÉREZ GÓMEZ (TRANSLATED BY ALEJANDRO GONZÁLEZ WITH PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

Hatajo de Negritos

During the Christmas season, in Peru's southern coastal department of Ica, groups of young Afro-Peruvian and mestizo boys and men called *hatajos de negritos* dance and (in some regions) sing *villancicos* in the streets and in front of nativity scenes in private homes to express adoration of the Virgin Mary and baby Jesus. Dances are infused with imagery of both the Magi kings and slavery (Tompkins 1981, 325–42).

In most areas, *negritos* carrying rope whips perform *zapateo* (tap dancing) steps in two parallel line formations, managed by a *caporal* (foreman). Sometimes, a *viejito* (old man) or *borrachito* (drunk) character amuses audience members and keeps them away from the dancers (Feldman 2006, 196; Santa Cruz 1969, 13; Tompkins 1981, 331). Costumes, which have varied regionally and over time, may include special footwear (rope slippers or black boots), pants and shirts in prescribed colors, sashes and caps covered with mirrors, coins and bells, and crowns (Santa Cruz 1969, 12). Musical accompaniment also varies regionally: a violin in El Carmen, a guitar in Pisco and a musical ensemble in Huánuco. In El Carmen, the dancers sing strophic songs, while in Huánuco, no lyrics are sung (Vásquez Rodríguez 1982, 65). In some areas, groups of young girls called *pallas* also dance, accompanied by a violin and/or guitar player.

Most scholarly documentation focuses on the town of El Carmen (Feldman 2006; Santa Cruz 1969; Tompkins 1981, 1998; Vásquez Rodríguez 1982), where the largest number of Afro-Peruvians take part in the *hatajo de negritos*. The musical repertoire performed during the Christmas festival of the Virgin of El Carmen consists of 24 strophic Christmas songs in duple meter sung chorally (E. Ballumbrosio 2000, 171; Tompkins 1981, 560–5; Vásquez Rodríguez 1982, 85–162), accompanied by one or more violinists whose instruments typically are decorated with streamers in the colors of the Peruvian flag (red and white). The violin is tuned in fifths but normally pitched one or more tones below European standard tuning (Vásquez Rodríguez 1982, 77). The melody is played on the violin's upper string, while the two middle strings articulate a repeated perfect fifth on open strings in rhythmic unison with the melody. The lowest string is rarely used. After the melody is played once, the *negritos* sing (marking the beat with handbells), usually in choral unison and sometimes in call-and-response form, to the same violin accompaniment. Melodies (in major and minor modes) are simple, with few interval skips of more than a third and a range of a fifth. Like the Andean *huayno*, phrases tend to be in couplets, with each melodic phrase repeated once. Lyrics are related to the Christmas story or pastoral themes. References to slavery appear in songs such as 'Zancudito' and 'Panalivio' (Baca 1997, 2000; González 1993; Lurita and Vallumbrosio 1998; Tompkins 1982, 336–7). Between verses, the *negritos* perform unison *zapateo* steps in rhythmic counterpoint with the violin.

Dances called *negritos* have been performed by black Peruvians in religious and State ceremonies since the seventeenth century (Tompkins 1981, 340). *Negritos* dances are performed by indigenous and mestizo peasants wearing black masks in festivals in Peru's highland communities, commemorating the historical presence of black slaves (Bigenho 1998; Cánepa Koch 1998a, 1998b; Salas Carreño 1998, 110). The relationship between these *negritos* dances requires further research (Feldman 2009; Salas Carreño 1998; Tompkins 1981; Vásquez Rodríguez 1982).

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HEIDI CAROLYN FELDMAN

Hip-hop (Introduction)

The pairing of 'hip-hop' with 'Latin America and the Caribbean' may conjure a contemporary version of what cultural studies scholar Dick Hebdige (1987) called 'cut 'n' mix' (since 2004, for example, reggaeton, a hybrid of rap, reggae and a host of Panamanian, Puerto Rican and Jamaican folk music genres, has become increasingly popular), but in fact, hip-hop *roots* are essentially intertwined with its *routes* and Latin America and the Caribbean are central to that history.

Hip-hop is an organizing term for the four 'elements' of expressive culture corresponding to the human modes of being in the world: rhetoric (rap), sound scapes (disc jockey), visual cartographies (graffiti) and body movement (B-boys and B-girls). Mass commercialization during the 1980s in the United States helped cause a general conflation of the terms 'hip-hop' and 'rap.' In part due to this confusion, many 'conscious' artists have returned to 'culture' as a way to underscore the 'street' ethos of hip-hop and a complementary philosophy of cross-cultural understanding.

The search for the 'real' meaning of the 'street' in hip-hop is deeper in both time and space than the purported birthplace of the South Bronx, New York City, in the late 1970s. While early writers of hip-hop, such as David Toop (1984), sketched out the roots of hip-hop in West Africa (e.g., the tradition of *griot* storytellers), others such as Hebdige and later Raquel Rivera portrayed hip-hop roots/routes with broader notions of migration and diaspora, rather than asserted African retentions or 'survivals.'

There are two basic parts to this history: immigrant innovators and cultural precedents. It is undeniable that the transformation of the South Bronx after the infamous highway construction of the late 1950s and 1960s resulted in a tense, competitive and ultimately creative encounter between African Americans and Latinos. The members of the early street dance and graffiti crews represented this multicultural mix. Moreover, the early stars of the microphone and turntable were members of immigrant families hailing from Barbados (e.g., Grandmaster Flash) and Jamaica (Kool DJ Herc). What would become the most popular expression of the 'street' was not simply located in the realities of New York City. The style of bass-heavy, booming sound production and the catchy bravura of rap rhymes are versions of the 'ragging' and 'broad talking' of the island of St Vincent as well as the 'talk overs' and 'dubs' of 1960s Jamaican popular music producers. The hip-hop 'attitude' exuding supreme self-confidence and expertise in all things 'real' is a certain recasting of the 'rude boy' street ethos of 1960s Kingston, Jamaica and later West Indian immigrants in working-class districts of London.

This brief introduction to a set of entries on hip-hop on six different countries in the Caribbean and Latin America is a call to reconsider hip-hop history and locality. Hip-hop is not a US-born cultural template that floats around the globe for youth to reckon and 'localize.' Rather, hip-hop is what emerges from a complex and dynamic web of migrating sounds, images and attitudes mediated by creative youth, who are rooted in local streets but always part of something beyond the here and now. Latin America and the Caribbean have been rich resources for hip-hoppers elsewhere and increasingly have become recognized as a center of hip-hop production and innovative skill.

The following accounts of hip-hop in Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico and Puerto Rico are intended to offer a partial cross-section of the diverse – and sometimes similar – ways in which hip-hop has developed in different regions.

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DEREK PARDUE

Hip-hop in Bolivia

Bolivian *altiplano* (highlands) rap music can be defined as the performance of a MC who rhymes either in Spanish or in indigenous languages Quechua or Aymara to the accompaniment of digital music tracks, most of which include Andean instruments such as *quena or zampoña*. For their shows, rappers usually wear *ponchos* (a single large sheet of fabric with an opening for the head and sometimes for the arms) and *lluchus* (Andean typical hat) besides the 'low rider' jeans, baseball caps and American jackets. Even though most rappers tend to describe themselves as part of the hip-hop scene, it could be said that out of the four traditional hip-hop elements, the most commonly found is rap, seconded by break-dance and graffiti. Due to the lack of economic resources, there are a few DJs who could be described as social or political hip-hoppers in Bolivia.

In order to understand the complexities of Bolivian hip-hop, it is necessary to take into account Bolivia's political history as well as local cultural projects that either extolled or denigrated mestizo, 'indigenous' or *cholo* symbolisms and images. It is also essential to understand Bolivian Andean Plateau rap in the frame of the reinforcement of Bolivian social movements that has occurred since 2000. It is notable that the development of this specific rap movement coincides with the time, in 2006, when Evo Morales, a leader of coca growers, was elected as the first indigenous president in the history of a country whose population is composed of a majority of indigenous people. Simultaneously and not inconsequently, El Alto town was chosen as a 'favorite' to receive the funds of international cooperation agencies, NGOs and national and municipal agencies. Those organizations said that they would either try to back the social changes promoted by the new Bolivian national government or, on the contrary, work to convert the local youth into 'positive leaders' and not confrontational ones. The Bolivian hip-hop movement is closely linked to internal democratic processes and to southern countries' foreign relations, and should be understood in that specific framework.

The Contemporary Scene

Bolivian rappers cover a huge diversity of subjects. In many of their songs they talk about Bolivian, Aymara, indigenous, *cholo* (countryside migrants living in the city), and Latin American identity; they honor people who died in past political or social demonstrations; they criticize the media and traditional politicians and they plead for social change; they also sing against what they define as American imperialism. Despite this, performing music that originated in the United States does not engender a sense of alienation, as the rappers identify with poor and marginalized African-American and Latino populations in American cities. As rap is not for them a music associated with rich American *gringos,* they do not find any contradiction in using rap to criticize the United States.

This type of music has also been used to support President Evo Morales (who was elected in 2006 as the first indigenous president in the country's history, despite its overwhelmingly indigenous population); to denounce the discrimination that poor, young, urban and indigenous people suffer; and to help youngsters be aware of different citizenship issues. Many local or international NGOs, political parties, embassies and cultural community centers have given financial and logistical support to Bolivian rappers so as to record their songs or present them in public as part of institutional campaigns. For this reason, some rappers have claimed that institutions sometimes use them.

The MC's name or nickname is often in the indigenous Aymara language. The musicians are not hired by big record companies. They usually record their own songs either in their own or in their friends' studios, at community radio stations or at professional studios if their song receives financial support from an NGO, political party or embassy. Their music is usually shared using MySpace or YouTube. Rappers tend to carry their recorded songs in MP3 players and they give them to their friends using that device. Some of them have informally recorded a CD with their music (homemade editions consisting of less than 50 copies).

Most of the rappers are male teenagers, though one of the leaders is a young woman. Nevertheless, many girls hang out with the rappers as their 'groupies.' The rappers define themselves as Bolivian and not as indigenous Aymara, even if most of them have indigenous origins, at least partially. According to Mollericona, in 2007 in El Alto city alone there were 100 hip-hop groups. Only a minority of them speak indigenous languages such as Aymara and Quechua.

Hip-hop in Bolivia is strongly related to Bolivian political and social demonstrations of the 2000s and has a strong presence in the country's highlands, especially in La Paz (the capital) and El Alto, a city located geographically just 'above' La Paz at 3,600 meters above the sea level. At the time of the last census (2001), the majority of the population in both towns considered themselves to be 'indigenous.' El Alto is also one of the poorest cities in South America and Bolivia one of the poorest countries in the region. El Alto was the scene of many protests that forced the resignation of the former neoliberal Bolivian presidents and that consequently led to the election of Morales. The majority of citizens of both cities are also in support of Morales's government.

The Origin of Bolivian Rap

Rap music's emergence in Bolivia can be dated to the 1990s, when, imitating the local TV show *Sábados Populares* (Popular Saturdays), young people got together and invented group choreographies using techno music, changing later to rap music. At much the same time some Bolivian rappers who lived abroad (United States, Europe or Brazil) started to bring rap in English and Spanish into the country.

In the rich neighborhoods of Bolivian cities, it was *gangsta rap* that was first to be in favor. However, from 2000, when demonstrations resulting from challenging social movements started gaining power and attention, a new trend of political and social rap was born, especially in the country's highlands. The movement of political rap was articulated originally in the community center and radio station in El Alto called Wayna Tambo and in the Tiwanaku Pub in La Paz city. The radio programs *La Nueva Flavah* in La Paz and *El Rincón Callejero* in El Alto broadcast news and music from the world of Andean social rap.

Understanding Political and Social Rap

In the Bolivian *altiplano* political and social rap music is being used as a tool in the quest for social justice. Many rappers understand rap as a tool for political struggle, while others tend to indicate that they want to build a youth citizenship that is nonpolitical, at least in the formal sense, while still others say that they are not interested in politics. Bolivian *altiplano* political rappers are inclined to reject institutionalized politics, and rap music has been used to protest against neoliberal presidents. However, despite their criticism, some rappers have engaged in negotiations with traditional political figures in order to participate in concerts, political rallies or rap workshops funded by national and municipal governments, political parties or some other organizations.

It would be a mistake to assume that rappers in these circumstances enjoy full freedom of expression. The lyrics of the songs that may show an evident 'political' awakening of the youngsters are many times under the command of, or at the invitation of, political parties, NGOs, City Halls or International Cooperation Agencies. The youngsters take advantage of the funds given by those institutions to record their CDs or to take part in shows. Most of the youngsters could not do so without those funds. The institutions could not boast of projecting or representing the 'real youth voices' without the funding of those events. That is why many rappers or specialists imply that some of them are being 'used' by institutions. Rap music would be 'in fashion' in the NGOnized world. Many embassies and NGOs are said to have found in hip-hop music a way to connect with youngsters, to listen to them, to understand them and to let them express themselves. But one ought not to see the processes as one-sided: if youngsters have a role in national and even international politics, it should also be acknowledged that national and international politics affect youth behavior by using rap music, for example, as one of the country's sources of 'soft power' (Nye 2004). Bolivian rappers do not tend to feel 'acculturated' for participating in the rap music scene. As noted earlier, for them, rap music does not come from the United States but from the Latino and African-American marginal neighborhoods in the United States that – just like them – have been discriminated against historically. It is important to highlight that there is not a single and simple westernizing globalization process: 'American music' means for these Bolivian youth not white elite Americans but marginalized and poor African-Americans, creators of rap music, with whom they identify themselves. It has also been interesting to verify that if youngsters identify themselves with the African-American or Chicano hyphenation cultures, La Paz's German Goethe Institut and French Alliance Française know how to understand or contribute to this perception by bringing French-Congolian and Turkish-German rappers to meet Bolivian rappers. These institutions are also said to be devoted to promoting rap in favor of ethnic issues and against discrimination.

With the local and international valorization of ethnic issues and rights due to the latest 15 years' change in the human rights international agenda and the local election of Morales in Bolivia in particular, there has been a change in the social status of indigenous people. This has led some rappers to warn that the motivation of some MCs with strong ethnical claims in their lyrics, with Andean tracks in their songs, or with an ethnic onstage look (wearing *ponchos*, for example), is to draw the attention of international or national agencies that fund public events. In the event, no more can be proved other than that some rap songs are indeed sung in Aymara; it is true, however, that these singers are often the most mediagenic, which suits the media's appetite for 'picturesque' news. Other interpretations of the situation draw attention to the lack of knowledge of indigenous languages on the part of the country's youth, and to the fear of being dubbed 'indio' whenever a young person admits they know or speak an indigenous language. Since the advent of President Morales, however, it is noticeable that more youngsters have started to learn these languages and that they are being more highly valued. Bolivian hip-hoppers have a tendency to characterize rap as a music that does not need a lot of resources ('it's a poor people's thing'), such as, for example, musical instruments, and for that reason see it as appropriate to the economic realities of one of Latin America's poorest countries. Using digital tracks and mixes is also a useful means to introduce actual situations in a theatrical way, for example parts of recorded politicians' speeches, sounds of shots, the cries of desperate people, the sale or consumption of drugs and examples of discrimination.

Five Predominant Trends in Bolivian Hip-hop

A categorization has been developed (Kunin 2009a, b, c) in order to describe five different trends within the Bolivian hip-hop movement. Like all categorizations, it is not watertight; groups may be classified under more than one heading, and some groups cross borders. But it is hoped that the scheme does help to explain the phenomenon.

The first category is rap for citizenship education. Thanks to the economic means that they have and the fact that they work with national and international agencies, La Paz rappers have recorded the vast majority of 'official' political rap CDs (that is to say, those recorded in an actual recording studio). Themes tend to be 'positive' and to criticize the rappers who 'just complain.' They say that their goal is to educate the youth, to help them create awareness of important citizenship issues and to destroy the stereotypes that associate youth with gangs, drugs and criminals. They only sing in Spanish and they generally define themselves as 'Bolivian' and not as 'Aymara' (even if most of them have indigenous origins, at least partially).

This group has coordinated activities with La Paz City Hall such as a Road Manners rap song; for the National Education Ministry, they recorded a rap about illiteracy; with a gender issues organization, they recorded a whole CD with songs about violence against women; with an NGO, they organized an event for antimilitarism in Colombia; with the US Embassy in La Paz (while the relationship between the Morales administration and the US embassy in La Paz was quite tense), they organized an event with an American rap group; with different sponsors, they organized an event called Hip-hop Connection between Chile and Bolivia (the nineteenth-century War of the Pacific between Chile and Bolivia created a deeply residing resentment against Chileans among the Bolivian population); with the National Government, they organized a contest, a national tour and a CD recording on the theme of Bolivian national union (while the wealthiest regions of the country were claiming more management autonomy); with the German Goethe Institut and the French Alliance Française in La Paz they organized an event with Turkish-German and North-African-French rap groups; with an NGO, they recorded a CD with the La Paz street shoe-shiners (most of whom are children); they also recorded a rap song about water as a natural resource.

Rappers in this category tend to have a high level of education (they are generally university-educated); they work and can use the internet and information technologies to distribute or produce their own music. They occasionally communicate with other rappers in Latin America.

The second trend is one associated with claims of Aymara identity. This trend is formed by some few groups who sing in Aymara or Quechua – hence their institutional support and media coverage. Despite that, they consider the media as 'manipulators.' That does not prevent the rappers granting media interviews. For their shows, they often wear *ponchos* and *lluchus* as well as the 'low rider' jeans, baseball caps and American jackets. Many of their songs speak about 'Bolivian,' 'Aymara,' *cholo* and 'Latin American' identity; they honor people who died in demonstrations; they criticize the media, the politicians and (American) imperialism; and they plead for social change. Their rhymes are generally sung with music tracks in which Andean instruments are played using electronic rhythms.

So as to record their music, these groups have been supported by cultural centers backed by international cooperation agencies. They have sung for El Alto's Juntas Vecinales (the Neighborhood Boards, especially in El Alto, had played an important role in anti-neoliberal protests of 2003 and 2005); and at the closure of Evo Morales's electoral campaign for presidency. The rappers have also taken part in an event for the nationalization of hydrocarbon resources in Bolivia (while the nationalization of hydrocarbons was one of the popular demands Morales accomplished). In addition, they have given rap workshops in jails and for miners' children (the Bolivian mining industry was one of the financial epicenters of the Spanish colonies more than 400 years ago due to its vast silver reserves, but today the former mining areas are inhabited by many families that are on the edge of survival as only a few mines keep on working). They have also recorded songs against acoustic pollution for La Paz City Hall.

Like the rappers in the first category, those in the second category tend to have a high level of education (they tend to be university-educated); they work and can use the internet and information technologies to distribute their own music. They have been invited to sing in hip-hop concerts and to participate in leadership training sessions in Cuba and Venezuela (while Morales is said to be an 'ally' of the Cuban and Venezuelan Presidents).

The third category is that of street and political rap groups with occasional institutional participation. For the most part they rely on homemade recordings. Generally younger than those previously described, they receive little media coverage. The themes of their songs are generally about 'life in the streets' (the 'street' being the legitimizing element of a 'good rapper'). Their songs include criticism of both the police and the politicians; they complain about discrimination and about poverty and they tell stories with the aim of teaching other youths about the dangers of alcohol and drug consumption.

Some rappers in this category have occasionally been invited to sing or compose for NGOs on subjects such as AIDS or Human Rights. Some have confessed that they sang in political conventions but they do not remember 'for whom or in which context.' They generally do not sing or speak indigenous languages, and sing over tracks with Andean instruments. Not all of them know how to use the internet. They have a lower level of education than the two previous groups and they are not generally in employment.

The fourth category is the rappers who take anti-system ideas and criticism of politicians, capitalism and imperialism to the extreme. They do not represent any political party or organization. Their works are only known through live presentations. They do not have the funding for the recording of official CDs. The element that differentiates them from other groups is that they do not want to negotiate their artistic or creative integrity in order to record an album and it is for this reason that an official product is not compiled. They do not desire to expose themselves publicly as rappers. Many hold university degrees or attend college and consider rap music as a method of relating to their peers, a means of expressing feelings and ideas through 'games cock' (live rap duel) or collective shows. They do not sing in Aymara but they use Andean tracks in their songs.

The fifth category consists of independent rappers who have their own studios and consequently enjoy the freedom to compose songs and to record them. They generally tend to become producers of other rappers, offering recording services or video-clip production at a very affordable price. They distribute their music through the internet and they occasionally sell it, even if they produce it with no profit motive in mind. Their songs are about political issues, discrimination and, to a lesser extent, about Aymara identity. They do not sing in Aymara but they use Andean tracks. They have, at least, a technical degree and are in employment.

Recognition

Bolivian hip-hop has received national and international coverage. Journalists expressed their surprise at finding such diverse and successful political rap music in the Bolivian highlands, inhabited mainly by countryside migrants, indigenous people and former miners. Others have pointed out that the political and social issues of this music actually come *from* the city's reality. It has also been highlighted that Bolivian youngsters use rap music to train and help young people who are at risk.

Academic works about Bolivian hip-hop have also been published. Cárdenas (2006, 14) states that hip-hoppers try to change and destroy the negative stereotype that is socially established by them and their origin. According to the same author, they make music related to the protest but they are not the spokesmen of political movements (ibid., 21). Cárdenas views the hip-hoppers' use of the indigenous Aymara language for their music as a sign of identity acceptance and pride. He also says that they use their music to resemantize the long memories of the indigenous struggle that has been happening since colonial times (ibid., 22).

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Myspace Pages

A great many Bolivian rap groups have their own Myspace pages. The addresses may be found by adding the name of the group to http://www.myspace.com, e.g. http://www.myspace.com/insanomc.

JOHANA KUNIN

Hip-hop in Brazil

In Brazil, as for hip-hoppers around the world, the question of identity is a starting point for demonstrating 'reality' knowledge and aesthetic skills. Hip-hoppers show 'who they are' through the four 'elements' (rap orality, DJ sound mixing, graffiti art and street dance, sometimes glossed as B-boy/girl). Hip-hop in Brazil is a pathway toward getting an 'attitude' of empowerment built around experiences of marginality, youth and occasionally blackness. 'Black' is coded through dozens of Brazilian Portuguese words and hundreds of colloquial sayings, thereby creating an ambiguity unlike the United States (Skidmore 1993; Telles 2006; Pardue 2004). Brazilian hip-hoppers link the ideology of self-esteem to a notion of collective fulfillment, or what Afrika Bambaataa, the leader of the Universal Zulu Nation from the South Bronx and inspirational guide of many hip-hop organizations around the world, referred to as 'knowledge, culture and overstanding,' that is, the 'fifth element.'

In purely economic terms, Brazilian rappers, DJs, graffiti artists and street dancers pale in significance within the domestic and global markets of the music and culture industries when compared to the 'blue chip stock' of *samba*, MPB (*Música Popular Brasileira*), the country genres of *sertaneja* and *forró*, electronic pop and the Afro-Brazilian martial art and dance of *capoeira*. Nonetheless, hip-hop's influence can be found everywhere, from ubiquitous underpasses along the avenues of Brazil's cities to questions in college entrance exams, from popular initiatives by the Ministry of Culture to new hybrid genres, such as *samba-rap*. Until the twenty-first century hip-hop was limited to the megalopolis cities of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro with significant communities also in Brasília, the nation's capital, along with the cities of Curitiba, Porto Alegre, Belo Horizonte and Campinas. By 2010 young people even in remote areas of Guarani-speaking indigenous communities (Espíndola 2010)) and northeastern dustbowl villages (Lélis 2011) were making hip-hop a popular idiom and a hopeful opportunity to encounter someone who actually cares who they are.

In this entry, hip-hop history in Brazil is presented less as an account of foundational figures and more as an assemblage of pertinent forces, strategies and practices. Using data from ethnographic fieldwork in São Paulo since 1995 (Pardue 2004, 2011a), it seeks to address the questions of the tradition or cultural practice from which hip-hop emerges, what, if any, are the elements of cohesion that allow a historical development, and how do practitioners establish and maintain such continuity? Historical cohesion is discussed in terms of working-class organizing and an 'opening-up' to globalized forms of blackness.

It is important to note that until the end of the 1990s there was a fierce rivalry or at least a tension between São Paulo and Rio as to what constituted 'rap.' Many groups from Rio recorded music with the word 'rap' in the title but with a beat akin to what was performed as 'funk' in Rio at the time. A reference from the United States rap scene would be 'Miami bass' sound of the 1990s. With the emergence of MV Bill and Marcelo D2, two artists with very contrasting styles, there has been a rapprochement of São Paulo and Rio.

Brazilian Hip-hop: A Brief Genealogy

In Brazil, hip-hop emerged in the mid-1980s as an extension of two areas of cultural activity: public performances of street dance and nightclub entertainment contests. The history of hip-hop's connection with state government agencies can be traced through the B-boy crews, while the trajectory of rap commercialization is historically tied to nightclub contests. B-boy crews drew attention because of their occupation of public spaces and their strong sense of group organization. For example, São Bento subway station in São Paulo became a place reference for activity starting in 1983. (For more on São Bento, see the documentary film *Nos tempos da São Bento* by Guilherme Botelho or DJ Guinho [2010].) In 1985 the popular commercial promenade streets of 24 de Maio in downtown São Paulo, including the malls (*galerias*) and Dom José de Barros Municipal Theater, would also become important stages for B-boy performance. Starting in 1987 B-boys at São Bento also began to talk about rap composition. This was the start of Thaíde e DJ Hum as well as early rappers such as MC Jack and breakers/rappers Balanço Negro.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s thousands of teenagers – the overwhelming majority of whom were male, *periferia* residents of African descent with little formal education – organized themselves into groups called posses. 'Periferia' is the keyword that indicates not only a working-class, poorly serviced suburban area of the city but also a dynamic subjectivity of marginality (Pardue 2010). Such experiences would become the focus of narration among rappers and DJs and a theme of representation among graffiti artists and street dance crews. Through the experience of participating in posses, hip-hoppers learned, among other things, how to negotiate with state representatives so that they could organize events, hold collective meetings in public buildings and occasionally work in state-sponsored social work projects. The emergence of posses was not an unprecedented act of working-class agency articulating popular culture to state bureaucracy. Hip-hoppers drew on either prior experience or advice from older kin on how to procure resources from state departments of culture and social services (i.e., urbanization initiatives) and maintain neighborhood organizations.

For its part, the commercialization of rap was a result of the developing nightclub circuit. Nightclub contests depend on sound crews, and Chic Show was the first crew to explicitly incorporate a time slot for rap during the dance parties called the rap club (*clube do rap*). As part of a tradition of *baile* dating back to the late 1960s, Chic Show itself started in 1967 as a not-for-profit outfit. By the mid-1970s they, along with sound crews such as Black Mad, Zimbabwe and later Kaskatas (1981), dominated the dance party production scene. One will notice that 'black' is left untranslated above in the genre of *baile* or dance party. The significance of 'black' in contrast to conventional Portuguese words such as 'negro,' 'preto' or 'afro' refers to a contemporary cosmopolitan negritude linking Brazilian youth to not only sounds and images from the United States (James Brown, etc.) but also to the technologically savvy superpop symbols of Jamaica (more Kool DJ Herc than Bob Marley), Nigeria (e.g., Fela Kuti), South Africa (linking Miriam Makeba to Nelson Mandela). (The role of 'black' is discussed in more detail below.)

During the 1980s these production crews developed an infrastructure capable of not only coordinating events but also producing sound recordings. With the exception of the important compilation album *Hip hop cultura de rua* (Hip-hop Street Culture) (Eldorado 1987), all rap recordings from the early years (1986–90) were engineered by a handful of dance party sound crews. These include *Ousadia do rap* (Rap Audacity) (1987, Kaskatas), *O som das ruas* (The Sound of the Streets) (1988, Chic Show), *Hip Rap Hop* (1988, Região Abissal), *Situation Rap* (1988, FAT Records), *The Best Beat of Rap* (1989, Kaskatas), *The Culture of Rap* (1989, Kaskatas), *Consciência Black* (1989, Zimbabwe) and *Equipe Gallote* (1990, FAT Records). In retrospect, the most important compilation to emerge was *Consciência Black* simply because it introduced Racionais MCs, undoubtedly the most influential rap group ever in Brazil.

Becoming a Hip-hopper: 'Exchanging Information'

The history of hip-hop in Brazil is part of an overall story of 'information' access among marginalized youth in urban Brazil. According to hip-hoppers, 'to be informed' is a valuable asset that speaks to culture, business, history and ideology because the expressed goal is to 'exchange information' (*trocar uma ideia*). In short, hip-hoppers explicitly link information to who they are as a practice.

Of course, we all are like this to some degree, that is, we are what we know. Famed hip-hop pioneer Thaíde reminds us of this in his 1996 hit song 'Afro-brasileiro': 'Sabe quem eu sou? Então, me diga quem você é' (Do you know who I am? Then, tell me who you are). However, in the case of the millions of shantytown residents around urban Brazil, identity is seemingly always represented as a lack of, or tardiness in access to, modernity and citizenship. If not expressed in terms of paucity, *periferia* identity normally signifies a set of negative attributes. As targets of daily prejudice within a social system deeply saturated in practices of racism, sexism, classism and regional-based markers of status, *periferia* residents accumulate countless moments of dehumanizing experiences. As Brazilian sociologist Luiz Eduardo Soares (2000) has cogently argued, many young, poor, (sub)urban, 'black' kids and adults do not exist socially. There is a 'social invisibility' that shrouds Brazilian cities.

To combat such invisibility, hip-hoppers organize themselves in posses and invest time in developing *consciência*. They explicitly associate 'consciousness' with identity formation in terms of 'moments' of information access: a neighborhood party in 1976, discussions over a film from 1983, a comment about James Brown in 1975, an uncle's purchase of a pop culture magazine in 1990. In his memoirs, the legendary rapper Thaíde recalls the television program *Comando da Madrugada* (literally, Late Night Command). Thaíde describes what happened on one particular night in 1982:

> It was in the wee hours of the morning. I slept in a bunk bed, the top part; my mother slept in the bottom bunk. I lived in a shack with three families, lots of children and various dogs. They were playing 'The Big Throw Down' and Goulard de Andrade (the TV show presenter) said it like this: 'And we're here at the Chic Show dancehall – a typical sound system get up – and you'll never guess what these niggers [*crioulos*] are doing down here. Come with me, let's find out!' And, so, the camera went down and the sound got louder. It's when they showed Nelson Triunfo and these other guys dancing break. … I knew one thing for sure: I had to learn how to dance that way. I saw those guys spinning around, doing the robot. Total insanity. It was that, that's what I wanted. I think I can mark that as my first contact with hip-hop. (Alves 2004, 24–5; author's translation)

The contemporary currency of *consciência* within Brazilian hip-hop is in part due to hip-hop's roots in popular social movements organized in response to the military dictatorship (1964–85) in urban Brazil. Hip-hoppers' contact with consciousness discourses and social activists exposed them to a number of social issues concerning class but also race, ethnicity, feminism and ecology. The result is that there exists a latent expectation that hip-hoppers are conversant with pertinent debates, active leaders and prominent social institutions including the state. To a significant extent, this is true as hip-hoppers have worked with the MNU (United Black Movement), PT (Labor Party), PV (Green Party) and other official political parties; NGOs associated with the women's and black women's movements such as Fala Preta! and Geledés; and state departments of culture, education, labor and health.

Música Black

Brazilian hip-hop's ideologies of self-worth and 'attitude' involve becoming conscious of race and, more specifically, blackness. The dissemination of the struggles and victories of civil rights participants in the United States inspired *periferia* residents to make such connections between personal expression and group organization in the hope for social change. This was particularly true during the early to mid-1970s when the Black Power Movement in the United States, although in organizational demise, was at its highest point of national and international exposure. In 1978 the MNU (Unified Black Movement) was officially founded in response to an explicit, violent act of racial prejudice directed at a black taxi driver. During the late 1980s and early 1990s the MNU established significant partnerships with various posses throughout the São Paulo area.

Urban Brazil, and especially São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, in the late 1970s and early 1980s became an empowering site of what Gilroy describes as 'a new metaphysics of blackness' (Gilroy 1993, 83). Artists such as Sandra Sá, Gilberto Gil, Tim Maia, Tony Tornado and Banda Black Rio internationalized Brazilian negritude by creating a hybridity of 'traditional' Africanity, contemporary Brazilian social commentary (some artists, of course, more than others) influenced by 'roots' reggae, and globalized black pop of James Brown and others. This 'new metaphysics of blackness' in urban Brazil was distinctively a youth movement, as these new sounds, images and narratives attracted a new generation of Brazilians looking for alternatives to 'roots' *samba*.

Christopher Dunn has termed the 'black' movement *blackitude brasileira* – an insightful neologism capturing the cultural capital of 'black,' the identity politics of negritude and the local specificity of Brazil (Dunn 2002, 82–4). The value of 'black' refers to the opening up of Brazilian media and the rise of the English language replacing the former dominance of French. Brazilian youth in Rio de Janeiro and later in São Paulo, Salvador and the new nation's capital Brasília also associated 'black' and negritude with a new politics of racial pride. Unlike the idea of black culture (*cultura negra*), 'black' represents a challenge to traditional Brazilian conceptualizations of race and most specifically the national ideology of Brazil as a 'racial democracy.' The concept of 'racial democracy' refers to the idea that the Brazilian nation was founded on a harmonious mixture of European reason, indigenous spirit and local knowledge, and African creativity as Dionysian fanfare. 'Black' and *música black* are challenges to this ongoing Brazilian convention, because for the first time, Brazilian urban youth have articulated race to identity not in a fashion of African retentions or nostalgia but in a pragmatic sense of affirmation. Brazilian soul star Jorge Ben in his song 'O negro é lindo' (Black Is Beautiful), and later rapper Rappin' Hood in his hip-hop anthem 'Sou negão' ('I'm Very Black'), indexed James Brown's famous phrase, 'We are black and proud (say it loud).'

Hip-hop Locality: Urbanization and 'Spatial Conquests'

The ideologies of empowerment within hip-hop that are historically based in working-class community organizing and the 'information exchange' of globalized 'blackness' contain a spatial dimension as well. First, Brazilian hip-hop emerged from particular urbanization policies in São Paulo as well as in other cities. Second, as local youth in more Brazilian cities and then later in smaller communities began to perform and produce rap music and the other hip-hop 'elements,' there were spatial effects. We saw that 'information exchange' is a key phrase of hip-hop historicity as well as a cohesive practice of becoming a hip-hopper, judging others and creating self-identity. Similarly, the key phrase '*conquistar espaço*' or 'to conquer/take over a space' is a stock phrase among hip-hoppers to evaluate the efficacy of an event, a rapper's prowess, the presence of a graffiti artist and so on. 'Spatial conquests' are not simply internal codes for who's hot or who's not but also, it can be argued, examples of how young, marginalized Brazilians participate in remapping their communities.

Before the first major wave of Brazilian industrialization (ca. 1900), São Paulo was a small town, a leftover missionary station from the mid-sixteenth century. Through a series of venture capitalist projects based on coffee and later textiles and metallurgy, what Brazilian historian Nicolau Sevcenko termed the 'colossal game of chance' (1993, 288), São Paulo became a spectacle of uneven investment and urbanization. Since the 1970s, a peripherization has occurred so that the percentage of São Paulo municipality to the overall metro population has gradually decreased over the past 50 years (Moreira, Leme, Naruto and Pasternak 2006; Gois 2004). Furthermore, socioeconomic statistics demonstrate that such expansion has been increasingly more uneven with sporadic elite enclaves (Caldeira 2000) surrounded by numerous impoverished working-class neighborhoods reflecting various methods of *autoconstrução*. 'Autoconstruction' is a common practice in the Brazilian *periferia* that involves architectural improvisation based on available resources.

The periphery is both a material place and a contested ideology. In Brazil, the *periferia* is a place of autoconstruction, state abandonment and strongly marked social prejudice. Brazilians consider the *periferia* a dangerous place, because it represents the outlaw backlands within the metropolitan spaces of modernity and progress. The *periferia* is, in effect, out of place. Yet, it is the 'point of address,' as articulated by Brazilian rap legends Racionais MCs (2002), unmistakably the discursive fodder for hip-hop culture.

What is contested about the periphery is its illegality. Hip-hop's intervention in this debate is represented in the 'marginal,' a reference to both epistemology and personhood as well as to spatiality. The crushing objectification in the real and imaginary figure of the 'marginal' in Brazilian hip-hop is the variable end result of a broken-down, chaotic system of city infrastructure. Simultaneously, the 'marginal' is the typical antihero of contemporary Brazil, the wayward migrant with a cursed gift of the gab and a similarly Calibanesque attitude of rage. The marginal is an alternative modern subject, a subaltern author of a translocal cosmology – a worldview based on the quotidian and conventionally abject. The marginal's management of precarious life chances has over time helped create the polemical place of the *periferia.* The spaces of buses, trains, corner bars, mud slide areas, abject public parks, abandoned school buildings, abandoned state residential projects, long lines waiting for social services and the *bocas* ('mouths' or entryways) of alleys and drug-trafficking spots mark the *periferia* as both an area of maverick socioeconomic life outside of state concern and a dependent beggar of basic social and health services.

In sum, while urbanization policies of the twentieth century created the *periferia* model of Brazilian social stratification, hip-hop has afforded the wherewithal for periphery residents to reurbanize their cities. On the one hand, such 'conquests' take the form of hip-hop cultural centers, incursion into public schools, community radio and the refashioning of public parks (Pardue 2007, 2011, 2012). Concomitantly, hip-hoppers remake Brazilian cities and communities in the stylist development of particular rap music and DJ sound accompaniment. The aesthetics of extreme locality are often represented in *periferia* life lyrics, images of daily violence and sparse beats punctuated by deep bass lines with the rapper's voice central in the mix. While the 'marginal' style has been a long-lasting paradigm, Brazilian hip-hoppers have created other styles that have emphasized other aspects of identity rather than place. These include evangelical, abstract, nostalgic, romantic and even party rap. Such subgenres offer what is termed as a 'positive' alternative to the hard-edged reality scenes of the marginal style.

Conclusion

Hip-hop as a movement of identity politics and artistic expression has depended on the occupation of space and the circulation of empowering ideologies of self and group, referred to below as 'information.' Local hip-hoppers in Brazil link the cosmopolitan aspects of 'blackness' and socioeconomic class with neighborhood traditions of community organizing and bureaucratic negotiation. They regenerate the concept and place of *periferia* and in so doing reposition themselves not as victims but as authoritative subjects on what 'reality' signifies to the majority of the people.

The desire to represent more forcefully the *periferia* and mark the self as a humble prophet motivates hip-hoppers to rework the musico-cultural elements of the past and reshape the public spaces of the present into recognizable hip-hop places. However, reality is crooked, and while hip-hoppers preach mantras of 'unity' and 'responsibility' in the understanding and representation of 'information' about 'reality,' differences emerge and reveal discrepancies and even contradictions within the hip-hop movement and what is intended by *periferia* and marginal. Part of this tension is productive as hip-hoppers have created a widening array of styles and subgenres. However, such differences in perspective and representation have also become polemical and have inspired the following 'reality' question: Are the voices of hip-hop ultimately reinforcing the persistent inequalities of Brazilian society, or does hip-hop culture mark a significant shift in Brazilian social relations?

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DEREK PARDUE

Hip-hop in Colombia

Hip-hop arrived in Colombia in the 1980s not long after its emergence in the United States, and there are countless explanations as to how and where it first surfaced. In all likelihood, it simultaneously entered through various avenues by way of travelers, cross-cultural exchanges, commercial trade and especially US cinematic productions. Movies such as *Breakin'* (1984) and *Beat Street* (1984) played a key role in hip-hop's international dissemination. Despite the language barrier, Colombian youth were attracted to hip-hop's acrobatic dance moves and street gist. Furthermore, it was easily accessible, given that no instruments or formal training were required. At least during hip-hop's initial stages, beats and rhythms were produced by way of beatboxing. It was during the 1990s, however, that the United States. entertainment industry began to escalate the global distribution of hip-hop via expanding systems of mass communication, for example, through music television and programs such as *Yo! MTV Raps* – a one-time favorite of many Colombian performers. Since the late 1990s advancements in communication systems, coupled with developments in both information and digital technologies, have only intensified the spread of hip-hop while making it easier to access, copy and produce music.

Hip-hop's worldwide allure stems, in large part, from its ethnic-racial associations, its connections with lower-class urban milieus, and its tactical marketing as a cultural practice by and for subaltern youth groups living in inner-city contexts. Colombian hip-hop culture has emerged among youth of lower-class urban neighborhoods who use fashion, language, music and dance as a way to declare their cultural terrain. Much like their US counterparts, national hip-hop enthusiasts are easily identified by their baggy jeans, over-sized shirts, hairstyles, baseball hats, sports jerseys, bandanas, stocking caps and tennis shoes, almost always favoring US brands such as Baby Phat, Ecko, Adidas and so on. They also (re) produce forms of body language (greetings, hand signals) and employ terminology borrowed from today's global hip-hop culture. While most Colombian hip-hop devotees are non-black or mestizos (people of mixed Spanish and Amerindian ancestry), hip-hop is also very popular among Afro-Colombian youth who identify with rap as 'black music.' Lastly, Colombian hip-hop culture tends to be male-dominated, and participants generally range from adolescents to young adults.

Production and Distribution

It was in the 1990s that Colombian hip-hop artists began to produce CDs for local audiences. Due to the costs involved, however, making a CD is difficult. Rappers typically work odd jobs to finance the recording of their music in small studios, and some have looked toward local government agencies, churches or NGOs for financial collaborations. Once artists manage to record a CD, often under the direction of local music producers, they then hire a graphic designer to create an album cover. Eventually, the master CD and cover are submitted to a production company, and in a matter of weeks, rappers have thousands of CDs to distribute among fans and music vendors. During the last decade, artists have also become avid users of the internet and social networking sites as a way to promote and sell music. Furthermore, producing music videos has become more feasible, videos that rarely air on mainstream television, but that nonetheless reach wide audiences via the internet. Ultimately, the methods employed by Colombian hip-hop artists reveal how they generally operate outside the official circuits of the global music markets.

Musical Description

One of the first hip-hop groups to achieve a respectable degree of notoriety was Bogota's Gotas de Rap, a group comprised of both black and mestizo rappers that, unfortunately, was short-lived. While many artists have come and gone over the years, perhaps the country's most renowned and enduring hip-hop group has been La Etnnia, which was formed in the late 1980s among several mestizo rappers from Las Cruces, Bogota. La Etnnia has produced numerous CDs under their own independent label, 5–27 Records. Like most Colombian hip-hop, their tracks incorporate slow rhythms, heavy beats and, at times, dreary melodies suggestive of US gangsta rap. In fact, US 'old school' and gangsta rap have greatly impacted on Colombian hip-hop styles. La Etnnia's MySpace page, for instance, defines their rap as dark productions with slow tempos and classic or 'old school' arrangements, music not necessarily suited for dancing, but rather for bobbing one's head and raising an arm to its slower rhythms.

Lyrical content is generally understood as the most important component of Colombian rap. Emphasis is placed on what the rap is about and how well it is done, the latter understood as the ability to rhyme while rhythmically chanting lyrics to the music's beats. Colombian rap is overwhelmingly performed in Spanish, although at times mixed with English terminology taken from US hip-hop. Lyrics often reflect the rough language heard in the city streets of lower-class neighborhoods. National artists view hip-hop as a medium for social and political protest, and common themes include urban squalor, economic oppression, violence, the armed conflict, drug trafficking, etc. La Etnnia's music conveys dark worlds where frustration, resentment and hostility are the norm. In many ways, this group has come to embody what is understood as 'real' hip-hop, and the vast majority of Colombian rap follows in the same vein. However, since the late 1990s, there has been a significant rise in the number of black artists who rap about not only socioeconomic and political issues, but also racial ones. Through rap, groups such as Flaco Flow & Melanina, Choc Quib Town, Profetas and Carbono celebrate black culture while denouncing racial discrimination.

Despite the pressures to adhere to dominant trends within Colombian hip-hop, various artists have experimented with innovative styles and danceable rhythms as a way to differentiate their brand of rap or even appeal to broader audiences. Some performers, such as Zona Marginal and Tres Coronas, have produced tracks borrowing from salsa, while various Afro-Colombian artists such as Carbono and Flaco Flow & Melanina have also borrowed from music associated with the country's black communities. Perhaps more than any other group, Choc Quib Town has been committed to creating a unique style of hip-hop through the incorporation of Afro-Colombian musical material. They mix their rap with Afro-Colombian rhythms from the Pacific littoral known as *bunde*, *currulao*, *abazao*, *bambazú*, *levantapolvo* and *aguabajo*, in addition to other Latin American and Caribbean music genres. The ethnic and regional flavor of their music is bolstered through the inclusion of musicians who play instruments such as the *bombo* (a double-headed bass drum), *congas* (tall and narrow drums) and the *marimba* (a type of wooden xylophone of African origin).

Conclusions

The above-mentioned musical innovations have not been fully embraced by the national hip-hop community. Some view these efforts as a form of capitulation, thereby labeling these artists as 'sellouts.' Others, however, view this experimentation as a way to make hip-hop more (Afro-)Colombian while reducing dependence on US cultural products. These types of debates point to conflicts often created on the peripheries of global capitalism as a result of cultural globalization and the appropriation of US cultural goods. As Colombian hip-hop continues to grow, artists will inevitably have to manage these types of dilemmas between market forces and their own notions of artistic integrity. Rap al Parque, sponsored by Bogota's Institute for Culture and Tourism, has already become one of the country's most significant music events bringing together national and international hip-hop artists, while attracting over 100,000 participants each year. Mainstream music consumers have also started to take notice, as evinced by Colombian music award ceremonies that now recognize national hip-hop achievements. Finally, Choc Quib Town has even earned international recognition by winning a Latin Grammy (2010) for their track, 'De dónde vengo yo' (Where I Come From).

Regardless of any recent tensions or dilemmas, hip-hop has indeed provided Colombian youth with a more accessible channel of public discourse. Although it is dangerous to over-romanticize music's potential for engendering social change, hip-hop definitely has had a positive impact on the country's inner-city youth. Artists and their followers have used hip-hop to build self-esteem, construct positive social identities, awaken social consciousness and create a sense of belonging to local communities. In fact, hip-hop has motivated some young people to become involved in social and political movements. While most artists choose not take part in formal party politics, their music nonetheless provides unique perspectives on the challenges that their communities face while gauging, if not openly criticizing, Colombian hegemonic culture. Lastly, especially for Afro-Colombian performers, hip-hop has provided a medium for expressing ethnic-racial perspectives that all too often have been ignored. Black rappers are successfully using hip-hop as a medium for carrying racial concerns to broader audiences. In the end, all Colombian rappers have made significant contributions to the nation's popular music scene while working to create a brand of hip-hop that is informed by national events, infused with both local and global cultural material and socially committed to the artists' communities.

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Hip-hop in Cuba

Cubans make up the third largest Hispanic group in the United States next to Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, residing principally in the state of Florida (Albert et al. 2011). While Mexican rappers assimilated Spanish rap primarily from Chicano artists in Los Angeles, and Puerto Ricans adopted hip-hop from Nuyoricans on the east coast, Cuban rappers looked to Miami. But whereas conditions permitted access to American pop culture for Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, the United States' embargo against Cuba since Fidel Castro's 1959 revolution had placed limits on US citizens traveling to the island and restricted island residents' direct access to hip-hop. Codified into law in 1992, the legislation against US citizens doing business with Cuba was tightened further in 1996 by the Helms-Burton Act, and in 1999 US President Bill Clinton expanded the trade embargo by ending the practice of foreign subsidiaries of US companies trading with Cuba. During the administrations of President Bush (2001–09), further restrictions on travel to Cuba were imposed and the amount of remittances US Cubans could send to relatives was limited. Although travel restrictions were relaxed during the administrations of President Obama (2009–), opening people-to-people licenses for cultural, religious and educational travel as well as removing restrictions on remittance amounts, the result of this body of legislation has been to isolate young people on the island from contact with needed equipment (synthesizers, samplers, mixers and software) that could permit them to experiment with the electronic musical forms they have absorbed via pirate radio and foreigners.

Of the four elements that hip-hop celebrates as integral to its cultural art movement – rap music, break-dance, aerosol art and turntablism – only the elements that could be recreated without material resources had the potential to develop in Cuba. Despite an initial outburst of break-dance fever in the mid-1980s, rap music is the element that has most developed on the island. Because of Cuba's isolation from US art movements, economic difficulties on the island, and government institutionalization of the arts industries, it is imperative to distinguish between hip-hop created by Miami Cubans and that made by Cuban artists from the island. Rappers such as Pitbull and Don Dinero in Miami, although faithful to their ethnic and cultural roots, developed their musical careers under drastically different contexts from island rappers such as duos Anónimo Consejo and Doble Filo.

The Development of Hip-hop in Cuba in the 1990s

The fall of the Soviet Union, Cuba's primary trading partner since the inception of the revolution in 1959, created an economic contraction during the 1990s called the 'Special Period in Times of Peace.' Massive emigration, both legal and illegal, alongside electrical black-outs, transportation shortages and water rationing, led to conditions similar to those that gave birth to hip-hop during New York City's fiscal crises of the 1970s.

A few miles east of Havana is the Cuban equivalent of the South Bronx, a metropolitan Soviet-style housing project called Alamar. Built to provide homes for the many new urban migrants of the 1970s and solve the inner city housing crises (Fernandes 2006; Perez 1988; Robinson 1994). Alamar is made up of hundreds of six-story cement buildings in square rows containing thousands of overcrowded apartments. What makes Alamar unique is that it is a mere 90 miles from Miami. Its proximity to the Florida Keys allowed residents during the Special Period to intercept pirated radio stations from the United States that presented youth with music by LL Cool J and Public Enemy. The privileged access to pirate radio enjoyed by the housing district because of its geographical position, combined with its dense, primarily Afro-Cuban population, turned Alamar into the cradle of Cuban hip-hop.

In 1994 DJ Adalberto Jimenez founded *El Local de la Moña*. *La moña* refers to house parties considered the seeds of today's Cuban rap community. These house parties became so popular that the word *moña* became a common Cuban word for rap and *moñeros* for rappers or rap enthusiasts. The *moña* was not a location as such but rather a traveling rap party held in various locations between Havana and Alamar (Pacini Hernandez and Garofalo 2004). A year later, in 1995, the first Habana Hip Hop festival was held in Alamar, inaugurated by producer Rodolfo Renzoli as leader of the collective *Grupo Uno*. Early rap groups such as Amenaza, Reyes de la Calle, Primera Base and Junior Clan were among the first rap groups showcased at the festival.

For its first three years the festival was programed as a competition that introduced live rap presentations. Primera Base won the inaugural festival's competition with the song 'Malo' (Cruel). Doble Filo took first place in 1996 for their song 'Al doblar de la esquina' (At the Turn of a Corner). Amenaza (later known as Orishas) incorporated Afro-Cuban *bata* percussion into their performance, winning them first place in 1997 for their track 'Ochavón cruzado' (Mixed-Up Octoroon), a song about racism and being of mixed race. The same year, Instinto, Cuba's first all-female rap group, secured second place for their song 'No hay hombre que aguante' (No Man Can Resist). In 1998, the final year, the festival offered a competition, the first place prize went to Junior Clan for their song 'Los Dioses' (The Gods) (interview with Yrak Saenz 2009).

It was rare for these artists to make recordings. The formative years of the Havana rap scene were restricted to localized, performance-based musical releases rather than recorded albums or singles. In 1999 the Minister of Culture, Abel Prieto, officially declared rap an authentic expression of Cuban identity and appropriated the rap festival under the administration of the *Asociación Hermanos Saíz* (Saíz Brothers Association; the entertainment branch of the Young Communists Union). According to Cuban hip-hop scholar Geoffrey Baker (2011), the Habana Hip-Hop festival represents not just a series of concerts but a chance to bring together Latin American rappers in condemnation of US imperialism, symbolically uniting under a Cuban banner against US hegemony in the hemisphere. The AHS and ACR discourse kept the focus on rap to critique against the US government and its policies.

That same year, 1999, Cuban rap group Orishas (previously known as Amenaza, before emigrating) released *A lo cubano* in Europe, and the first compilation of Cuban rap *Hip Hop All Stars Vol. 1* was recorded in Havana intended for overseas distribution. It was also in 1999 that American songwriter, actor and activist Harry Belafonte, known for his long-standing interest in hip-hop as a force for social change, visited Cuba. During his trip, he held a meeting with Fidel Castro in which the revolutionary presence of hip-hop in Cuba was discussed. According to Baker (2005), Fidel was so impressed after meeting with Belafonte that he called hip-hop 'the vanguard of the revolution.'

Cuban Hip-hop in the New Millennium

The nationalization of rap was a complex process. The anti-American mainstream sentiment within Cuba forced authorities to negotiate the acceptance of broadcasting American musical forms such as jazz or rock 'n' roll (Brennan 2008). The nationalization of hip-hop required an anti-American approach in order to fit comfortably within Cuba's revolutionary cultural fabric. The change in both attitude toward hip-hop and the move toward developing an authentic Cuban derivative was in large part facilitated by Nehanda Abiodun and other African-American political exiles residing in Cuba. Abiodun worked with the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement and the 'Hands Off Assata' campaign from the United States to bring progressive hip-hop artists to Cuba (interview with Abiodun 2008). This exchange brought hip-hop artists such as Talib Kweli, Common, Mos Def and Dead Prez to perform at the Habana Hip-Hop festivals. The exchanges between Cuban rappers and these African-American artists stimulated the already Afro-centric lyrics and musical compositions of groups such as Anónimo Consejo, Obsesión, Hermanos de Causa and Explosión Suprema. Local rappers such as Anónimo Consejo, Obsesión and Doble Filo fused the Afro-centric American import with their own Afro-Cuban identity. *Afro-Cubanismo* offers a mixed racial identity for the Cuban nation. Miscegenation is still seen as a whitening process and race remains merely an underlying theme in contemporary social politics. Cuba's allegiance with the liberation struggles of Africa, particularly Angola and the Congo, have enforced African identity within and among the younger generation of the revolution. As opposed to the American 'one-drop' theory or rule of hypodescent, in Cuba there are varying degrees of race referred to as *negro*, *prieto*, *mestizo*, *mulato*, *trigueño* or *jabao*, depending on one's scale of blackness (Riviere 2006).

The early millennium generated rap songs that related to everyday social, racial and economic struggles. Anónimo Consejo rapped about the African diaspora, family dilemmas, emigration and interracial relationships. The female threesome Las Krudas spoke to issues of homosexuality and feminism. Hermanos de Causa addressed racial discrimination. Their most popular song, entitled 'Tengo' (1999), is derived from a 1964 poem by Nicholás Guillén that praised the revolution's eradication of racism. However, Hermanos de Causa turned the poem around to express how those achievements have eroded during their own generation. Duos Doble Filo and Obsesión's came together to form La Fabri K to ferment hip-hop throughout the island via conferences, symposiums, multimedia projects and youth outreach. The project led to a compilation album (2003) and later a documentary (Perez-Rey 2004).

In 2002 Clan 537 released their rap single 'Quien tiro la tiza?' (Who Threw the Chalk?). Unlike Hermanos de Causa's 'Tengo,' which carried a serious tone, Clan 537 made their song danceable and comedic. The song spread like wildfire, circulating on bootleg tapes throughout Havana. 'Quien tiro la tiza?' was about racism and inequality, two issues that were not directly addressed under the guise of the revolution. Clan 537 crossed an invisible line and struck at the core of the economic inequalities defined by race within a socialist revolution that aimed to eradicate such differences. Due in most part to its controversy rather than to its musicality, 'Quien tiro la tiza?' became a crossover commercial success, and at the same time a political tease with a catchy hook.

The popularity of 'Quien tiro la tiza?' encouraged youth to address social ailments and to push political limits. As lyrics became more nonconformist, police presence became more common at hip-hop events. When police repression escalated, rappers reacted in their lyrics. In the 2002 Alamar Habana Hip Hop festival, the then 18-year-old rapper/producer Papá Humbertico mounted the stage with a sign that read 'denuncia social' (social denunciation). He proceeded to speak above the crowd directly at the police letting them know he would not be silenced. Accounts from the Spanish newspaper *El País* (Vicente 2002) describe Humbertico illustrating his message first by requesting public pardon for convicted criminals, then by socially denouncing prostitution, followed by gesturing toward the police onsite and telling them 'I'm with this, but I am not with you.' Humbertico was allowed to perform his entire act and received little if any reaction from the authorities when he stepped off the stage that night, but the next day the Asociación Hermanos Saíz sanctioned him to take six months' leave (interview with Papá Humbertico 2008).

Humbertico's performance set in chain a series of concerns about rap on the part of the authorities. The international press took a new interest in Cuban rap as a cultural element that was rebelling against Castro's administration. Miami media and Washington politics oriented their attention toward rappers, and their performance places, as potential investment sites for counter-revolutionary and dissident cells. US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, in a 2006 Cuba Commission report, pointed out the rap community as a possible site for dissident youth to congregate, a site that should be monitored by Washington as potentially generating internal counter-revolutionary cells. A few months after Papá Humbertico's scandalous performance, the Cuban Agency for Rap (ACR), a state-run office under the umbrella of the Cuban Institute for Music (Instituto Cubano de la Música, ICM) and mandated by the Ministry of Culture, was designated to manage rap on the island. According to Baker (2009, 183–9), until 2002 the rap scene had been generally unified, described by all as 'underground rap.' But from that year, he notes that a divide emerged between the leading groups who belonged to the AHS, which tend to maintain this 'underground' aesthetic, and the ACR members, who in contrast have been attracted by commercial possibilities and share institutional catalogue space with reggaeton groups. The ACR offers a magazine publication titled *Movimiento* (Movement) and a music publishing and licensing catalogue.

The same year of 2002 brought a popularity shift from rap to reggaeton when the legendary founding rap group Primera Base split up and returned to the music scene as Cubanito 20.02. The group, who had previously been presenting lyrics about racial inequalities and referring to leaders such as Malcolm X and Nelson Mandela, was now telling audiences to dance away their worries. Baker (2009) proposes two ways to view this shift: either as a move away from idealism toward commercialism, or as a move away from

American musical forms toward one that is closer to Cuban musical traditions and thereby more easily assimilated by Cuban audiences. The transition from protest music to entertainment allowed the group to gain access to national media outlets and international tours yielding financial gain for their services. Based on the audience perception of 'success,' a trend prevailed in which groups changed their repertoire, mimicking the Puerto Rican version of reggaeton and calling it *cubatón*. The ACR membership includes both hip-hop and *cubatón* rappers. The latter have far surpassed the former with respect to mass popularity and access to mainstream broadcasting avenues.

Lead icons of the *cubatón* genre include Baby Lores and Insurrecto, who make up the group Clan 537. The same artists who had earlier proposed 'Quien tiro la tiza' suddenly chose to take advantage of the new popularity of reggaeton. *Cubatón* looked to Puerto Rican reggaeton to orient its production style and the visual aesthetics of its artists. The mainstream success of reggaeton rap in Puerto Rico became the alternative genre to mimic in Cuba. On the contrary, underground rap in Cuba was forced into greater isolation, which turned out to be beneficial for the originality of rap repertoire but made it difficult for outside audiences to understand. Many questioned why the underground rap music that was consciously responding to societies' ailments now received fewer benefits from the socialist state – in some cases even experiencing marginality or censorship – than a genre that was an obvious promoter of capitalist interests as *cubatón*.

The underground or the marginal is not marked solely by a rejection of the institutionalized; in Cuban hip-hop these are often interwoven. Eugene Robinson's research (2004) foregrounds two types of musical producers from Havana, Ariel 'DJ Asho' Fernández and Pablo Herrera. Ariel Fernandez represented the institutionalized hip-hop of the AHS, the cofounder and front man for the ACR's *Movimiento* magazine, and the host of the radio show *Esquina del Rap* (Rap Corner). On the opposing spectrum, Pablo Herrera was harnessing underground street hip-hop while personifying what Robinson refers to as the 'Cuban version of Dr. Dre.' Where Fernández was perceived as an institutional figure, Herrera encompassed marginalized street rap. The distinctions fueled diverging messages and sounds produced by different political positions of the Cuban hip-hop communities. However, rappers worked with both. Fernández and Herrera have since emigrated but the interwoven polarization remains consistent, exhibited in the works of rappers and producers alike. Some DJs/producers who have stood out in Cuban hip-hop include Raciel, Vaamas, Neury, Leydis, Profugo, El Aldeano, El Lapiz, Raimel, Boris, Edgaro '*el Productor en Jefe*' and Alexis D'boys.

In the outskirts of Havana, close to Alamar, the underground rap studio Real 70 was established in 2001 by Papá Humbertico in his bedroom, when he began circulating mixtapes and recording singles for rappers using a borrowed laptop (Ruiz 2008). Initially working with minimal equipment, Real 70 has given birth to the new school of Cuban rap, introducing artists such as Los Aldeanos, Randee Akosta and Mano Armada. Homemade studios equipped with basic computer equipment, speakers and microphones have become the primary spaces in which rap or reggaeton is produced and recorded. Artists either gain access to state-run recording studios in Havana such as the EGREM and the Electro-Acustica Studio where rates can range up to $60CUC/hour, or use underground studios such as Real 70 for rates ranging between $5 and $10CUC. In the underground studios, not only are rates more accessible, but artists also have the advantage of working with audio engineers whose styles are oriented toward hip-hop acoustics, an expertise that state-run studios do not offer. These home studios are considered illegal if they extend beyond the purpose of personal creativity into a 'business operation,' and notwithstanding, the studio should have paperwork to demonstrate where all the equipment originated and how it was acquired (Papá Humbertico 2008).

Musical and Technical Aspects

Owing to a lack of sophisticated equipment in Cuba, most musical compositions used American rap instrumentals; otherwise rappers relied on vocal beat boxing (a form of vocal percussion primarily involving the art of producing drum beats, rhythm and musical sounds using one's mouth, lips, tongue and voice) to produce original rhythms. Some early hip-hop producers looped cassette tapes using the first or last lyric-less eight bars of American rap beats to loop and rerecord a full musical track. Others forfeited these options altogether and used folkloric percussion drums for their musical backdrop. Early Cuban hip-hop songs tended to lack compositional originality. The ban on the import and sale of electronics throughout the 1990s (Cuba's Special Period) made it difficult, if not impossible, to produce electronic music. Legal permissions granted in 2006 have allowed personal computer ownership that initiated a new generation of self-taught computer technicians (Frank 2008). For rap this resulted in the rise of music producers. The lack of formal training in audio recording or musical production has yielded experimentation with high or low frequencies, mixing and audio editing. Tricia Rose (1999) proposes that many early rap music producers in the United States who lacked professional training created distorted sounds. This experimentation in Cuba forged innovative techniques and musical compositional styles ranging from extremely high snares to exceptionally low bass lines. The legal impermeability of copyright infringements between the United States and Cuba has also resulted in the overuse of musical samples, making these elements particular to Cuban hip-hop.

The equipment needed to produce hip-hop beats and vocal recordings, such as computers, microphones, samplers, mixers, hard drives and software is simply not available in Cuba. Producers tend to acquire such equipment through contact with foreigners. Boudreault-Fournier's (2008) research with rappers from Santiago de Cuba illustrates how artists maintain long-distance relationships with foreigners who frequently visit the island. These exchanges give island artists a glimpse of new trends in musical styles and foreigners bring with them the electronic equipment necessary for the further production of hip-hop music.

Gaining Popularity: Political Lyrics and Musical Fusions

With zero points of sale and isolation from American or European music labels, Cuban rappers seek alternative avenues to gain audiences abroad. Recent trends include rappers, such as Los Aldeanos, gaining popularity from their politically charged lyrics, and music producers, such as EdgarO, crossing genres and composing with Cuban pop icons. Both avenues have popularized Cuban rap with global audiences, allowing it to succeed financially from album sales and tours abroad.

The duo Los Aldeanos have become the prototype of protest rap in Cuba. Their commentary on social ailments and economic hardships extracts elements of Cuba's history and literature while attacking Castro's administration. Despite the various eras of 'manias' in Cuban rap, 'Aldeanomania' prevailed with a new set of tensions for authorities of the culture industries because their repertoire is critical of government bureaucracy, yet defensive of the Cuban Revolution itself. Los Aldeanos were featured on the front page of the *New York Times*' entertainment section (Lacey 2006) followed by a report in CNN International (Tutton 2009). The more international press coverage they received about their anti-Castro lyrics, the more pressure they received locally, pulling them from performances and closing down their concerts. Their draw was so massive between 2007 and 2009 in Havana that for two years small underground sites of their performances were packed beyond capacity. Despite their popularity, these performances are illegal because they have the ability to generate a petite bourgeoisie class of the establishment managers and event producers. Although some cases stand out in which performances have been shut down or artists arrested after the show, often the performance has been allowed to proceed, providing officials the opportunity to note who or what sector of society identifies with this type of music. As occurred in 2002 with Papá Humbertico's social denouncement, international press coverage about the island's protest rap has contributed to stricter government policies with regard to its genre artists.

According to Baker (2005, 377), rappers such as Los Aldeanos display a 'revolutionary fundamentalism' in their attacks on inequalities, special privileges, materialism and a decline in social solidarity. Baker suggests that elites are vulnerable precisely in the areas in which they make the rules. He illustrates that radical criticisms originate by taking the values of ruling leaders seriously, claiming that the elites do not. Other rappers of mention that present similar reactionary lyrics include Silvito 'El Libre' and S4Dron Patriota.

Musicality, complexity of rhythms, compositional fusions and the incorporation of Afro-Cuban folk instruments such as *bata* drums, maracas, *clave*, *congas*, *cajón* and *güiro* have also popularized rap groups. Ogguere orchestrate their musical backgrounds rather than using electronic beats or sampled loops. Musical producer EdgarO has experimented producing beats merging techno, *nueva trova* or *timba*. The aesthetics and styles of these rap groups and producers draw from Afro-Cuban roots as much as influences from jazz, reggae, funk, soul and rock 'n' roll. The elaborate musicality of contemporary hip-hop has contributed to the re-indigenization of the nation's youthful sound by incorporating the instrumentation from other popular genres. Doble Filo's recent album *Despierta* (2011) features *nueva trova* icon Carlos Varela, Cuban jazz pianist Dayramir González and salsa singer Pepito Goméz.

Conclusion

Isolation from American hip-hop does not signify seclusion from Latin American or European hip-hop movements. The emigration of Cubans abroad other than to the United States has also stimulated the musical genre as much as diffused it. Youth latch on to hip-hop throughout the globe, arguably to belong to a global majority when they are considered local minorities. Despite the lack of access to global markets, media or broadcasting, Cuban rappers have innovated a unique hip-hop movement that has transcended the island's imposed isolation and created fans worldwide.

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MELISA RIVIERE

Hip-hop in Mexico

Unlike other immigrant groups in the United States, such as Puerto Ricans, Mexicans did not participate in the foundational years of hip-hop in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and whereas other Spanish-speaking countries like Spain, Colombia or Argentina saw the birth of a domestic hip-hop scene in the early 1980s, in Mexico itself, this, too, was late in developing, and the influence of US hip-hoppers in the early years was slight. The Sugar Hill Gang, Boogie Down Productions, Public Enemy, Run-DMC, L. L. Cool J., Erik B & Rakim and many other prominent acts from the 1980s, who influenced the birth of a hip-hop scene in many Spanish-speaking countries, were never widely received in Mexico during that time. It was not until the early 2000s, when the influence of musicians such as the collective Native Tongues (A tribe Called Quest, de la Soul, etc.), was translated by the healthy Spanish hip-hip scene and triangulated via the internet, that international influence began to become significant.

Before the arrival of the internet, the first outside influences on Mexico were those of the Los Angeles hip-hop scene of the later 1980s and early 1990s, including the Mexican-American rappers Kid Frost, Psycho Realm and the Mexakinz, as well as other Latino artists such as Cypress Hill and Mellow Man Ace. The television show *Yo! MTV Raps* was broadcast in Mexico at this time also, but the language barrier and an element of cultural deference toward the United States prevented it making a full impact. Mexican hip-hop, like Mexican culture, its economy, education, social habits and many other aspects of Mexican life, has been deeply affected by the country's geographical proximity to the United States. The ambivalent attitude held by Mexico toward its northern neighbor has helped mold many aspects of contemporary Mexican identity as well as Mexican idiosyncrasy. Although the physical closeness to the country where hip-hop was born might have been expected to nurture a more solid, prolific hip-hop scene, in reality it worked the other way around. Language and the eternal deference that Mexicans hold toward any American product, whether in culture, politics or sports, served as a clear obstacle to hip-hop from the beginning (Paz 1950).

Local Developments

Mexican audiences first had contact with a form of rhyming style with Puerto Ricans Wilfred And La Ganga ('Mi abuela') [My Granny], Panamanian El General ('Te ves buena') [You Look Hot] or Ecuadorian Gerardo ('Rico suave') [Tasty Smooth], who first struck Mexican radio waves and local TV music outlets/channels with their suggestive choreographies and their singing style between 1989 and 1990. Language was not a problem in these cases, as it had been with rap made in Spanish from the United States.

Around the same time, during the early 1990s, the Mexican music industry produced very popular, localized products (among whom Caló was the most important), built upon the commercial success of international acts such as C + C Music Factory, Milli Vanilli, MC Hammer, Vanilla Ice, Snap and Technotronic. All of them released their most successful singles in 1990 and all were part of the major record labels of the time (EMI, Arista, Columbia, Capitol and so on, all of which had and still have a major presence in Mexico).

Caló were Mexico's own hip-house group. With catchy hooks and accompanying dance moves, *Lengua de hoy* (Language of Today) (Polygram 1990) was their first and most successful record. It sold millions of copies and toured all the major late-night, sketch, comedy and variety live shows of the time; most of the country's tape players of the time constantly had some of the songs from that album ('El Capitán' [The Captain], 'No puedo más' [I Can No More], etc.). Although the front man rapped and the record was sold as hip-hop, it had little to do with hip-hop's four basic elements. Caló were never serious about a message or had any solid connections with society; they never represented union or creative/artistic expression. They were far removed from the urban *periferia*, the area that Derek Pardue describes, in his entry on Hip-Hop in Brazil in this encyclopedia, as 'the keyword that indicates not only a working-class, poorly serviced suburban area of the city but also a dynamic subjectivity of marginality,' where hip-hop was nurtured in its essence. Caló represented chart popularity, which translated – as it always does – into industry profit.

Credit for being the first genuine Mexican hip-hoppers may go to Cuarto de Tren or Crimen Urbano, who appeared in the late 1980s. They never went beyond their own circuits and were not innovators, but in historical terms they occupy the pioneer position. Sociedad Café (previously known as Brown Society, a reflection of the identity inertia which affected all the early Mexican hip-hop artists following the Chicano hip-hop wave of the early 1990s) may also be included in that first generation of Mexican hip-hop.

Some other, localized moments in the 1990s are central to an understanding of Mexican hip-hop chronology. The now defunct hip-hop outfit from the 1990s, Control Machete, probably the most famous

Mexican hip-hop group to date, produced their two most successful records during that time. Hailing from Monterrey (Nuevo León state), next to the Mexican/US border, Control Machete's *Mucho barato …* (Very Cheap …) (Universal Latino, 1997) and *Artillería pesada, presenta* (Heavy Artillery, Presents) (Universal Latino, 1999) are important landmarks in Mexican hip-hop. Cypress Hill's first producer Jason Roberts worked on both and they sold millions of copies. They are the only two hip-hop records from the 1990s published through mainstream labels and mainstream promotion channels in Mexican hip-hop history. Because hip-hop never fully entered Mexican music markets, Control Machete's music was always linked to the northern rock scene in Mexico and they were always presented in rock bills. Apart from them and Cartel de Santa, all other hip-hop achievements in Mexico were independent of the commercial industry. Still today, in the early twenty-first century, the majority of Mexican hip-hop artists produce and pay for their own records; and all use public platforms and social media to promote them and sell them.

Several other important hip-hop crews, all independent and self-sufficient in their productions, were also founded in the 1990s. La Vieja Guardia crew, with DJ Aztek 732 and MC Luka, are still active in 2012, as are Los Caballeros del Plan G, from the northern state of Nuevo León. Serko Fu, one of the most skillful contemporary MCs, is an important part of Los Caballeros del Plan G. Last but not least, another crew from the 1990s, Life Style, no longer exists, but it saw the rise of two of the most successful Mexican hip-hop artists today: Akil Ammar and Bocafloja.

Mexico's Ministry of Culture is very far from declaring 'rap an authentic expression of Mexican identity,' as Abel Prieto did in Cuba back in 1999. But Cuba's Festival Internacional de Hip-Hop was crucial for the conception of today's Mexico City's scene. After being invited to Cuba in 2002, Akil Ammar and Bocafloja returned to plant the seeds of the circuit that today has grown into one with major concert venues as well as some press coverage. Along with Magisterio (Ximbo and Van-T), La Vieja Guardia, Nedman Guerrero, Big Metra and Sonido Liquido Crew, they are the first architects of the Mexico City's hip-hop scene.

As of 2012 there are still no radio stations, publications or venues dedicated solely to hip-hop. The basic infrastructure was built from scratch by hip-hop artists such as Ammar, who ventured into the hip-hop business by bringing other artists to play in Mexico. Around 2001 these entrepreneur rappers visualized the underground hip-hop players who could have a response in Mexico without having any airtime or press coverage. They took the risk of bringing the first internationally recognized hip-hop artists to Mexico: mostly Spanish MCs (El Chojin, Frank T, Falsalarma, Nach, etc.) or talented underground US artists such as Bahamadia and Afu-Ra.

Although Mexican hip-hop has not exploded into a recognizable commercial force as it has in Brazil or Spain, it is nevertheless true that around 2009 mainstream venues, radio programmers and some indie or rock magazines started opening up to some forms of local or foreign hip-hop. Unlike Spain, Germany, Japan, Cuba, France, Colombia or Brazil, where hip-hop arrived as a new form of urban muscle, allowing youngsters to have their own local style of hip-hop and their own infrastructure since the 1980s, Mexico's hip-hop scene is still fighting for a place in the national mainstream circuit.

While Colombia had major break-dance contests in the late 1980s, Mexico has yet to hold one. Besides private events, Method Man is the first member of the legendary Wu-Tang Clan to visit Mexico and it happened in October 2012. Public Enemy exploded in Brazil (Chang 2007) at that time also, but did not visit Mexico till 2011. Important hip-hop movies such as *Beat Street* (1984) and *Breakin'* (1984) never had a commercial or underground impact in Mexico. It was not until 2005 that the Red Bull Academy came to Mexico and organized the *Batalla de los Gallos* (battle of the roosters or freestyle cockfight). This set a very important precedent in Mexican hip-hop, as it showcased rap battles around the country for the first time, filtering the most agile rappers through the various battle stages and then sending them on to the international version of the contest, thereby uniting the most skilled freestyle rappers around Latin America and Spain. The international events held between 2005 and 2009, as well as the national battles, helped rappers to get to know each other and to network for future collaborations. *Batalla de los Gallos* gave initial exposure to some of today's major MCs: Eptos Uno, Eric El Niño, T-Killa, Hadrián, and helped establish brand new hip-hop groups such as Soul Compas (Mexico and Puerto Rico) possible.

Contemporary Hip-hop

As in many other parts of the world of hip-hop that lies outside the US mainstream circuit, the underground rappers in Mexico have adopted hip-hop culture as a way to express reality and survive. It has become a liberating exercise, a way to keep one's dignity, sanity and identity (McFarland 2002). In hip-hop culture all around the world, Mexico included, young, segregated sectors of the society are provided with a space and stage to express their perspectives, views and voices. As Tony Mitchell wrote in 2001, 'Hip-Hop and Rap cannot be viewed simply as an expression of African American culture; it has become a vehicle for global youth affiliations and a tool for re-working local identity all over the world.'

It is clear that hip-hop has had a consistent characteristic throughout its history: a relentless agenda always challenging the domestic status quo (Chang 2007), and Mexico is no exception.

Mexican hip-hop, like any other kind of cultural construction, is articulated within the local context: lack of opportunities, corruption, widespread impunity for all manner of activities, oppression, violence of all sorts, unemployment and other aspects of Mexico's present day are all covered throughout the national hip-hop scene.

Akil Ammar's 'Yo no voté por ti' (I Didn't Vote for You), released a few weeks after 2012's controversial presidential election, serves as a good example of how Mexican hip-hop takes a precise angle on the uncomfortable contemporary political reality. Using language as the main weapon, the song reveals a much more articulated form of lyrical communication. Akil Ammar, 'as a verbal architect, constructs his rhymes by consciously stretching the limitations of the standard language' (Spady et al, 2006).

> 'Yo no voté por ti'
> *Jamás olvido la represión a nombre de la paz,*
> *Tampoco aquel octubre, ni el asesino Díaz Ordaz,*
> *Yo sí recuerdo la Guerra sucia que sigue vigente,*
> *Desapareciendo a todo el que pensara diferente.*
>
> *Que llevan años con el narco como socio,*
> *Sé que ustedes mismo dispararon a Colosio,*
> *Zedillo con Acteal y la matanza,*
> *Tanto dinosaurios que te dieron enseñanza.*
> (Quoted with permission)
>
> *I didn't vote for you*
> *I'll never forget the repression in the name of peace,*
> *I'll never forget that October either, and Díaz Ordaz the murderer,*
> *I remember the dirty war still happening today,*
> *Disappearing everything and everyone who thinks differently,*
>
> *You've been partners with the drug lords for years,*
> *I know you were the ones who shot Candidate Colosio,*
> *President Zedillo with massacre at Acteal,*
> *And all the – political – dinosaurs who gave you all the teachings,*

It is only in very recent times that Mexican hip-hoppers have started to bend, explore and break the possibilities of Spanish to cover their own transcendent topics.

It is fair to say that, just as Eminem helped erase the racial barrier by demonstrating skills and strong content and by garnering 'major support from hip-hop underground fans who are always sniffing out the "inauthentic"' (Osumare 2007, 8), so also Emcee Residente from the Puerto Rican duo Calle 13 has helped erase the language barrier by demonstrating amazing rhyming skills in Spanish. Emcee Residente has unquestionably had a major impact on Mexican hip-hoppers. It is clear that right after the mainstream exposure of Residente's rhymes and ways of framing Spanish words and phrases, other Mexican hip-hoppers started bending, cutting and inverting words to satisfy their raps.

Tino el Pingüino, Mike Díaz a.k.a. Phontenak, Eptos Uno and C-Kan are just a few examples of Mexican rappers playing and discovering the flexibility of Spanish. All of them belong to the youngest hip-hop generation in Mexico.

Conclusion

Hip-hop as a movement of social identity and artistic manifestations through urban and city experiences has always based its musical and lyrical contents on the occupation of public space and the use of inspiring mind states of oneself and the group. Mexican hip-hoppers define over and over the idea of suburbs, ghetto and *periferia*. By doing so, they reposition themselves as authorities on what 'reality' means to the marginal side of the urban Mexican reality. It is important to recognize that because hip-hop has always been an 'un-educated' form of verbal, physical, written and technological expression, contradictions are abundant all over. And contradictions are often a symptom of naïveté. It could be said that the Mexican hip-hop scene is only in its infancy, characterized by the innocent moment of independently producing music and then selling it by one's own means – much as happened during hip-hop's birth in New York circa 1980.

What US rapper Chuck D calls the 'soft colonialism factor' in contemporary hip-hop, a 'certain sound and production formulae taken from mainstream American hip-hop intended solely to be reproduced throughout the biggest hip-hop markets around the world' (personal communication with author, 2009) has not struck the Mexican hip-hop scene. Its absence allows the scene to maintain a very healthy, young identity imbued with the local or traditional values in Mexican society.

Mexico's hip-hop scene is firmly alive in the solid, independent underground circuit, far from the abusive record deals, the major companies and the mainstream media. It lives in the periphery venues that saw a business opportunity by opening their doors to the hip-hop events. With the internet and all the free digital tools it offers, hip-hop truly evolved into a global network of communication and artistic expression. It is clear now that hip-hop has become one of the most penetrating, popular art movements of the last 30 years, and Mexico has not escaped its influence. As hip-hop becomes adopted as the common language between people who speak different native tongues, Mexican dancers, rappers, DJs and graffiti writers have entered the global dialogue. Whether hip-hop in Mexico will explode or remain as a timid, underground urban force remains to be seen.

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Hip-hop in Puerto Rico

As the second largest Hispanic group in the United States, comprising 9 percent of the country's Hispanic population and residing primarily in New York and New Jersey (Albert et al. 2011), Puerto Ricans were essential contributors to the development of hip-hop in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The liberal migratory and capital transfer policies in place in the United States since 1898, combined with Puerto Rico's status as a US territory since 1952, intimately linked island residents to American art movements, youth genres, production resources and market interests (Dietz 1987). In the twenty-first century the Puerto Rican presence in hip-hop takes two forms, one forged by Puerto Ricans in New York (also referred to as Nuyoricans), and the other by rappers on the island itself. Mainland rappers such as Big Pun, Fat Joe and N.O.R.E. represent very different contexts and repertoire from their island counterparts such as Calle 13 or Tego Calderón, the most notable difference being the use of Spanish. Where island rap tends to be executed solely in Spanish, Puerto Rican rappers on the US mainland have a repertoire in which the primary language is English, but exhibit code switching, inserting random words in Spanish. This entry will focus on hip-hop by Puerto Rican island artists, whose repertoire has a greater circulation in Spanish-speaking countries than does that of US-based Puerto Rican artists – though the two forms of Puerto Rican hip-hop cannot be considered as entirely separate.

The close relationship between Puerto Rico and New York City allowed young people in both places to share images, media and sounds. The early rap music from Puerto Rico from the late 1980s and early 1990s shows how the urban US setting became an exotic attraction for island youth. While for its part Nuyorican cultural sensibility was characterized by emigrant longing for the island, in early rap texts and among the street youth of Puerto Rico it was the urban diasporic settings of the Bronx that became places of fascination and nostalgia (Flores 2000; Rivera 2002).

The Development of Hip-hop in Puerto Rico

In broad terms, pioneer Puerto Rican rappers looked to New York City hip-hop for lyrical flow while early island rap music producers turned to the surrounding Caribbean for compositional rhythm. A few select rappers stood out as pioneers, such as Vico C, who by 1987 had circulated cassette recordings from San Juan to the Bronx, or Ruben DJ, who was the first rapper to receive island-wide radio play, for his song titled 'La escuela' (The School, 1989), which encouraged children to stay in school. But the early era of rap in Puerto Rico belonged to the disc jockeys (DJs). Early turntable pioneers included DJ Adam, Playero DJ and DJ Negro, who began producing cassette tape recordings of Puerto Rican rap in the early 1990s while graffiti artists such as SKE and BLEN 167 provided album cover designs and concert backdrops. DJs had a role as performers, while they were also the pioneers of a new recording fashion in hip-hop called 'mix tapes.' Mix tapes were a DJ's promotional tools that replicated live concerts and that fans could replay at home (and continue to perform this function today, though as MP3 downloads). As such they became historical markers for the development of the musical movement on the island. Notable mix tapes by talented DJs showcased underground rappers to new audiences.

In 1992 DJ Playero introduced his influential and widely circulated debut album, *Playero 37,* followed soon afterward by *Playero 38.* Playero's mix tapes lacked a distinct compositional originality, using a variation of the Panamanian dem bow/*reggae español* beats (a genre from Panama mixing Spanish lyrics and Jamaican dancehall) that had become popular throughout Latin America with artists such as La Atrevida, Nando Boom and El General. The music was danceable and the rap lyrics spoke to issues of male braggadocio and criminality to which fans on both the island and the mainland could relate.

DJ Playero introduced many artists in the early 1990s, such as Mexicano 777, Don Chezina, Rey Pirin Blunt, OG Black, Wiso G, Rankin Stone and Winchesta Yankee, and duos such as Baby Rasta y Gringo, Master Joe and O. G. Black and Maicol y Manuel. These artists provided the sonic template that defined the early phases of rap in Puerto Rico. The musical compositions of underground DJs such as Playero, Negro, Joe and Blass were all relatively similar, consisting of looped beats, often fused with kick drums, snare rolls, cymbal splashes and even cartoon-like digital sound effects (Marshall 2009). The objective of early Puerto Rican rap was to demonstrate eloquent poetic lyrical flow in Spanish, particularly with regard to delivery speed. All Spanish rap on the island at the time was referred to as 'underground,' primarily because of its limited avenues of distribution and its reflection of illicit urban street lifestyles. The development of musical originality, instrumentation or rhythmic complexity, later defining factors in Puerto Rican rap, was not yet an aesthetic concern.

In the mid-1990s a series of musical productions by DJ Eric signaled a significant shift in the auditory experience of Puerto Rican rap. Among these was Wiso G's track 'Sin parar' (No Stopping) (1994) and the ballad rap song 'Mis ojos lloran por ti' (My Eyes Cry for You) by Big Boy (1996). Both tracks were the first of their kind to mix fast rap lyrics with a ballad-inspired, harmonized chorus. The vocal and compositional styles were neither US hip-hop nor Jamaican reggae but rather a new island fusion that merged two distinct vocal methods: harmonized singing overlaid with fast-paced rap. DJ Eric went on to produce other innovative rappers MC Ceja, Lito MC Cassidy and Polaco, whose repertoire reaffirmed a new fusion for their era. In 1994 DJ Darwin circulated his 'Mixtape #1' and DJ Adam released 'Mad Jam vol. I.' Both compilations exhibited a new authentically Puerto Rican rap style and an approach to rap's musical composition that no longer relied on mimicking New York attributes or dancehall beats to achieve popularity. These productions introduced significant new artists: Memo y Vale, Falo, Mexicano, Horny Man y Panty Man, Point Breakers, OGM, Oakley and Coo-Kee.

As commonly occurred in hip-hop, men brought women to the forefront of the hip-hop scene, in the process placing the women as singular feminine novelties within an otherwise all-male rap crew. DJ Negro introduced Ivy Queen and Vico C inaugurated Lisa M. Both female lyricists were influential in giving Puerto Rican rap a female perspective. Ivy Queen's lyrical content took advantage of her gendered viewpoint to speak out for women's rights, advocate against domestic abuse and instigate female solidarity (Ivy Queen 2005).

Despite the presence of rapper Ivy Queen in DJ Negro's rap crew 'The Noise,' the group's self-titled debut and sophomore albums *The Noise Uno: Underground Original* and *The Noise Dos* (1994) contained some explicitly misogynistic lyrics. The album showcased various artists whose lyrics pushed tolerance levels beyond public acceptance for the emerging rap genre. Songs such as 'La rubia' (The Blond) by Tito y Vale and 'Maldita puta' (Damn Whores) by Guanabanas Podrias brought widespread public attention. The repertoire glorified many of the everyday experiences about drug use, prostitution, sex and criminality prevalent within marginalized communities pertaining to the urban housing projects or *caserios*.

At the time, Puerto Rican rap was primarily produced by and for the *caserios.* These low-income housing projects placed throughout the San Juan metropolitan area near middle- and upper-class residential areas aimed to stimulate upward mobility. Rather than integrating their communities into wider Puerto Rican society, the *caserios* turned into isolated pockets where criminality and violence increased and where the people became exponentially isolated by unemployment or discrimination (Dinzey-Flores 2008). The popularity of the underground rap genre combined with its increasingly violent content led to government interventions at residencies. In 1995, under governor Rosello's administration, the Vice Control Division of the Puerto Rican police, assisted by the US National Guard, confiscated tapes and CDs from homes, record shops and cars, as well as recording equipment from underground home studios. The raids were publicly aimed at censoring rap music because it was considered suggestive of criminal behavior. The initiatives to isolate *caserios* and confiscate mix tapes grew from a public concern about social contagion. The Superior Courts of San Juan eventually dismissed the charges brought against the commercial establishments for the sale of underground rap music referred to as 'pornographic material,' but the seizures permanently marked the musical form (Marino 1995; Rivera 2009).

Underground rap became synonymous with moral corruption, and large-scale public mass media campaigns followed *caserio* raids. Senator Velda González of the Popular Democratic Party spearheaded a mainstream media campaign to reprimand the music as a social nuisance. However, censorship and other attacks had a reverse effect than the ones intended. Many rappers concur that Velda González's repression of the genre became a contributing factor to its commercial success. Both Eddie 'Dee' Avila and Luis Díaz have confirmed Gonzalez's role in commercializing the controversy of censored rap lyrics (interviews with author, 2004 and 2007) (For further discussion of the 'underground' rap movement, see Negrón-Muntaner and Rivera 2007).

Producer DJ Negro and 'The Noise' responded to the state censorship against profane lyrics with a new album for the controversial rap group titled '*The Noise 3: Clean Lyrics*' (1995). Intended for mainstream rotation and consumption, it was minimally successful for its concept, and disregarded for its lyrical or musical creativity. New bland lyrics to express the same stories from the urban neighborhoods diminished popular interest. Eddie 'Dee' Avila broke a two-year silence in 1997 by making nonobscene content risqué with his hit single 'Señor Oficial' (Mr Police Officer). The track was produced and composed by DJ Adam using a dem bow beat sample with additional melodic chimes. Eddie Dee's lyrical skill relied on his use of *double entendres* and other ambiguities, interchanging two types of vocabulary to refer to similar acts, substances and events, and merged slang with formal and informal Spanish linguistic forms. The song's message aimed at justifying underground rap itself as an acceptable musical form and warranted Eddie Dee being given the popular title of 'El terrorista de la lirica' (The Lyrical Terrorist), later a self-declared nickname as the title of his third album in 2000. The song's lack of swearing or obscene content allowed for island-wide spins on local radio stations. Eddie Dee's trajectory shifted rap's reputation from that of an underground and censored urban genre to a musical model of national pride. The recognition opened new opportunities for island-wide rap that led to radio rotation and international tours, bringing local underground rap into the global mainstream.

The post-censorship rap era led to new experimentations and internal divisions among rappers. Although most rap music was comparable with regard to lyrics and musical composition, its interpreters exhibited dissimilarities. Some artists demonstrated goals of attaining mainstream commercial success, while others aimed to forfeit stardom to fulfill the mantra of 'keeping it real' (a concept found in hip-hop worldwide, referring to the conscious moral obligation of rappers to lead lifestyles that reflect the content and implications of their lyrics and represent grassroots politics or offer social commentary in their music that can benefit the communities they represent). The divisions soon differentiated Spanish rap from the emerging reggaeton style, while being nonetheless confusing to the untrained ear – both styles utilized rap vocal delivery and musical compositions derived from sampled prerecorded beats.

Hip-hop and Reggaeton

A distinct compositional characteristic of contemporary reggaeton is its use of high hat and kick snare that was derived from the popular influence of Latin techno in the US music industry. In the mid-1990s Latin techno, infused with the Caribbean musical styles of *merengue* and dancehall, was becoming part of mainstream radio play in the United States with groups such as Lisa Lisa and Cult Jam (1985/1991), Proyecto Uno (1994) and DJ Baron Lopéz (1994). The most important influence, however, came from C + C Music Factory. This group's house music fused with Latin percussive rhythm patterns aimed at pan-Latin markets in the United States. Their album *Ultimate* (1995) offered a new style of techno music with break beats and sampled melodic salsa and *merengue* loops, adding an adapted high snare and kick drum drawn from US house music. Also featuring the Panamanian crossover superstar rapper El General, C + C Music Factory reoriented the direction of Latin music labels and market interests both in the United States and in Puerto Rico, winning many awards and showing contemporary young Latino urban rappers and producers the kind of success that could be achieved.

DJ Nelson, whose keen musical production style had gained island-wide popularity, seamlessly adapted this new experiment of making music for pan-Latin and non-Latin listeners. In 1997 Nelson released his innovative compilation album *The Flow*. The musical tracks contained a wide range of musical samples including dem bow, *merengue*, *reggae español*, rap in Spanish, US pop, calypso and house music. The composition introduced a particularly high snare effect with a kick drum reminiscent of C + C Music Factory's style interspersed with dancehall. The new sound was similar to house music but contoured for eight- to sixteen-bar rap lyrics. The first names for this trend were '*perreo*' (i.e., 'doggy style,' referring to the dog-like fornication movements of the dance style) and at times by some groups '*melaza*' ('molasses,' in reference to a slang term for marijuana or the 'sweetest things'); but in reference to DJ Nelson's *The Flow*, the new sound was given the permanent title of 'reggaeton.' The term was applied as (1) a popular reference to a 'ton of reggae' or a 'reggae-ton' and (2) a reference to the mixing and mastering style that joined one track after another without pauses called a 'reggae maratón' later shortened to reggaeton (Jargon 2006). DJ Nelson's album offered a template for a divergent sound from which a new musical derivative of rap was born.

At the end of the millennium in Puerto Rico, the fusions of rap and reggae began to get blurred, with artists appearing to be comfortable practicing both hip-hop rap and reggaeton rap. That situation changed with the release of *Boricua guerrero* (Boricua Warrior) in 1997. Published by musical entrepreneur Elias de Leon, the founder of White Lion Records and containing music composed by DJ Playero, Nico Canadá, DJ Goldy and Benny Blanco, the compilation album was a conceptual and compositional success. Presented as a dual cassette/CD set, the album was packaged in a glorified military command theme containing two duties: *Mision rap* and *Mision reggae*. This distinct division of rap and reggae allowed for the further development of hip-hop rap and reggaeton rap as separate genres and distinctly limited the crossover appeal of rap styles. *Mision rap* was particularly important because it included duet tracks with African-American and Nuyorican rappers alongside Puerto Ricans such as Nas with Yankee, Busta Rhymes and Jahvia, Q-Tip and Don Chezina, Fat Joe and Mexicano and Rey Pirin with Mad Lion.

Where reggaeton is seen as the playful, danceable, misogynistic, mainstream, consumer-driven musical sound, hip-hop instead prides itself on 'culture consciousness,' yet both share the element of rap lyrics. The first decade of the twenty-first century witnessed the crossover success of reggaeton in the US and European music industries with hits from Daddy Yankee, Wisin y Yandel and Don Omar, far surpassing the commercial popularity of hip-hop artists such as Tempo or Omar Garcia. Since Daddy Yankee's reggaeton hit single 'La Gasolina' (2003) topped the US charts, Universal Music Group has become the parent company to the majority of successful island rap labels, investing in whichever style of rap will sell the most units.

Puerto Rican Hip-hop versus Reggaeton

While reggaeton rap was beginning to take form and differentiate itself from hip-hop rap, artists of the later group formed collectives uniting the four elements in solidarity. Conciencia Poetica (Poetic Conscience) formed in 1997, made up of musical producer Yallzee and rappers Luis Diaz, Noah 'Omi' Santiago and Siete Nueve. A year later, a larger collective representative of the four elements of hip-hop Vanguardia Subterranean (Underground Vanguard) was founded. Vanguardia Subterranea included members from Conciencia Poetica, groups Ovr Doze (made up of Tek One y JMO), MAD Steelo (which included Severo Cantaclaro and DJ Locator) and EA Flow, as well as the SWAT graffiti crew, that consisted of Ogral One, Mero Uno and Exor. Break-dance troupe Time Machine Squad, which formed in 1989, began producing annual festivals in the late 1990s to maintain a hip-hop culture consciousness on the island, including youth workshops and dance competitions that kept the four elements of hip-hop – rap, breakdance, aerosol art and turntablism – in the public eye. Gunzmoke, No Mel Syndicate and 65 Infanteria were groups whose repertoires and activism reflected working-class Puerto Rican politics. Hip-hop took on more than a sound or a musical style, becoming a strategic lifestyle defined by its antithesis, reggaeton. Many artists clung to the four-element paradigm, finding refuge in each other (Romero 2009). Today, some of the more internationally well-known rappers to represent the genre of Puerto Rican hip-hop include Siete Nueve, the rap duo Intifada, Velcro and Ikol Santiago.

Rappers published albums appealing to one musical taste or the other, but not both. Tego Calderón's debut album *El Abayarde* (2003) featured musical compositions by producers Maestro, DJ Adam and Echo. The album attempted an unexpected fusion, not only between rap and reggaeton but also in its compositional construction, including the instrumentation of folkloric genres such as *bomba*, *plena* and the culturally popular island sound of salsa. The merging of diverse genres from the island into a rap album was innovative and opened the avenues for incorporating live instrumentation into the composition of rap songs rather than sampling and electronic looping. Calderón's contemporaries Chinonyno, Voltio and La Sista are also known for dominating both rap/reggaeton styles while elaborating traditional percussive instrumentation such as the use of *bomba* drums, *clave* and tambourines. Rappers Velcro and Siete Nueve working with producers such as Nuff Ced, JKO Dox, Maxine hi Fi and Godfader have been known to incorporate instrumentation into their recordings as well as producing full concerts with live bands instead of, or alongside, a DJ. The group *Calle 13,* featuring their front man rapper René Pérez nicknamed as 'Residente' and their musical producer Eduardo Cabra known as 'Visitante,' is perhaps the most recognized Puerto Rican hip-hop group known for blending live instrumentation with electronic backbeats. Their album *Entren los que quieran* (Enter Those Who Wish) (2010) features elements of *tango*, *bossa nova*, jazz, salsa, *cumbia* and *nueva trova*. Although the band is classified as a hip-hop group, it is also often catalogued as world beat.

The contemporary development of Puerto Rican rap demonstrates the desire to open and elaborate new musical directions, much as new lyrical paths were opened in the past. The new trend in island hip-hop looks to incorporate Puerto Rico's folkloric rhythms rather than turn to the US mainland for sonic influences. The Nuyorican contribution to hip-hop is further compounded when we consider the new island rap model as globally influential, particularly throughout Latin America. The frenzied popularity of reggaeton has diminished and hip-hop rap groups are gaining commercial success without having to forfeit their moral responsibilities or social obligations. In fact, Spanish-speaking Caribbean countries such as Cuba and the Dominican Republic have looked to Puerto Rican rap for a model to emulate, rather than the original US model.

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***See also*: Hip-Hop (Volume VIII, North America, and Volume XII, International)**

Huayno

The *huayno* – or *huayño* in Bolivia – is one of the most popular musical genres in the Peruvian and Bolivian Andes. This musical form is often represented as a fusion of Inca and Spanish elements, although current *huaynos* are also influenced by twentieth-century media. In Peru, it is found from the department Cajamarca in the north to the southern highlands of Puno. In Bolivia, it is particularly present in the departments of Cochabamba, Chuquisaca, La Paz, Oruro and Potosí. Precisely because of its wide dissemination, the *huayno* exhibits great diversity in regard to both musical characteristics and cultural contexts. For this reason, it is only possible in the abstract to speak of the *huayno* as a unified musical genre with distinct characteristics shared in all places. It is safer to say that the term denotes a set of independent musical phenomena rather than one large musical form with local variants.

However, producers and consumers usually imagine the *huayno* as a homogeneous genre with a unified history. The genre is often presented in concerts and commented upon in conferences. Although its earliest historical documentation dates from less than 400 years ago, there is much talk about the ancestral and ancient nature of *huayno*. Equally ingrained is the idea that the *huayno* was a very important genre during the Inca Empire. The desire to provide the *huayno* with an antiquity and a glorious past is proof of its enormous symbolic importance as both a cultural expression and a factor in the construction of an Andean cultural identity.

History

Until the last decade of the nineteenth century indigenous music from the Andes did not attract much attention from music scholars in Bolivia and Peru. Therefore, writings about the history of the *huayno* began rather late, when the transformation processes of its different variants were already quite advanced. Historical documentation of the *huayno* is scarce. The earliest evidence can be found in dictionaries of old indigenous languages, written by Spanish priests during the colonial period. Both Ricardo and González Holguín mention the word '*huayñucuni*' in their respective Quechua dictionaries, Ricardo translating it as 'he or she asks someone to a dance hand in hand' ([1586] 1951, 51), and González Holguín as 'dance hand in hand' ([1610] 1989, 194). The word was used in the same way by Aymara groups on the banks of Lake Titicaca (Bertonio [1612] 1984, II, 157). Although these sources do not say anything about the musical form itself, one can conclude that this pre-Hispanic indigenous dance was the starting point of a musical exchange that generated the current forms of *huayno* when it assimilated elements of the musical practices of the Spanish Conquerors. *Huayno* fused with ecclesiastical and secular musical forms including *villancicos* and *coplas* of the Catholic Church and Spanish dances such as s*eguidillas, pasacalles* and *zarabandas*.

The presence of the *huayno* only in dictionaries and not in the chronicles of the Conquest is revealing.

While the chronicles repeatedly mention other genres as a musical part of public and religious ceremonies, the *huayno* is not even mentioned by Garcilaso de la Vega or Guaman Poma, who, as 'native chroniclers,' knew indigenous music better than the Spaniards did. Roel Pineda has for this reason concluded that, during the Inca era, the *huayno* was a minor musical form for private contexts, not a major genre played in public spaces. According to Roel Pineda, it was exactly this private character that saved the *huayno* from persecution by the Catholic Church and allowed it to adapt new musical elements from Spain (Roel Pineda 1990, 67).

Not only did the *huayno* itself change over time, but also the perception of the *huayno* by Peruvian and Bolivian intellectuals evolved. Whereas until ca. 1920 the *huayno* was, for the Peruvian urban elite, an 'abhorrent music' (Gibson 1920, 15) or the quintessential expression of a bucolic life (Alviña 1929, 320), since the mid-twentieth century the *huayno* has been a cultural icon of Andean identity in Peru, mostly due to the monumental work of anthropologist and writer José María Arguedas. Arguedas launched a campaign to establish an image of the *huayno* as a dignified cultural product with historical value:

> In the huayno has remained all the life, every moment of pain, of joy, of terrible struggle, and all these moments in which the people found the light and the access to the big world. ... The Indio and the Mestizo, as a hundred years ago, still found today in this music the whole expression of their spirit and all their emotions. (1977, 7, translation by the author)

Hence, Arguedas regarded the *huayno* as a metaphor for his ideal of the Peruvian nation, proposing it as an emblem of cultural hybridity that combined Andean and Spanish musical elements but was dominated by Andean values. In this sense, the *huayno* according to Arguedas ceased to be something 'primitive' or 'archaic' for Peruvian intellectuals and became a symbol of an 'ancestral' Andean culture (Mendívil 2004, 47).

As in Peru, until the late nineteenth century the Bolivian elite considered *huayño* music as primitive. Historical documents report, however, that the *huayño* was very popular among lower-class mestizos and *cholos* (Rossells 1995, 49). (In Peru and Bolivia *cholo* refers to indigenous people with Western influence and has been used in a pejorative sense. In recent years, though, Andean migrants in urban contexts including La Paz and Lima define themselves as *cholos*, giving the term positive connotations.) Thanks to Mauro Nuñez from Chuquisaca, the *huayño* gained cultural prestige in Bolivia during the late 1950s and early 1960s. Nuñez introduced classic guitar techniques for *charango* styles and made the *huayño* more socially acceptable for an urban audience (Céspedes 1984, 218). Also the group Los Jairas played an important role in this process. Los Jairas, composed of virtuoso musicians such as Ernesto Cavour, Edgar Jofré and the Swiss flautist Gilbert Favre, recorded traditional *huayños* with a style akin to the demands of a Western-oriented middle class and popularized them in *peñas folklóricas*, locations at which urban intellectuals and students consumed rural popular music (Céspedes 1984, 225; Leichtman 1989, 32). A final recognition of *huayño* as a cultural resource, however, first took place with the enormous success of the group Los Kjarkas in the 1980s. Los Kjarkas converted *huayño* into Bolivian national music (Céspedes 1993, 97).

Musical Characteristics of the *Huayno* Over Time

The *huayno* is a type of indigenous or mestizo song with a binary rhythm and strophic structure. Melodically, the *huayno* is characterized by the use of pentatonic scales of pre-Hispanic (Inca) origin. In the early twenty-first century, its common form consists of three or four stanzas in Quechua, Spanish or a mixture of both, an instrumental repetition of the stanza, an interlude, which in some regions is also called *codo* (elbow), and a kind of coda called *fuga* or *zapateo* in Bolivia, which has a different melody from the tune of the strophe and is played faster or with a sharper accentuation. Each stanza of the *huayno* is made up of short musical sections (AABB, AAAB, ABB or AABBCC, for example). According to Turino, these sections consist of two or more short phrases (Turino 2008, 64–5). Another characteristic is its rhythmic pattern, often represented in the literature as an eighth and two sixteenth notes. Vásquez and Vergara propose a notation of the pattern as a sixteenth note triplet with one note of the triplet extended to nearly an eighth note value (Vásquez and Vergara 1990, 149). Many authors have stressed the bimodal character of the *huayno*. Vasquez and Vergara note, for example, that *huaynos* 'start clearly in minor, go to its relative major and develop the melody in this mode to finish once again in minor' (Vásquez and Vergara 1990, 142).

These musical characteristics do not hail from a mythical time, as Arguedas imagined. Quite the contrary, *huayno* performers learned to adapt European influences that arrived with the Spaniards. They incorporated musical instruments including the violin and harp and other plucked chordophones such as the guitar and the *vihuela*; they inserted European harmonies and adapted the meter to the requirements of the Spanish language; and most significantly, they blended the *huayno* with local music traditions. But nothing had more impact on the transformation of the *huayno* than capitalist music production, which converted it into a commodity, creating a popular and commercial version in the twentieth century. José María Arguedas, after great effort, convinced recording companies to record the *huayno* for commercial purposes in the late 1950s. In a very short time the *huayno* accounted for 50 percent of annual record sales in Peru. At the same time the *huayno* began to be broadcast on the radio, which allowed local forms to suddenly acquire a nationwide impact (Lloréns Amico 1983, 121). This mediated form of *huayno* necessitated some concessions to the demands of the recording industry. Recording technology modified the *huayno*'s structure and reduced the length to three minutes in order to fit on a 78 (or later 45) rpm record. Such records were the most widespread commercial formats until the arrival of the cassette in the 1980s and later the CD during the 1990s, both of which abandoned the time constraints of the record and allowed for longer recordings, which resulted in a new song structure with 4 or 5 stanzas and an instrumental repetition of the *fuga*.

In the early twenty-first century the *huayno* forms an important segment of the Peruvian and Bolivian music industry. Since most major international record companies ignore it, numerous local entrepreneurs have founded independent labels to produce and sell *huayno* music (Turino 2008, 109–10). Clearly refuting the Adornian thesis of a negative interference of the media in traditional music (see Chalena Vásquez 1983), Tucker argues that these independent labels have had a strong influence on the formation of regional styles and contributed very actively to the production of the current diversity of the *huayno* (Tucker 2010, 153).

The Diversity of the Peruvian *Huayno*

Based on the map proposed by the Montoyas (1987, 22–3) for the Quechua song in Peru, one can outline a tentative atlas of seven *huayno* areas in Peru: (1) Cuzco with indigenous (Qorilazo) and mestizo traditions, (2) Puno with an Aymara influence, (3) Huamanga with a style known as *estilo ayacuchano* (style from Ayacucho) or *chanca*, (4) the central valley of Mantaro with a style known as *huanca*, (5) Callejón de Huaylas in Ancash, (6) the *Norte Chico* (Near North), covering the Lima highlands (Huacho, Chancay and Cajatambo) and finally (7) Cajamarca in northern Peru. Within these areas, ethnic and social differences can also determine differences between *huayno* types. For example, the Montoyas differentiate between indigenous and mestizo types:

> Both share a language and a common space but differ from each other in the instruments they play, the type or types of songs, the style of singing, the dancing mode and the thematic. These differences are very deep and are fully displayed throughout all regions. (Montoya 1987, 20, translation by the author)

The mestizo *huayno* from Cuzco can be defined as a rather slow pentatonic song, sometimes in the form of two-part melodic verses. It is also a dance genre, suitable for parties and private meetings (Roel Pineda 1990, 109–11). Professional musicians play it with instruments including the violin, accordion and *charango* – a stringed instrument of five double strings (usually tuned E'-A-E-C-G), widespread in southern Peru and Bolivia. The indigenous *huayno* in this area usually has a more intense rhythm and uses traditional indigenous instruments including the bamboo flute (*quena*) and the duct wooden flute (*pinkullo*), as well as harp, violin, mandolin, *charango* with metal strings and a frame drum called *tinya*. Los Bohemios, Los Campesinos and Julio Benavente are reliable representatives of the mestizo *huayno* from Cusco. The Conjunto Acomayo Condemayta is one of the few indigenous groups that has achieved national and international impact in Peru and Bolivia.

In the area of Puno, the indigenous *huayno* – also called *huayño* due to the region's geographical and cultural proximity to Bolivia – is played by panpipe emsembles called *tropas de sikuri* (Acevedo Raymundo 2003, 24; Turino 1993, 51) or by brass bands. Among mestizos, the most popular ensembles are called *pandillas*, consisting of mandolin, *charango*, accordion, guitar and a *guitarrón* (a huge acoustic bass guitar). A characteristic feature of the *huayno pandillero* is the use of a bass line with chromatic steps accompanying the pentatonic melody as a kind of counterpoint (González Ríos n.d., 18–19).

The mestizo *huayno* or *señorial* from Ayacucho is known for its stylistic finesse, a product of salon music culture. Raúl García Zárate on guitar and Jaime Guardia on *charango* have developed a solo style reminiscent of European concert music. In southern Ayacucho, it is notable that the Coracora style employs *bel canto* vocal style, which differs from the natural timbre of indigenous singers. Vásquez and Vergara have also stressed the importance of the guitar in the *huayno mestizo* from Huamanga, which sometimes uses different tunings (e.g., one called *baulin*: E-C-G-D-Bb-G). Using this tuning, the guitar plays both the bass line and the melody at the same time (Vásquez and Vergara 1990, 158–9). In contrast, the guitar is almost absent from the indigenous music of this area. The most characteristic instruments used in the area's indigenous music are harp, violin and *pinkullo* (Montoya 1987, 15). Another characteristic feature is the preference for high-pitched female voices.

The *huayno* from the Mantaro Valley in Junín is a product of the modernization of the area during the first half of the twentieth century and has gained great prestige all over the country due to its danceable character. Although in some remote communities one can still hear *huaynos* played with *pinkullos*, harp and violin, the most popular format in Mantaro Valley in general are large orchestras with saxophones, clarinets, harp and violin. Víctor Alberto Gil Malma (Picaflor de los Andes) and Leonor Chávez (Flor Pucarina) were legendary interpreters of this kind of *huayno,* which is also known as *estilo huanca* (Llórens 1983, 137; Romero 2001, 118).

The mestizo *huayno ancashino* is, according to Den Otter, a happy tune, based on Andean pentatonic scales, consisting of three stanzas and a *fuga* with verses from six to ten syllables and common themes of love, rural life and the landscape of the region (Den Otter 1985, 131). The indigenous *huayno* from this area is performed either with cylindrical drums (a pair of *cajas*) and a duct flute with two finger-holes called *roncadora*, or with harp and violin. Among mestizos one commonly finds ensembles with *quenas*, accordion and string instruments such as the guitar (sometimes with the tuning E-B-G#-D-B-E), the violin and the mandolin. Two icons of Andean music come from Ancash: Pastorita Huaracina and Jilguero del Huascarán, the latter remembered for his prolific production as a composer of *huaynos* with political content, but also for incorporating elements of modern genres such as the *guaracha*, *cumbia* and rock 'n' roll.

The style from the area called 'Norte chico' is usually described as a mix of pentatonic *huaynos* with harp accompaniment. This style is actually one of the most famous in the Peruvian music landscape. Singer Mina González and harpist Totito de Santa Cruz were successful performers for a long time; however, during the 1980s, this kind of *huayno* became a nationwide craze when young players including Zósimo Sacramento, Elmer de la Cruz and Hermanos Pacheco began to assimilate influences from the slow genre *balada*, which is widespread in Spain and Latin America, as well as from disco music. These artists also started using well-known rock music effects such as delay and reverb. This *huayno* style continues to enjoy great popularity due to the success of singers including Dina Paucar and Abencia Mesa (Romero 2007, 33), who also use electric bass guitar and electronic drum effects and incorporate elements from *chicha* music, a modern genre resulting from the mixture of *huayno* and Colombian *cumbia*.

Cajamarca also has a longstanding tradition of *huayno* music. In rural areas, it is common for two voices to sing in intervals of a fourth, and the use of instruments such as the *antara* – a single panpipe – and the *tinya* is widespread. Yet, *mestizo* interpreters such as the Indio Mayta and Los Reales de Cajamarca have acquired national prestige with humorous *huaynos* played with guitar, violin and flute accompaniment.

The *Huayño* in Bolivia

Although not as prevalent as the *huayno* in Peru, *huayño*, along with *cueca* and *saya*, is one of the most popular genres of Andean music in Bolivia. Its musical form has three or four stanzas and a *fuga* or *zapateo*. The *huayño* uses both pentatonic and diatonic scales and the same rhythmic patterns as its Peruvian homonym. The Bolivian *huayño* also manifests great diversity and includes both indigenous and mestizo traditions. Among the mestizo traditions, two different styles can be distinguished: the mestizo or *cholo* and the *folklórico*.

Raoul and Marguerite D'Harcourt refer to the indigenous *huayño* in Bolivia as a dance of lively and cheerful character with diatonic or pentatonic melodies (D'Harcourt 1959, 84). This kind of *huayño* is commonly performed by *sicuris*, or panpipe ensembles. Thorrez López has analyzed such *huayños* from La Paz and Oruro. While the pan flutes play the melody, the drums play the rhythmic pattern: an eighth and two sixteenth notes (Thorrez López 1977, 61). Other styles are also characteristic of the indigenous traditions in Potosi. Stobart describes '*wayñus*' played with *pinkillu* flutes as 'highly formulaic' (AABB), whereas guitar *wayñus* 'consist of a single melodic phrase repeated in its entirety (rather than several sections with internal repeats)' (Stobart 2006, 108). Luzmila Carpio has achieved international prestige with traditional *huayños* from Potosí, played with instruments such as *pinkillu*, *charango* or *kitarra* (an Indian guitar). Other representatives such as the Grupo Norte Potosi have also achieved fame with Indian *huayños* on guitars and *charangos* with steel strings.

The *huayño* is strongly rooted in the traditions of the *cholos*. In Bolivia, *huayño* brass bands are common among these groups. This is a musical practice that goes back to the early twentieth century, when military bands were established in Bolivia (Rossells 1996, 54). Jones noted that *huayños* almost exclusively form the repertoire of *cholo* ensembles in Cochabamba (Jones 2007, 42). *Cholo* performances of *huayño* in Cochabamba are usually a combination of vocals, *charango*, guitar and *bajo* (acoustic bass guitar). Characteristic of this style, which is known as *calampeado*, is a syncopated strumming accompanying the voice (Ibid., 36). Performers including Agustina Barahona, Alberto Aguilar, Miguelina Mendoza, Flora Vásquez and especially Alberto Arteaga are famous interpreters of this type of *huayño*. Alberto Arteaga's song 'El minero' is almost a second national anthem for Bolivians.

Huayños are also performed by *grupos folklóricos*. Céspedes characterizes the *folklórico* style as urban music, which blends 'some styles of indigenous music into a new, metamorphosed idiom, that reflects ... a process of cultural integration' (Céspedes 1984, 218). Inspired by the group Los Jairas, mestizo interpreters such as Jaime Junaro, Zulma Yugar and groups like Amaru, Savia Andina, Proyección, Kollawara and especially Los Kjarkas from Cochabamba have emphasized the use of traditional instruments including *quena*, charango, *bombo* and panpipes. Vocals in *huayños folklóricos* often have a polyphonic character, which is not common in other types of *huayños*, and show a direct influence of the Argentinian and Chilean *nueva canción* (Leichtman 1989, 47). Particularly interesting is the group Los Kjarkas that attained commercial success during the 1980s by modernizing the *huayño*'s harmonic structure and changing its melodies to include elements from the *balada* or *canción romántica*. Despite all these changes, Gonzalo Hermosa, the leader of Los Kjarkas, insists on the unchanged character of the *huayño*: 'Some things have remained pure. For example Huayño. Huayño has remained the purest of all' (quoted in Cespedes 1993, 64).

New forms of *huayños* have emerged in recent decades. Artists such as Betzabé Iturralde recorded *huayños* as dance music in the 1980s, usually with saxophones and keyboards. Julia Irigoyen records *huayños* in Cochabamba style, but with e-drums, electric bass, overdubs and other elements from *cumbia*. There is also a highly stylized version of *huayño* played in public concerts by groups including the orchestra Música de maestros led by Rolando Encinas, who aims at fusing Andean melodies with a harmony akin to European art music (Bigenho 2002, 97).

The Bolivian *huayño* has achieved an international impact. Peruvian groups including Hermanos Gaitán Castro demonstrate a clear influence from the Bolivian *grupos folklóricos* such as Los Kjarkas (Tucker 2010). Thanks to groups including Inti-illimani, Illapu, Los Incas and Los Calchakis, who have recorded *huaynos* from Bolivia and Peru, *huaynos* have become relatively popular in countries like Chile and Argentina – where they are known as *carnavalitos* – and even in Europe, but without forming music scenes such as those in Bolivia and Peru (Ríos 2008, 145–89).

The *Huayno* in the Twenty-first Century

The *huayno* in the early twenty-first century is a popular music genre in the sense that it is music produced for mass consumption. While other forms of *huayno* are still produced in traditional contexts, by far the most prevalent production is for commercial purposes. The *huayno* can be both a dance genre at private parties and a concert form for public or private listening pleasure. In the early twenty-first century, *huaynos* show strong influence from the *balada*, both in Bolivia and in Peru. Attempts to fuse the *huayno* with modern genres such as rock and techno music have been presented by groups including El Polen, Miki González and Uchpa in Peru and Wara and Atajo in Bolivia, although without great impact in either country. Because of their enormous presence in the mass media and in social life, the Peruvian *huayno* and the Bolivian *huayño* remain an important cultural resource and a strong element of cultural identity in the Andes.

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JULIO MENDÍVIL

Huella

Huella is a traditional dance and song from Argentina, which according to the classification created by Carlos Vega (1952, 43) is positioned between dances of free-moving couples and those of a mischievous character. The first known documentation of the genre is that of Ventura Lynch (1883, 29–30); it offers a brief description of the dance and a transcription of a musical number for voice and guitar. However, to analyze the themes of the texts collected in his research, many of which concern various incidents in the civil wars between Unitarians and Federalists, Vega (1952, 273–4) determined that the *huella* was a genre that existed in the country during the second or third decade of the nineteenth century and that its popularity extended to most of the territory, in particular to the Pampa region.

The melody of the *huella* unfolds generally in the minor scale range and in 6/8 time. When sung, the texts are structured poetically with stanzas in the form of a *seguidilla,* that is in quatrains with alternating seven- and five-syllable lines. It can also appear as a six-syllable quatrain. One of the most traditional *coplas* makes reference to a moment in the choreography and says: 'A la huella, huella, dense las manos, como se dan la pluma, los escribanos' ['To the *huella*, *huella*, hold your hands, like the scriveners hold their quill'].

Around the end of the nineteenth century the *huella* started to decline in the rural setting, but in 1897 the actor and composer Antonio D. Podestá composed a *huella* for a circus show that gained notable success, enabling the genre to achieve a new popularity and circulation. It was also accepted in the urban guitar circles where arrangements of traditional rural musical genres were interpreted. Among them, the versions by Juan Alais (ca. 1888) and Julio Sagreras (ca. 1900) merit being singled out. For his part, the composer Eduardo García Lalanne introduced it as a number in his lyrical *sainete* (or farce) *Gabino el Mayoral*, premiered in Buenos Aires in 1897. From the first years of the twentieth century on, the *huella* served as inspiration to various creators of academic music belonging to the nationalist school. Among them were Alberto Williams, José André, Luis Gianneo, Felipe Boero, Luis Sammartino, Gilardo Gilardi, José Agustín García Estrada and Isidro Maistegui, who composed *huellas* for piano, for song and piano, for string trios and chamber and symphonic orchestras. But the work that spread the *huella* internationally was 'Huella,' *opus* 49 by Julián Aguirre, originally written for piano, which became well known through the orchestration created by the Swiss conductor Ernest Ansermet in 1925.

Even if *huella* is no longer practiced spontaneously as a dance, the genre has been a stimulus for diverse composers of traditional and popular urban music, among which the most distinguished are Atahualpa Yupanqui with 'Huella huellita' (1961), Hugo Giménez

Agüero with 'Huella a Laborde' (1999), Oscar Alem with 'Desde la misma huella' (2002), Hilda Herrera with 'La flor de sapo' (1997) and Ariel Ramírez with 'La peregrinación' (1965).

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Jazz in Latin America, ***see*** **Jazz – Latin America (Volume XII, International)**

Jing Ping

Jing ping is the traditional music of Dominica. It is a generic term which describes the music played by accordion-led ensembles. The term is also used to describe the traditional four-piece accordion-led ensemble itself, as well as its distinctive timbre. The exact origin of the term 'jing ping' is not clear but it is commonly believed to be an onomatopoeic term derived from the core percussive sound produced by the *syak*, the *tanbal* and the *boum*. *Jing ping* music covers a wide repertoire and includes the quadrilles, mazurkas and other traditional dances of European origin. *Jing ping* bands are very much village-based and this is evident in their names. Giraudel Jing Ping Band, for example, derives its name from its place of origin, the village of Giraudel, while Gutter Jing Ping Band began in the Gutter area of the capital city, Roseau.

A typical *jing ping* band uses the accordion as the main melodic instrument, together with several percussion instruments. The *tanbal* is a large tambourine-type drum similar to the *tanbou dibas* of Martinique, made from goatskin stretched around a strip of wood bent into a circle. In some cases rattles are included, as in a typical tambourine, to give a rattling sound; the *syak* is a shaker similar to the *chacha* of Martinique or *güiro* in Latin America; the *boum* or *boumboum* is a length of bamboo hollowed at one end and a small hole inserted at the other which is blown to provide a bass sound. Twenty-first-century *jing ping* bands also use lengths of PVC pipe tubing.

Jing ping is not limited to a single rhythm, since it is an inclusive term which covers several styles of quadrilles, waltzes, polka and other popular Dominican music. Its core rhythm, however, is a steady 4/4 beat. Depending on the dance style such as *mazouk* or heel and toe polka, the rhythm is punctuated with stops and starts called *pitjé*. The timbre of the music is derived from the accordion which plays the melody. In some cases a violin, banjo and guitar are added for melodic phrases and harmonic rhythm. With its core percussive sound coming from the *tanbal*, *syak* and *boum*, the music as a whole is very rhythmic and percussive. Even the melodic instruments are played rhythmically. Rhythmic soloing by the accordion during passages of improvisation is known in French Creole as *fyolé*.

Jing ping is mainly an instrumental genre that functions as accompaniment to the various traditional dances. Vocals or singing is peripheral and frequently absent altogether. The notable exception to this is *séwinal*, a traditional serenade which involves a *jing ping* band and singers who go from house to house in the evenings leading up to Christmas.

The contemporary *jing ping* music repertoire consists of covers of traditional quadrille or *mazouk* standards as well as popular carnival songs and calypsos. In days gone by, *jing ping* was danced by adults at dances and other festive occasions. With the emergence of national competitions, however, *jing ping* began to be danced and performed by all age groups.

History and Development

Jing ping emerged in Dominica during the post-slavery period. It follows a similar trajectory as other folk music in the Caribbean; the adaptation of European music which accompanied the square dances such as the quadrilles, performed with Caribbean home-grown instruments. *Jing ping* is most closely related to the folk music of the French Caribbean, in particular, that of Martinique, Guadeloupe and Haiti. There is also rhythmic similarity with the string bands of the English Caribbean.

With the increasing availability of European melodic instruments such as the accordion and violin, guitars and banjo, *jing ping* bands surfaced throughout Dominica in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, and *jing ping* music became the main dance hall music at festive occasions, religious festivals and so forth. *Jing ping* was mainly a rural-based music. During the first half of the twentieth century, there were few dance halls outside of the capital and *jing ping* dances were held at the largest dwelling house in the village. With the building of schools as education became increasingly universal, school buildings became the venue for such dances.

In the 1950s *jing ping* began to lose its dominant place in favor of modern electronic music and steelbands. Calypso music from Trinidad, *merengue* and other Latin American music became the popular dance hall music. Faced with this decline, the nationalist premier Edward Le Blanc initiated traditional dance and *jing ping* competitions, beginning in the mid-1960s, to coincide with national day festivities in October and November. These competitions and related festivals, which have continued into the twenty-first century, have been a major factor in the perpetuation of *jing ping* music. Another important development in the revitalization of *jing ping* music was the rise of the Creole movement in the 1980s, the introduction of Creole Day and Creole Week celebrations in late October.

Throughout these developments, *jing ping* music remained very much a seasonal affair, confined to festive occasions and in particular, national day celebrations in the October–November period. *Jing ping* had a popular resurgence on 'non-seasonal' occasions with the recording of the Giraudel Jing Ping Band in 1984, the first commercial recording of *jing ping* music. The recording proved to be a great success and as a result the band toured many villages in Dominica. Subsequently, the Division of Culture released compilations of *jing ping* music performed by bands participating in the national *jing ping* competitions. In 1990 another landmark development for *jing ping* music and the *séwinal* music tradition was the release of an album by the *jing ping* band, Bann Akayo of Atkinson, entitled *Mizik Séwinal*, comprising traditional Christmas *séwinal* songs. This was an instant hit and brought about a resurgence of the *séwinal* genre and tradition.

Jing Ping and Contemporary Dance Music

Jing ping has had a significant influence on contemporary dance music in Dominica. It fed into *cadence-lypso* of the 1970s, but especially into a new genre, *bouyon,* in the 1990s. Toward the end of the twentieth century, and especially in the early 2000s, the newer dance bands experimented with *jing ping* music, reproducing its core rhythms and timbre using the latest electronic instruments and sound technology. Two tendencies emerged out of this: one, the creation of *bouyon*, which combines elements of *jing* *ping* and *cadence-lypso*, and two, the emergence of an as yet unbranded form, which involves the reproduction and performance of *jing ping* music as faithfully as possible in terms of timbre and rhythm, using modern sound technology and electronic instruments. The latter has some similarities with the modernized Haitian *twoubadou,* which appeared at much the same time. These efforts appear on various recordings of bands such as Exile One, WCK and First Serenade. This 'new' genre has remained in a nascent stage during the first decade of the twenty-first century but has much potential, and branding remains an issue.

In conclusion, *jing ping* music continues to be very much a feature of contemporary life and music in twenty-first-century Dominica. Developments in tourism and new festivals such as the World Creole Music Festival have created new opportunities for *jing ping* music. Through *cadence-lypso* and *bouyon* it connects with the younger urban population. It is assuming an 'iconic' status in terms of Dominica's musical identity and remains an ever popular genre.

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GREGORY RABESS

Jongo

The *jongo*, also known as *caxambu*, is a Brazilian genre consisting of collective singing and dancing, performed to the accompaniment of at least two single-headed drums of different sizes and tonal ranges (the larger one is generally called *tambu* and the smaller *candongueiro*). Sometimes a friction drum called *puíta* is added to the percussion section.

The *jongo* is practiced by networks of relatives and neighbors, most of them descendants of the slave populations of southeastern Brazil. A soloist approaches the drummers and sings two or three improvised lines, uttered in a *parlando* style, followed by the drums which provide a metrical-rhythmical framework to the dancers. The song, called *ponto* ('point' in Portuguese), is then answered by the choir who repeat its last words or its last line. With the drumming and the collective singing, both the tonal and the rhythmic dimensions of the *ponto* become stable. The *ponto* can be sung for entertainment, but it can also be a riddle addressed to the dancers. It is expected that one of them answers by singing another *ponto* which shows his or her ability to interpret the hidden meanings of the first song. The practice has magical implications, since a non-deciphered riddle can harm the participants in general or the person to whom it was addressed.

The presence of the *jongo* in Rio de Janeiro among migrants who left the coffee plantations after the end of slavery (1888) was documented at the beginning of the twentieth century. The first *samba* schools were created at the same time, and some authors believe that the *jongo*'s sung improvisation is related to the improvised verses of the *partido alto*.

Despite some attempts to take the *jongo* to the professional musical scenes in Rio de Janeiro, it was never absorbed as a genre in its own right by the music industry. Clementina de Jesus (Valença, 1901 – Rio de Janeiro, 1987) recorded the *jongos* she had learned in her childhood. Darcy Monteiro (1932–2002), the son of an *umbanda* priestess who left the coffee county of Valença for the then Brazilian capital around 1900, was instrumental in introducing new urban audiences to the *jongo*. Working as a professional percussionist, Darcy Monteiro and members of his family founded the group 'Bassam.' While retaining the dance movements of the *jongo*, the metrical frame (which can be represented in a 6/8 meter), and the call-and-response vocal organization, 'Bassam' sought to create a musical form that would be appreciated by a general public. Instead of improvising verses, they selected a repertory of *pontos* with appealing tunes and rhythms. Darcy Monteiro also adopted a specific drumming ostinato whose shift between ternary and binary divisions of the beat became a signature for 'Bassam' and for its successor, the 'Jongo da Serrinha.' The *samba* singer

Beth Carvalho (b. 1946) recorded songs of Bassam's repertory in 1983.

In 2005 the *jongo* was designated as part of the Brazilian National Intangible Heritage.

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Jonkonnu

Jonkonnu (also written as John Canoe, Jankanu, Junkanoo, John Kuner) is a music and dance form that includes drama, mime, masking and secrecy and that chronicles the African experience in the New World, and specifically Jamaica. The earliest known and longest surviving traditional dance-music form recorded and performed by the large slave population in Jamaica (Sloane 1707), it continues to be performed by their descendants up to the present. Jonkonnu has come to identify a specific character such as House John Canoe (*sic*), House Boat, Cowhead or Horsehead and to refer to the colorful band of characters and musicians that parade through the pages of Jamaican history. It evolved from a single character with a Cowhead headdress and a cowtail, followed by 'excited women' and children who danced through the streets, at the turn of the eighteenth century (Sloane 1730, 184). It grew into the elaborate groups and 'sets' (female groups organized by skin color or dressed alike in terms of the color or style of their costume) that were popular at the peak of plantation society (1780–1831) and, ultimately, into the cultural explosion of characters drawn from the teeming post-Emancipation society. Free Africans, Europeans, Indians, Chinese, North Americans and indigenous elements have contributed to the over 70 Jonkonnu characters, many of whom have survived and may still be seen in performance over the island.

During slavery, Jonkonnu was performed on Christmas Day, one of just two to three days that were given to the slaves as a holiday. Later, after emancipation (1838), it was performed during the entire Christmas and New Year Season, which extended into January. It could also be performed on important festival days such as Emancipation Day (1 August), and following independence from Britain in 1962, Jonkonnu and other traditional groups were encouraged to participate in the National Traditional Dance Festival. These groups may also perform for special events at the request of government and private agencies at any time of the year.

The word 'Jonkonnu,' or John Canoe as it was most popularly written up to the 1970s, has been recorded in several forms, and numerous attempts have been made to unravel its linguistic and historical/ethnic sources. Most theories which deal with the origins of the Jonkonnu parade have agreed that it springs from and was shaped primarily by an African source or sources. Some point to an etymology based on the celebration of the greatness of John Conny, a 1720 Axim (Ghana) leader, which purportedly gave rise to the name 'John Canoe' and the parade; others refer to 'Agyanka,' meaning 'orphan' in the Ghanaian Twi language; and still others, to the French phrase 'Gens Inconnus' meaning 'unknown folks.' The latter could have come to Jamaica no earlier than 1784, with the influx of the Haitians who introduced the French Set Girls to the Jonkonnu parade, while Jonkonnu had long been entrenched in plantation Jamaica.

Strong evidence exists, however, for the source and etymology of Jonkonnu lying with the Ewe words 'Dzono' (sorcerer) and 'Kunu' (deadly; pl. Kunus) – hence, 'deadly sorcerer.' Striking similarities with Jonkonnu may be found in the structure, characters, form and function of African prototypes such as the male *Egungun* and *Poro* secret societies and the related female *Sande* secret society. These traditions span a broad geographic area that cuts across a number of ethnic groups in the countries along the West African coast, from Senegal to Angola, and could have been brought to Jamaica as early as 1655 when Ewe speakers were brought there in large and consistent numbers, a trade that lasted until at least 1725 (Curtin 1969; Patterson 1969).

Early accounts of this *Dzono Kunu* figure in Jamaica (Sloane 1707; Long 1774; see also Wright 1937; Gardner 1873) make reference to a character with a Cowhead headdress and cow tail, which is consistent with figures found in a wide African cultural pool especially among Ewe speakers and the masquerade traditions of the Egungun and Poro already cited. The Egungun masquerade tradition of the Yoruba in Nigeria and Benin uses full-body masked figures who represent the reappearance of the ancestors and, by so doing, effect societal discipline and order. The Poro is an initiation school in specific areas of Guinea, Sierra Leone and Liberia, where a wide variety of masked characters that parallel many of their Jamaican Jonkonnu counterparts appear as representatives of the ancestors among the living. By the early to mid-eighteenth century in Jamaica, each ethnic group was led by its own 'Kunu' – male and female – followed by men, women and musicians. The end of the eighteenth century saw the greatest expansion of both individual characters and groups of masquerade characters or sets, the latter all wearing the same or similar face and full-body masks. This expansion was in line with the explosion of plantation society that followed the increased infusion of slaves, with the consequent growth in productivity and wealth that made Jamaica the 'gem of the Caribbean.' Several new masks and bands appeared such as the Set Girls with their own Queens, stand-alone characters such as the House Boat, House John Canoe – with their own musicians – and Koo Koo or Actor Boys who appeared individually or as a group of elaborately masked actors. These new characters began to dominate the parade, which was seen by then – and continues to be seen – as largely secular. The more African and religious associations with Jonkonnu that survived were confined to the 'southside' (Chambre 1858, 151–2) and hill regions of the island.

By 1858 a period of decline had evidently set in, and little or no evidence exists of 'public' performances from that date up to the turn of the twentieth century. Even when new accounts begin to appear, the re-emergence of Jonkonnu was marred by intermittent periods of decline occasioned by the evangelizing work of missionaries and the antagonism of civil authorities and self-appointed censors. As early as 1841 the physical confrontations on the street between different Jonkonnu bands and increasing claims of its being 'debased and vulgar' and 'frightening to children' culminated in the 'John Canoe Riots' and, in response, the outright banning of the Kingston parade by the then Mayor of Kingston. Following sporadic accounts after 1910, the regular appearance of the parade was boosted by the 1951 John Canoe [*sic*] Competition sponsored by the *Daily Gleaner* newspaper. This proved to be a major catalyst in resuscitating the parade and demonstrated that the tradition was alive and well all over the island in 'private' spaces.

Around the turn of the twenty-first century renewed efforts by researchers such as Kenneth Bilby began to point to the survival of the religious/spiritual function and duality of Jonkonnu, although it had largely been lost to the majority of practitioners in certain areas of Jamaica. Spiritual retentions have also been traced to the Bahamas, Belize (among the Garifuna, also known as Black Caribs) and along the Atlantic coast of Central America. Bilby also points to New Orleans, where an African-American masquerade, the so-called 'John Kuner' festival, may be found. John Kuner probably parallels, more closely than any other present-day masquerade tradition in the United States, the now extinct version of 'Jankunu' once practiced in North Carolina, Virginia and other southern states (Bilby 2010).

Dance and Music

In Jonkonnu, the close intertwining of dance and music is reflected in many of the terms that are used, such as 'jig' and 'marching tune.' Besides the 'fifer,' most Jonkonnu musical ensembles or bands consist of a bass drum which keeps a basic 2/4 and 4/4 rhythm while the rattling drum plays a more complicated rhythm. The grater keeps a basic four-beats-to-the-bar rhythm with a doubling on every other beat. Fifes and especially rattling drums and bass drums testify to a military influence. Departure from this general musical configuration for Jonkonnu can be found in the parish of Clarendon where the Buru drums (and rhythm) are included in the ensemble, while in St Elizabeth, where the Maroon influence can still be felt, the square-shaped gumbay drum is used. This particular drum is in evidence in the 1837 sketches of Jonkonnu parades by Isaac Mendes Belisario. In addition, wooden knockers, shakers, stamping bamboo, garden fork, bottle, calabash and even the wheel base of a car have been observed.

The individual masqueraders do not *perform* exclusive steps so much as *execute* a set mode or 'principles of movement,' dictated by their attempt to 'play a part' and by the type of costume worn. For example, *Whore Gal* is expected to be 'vulgar' and even wild in her actions, lifting up her skirt and often indulging in 'sexual play' with *Sailor Boy* or the *Devil* – a usually comical representation in dance movement. On the other hand, the *Queen* is expected to demonstrate taste, gentility and lady-like decorum in her dancing at all times. Her protector the *Champion* will intervene and 'fight for her honor' if her space is invaded inappropriately. *Pitchy Patchy* often spins wildly, energizing his costume of many-colored strips of cloth, while *Belly Woman* steps lightly while jerking her huge and pregnant 'belly' up and down, or while rotating the belly energetically. Belly Woman's antics usually solicit the anticipated peals of laughter. *Horsehead* kicks his 'hind legs' and snaps his jaws menacingly. General uniformity of dance style within Jonkonnu and 'appropriate selection' of steps per character are maintained. Shimmying (shaking), contraction-release and rapid footwork followed by a sudden break or stop of the 1837 House John Canoe were common. Also commonplace for the twentieth-century *Devil* are the high scissor kicks, rapid and repeated stepping on the balls of the feet followed by a sudden split on the ground.

Format of the Public Jonkonnu Performance

The public Jonkonnu parade follows a particular pattern of specific or prescribed 'figures' or dance-music sequences and involves repeated changes in location, either within the same town or from town to town, before settling – for a longer period – in a centrally located area. The precise format of the Jonkonnu public performance varies slightly, depending on whether it occurs as a more traditional procession on the street, with multiple locations, or as a staged presentation, involving one fixed location where the entry onto and exit from the stage marks the execution of each figure.

In both cases, there are four main 'Figures' to be found in all public Jonkonnu performances. Figure 1, the *Opening Procession,* is also referred to as the March, Marching Tune, Stop and Go, One Drop or Jig, each aptly describing the variations on the slow 4/4 music tempo and corresponding steps, according to whether they are performed by a dancer or a musician, and who is playing which instrument. Figure 2, *Open Cut Out,* also known as the While Out, Break Out or Jig, is a relatively unrestrained, up-tempo and highly energetic dance figure which highlights individual and couple-partnering dance virtuosity. Figure 3, *Intermittent or Rest,* also referred to as 'One Drop,' is used, as its name suggests, between multiple sessions of the Open Cut Out/Figure 2. Figure 4, *Closing Procession,* is distinguished by a special, very fast music referred to as Jig or Drille/Drilling, also typical of the Open Cut Out/Figure 2. Although the tempo of the music for this figure is fast and gives rise to the anticipated display of an individual character's virtuosity and couple dancing, performers may be observed 'cooling down' as a prelude to a final burst of characterization before leaving the stage or central area. There is also a fifth Figure – *Mime Play*, which is not typical of most parishes but is an integral and important aspect of Jonkonnu, also described as 'Masquerade,' in the parish of Westmoreland and its environs in the western region.

Conclusion

Jonkonnu has spawned and/or embraced several masking/dance/music traditions such as Buru, Bruckin Party, Set Girls, Queen Party, as well as sharing common steps and music with the more overtly British dance-music forms of quadrille and maypole. Although many of the over 70 different characters who have been documented are no longer seen, the earliest 'Cowhead' character endures and is to be found in many of the groups or 'bands' islandwide. The active and passive participants are aware of and exhibit behavior that conveys or responds to the 'frightening,' 'scary' elements of Cowhead, Horsehead and other lead Jonkonnu characters. The descriptions of strong, energetic dance, mimicry-mime-buffoonery, acrobatics, sexual play and the frightening antics of the characters speak not only to the traditional features of Jonkonnu but are readily found in contemporary dancehall spaces. Specific dance steps, styles, rhythms, dress (masking), attitudes, language, together with a variety of devices and codes of behavior, have been transposed from Jonkonnu into the popular dance arena. The application of the 'one drop' – an emphasis on the upbeat/after beat/off beat/pickup beat/'and' beat and a strongly sounded third beat – is carried over from Jonkonnu and other traditional forms into the Jamaican popular music arena. The 'Jonkannu (*sic*) riddim' is enshrined in the catalogue of dancehall rhythms, being covered in 2005 alone by at least 20 recording artists, such as Sean Paul ('Eye Deh A Knee'), Beenie Man ('Chaka Dance'), Bounty Killer ('Sen On Heng On'), Frisco Kid ('Wine Up Pon It'), Macka Diamond ('Da Size Deh'), Vybz Kartel ('I Neva') and Wayne Marshall ('Make Them Come').

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Joropo

Joropo is a folkloric and popular genre with many regional variants, widespread throughout Venezuela and the Colombian plains. It is performed at rural dance festivals where friends and relatives come together to enjoy *joropo* music and dance, food and socializing. The music, in a lively triple meter and usually sung, displays predominantly Hispanic features along with some African and aboriginal elements. It expanded its popularity in the second half of the twentieth century, when it began to be disseminated as an urban phenomenon. The popular form is derived from the *llanero* of the plains, employing harp, *cuatro* (a small four-string Renaissance guitar), rattles and bass. In Venezuela, the *joropo* is viewed as an expression of national identity.

History

The most widespread theory of the origins of *joropo* holds that its predecessor was the *fandango* (García de León 2002; Salazar 1991; Ramón y Rivera 1958), a genre derived from an African sacro-magical dance in the Caribbean that the Spaniards took to Andalusia. There, the *fandango* developed into regional variants beginning in the seventeenth century.

When the *fandango* returned to Latin America in the first half of the eighteenth century, it was well received by the public from Mexico to Chile. But for the church and the higher classes, until the nineteenth century, the *fandango* was synonymous with indecent dances and entertainment of the lower classes. In the mid-eighteenth century, such dances were generally stamped (*zapateo*), with fixed verses that were frequently in the poetic *décima* form (ten-verse stanzas), lyrics from folk tales and accompaniment by stringed instruments and varied forms of percussion (García de León 2002, 103).

The first document that mentions the term '*xoropo*' dates to 1749 (Ramón y Rivera 1958). The term *joropo* described a rural event until the second half of the twentieth century, when the *llanero* (plains) version began to include both rural *joropo* for feasts (in the style of the harpist Indio Figueredo) and the urban *joropo* for concert and stage performance (in the style of harpist/composer Juan Vicente Torrealba). During the dictatorship of Pérez Jiménez (1948–58), the *joropo* (*llanero*) in Venezuela was declared a symbol of the nation and nationalism because of the perceived strong and combative nature of the people represented in the dance (the inhabitants of the Venezuelan plains, typically cowboys and battle-hardened temporary soldiers who fought in Venezuela's Independence War), so that its diffusion gained great support. The urban *joropo* has since entered the radio waves, and it has been recorded commercially, presented in major music shows and used for political expression, commercial jingles and, since 1990 in music videos. The *joropo llanero* enjoyed such acceptance that its structures and lively expression are used as a symbol of Venezuelan identity by academic composers, staged folklore groups, dance companies and others.

Traditional *Joropo*

Like its predecessor the *fandango*, the *joropo*, established in all Creole-inhabited regions of Venezuela and in the plains of Colombia, developed many regional variants. The main variants of *joropo* are *oriental*, *guayanés*, *central*, *occidental*, Andean and *llanero*. All of these variants share a tendency toward rural idiosyncrasy, a combined local and regional presence, derivation from *fandango* and a strong sense of group-based identity. In addition, these *joropos* are performed in a dance and festival context with necessary complex communication between musicians, singer and dancers. Lyrics are about everyday life, whether history or fiction, and they are structured in *coplas* (four-verse stanzas) or *décimas* (ten-verse stanzas). The music is in triple meter, often with overlapping 3/4 and 6/8 measures and a tempo in which the quarter note equals 210 MM. The differences between various regional forms of *joropo* lie in formal, harmonic and melodic structures, in differently accentuated rhythmic schemes and especially in instrumentation.

Joropo in all its variants presents two basic forms: *golpe* and *pasaje*. The *golpe* is more prosaic and direct, with short melodic phrases, in general using the poetic *copla* form in 3/4 and/or 6/8 time. The *pasaje* has a more lyrical and contemplative character, a continuous melodic development, 3/4 meter and sometimes lyrics in *décima* form. The dance is performed by independent couples rotating to the right on the dance floor with the basic steps of *valseo* (waltzing) and *escobillao* (brushing). There is almost always stamping (*zapateo*), primarily performed by the men, in specific music sections. There are some regional differences in choreographic aspects related to different rhythmic accents.

While all *joropos*, with the exception of the central region, use the *cuatro* and all use rattles (*maracas*), the melodic instruments vary. Instruments may include mandolins (*oriental*, *guayanés* and Andean *joropo*); *bandola* types from the lute family (*oriental*, *central*, *guayanés* and *llanero*); different harps (*central* and *llanero*); accordion (*oriental* and *central*) and guitar (*central*). In a large area of the western part of Venezuela, the so-called *golpe larense* does not use a melodic instrument and is sung in polyphonic manner, while all the other *joropos* are sung by soloists.

The *joropo llanero* is the main source of inspiration for the urban popular variant. It is practiced in the vast territory of the plains between Venezuela and Colombia by ensembles of four or five people who perform on harp or *bandola*, *cuatro*, maracas and vocals. Since the 1960s these ensembles also include a bass. The harp is diatonic with 32 nylon strings and the *bandola* has four nylon strings. The rattles stand out with tremendous diversity of execution, especially in instrumental interludes. The *pasaje llanero* has a lyrical character and unique melodies. Each *golpe llanero* genre has a specific harmonic cycle and melodic and rhythmic characteristics. The texts are frequently based on *coplas*, and the singer performs challenging improvisations with a characteristic nasal intonation.

In addition to family dances on patios, in the plains the *joropo* is also found at bull fights and patron feasts. The choreography is always a couple dance using many different figures and often imitating everyday experiences from the *llano* region, such as horse-like behavior.

Outstanding personalities of the traditional or *sabanero recio* style in the twentieth century include harpists Indio Figueredo, Urbino Ruíz, José Romero, Eudes Alvarez, Omar Moreno, Pedro Castro, Armando Guerrero; singers Carrao de Palmarito, Eneas Perdomo, Francisco Montoya, Vidal Colmenares, Nelson Morales; rattle-players Braulio España 'El venao,' Pedro 'Mandarina' Díaz; and bandola-players Anselmo López, Misael Montoya and Camilo Herrera.

Popular Forms

There are three movements within the popular form of *joropo*: commercial and mainstream *joropo*, vocal arrangements and experimental instrumental arrangements.

Beginning in the 1950s the commercial and mainstream *joropo* developed after the Venezuelan mass media disseminated *música criolla* in a new concert form, initiated by harpist and composer Juan Vicente

Torrealba. His group Los Torrealberos, and singers including Magdalena Sánchez, Angel Custodio Loyola and Adilia Castillo, symbolized the style and identity of *música criolla* with traditional elements. Other artists, including Mario Suárez, Rafael Montaño and Chelique Sarabia, came from regions other than the plains, giving the *joropo* its urban and commercial character. This highly disseminated form is known in Venezuela as *música criolla*, *música venezolana* or *música de cuatro, arpa y maracas*.

Many musical changes led to this new musical personality. One such change was the inclusion of an electric bass that frequently simplifies the harp techniques. The nasal singing was replaced by a clear and voluminous voice. The often improvised melodies with relatively short phrases were replaced by new pseudo-romantic, large melodies, and the tempo is slower. There is a predominance of melancholic *pasajes*, and pieces are shorter, eliminating the richness of variants. It has also become normal to have female singers.

In the 1950s the nationalist dance expression arose, inspired by the *joropo llanero*, synchronizing and stylizing the figures to create an artistic product to bring to the masses. The dominant nationalist example is presented by the Yolanda Moreno Group 'Danzas Venezuela.' This style, sometimes lively and close to the *joropo*'s origins, has also been represented since the 1970s and 1980s by singers including Reynaldo Armas, Reyna Lucero, Cristina Maica or Cristóbal Jiménez, who have produced many records, including Reynaldo Armas's *Aquí está el cardenalito* (Here is the Siskin) and Reyna Lucero's *Aires de mi tierra*, as well as important concerts and videos. Since the 1970s and 1980s this trend has been growing, and there are many composers and musicians for *música criolla* throughout Venezuela. A special case is Simón Díaz, who, after 1965, popularized the *tonada*, a genre based on the songs *llaneros* perform while milking their cows. The *tonada*, which has its own category in juried competitions, is a slow, melancholic and intimate love song about nature, the region or a person.

A second variant of popular *joropo* form is characterized by virtuoso vocal arrangements of Venezuelan folk music and was initiated by Quinteto Contrapunto, a very popular vocal ensemble of the 1960s known for its polyphonic arrangements. In the 1970s Serenata Guayanesa was formed and added instruments to the vocals. The Venezuelan choir movement has created many popular arrangements of the different types of *joropo*.

Finally, a third style includes experimental instrumental arrangements for popular forms. A *recio* (brave) style developed on the harp, breaking with the traditional harmonic and formal schemes and finessing elements including timbre, technique and/or rhythm. This new virtuosic style can be observed in harpists such as José Archila and Carlos Orozco and in successful groups such as El Cuarteto, Gurrufío and Saúl Vera.

Since the 1960s the best musicians practicing these different *joropo* styles have met in various competitive festivals specialized in *llanero* music and dance. The most recognized festivals are realized in Villavicencio, Colombia (Torneo internacional del Joropo); Arauca, Colombia (Festival Internacional Santa Bárbara); Guanare, Venezuela (El Silbón); San Fernando, Venezuela (Voz de Alma Llanera); and in other Venezuelan locales (Florentino de Oro). In the competitions, groups are judged on the following mandatory and fixed elements: 31 dance-figures, specific music forms, virtuosity in harp execution, perfect text forms and clear pronunciation in the singing.

Conclusion

Joropo, a Venezuelan and Colombian genre, began as an activity that joined relatives and friends around music and couple dances, food and socialization. It then developed into popular music with both regional and national expressions, maintaining only some musical structures of the *llanero* variant in tasca (tavern) contexts, concerts, competitions and record production. Since the mid-1950s it has become widespread in both private and public spaces and of increasing social importance, especially in Venezuela, due to the growth of competitive festivals and the genre's commercial success.

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Jovem Guarda

Jovem Guarda (Young Guard) was a musical and cultural movement of great importance in Brazilian rock in the 1960s. The essential feature that defined the movement was the appropriation of rock 'n' roll and the integration of electric guitars, which shocked Brazilian popular musicians and intellectuals. *Jovem Guarda* was led by Roberto Carlos, Erasmo Carlos and Wanderléa Salim, but also integrated many other singers, vocal groups and bands. In the early twenty-first century, *Jovem Guarda*'s musical style was considered classic Brazilian rock 'n' roll, and it was an important reference for Brazilian musicians. Therefore, *Jovem Guarda* changed its status from a movement to a rock subgenre constitutive of Brazilian popular music.

Television broadcasts were crucial to the movement's dissemination. The movement was named after Roberto Carlos's famous *Jovem Guarda* (Young Guard) television program that broadcast live rock performances on Record television station. Launched in 1965 and featuring Erasmo Carlos and Wanderléa Salim, the program reached one of the largest Brazilian television audiences ever (Menezes Bastos 2005), spreading rock music across the country. Other television programs that nurtured the movement include Record's *O Pequeno Mundo de Ronnie Von* (Ronnie Von's Little World), hosted by male singer Ronnie Von, as well as *O Bom* (The Good) on Excelsior television station, hosted by male singer Eduardo Araújo.

The *Jovem Guarda* movement originated in the Tijuca neighborhood of Rio de Janeiro (RJ). It began with Turma do Matoso (Matoso's gang), a group of friends that gathered at Rua do Matoso (Matoso Street). The group included Roberto Carlos, Erasmo Carlos, Tim Maya – who later became an eminent soul and funk singer – and Jorge Ben – the originator of *samba rock*, a combination of rock with the musical genre most representative of Brazilian identity: *samba*. Turma do Matoso encouraged the emergence of various rock 'n' roll bands such as Os Sputniks (Roberto Carlos, Tim Maia, Arlênio Lívio, Edson Trindade and José Roberto 'China'), Os Terríveis (Roberto Carlos, Carlos Imperial, Paulo Silvino, Edson Moraes, Vitor Sérgio, João Maria and Amilcar) and The Snakes (Erasmo Carlos, Arlênio Lívio, Edson Trindade and 'China').

Before *Jovem Guarda*'s debut, Roberto Carlos was already a significant youth icon. He was often compared to Elvis Presley and considered the Brazilian 'King of Rock.' Among his early hits are 'Splish Splash' (1963) 'É proibido fumar' (1964 – Forbidden to Smoke) and 'Namoradinha de um amigo meu' (1966 – My Friend's Little Girlfriend). In 1968, Roberto Carlos became a movie star with *Roberto Carlos em ritmo de aventura* (Roberto Carlos in Adventurous Rhythm). He was also featured in *O diamante cor de rosa* (1969/1970 – The Pink Diamond) with Erasmo Carlos and Wanderléia, and in *Roberto Carlos a 300 km por hor*a (1971 – Roberto Carlos at 300 kilometers per hour).

Before beginning his singing career, Erasmo Carlos was Roberto Carlos's songwriting partner. He introduced the electronic organ Hammond B3 in Brazil, ultimately one of the standard sonorities of rock music, and he also contributed to the development of *samba* rock. The third key personality in *Jovem Guarda* was Wanderléa Salim, a young female singer whose style and clothes became a reference for her generation. Wanderléa's aggressive vocal performances, exemplified by the song 'Prova de fogo' (1967 – Fireproof), were an important element of the development of the style associated with Brazilian female singers (Rosa 2008).

Other major figures of *Jovem Guarda* include male singers Jerry Adriani, Sérgio Reis and Wanderley Cardoso and female singers Martinha, Silvinha and Vanusa. Vocal groups including The Golden Boys, Trio Esperança (Hope Trio), Leno & Lilian, Os Vips (The VIPS) and Deny & Dino also were important to the movement's configuration. The Golden Boys and Trio Esperança were the most significant vocal groups. These groups were characterized by smooth, harmonized vocal arrangements similar to the American doo wop group The Platters, and they sometimes also incorporated elements of Brazilian popular music genres such as *samba*.

Jovem Guarda supported old and new bands. The Rebels, The Jordans, The Youngsters and Os Incríveis (The Incredibles) were the most noted 'old' bands to join the movement. These bands contributed to a trend characterized by the appropriation of Californian surf rock, which relied on the prevalence of rock instrumental themes and the use of electric guitar with reverb effects. Among the 'new' *Jovem Guarda* bands were The Fevers, The Bells, The Pops and The Sunshines. The most prolific of these bands was Renato e Seus Blue Caps, named after Gene Vincent and his Blue Caps. Led by Renato Barros (lead vocals and electric guitar), this band was famous for the excellent level of its musicians, who also accompanied *Jovem Guarda*'s artists such as Roberto Carlos, Jerry Adriani, Wanderléa and Leno & Lilian. Renato Barros also wrote songs for Roberto Carlos and Leno & Lilian. Barros's compositions incorporated vocal and instrumental features associated with the Beatles. His guitar style, characterized by delay and reverb effects along with the fuzz effect, a type of distortion, is considered the main element shaping *Jovem Guarda*'s sonority (Rosa 2005).

The irreverent conduct of *Jovem Guarda* artists, characterized by a specific slang and dress style (long hair for men and tight pants or miniskirts and boots for women), spread the idea of youth rebellion. Nevertheless, *Jovem Guarda*'s members were not interested in political issues. In 1964 the Brazilian army took power. The military coup occurred during the Cold War, when the United States fiercely opposed the Soviet Union as well as perceived supporters of communism both within the United States and in Latin America. In Brazil, the military government established a policy of capitalism reform, modernization and anticommunism that relied on US funding. The country's economy became heavily dependent on international trade, foreign loans and the expansion of exports. In addition, the military imposed high levels of civil rights restrictions and cultural censorship (Menezes Bastos 2005). Several rebellious movements erupted and many eminent musicians went into exile. However, *Jovem Guarda*'s members did not react against the military repression. This lack of political position, in addition to the integration of US and British rock, was considered a form of alienation by intellectuals and popular musicians. These accusations reached their peak in 1967, when a group of musicians that identified with the *MPB* genre of Brazilian popular music marched against the so-called 'invasion' of electric guitars, viewed as a symbol of US imperialism.

Inspired by Beatlemania, the *Jovem Guarda* movement was also called 'iê-iê-iê,' a reference to the chorus of the Beatles' song 'She Loves You' (1963). Brazilian groups covered the Beatles' songs but created their own lyrics in Portuguese. For instance, 'Gente demais' (1966 – Too Many People), The Youngsters' cover of 'Ticket to Ride' (1965), is about a couple who cannot find a place to date in Rio de Janeiro because wherever they go the city is too crowded, while the Beatles' original lyrics were about a girl leaving a boy.

Most of *Jovem Guarda*'s lyrics were about love, rebellion, cars and urban melancholy. Frequently, these subjects were approached with humor, a distinctive feature of Brazilian art since the leaders of the Modernism movement (late 1910s and early 1920s) resorted to irony in order to criticize the establishment. The lyrics of 'Gente demais,' discussed above, are an example of this type of humor. Other examples include the lyrics of Roberto Carlos's 'O calhambeque' (1964 – The Old Car), in which the singer trades his

Cadillac for an old car that, ironically, attracts women, and Erasmo Carlos's 'Minha fama de mau' (1964 – My Bad Boy Reputation), in which the singer explains what he must not do if he wants to keep his bad reputation.

The Modernist notion of anthropophagy also influenced *Jovem Guarda*. Brazilian modernist poet Oswald de Andrade's (1890–1954) notion of anthropophagy challenged the Brazilian intellectual framework that established the norms of so-called 'genuine' Brazilian culture. In his 'Cannibalist Manifesto,' Andrade referenced the Brazilian Tupinambá Indians' practice of cannibalism in order to suggest that, a very Brazilian notion of cannibalism – paradoxically coming from a group almost completely decimated by Portuguese colonization – came to inform the metaphorical process of 'consuming the other' underlying the ongoing formation of Brazilian culture. Following Andrade's thesis, many Brazilian musicians in the 1960s viewed 'foreign' musical traits as part of Brazilian music, and the ability to transform the foreign into something that became Brazilian was conceived as the most striking feature of Brazilian culture. With regard to *Jovem Guarda* and other popular music, the cannibalism concept justified the incorporation of rock and electric guitars, sometimes blended with other Brazilian genres. Examples include the rise of samba rock as well as numerous songs that mix genres, such as Ronnie Von's 'Pra chatear' (1967 – To Annoy), which blends rock and *marchinha carnavalesca* (a carnival genre) and Os Incríveis' 'Cavalgada' (1965 – Ride), which blends instrumental surf music with *baião* (a northeastern Brazilian genre characterized by a syncopated 2/4 rhythm).

In the late 1960s and early 1970s some *Jovem Guarda* artists adopted elements of psychedelic rock, notably lyrics about spiritual trips, keyboards, electronic effects and sophisticated orchestral arrangements. Recordings demonstrating psychedelic rock elements include Ronni Von's *Ronnie Von* in 1968, Os Incríveis' *Neste mundo louco* (1967 – In This Crazy World) and Erasmo Carlos's *Carlos, Erasmo* (1971), recorded with Mutantes, a band that would lead the next generation of Brazilian rock.

Some *Jovem Guarda* artists achieved international fame. This was the case for Erasmo Carlos, whose albums were released in Mexico, Portugal, Argentina, Spain and the United States, and Os Incríveis, whose albums were released in Argentina and Spain. Roberto Carlos later abandoned *Jovem Guarda*'s aesthetic to become a ballad singer, achieving international fame and releasing records in the United States, Italy, Spain and France.

In the early twenty-first century many of *Jovem Guarda*'s artists were still active, including Roberto Carlos, Erasmo Carlos, Wanderléa Salim, Renato e seus Blue Caps and Netinho, the drummer from Os Incríveis, who joined Casa das Máquinas. In addition, *Jovem Guarda*'s repertoire was constantly recreated and rereleased by contemporary artists related to various Brazilian genres such as pop-rock, MPB and *sertanejo*.

Conclusion

Jovem Guarda began as a rock appropriation movement, an umbrella of bands with diverse musical characteristics. Nevertheless, these bands created a Brazilian version of rock 'n' roll, with their repertoire becoming standard songs for later rock musicians. *Jovem Guarda* also integrated some of the essential values of rock, such as the idea of youth rebellion. This rebellion was against the way of life and values of adults, but it was not about political engagement. *Jovem Guarda*'s hedonism, irony, irreverence and clothing style inspired many generations of Brazilian rock musicians. Thus, in recovering *Jovem Guarda*'s repertoire, contemporary artists not only express their musical affinities, but they also adopt its youth rebellion against conservative values.

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TATYANA DE ALENCAR JACQUES

Junkanoo

Bahamian Junkanoo is a festival – including masquerade, dance, music and art – rooted in West African spirituality. It shares at least some connection with similar traditions in Jamaica (Jonkonnu), Belize (Jankunú), North Carolina (John Kuner), St Kitts and Nevis (Masquerade) and Bermuda (Gombey). Unlike the pre-Lenten Carnival celebrations adopted in places such as Trinidad, New Orleans, Cuba and Brazil, however, Junkanoo is a Yuletide festival, celebrated on Boxing Day (26 December) and on New Year's Day. Junkanoo serves as the primary artistic marker of Bahamian national identity, is sponsored by the state and is touted as a space within which all Bahamians can come together in equality – indeed, Junkanoo benefits from tremendous popular support.

Kenneth Bilby has noted that Junkanoo (Jonkonnu) was very likely a well-established practice in Jamaica as early as the late seventeenth century, pointing out that the first written accounts of the practice in the Caribbean date from the early eighteenth century (1707) (Bilby 2010). No written record of Junkanoo's presence in the Bahamas appears, however, until well into the nineteenth century. In fact, the first accounts of Afro-Bahamian Yuletide celebrations that clearly map on to Junkanoo practice elsewhere do not appear until the 1840s. As such, Junkanoo appears to have arrived in the Bahamas at a somewhat later time (although it is not possible to verify exactly when or how) (Craton 1995).

History

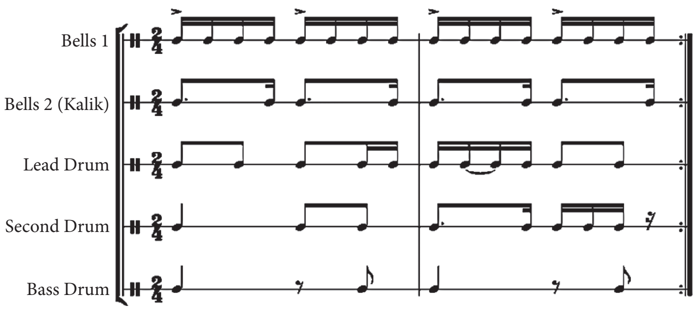
Initially, Junkanoo, like Carnival elsewhere in the Caribbean, was highly stigmatized by the establishment. The African roots of the music and masking, combined with the violence and disorder that occasionally accompanied the celebration, caused widespread concern among the middle and upper classes, especially in the wake of emancipation. Masked and costumed groups would 'rush' the streets during the celebration and compete with each other in an attempt to defeat other groups through music, dance and, on rare occasions, through violence. The government attempted to stop the celebration on several occasions and, when that failed, passed laws limiting it in various ways. One such effort was the enactment of the Street Nuisance Act of 1899, which proscribed nighttime activities. A paternalistic government then granted exceptions to this law each year (with some notable exceptions), so that Junkanoo could legally be celebrated. Thus, while Junkanoo continued to be celebrated, political pressure, in conjunction with middle and upper-class disapprobation, prevented it from gaining broad acceptance during the nineteenth century. Gradually, however, the celebration became less controversial, and by the middle of the twentieth-century Junkanoo was a reasonably well-accepted Bahamian cultural marker.

While smaller celebrations do take place throughout the Bahamas (and always have), the primary location of Junkanoo is Bay Street in Nassau. In the early 1950s enterprising merchants on Bay Street began to sponsor Junkanoo, first organizing modest prizes for best costumes, and later progressively institutionalizing it into a formal parade with rules for competition and prize money in multiple categories (best music, best choreography, best group, etc.). This institutionalization of the festival has contributed to significant growth in the size of Junkanoo groups. In the 1950s it was rare to witness groups larger than a few dozen 'rushers' on Bay Street. By contrast, starting in the 1980s some of the largest Junkanoo groups (such as the Valley Boys and the Saxons) have been known to bring as many as 1,000 performers to Bay Street.

By the time the Bahamas gained independence in 1973, the popularity of Junkanoo was such that it was recognized as a politically and nationally powerful symbol. While the festival is open to tourists, and many visit each year, it is understood as being for and about Bahamians (Bethel 1991). Post-independence efforts by the state focused on creating a unifying and universalizing approach to Junkanoo, an agenda illustrated well by the fact that the privately administered Masquerade Committee was absorbed into the Ministry of Tourism after independence. In addition, the nation's first prime minister, Lynden O. Pindling, participated in the festival each year, thereby illustrating official approbation and contributing to a sense of community pride.

The Sound of Junkanoo

Tinkle Hanna, a prominent musician and former member of the National Junkanoo Committee, claims that 'Junkanoo is above all else, a rhythm' (interview with the author, 20 February 1999). The rhythm he refers to is created through combining various layers of drums and percussion instruments. The drums are divided into three groups (first, second and bass) and are complemented by cowbells, foghorns, bicycle horns and whistles. The drums and cowbells, in particular, are assigned rhythmic 'roles' within which they have some limited freedom to improvise. The pattern played by the second bell players is known onomatopoetically as 'Kalik' and represents what, until recently, was the most



Example 1: Junkanoo rhythms

common bell pattern (see bell 2 in Example 1). Since the mid-1970s, the tempo of Junkanoo music has increased, prompting the bell players to raise the rhythmic intensity of their line as well (see bell 1 in Example 1).

The first and second drummers combine in any number of ways, although the first, or lead, drummers usually play a more complex line than that of the second drummers. The bass drummers carry the pulse of the music, and the most common rhythm is transcribed below. The foghorns, bicycle horns and whistles, for their part, are free to contribute syncopated, improvisatory rhythms at will. Since the 1970s horn arrangements, including sections of trumpets, trombones and, a little later, sousaphones, have been added to the sound of Junkanoo. This has afforded groups the chance to deploy musical medleys that tie directly into their costume theme for the year and has generated new possibilities for the musical direction of Junkanoo.

Junkanoo as Popular Music

Starting in the l970s, the rhythms and sonic markers of Junkanoo were increasingly translated into popular music. It was not uncommon, for example, to incorporate small-scale Junkanoo 'rushes' into concerts (Dr Offfff was particularly known for this), and dance bands found it easy to incorporate the cowbells, whistles and bass drums of festival Junkanoo into their compositions and recordings, thereby marking and marketing their music quite explicitly as Junkanoo (Rommen 2011). The Baha Men, for example, entitled their first major label release *Junkanoo!* (1992) and appeared on the cover dressed in Junkanoo costumes. They also saturated the album with the sounds of festival Junkanoo instruments. Junkanoo thus continues simultaneously to inspire and inform the festival arts on Boxing Day and New Year's Day and to provide musical materials and sonic markers for popular music in the Bahamas.

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TIMOTHY ROMMEN

Kaluyo

Kaluyo (Khaluyo, Caluyo) is a vocal and instrumental genre and traditional dance that is cultivated in the south-east of Bolivia (Vallegrande, Santa Cruz) and in various southern areas such as Sucre and Potosí. Until the 1970s *kaluyo* was equivalent to the *pasacalle* (passacaglia) among artists cultivating popular music. As a musical genre, *kaluyo* is slow and rhythmic, often with octosyllabic lines that deal with unrequited love. The subject matter makes *kaluyo* a sad and melancholic genre but no less vibrant and poetic. As a dance, *kaluyo* is similar to the *huayño* in that both styles are danced in pairs, with couples holding hands and doing an energetic *zapateo* ('show-tapping') between each *copla* (a traditional poetic form of four eight-syllable lines).

In fact, *kaluyo* is a variation of the *huayño,* the most important of all Andean dances to this day. Noted folklorist M. Rigoberto Paredes wrote at the beginning of the twentieth century: 'The KHALUYU as a dance is different from the HUAYÑO despite the similarity of their music' (Paredes [1919] 1970, 139; emphasis in the original). According to Paredes, the *kaluyo* is a dance of mixed indigenous and Spanish origin:

> Indigenous influence on peninsular dances translated into new forms and figures of increased movement and more upbeat changes, such as the Spanish fandango, from which derived the KHALUYU and the popular MECAPAQUEÑA that entertained our ancestors during their family celebrations. (ibid.) (Emphasis in the original)

Nonetheless, other authors believe *kaluyo* is exclusively of indigenous origin. Paredes Candia published a chronicle from 1919 by Uruguayan diplomat Vicente M. Carrió in which he identifies the following Bolivian dances: 'the YARAVÍ is melancholic; the BAILECITO, in 6/8, is alive and is danced as a *cuadrilla* (i.e., in two pairs); and the CALUYO is entirely indigenous, in duple meter and with energetic movements' (Carrió in Paredes Candia 1991, 31; emphasis in the original). M. Rigoberto Paredes's assertion that *kaluyo* is derived from Spanish *fandango* is nevertheless inaccurate. In Latin America, the word 'fandango' was used to designate all types of celebrations and popular dances, which were considered suspicious due to the 'dishonest excesses' normally attributed to them (Guerrero Gutiérrez 1999, 926). In any case, within the Andean world there was a form of indigenous *fandango*, 'a musical genre that bears no relation to the Spanish fandango' (ibid., 927) Thus, the relationship between the *kaluyo* and fandango has more to do with the idea of a mestizo or indigenous dance of lower social classes than with its direct ancestry from Spanish music.

By the mid-twentieth century *kaluyo* was, in practice, a type of work by nationalist composers that expressed an idealized vision of pre-Hispanic cultures, as in H. Iporre Salinas's 'Chirihuayrita,' a *kaluyo* performed by Leandro López and his '*charango autóctono*' ('autochtonous charango') in Paris in 1951. A journalist present during this performance reported:

> It is unnecessary to add anything else with regard to the musical content of this 'kaluyo' that we just heard. Its notes resemble the greenish moss that emerges from the cracks of old walls, tired of eternally remaining on the edge of our dusty roads. … Like this, the sounds of indigenous music filter through the edges of our blissful hills, through the green scars of our theogonic mountains leaving behind a feeling of coldness that blows like something sharp, something that emerges with a shiver from the entrails of our snowdrifts. (*El Diario*, 9 November 1951, La Paz)

The romantic spirit of the *kaluyo autóctono* was embraced not only by Bolivian composers and performers, but by foreigners as well. In 1957 Argentine singer Atahualpa Yupanqui recorded the guitar work 'Kaluyo de Huáscar' ('Huáscar's *Kaluyo*') in which he uses a pentatonic melody to recreate an imaginary Inca world. In Argentina, the idealization of the *kaluyo* continues in the twenty-first century in songs such as 'Caluyo del desierto' ('Desert Caluyo') by Sandra Amaya (2000), where a telluric environment is reimagined through the use of contemporary musical resources.

A close relationship exists between *kaluyos* and *pasacalles*, although the latter emphasizes the musical function of *serenatas de pandillas* (group serenades), which are young street ensembles that perform songs with romantic themes similar to those of *kaluyos*.

In the Bolivian Southeast, the *kaluyo* survives in twenty-first-century popular culture. Indeed, the town of Vallegrande in the Andean department of Santa Cruz has built its identity around the *kaluyo*. Localities such as Villa Serrano and Redención Pampa, in Sucre, and the small town of Aiquile in the south of Cochabamba are characterized by the practice of *kaluyos*.

Instrumentation for the *kaluyo* varies: instruments such as the *charango vallegrandino* (Nina and Holtet 2001), accordion, guitar and *guitarrón vallegrandino* are common. The use of a saxophone or a muted trumpet to emphasize the vibrant sound of *kaluyos* is also frequent. Another common practice is the use of two *charangos* with metallic strings (one is strummed and the other is picked), as is the case with the ensemble Los Mojeños from Redención Pampa. Among the most outstanding exponents of *kaluyo* are Los 4 del Valle, Los Hermanos Burgos, Los Vallegrandinos, Conjunto 26 de Enero, Pukara de Vallegrande, Los Mojeños, El Charasqueado y Los Tunantes de Vallegrande, Félix Palenque y los Pescadeños, Los Esposos Castellón, Los Hermanos Arteaga, Trío Aiquile, Hilda Vargas (known as 'The Queen of Kaluyo'), Doly Príncipe, Nicomedes Flores, Dulia Panozo and Orlando Pozo. Of special mention is guitarist, singer and composer Hugo Barrancos, whose delicate arrangements for guitar have made *kaluyos* from Vallegrande known across the entire country. Similarly, artists such as Los Kjarkas, Dúo Tupay and Zulma Yugar have recorded traditional *kaluyos*. Well into the twenty-first century traditional *kaluyos* such as 'Saucecito palo verde' ('Green Branch Willow') and 'Las piedras de tu calle' ('The Cobblestones of Your Street') (all recorded by Los Mojeños), 'Al partir una granada' ('When Opening a Pomegranate') (Los 4 del Valle), 'Gato negro'

('Black Cat') (Nicomedes Flores), 'La carta' ('The Letter') (by Flores, recorded by Los Esposos Castellon), 'Cuatro estamos en tu puerta' ('We Are Four at Your Door') (Los Vallegrandinos) and 'A las orillas del río' ('By the River Bank') (Los Kjarkas) remain in the Bolivian collective memory.

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MAURICIO SÁNCHEZ PATZY (TRANSLATED BY PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

Kaseko

Kaseko is one of the most well-known popular musical genres from Suriname. This dance music was created by the Creoles, descendants of former slaves living primarily along the Surinamese coast. In the early twenty-first century, however, it is performed and enjoyed by a much wider audience. *Kaseko* grew out of the combination of a wide variety of sources, ranging from local genres *bigi poku* ('bigi pokoe' in Dutch) and *kawina* to jazz and rock 'n' roll. The name *kaseko* probably comes from *casse-co*, an abbreviation of the French term *casser le corps* ('break the body'), which corresponded to an older style of dance from neighboring French Guyana. *Casse-co,* which was sometimes referred to as 'the devil's dance,' was known for its fast tempo and vigorous character.

One *kaseko* band may sound quite different from another, depending on which of the many musical influences they choose to foreground and on the instrumentation of the group. Nonetheless, there are several broadly shared characteristics by which the genre can be identified. Most songs feature call-and-response between a lead singer and a chorus of supporting vocalists (*koor*) singing in close harmony. Many bands have multiple lead singers who alternate taking the principal part. Lyrics are generally sung in either Sranan (Suriname's lingua franca) or a regional dialect. Songs in Dutch or English are less common. Singers and instrumentalists are almost exclusively male. Performance contexts and venues vary from large concerts in sports halls to funerals or ceremonies in villages deep in the rainforest, but *kaseko* music is most often performed on a stage. Although bands may perform as part of a larger event that may have a spiritual component, the genre itself is considered secular.

There are several subgenres of *kaseko*, and bands may customize their performances to suit both the context and the audience's demographic. Two of the most popular styles are *kamalama,* which is a relatively slow style, and the slightly faster *kabula,* which is influenced by ragga music from Jamaica. *Bigi sama kaseko* is played for older crowds, while younger audiences tend to prefer a more energetic subgenre called *kick poku*.

When *kaseko* bands first began to appear in the early- to mid-twentieth century, they had substantial wind sections consisting of trumpets, saxophones, trombones and occasionally a tuba. The twenty-first-century band may have a small wind section, a single wind instrumentalist or no winds at all. These timbres are often simulated on an electronic keyboard. In contemporary ensembles, an electric guitar and live winds act primarily as soloists, providing melodic material. In addition to enforcing a song's harmonic framework, the guitar often features lyrical, descending melodic lines, while the wind players are more likely to mimic the contours of the vocal lines. The bass guitar provides harmonic grounding as had the tuba in earlier bands. The keyboard has more of a rhythmic and harmonic function than a melodic one, emphasizing offbeats and occasionally providing a vamp.

Together with the keyboard, the percussion provides a multitextured and highly syncopated rhythmic feel. The percussion section can vary greatly from one group to the next; however, it is consistently dense, with a variety of different timbres. One of the most distinctive instruments in a *kaseko* group is the *skratjie* (also called *skrantjie*), a low-pitched drum with a hand cymbal attached to the top. The drum is held vertically by a stand and is played with a soft mallet in one hand, while the other hand holds the cymbal. The rhythmic interplay between the *skratjie* and the drum set or shaker provides a characteristic texture. Bands frequently utilize a succession of rhythmic feels or grooves, connected by drum breaks. Another popular compositional device is to begin a piece with a slow introduction in which the lead singer will introduce the topic of a song, for instance a scenario between the singer and his lover, over a series of suspended chords in the supporting vocals and keyboard, out of which the lead singer will give a few pickup beats before launching into a faster tempo in the body of the song.

Because *kaseko* is dance music, most songs have a lively tempo. Audiences tend to dance to the music either in couples or in informal same-sex clusters. The dance style features rotating the hips in movements that can be fluid or abrupt, so as to highlight or add to the syncopated texture of a song. Rhythmic breaks in the music provide dancers with an opportunity to showcase their rhythmic sensibilities.

Scholars have varying opinions about when *kaseko* emerged as a distinct form. Some indicate that it began around the turn of the twentieth century, an outgrowth of the musical climate of Suriname following the abolition of slavery in 1873, while others insist it emerged in the 1930s, the result of local styles merging with jazz and brass band music. Regardless of the exact date of origin, it is clear that the term and genre emerged as a distinct entity before World War II.

From its earliest appearance, *kaseko* has been influenced by a number of different musical genres. In its first form, *kaseko* music was played by small groups of street musicians. Its early years were characterized by a brassy sound that drew upon local Surinamese genres such as *bigi poku* and *kawina* and, starting in the 1920s, New Orleans-style jazz and brass band music. Starting around the 1950s and partially in reaction to the growing popularity of American rock 'n' roll, the instrumentation of *kaseko* bands gradually changed from one with a predominantly brassy texture to one relying more heavily on the guitar, bass guitar and keyboards. Several Caribbean and Latin American styles also contributed to the *kaseko* sound, including calypso and Afro-Cuban styles.

It was not until the 1970s, however, that *kaseko* began to acquire its modern style. At roughly the same time that Suriname gained its independence from the Dutch (1975), musicians began paying more attention to the musical innovations that could be found within their own country. In particular, they incorporated rhythms from Creole *winti* (spiritual) music and several Maroon musical styles, including *aleke*, *mato* and *seketi*. (*Mato* is a storytelling genre from the Ndyuka Maroons; *seketi* is a secular drum and dance tradition of the Saramaka Maroons.) Starting in the 1960–1970s Maroons – the descendants of escaped slaves – became increasingly involved with *kaseko*, both as performers and audience members. During this period, many Maroons left their ancestral settlements in the jungle for the more populous urban coast in search of work, increasing their exposure to *kaseko* and other Creole forms. From this point to the early 2000s there have been many popular and influential Maroon *kaseko* groups. Many of these groups sing in Okanisi or Saramakaans, two Maroon dialects.

The Creole singer Julius Theodore Uiterloo Hugo ('Lieve Hugo') was one of the first renowned *kaseko* performers. Hugo, who is often called the King of Kaseko, came to prominence with the group Orchestra Washboard in the 1960s–1970s. Calypso and Afro-Cuban influences are audible in many of his hits, including 'Blaka Rosoe' and 'Mi Sa Memre Na Dee.' During the 1980s the singer Iwan Esseboom achieved similar star status. Esseboom is especially known for his use of Maroon elements (Bilby 1999).

Beyond Suriname, there is a lively *kaseko* scene in the Netherlands, with several popular *kaseko* bands based there, including Ghabiang Boys, Live Mo Bradi Banti and Avion Boys. Neighboring French Guyana is home to a number of kaseko bands and artists, including the group Viety Guys and *kaseko* singer Prince Koloni, both from Saint Laurent du Maroni.

Contemporary *kaseko* bands continue to incorporate other musical genres. International styles, including reggae, *kadans* and *soukous*, have been especially influential, while more regional styles, including *aleke* and *kawina*, continue to provide additional creative inspiration. The long-standing mutual influence between *kawina* and *kaseko* has given rise to a successful fusion style called *kaskawi*.

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CORINNA CAMPBELL

Kawina

Kawina is a percussion-based style of recreational music associated with the Creoles of Suriname. Creoles are one of two Afro-Surinamese populations, distinguished from the Maroons, or 'Bosnegers,' in that the former are descended from slaves that stayed on the colonial plantations, while the latter are descendants of escaped slaves.

Kawina emerged around the end of the nineteenth century during a period of close contact with the Arawak Amerindians, Maroons and foreign gold prospectors. Slavery had been abolished in Suriname only shortly before, in 1863. The style is believed to have originated along the Commewijne River in northeast Suriname. This area, in one of the country's most populous districts, was the site of a rail construction project and a great deal of mining for gold and other natural resources. Workers would come together in the evenings for recreation, and this meeting of cultures proved fertile ground for the development of new musical ideas.

Kawina shares many musical characteristics with other Afro-Surinamese genres, and indeed, several of these have been directly influenced by *kawina*. As in *kaseko* and Maroon *aleke* music, many *kawina* songs provide commentary on current events and social relationships. In all three styles, performers are almost exclusively male. Songs are performed in Sranan, Suriname's lingua franca, and they feature call and response between a lead singer and chorus. The vocal parts are largely diatonic, and the chorus often responds in close harmony. The distinguishing component of a *kawina* ensemble is its percussion section, which often exceeds five players.

A typical *kawina* band will include the *kwakwabangi, timbal*, handheld percussion instruments including bells and metal shakers, and the *hari kawina* and *koti kawina* drums. The *kwakwabangi* is a wooden bench played with two sticks. Its primary role in the ensemble is to keep a steady tempo. Another supporting rhythm is provided by the *timbal*, a standing drum related to the *conga*. The *hari* and *koti kawina* drums have two heads and are played on a musician's lap, typically with one hand and one stick. The *hari* drum is lower in pitch and fits into a relatively stable rhythmic texture, while the *koti* drum has a more interactive and improvisatorial role. Along with the smaller handheld percussion, the *kwakwabangi, timbal* and *hari* drum provide a relatively consistent rhythmic texture with a rich timbral palette, while the *koti kawina* drum adds variety and creates a more dynamic interplay with the individual supporting drum rhythms. Marcel Wetalk points out that the Arawak influence can be seen in the ways the *kawina* drums are constructed, particularly in the way the drum heads are attached to their frames.

While the above instruments comprise the core of a *kawina* ensemble, others may be added, for instance a low *skratji* drum typical of a *kaseko* ensemble, a *kwatro* (similar to a ukelele) or a side-blown flute. Early *kawina* groups occasionally included an accordion or clarinet; however, as time passed the percussion instruments were established as the most prominent instrumental roles.

Despite the fact that *kawina* originated over a century ago, bands continue to find ways of attracting contemporary audiences. In addition to composing songs that capture popular interests, musicians continually take inspiration from other musical styles. The drum parts may be consistent in terms of the ways they interrelate, but the overall musical texture allows for the incorporation of a wide range of influences, from the aforementioned national styles *kaseko* and *aleke* to international genres, including reggae, *soukous* and *zouk*. Musicians are constantly updating their style and changing the rhythmic feel.

There are two main subdivisions of the genre: *pisiri kawina* ('good time kawina') and *winti kawina* (sometimes called '*ingi kawina*'). While both styles are considered secular, the latter borrows songs, proverbs and rhythmic patterns from the Winti religion and its ceremonial music. *Pisiri kawina* is thought to be older and is generally performed at a slower tempo than is *winti kawina*. Both subdivisions are considered music for dancing. Although the dance styles that accompany *kawina* have broadened somewhat, the initial format of a circular group dance moving in a counterclockwise direction is still common.

During the 1980s and 1990s *kawina* enjoyed a surge in popularity. Young Creoles who could not afford expensive instruments and amplifiers found that they could make their own instruments and launch their own *kawina* bands at comparatively little cost. The somewhat fixed supporting percussion parts provided beginners and younger players with a relatively easy point of entry. These two factors made *kawina* particularly accessible. Its rising popularity extended beyond Creole communities as well. In particular, the style found many fans and performers among Suriname's Maroon population, many of which have incorporated elements from their own traditions into the music. *Kawina* has expanded geographically as well. As larger numbers of Surinamese began moving to the Netherlands in the 1970s and 1980s, *kawina* groups began to appear in Creole and Maroon communities abroad.

Popular *kawina* bands include the Spoity Boys and Ai Sa Si. A successful hybrid genre called *kaskawi* has emerged through the fusion of the rhythms and instruments characteristic of each style.

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CORINNA CAMPBELL

Konpa

Konpa (in Haitian Creole, *compas*; in French, literally, 'beat') has been the predominant form of popular music in Haiti since 1955, when bandleader Nemours Jean-Baptiste coined the term *konpa-dirèk* to describe his novel style. A competing bandleader, Wébert Sicot, coined the term *kadans rampa* to describe his version of Nemours's innovation in 1957 in spite of the fact that Sicot's style was essentially the same as that of Nemours. Several groups in the 1960s developed a form of *konpa* played by smaller ensembles called *mini-djaz*. This article treats all three subgenres, *konpa-dirèk*, *kadans rampa* and *mini-djaz*, because of their shared stylistic qualities and social history.

Konpa-Dirèk and *Kadans Rampa*

While it was also influenced by Haitian popular music called *mereng (méringue* in French), *konpa* emerged from the direct influence of *merengue*, the national music of the Dominican Republic, a land that neighbors Haiti on the island of Hispaniola (a potentially controversial provenience due to the fact that many Haitians consider Dominican *merengue* to be an offshoot of Haitian *mereng*). Embraced by the Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo from the 1930s to 1950s, *merengue* enjoyed considerable support from the Dominican state. In Haiti, radio broadcasts and tours of Dominican bands generated a taste for *merengue*; the Dominican dictator's personal dance band, Orquesta Presidente Trujillo, even performed in Haiti in 1955 (Averill 1997, 77). Trujillo held an iron grip on the Dominican economy, including the music industry, which stressed live radio performances rather than recording. The paucity of recording opportunities for musicians in the Dominican Republic in the 1950s limited their international exposure. This, however, was not a problem for *merenguero* Angel Viloria and his band Conjunto Típico Cibaeño, which was situated in New York City. Disseminated internationally, Viloria's recordings became the best-known manifestation of *merengue* outside of the Dominican Republic. It was, therefore, Angel Viloria who ensconced *merengue* in Haiti, as a local recording engineer recalled.

> In 1954, the Dominican group Típico Cibaeño led by Angel Viloria had a hit record in Haiti. That thing hit like a bomb. The Haitians loved the merengue because it had a lively beat for dancing. They were doing it in every nightclub, especially down by Carrefour. The Dominican girls [prostitutes] were there and would teach the Haitian guys how to dance. (Quoted in Averill 1989, 104.)

This music became so popular in Haiti that in 1955 it inspired saxophonist Nemours Jean-Baptiste to start a band specializing in a Haitianized version of *merengue* dubbed *konpa-dirèk* or 'direct beat' (Averill 1997, 77–9). Nemours's *konpa* was performed at a relatively slow tempo, adapting the signature rhythm played on the *tambora* drum in Dominican *merengue* to the *conga*, which was complemented by a pulse provided by drum set. *Konpa* utilized saxophone and accordion riffs similar to those of Dominican *merengue* augmented with trumpet accents, smooth vocals and improvised saxophone solos. While earlier forms of Haitian music such as *mereng* usually employed I-IV-V7 progressions, *konpa* favored V7-I progressions in imitation of Dominican *merengue* (Averill 1989, 222).

It is likely that much of *konpa*'s appeal issued from its sensuous dance style, which, especially compared to dancing to the complex *Vodou-jazz* rhythms of bands such as Jazz des Jeunes that preceded Nemours on the local dance scene, was easy to execute. Like its Dominican counterpart, *konpa* is danced in the ballroom dance embrace with a sensuous sway of the hips, and while it is easy to master the basic step, its execution by skilled dancers is nuanced and seductive. The step can be performed in various ways depending on the degree of sensuality desired and appropriate to the context: at bourgeois affairs, it can be executed in a stately manner, but it is often performed with dancers pressing their bodies together, *kole-kole* ('pasted') or *kole-mayouba* ('pasted with the hips swaying'), or even, in dimly lit venues, *ploge* ('plugged') (Averill 1989, 223).

The new music's flashy modernity lent itself to polemics, astutely chronicled by Gage Averill (1997). Openly competing with Nemours, the previously reigning dance band, Jazz des Jeunes performed songs such as 'Anciens Jeunes,' deriding *konpa* for its rhythmic simplicity in comparison with Jazz des Jeunes' Vodou rhythms, as well as for its origin in the Dominican Republic: 'You have only a single rhythm, / What a shame, neighbor beat' [Vous n'avez qu'un seul rhythm/ Quelle honte, compas voisin] (quoted and translated in Averill 1997, 82). Virtuosic saxophonist and showman Wébert Sicot played in Nemours's band in 1955 but left within a year, and in 1957 he started his own group. During the following decade, the two bandleaders engaged in a rivalry that took a central place in Haitian public discourse. Although he played the same style as Nemours, Sicot called his music *kadans ranpa*, a moniker that seemingly alludes to his spirit of musical competition: *kadans* means 'rhythm,' while *ranpa* means 'ramparts.' Sicot's song entitled 'Deux guidons,' for example, denigrates Nemours's style as containing only 'a single saxophone honk' (quoted in Averill 1997, 85).

For his part, Nemours pointed out that Sicot's challenges only proved that Nemours's innovations had been fruitful, alluding to a Haitian proverb stating that 'one only throws rocks at mango trees that are full' (Averill 1997, 84–5). In his song 'Rhythm commercial' he described himself as 'a mango tree / defying time, always yielding fruit'[yon pye mango / kontre tan donnen tout bon] (Averill 1997, 85).

Of course, the competition was beneficial for both groups, a fact that was not lost on either bandleader. *Konpa* and *kadans* were the first forms of Haitian popular music disassociated with the elites, actively promoted as 'show business' in the marketplace and recorded commercially, facts that both musicians exploited, as illustrated by the title of Nemours's song, 'Rhythme commercial,' quoted above. For their part, cultural nationalists criticized both bandleaders for promoting a crass new music of foreign provenience that threatened Haitian traditions. The eminent historian Jean Fouchard, for example, wrote that Jean-Baptiste and Sicot had denatured *méringue* by utilizing Dominican influences: 'Is this evolution? This is arguable when … the very structure of our méringue is gravely shaken, and its languorous grace … is replaced by jerky rhythms in a style foreign to our tradition' (Fouchard 1988, 120, quoted and translated in Averill 1997, 79).

Rising to the Haitian presidency in 1957, François 'Papa Doc' Duvalier was a country doctor and folklorist who had played a significant role in the rise of a Haitian brand of nationalistic pride called *noirisme* that celebrated rural, African-based traditions and black power. Challenging the Eurocentric orientation of the mixed-race elites, musicians active in *noirisme* composed *Vodou-jazz* songs in his honor. Duvalier soon consolidated power to create a brutal totalitarian regime. Likely influenced by Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo, who astutely utilized *merengue* as a national symbol and means of propaganda for his own repressive government, Duvalier patronized *konpa* and *kadans* rather than *noiriste Vodou-jazz*. His embrace of a music clearly associated with the middle class was consistent with his support for the black bourgeoisie over the mulatto elites, but the escapist conformity of *konpa* arguably moved away from the tenets of *noirisme*; support for the arts eroded and music became more commercial and less politically progressive. Duvalier's support of *konpa* paralleled his focus on consolidation of power as he was declared 'President for Life' (Averill 1989, 221; 1997, 71–7).

Duvalier often hosted *koudyays*, festive street parties that doubled as political demonstrations offering free food, drink, music and transportation in order to promote the impression of political support for his regime. These events were often associated with Carnival. Members of Duvalier's feared *tonton makoutes*, his personal paramilitary corps, led both Nemours's and Sicot's bands on motorcycles at the 1959 Carnival. Both bands regularly played at private affairs for Duvalier and performed songs supporting the dictator. For example, during the 1964 carnival, whose theme was 'Papa Doc for life,' Nemours played a song that blended implicit support for Duvalier with his rivalry with Sicot, proclaiming 'konpa-dirèk for life!' For his part, Sicot's 1965 carnival song 'Men jet-la' ('Here Comes the Jet') alluded to Duvalier's construction of an international airport, while Nemours's Carnival song that year was 'Tout limen' (All Lit Up), in praise of Duvalier's electricity program (Averill 1997, 92). Gage Averill has shown that Duvalier 'co-opted the exuberance … of carnavalesque celebration' and popular music to support his regime against the mulatto elite (Averill 1997, 107).

Mini-djaz

During the early 1960s bourgeois Haitian youth were alive to North American styles such as jazz, rock 'n' roll, rhythm and blues, and Latin music. Emerging bands playing rock, which they called *yeye* after the Beatles' 'yeah, yeah' refrain, were dubbed *mini-djaz* due to the fact that they were smaller than the reigning big bands of Nemours and Sicot. The moniker was also likely influenced by the rising miniskirt fad. Despite the popularity of the cosmopolitan styles, Haitian partygoers still loved the *konpa* beat for dancing, and *mini-djaz* bands responded by infusing more and more *konpa* into their sounds; the emerging music came to be called *mini-djaz konpa*.

Founded in 1963 as the house band of the Ibo Lele Hotel, Ibo Combo made a mark as a leading *mini-djaz* band, with Shleu-Shleu, a teenage group that often performed at events geared toward school children, joining the scene in 1965. In fact, much *mini-djaz* was often associated with teens and their home neighborhoods in Petionville, the middle-class suburb of Port-au-Prince (Averill 1989, 225–8; 1997, 97–100).

While incorporating new elements, *mini-djaz* was stylistically very similar to *konpa*. *Mini-djaz* saxophonist Georges Loubert Chancy began performing with Shleu-Shleu and continued with Skah-Shah #1 in 1974. Carrying on the tradition of Nemours and Sicot, whose smooth saxophone riffs gave *konpa* and *kadans* a sensuous sound, he cultivated a style based on sigh-inducing velvet sax riffs and improvised solos, taking the veritable Haitian saxophone tradition initiated by his predecessors to new heights.

The escapism of *mini-djaz* was, of course, influenced by Duvalier's reign of terror, which made political commentary impossible. François 'Papa Doc' Duvalier died in 1971, only to be succeeded by his son, Jean-Claude 'Baby Doc' Duvalier. Baby Doc was a 'playboy dictator' who loved *mini-djaz konpa* and hosted parties featuring live music; the *mini-djaz* group Bossa Combo became a fixture at the presidential palace. The repressive political climate, combined with rampant poverty, motivated massive outmigration mainly to the United States and

Canada. By the end of the twentieth century almost a million Haitians were living abroad. The *mini-djaz* group Skah-Shah expressed the sentiments of those living away from their homeland in a song astutely alluding, in both text and music, to a classic *mereng*, 'Ayti cheri' (Dear Haiti): 'I miss my country, Dear Haiti … my heart is breaking in New York' (quoted in Averill 1997, 108).

The 1970s saw growing rivalry between *mini-djaz* groups, especially during the Carnival season, and in 1978 Bossa Combo launched an effort to encourage Haitian bands to work together. Significantly, the term *konpa* returned as a moniker encompassing the styles of Nemours, Sicot and *mini-djaz*. Bossa Combo's LP *Accolade* was dedicated to competing bands, and in 1980 another major group, Tabou Combo, released 'Hommage à Nemours Jean-Baptiste.' Such an expression of unity among Haitian bands was something new, and it clearly consolidated *konpa*, *kadans* and *mini-djaz* under a single banner. Contemporary *konpa* bands began experimenting stylistically, as Tabou Combo and other groups began incorporating larger horn sections influenced by French Antillean *zouk* as well as North American funk. A band called Zèklè went farther, incorporating elements of jazz-fusion.

During the period of political instability following the fall of Jean-Claude Duvalier in 1986, *konpa* briefly shed its traditional distance from social commentary when D.P. Express collaborated with the politically *angaje* ('engaged') singer Ti-Manno, recording songs calling for social justice. Also in the early 1980s several New York-based *konpa* bands experimented by incorporating elements of the traditional *Rara* music, thereby dovetailing with the burgeoning Haitian *racin* ('roots') music scene (Averill 1997, 118–29). Most bands, however, continued with time-tested musical formulas, stressing smooth and danceable riffs. Synthesizers came to dominate the music to the extent that by the twenty-first century *konpa* groups usually consisted of synthesizers, guitars, bass, drums and percussion.

Konpa demonstrated extraordinary staying power, retaining its position as the most popular form of Haitian music into the twenty-first century. A former konpa star, Michel 'Sweet Micky' Martelly – who, like most *konpa* musicians, was associated with Duvalierism – was elected president in 2011 (Sprague 2011). As Averill shows, 'it is one of the small ironies of Haitian music history that the coming to power of [Duvalier's] revolutionary *noiriste* regime helped eclipse. … *Vodou-jazz* in favor of apolitical *konpa*' (1997, 107). Perhaps the smooth, exuberant sensuality of *konpa*, ubiquitous in the urban soundscape as it blasts from the brightly painted public transportation vehicles called *taptaps,* provides respite from the economic and political problems that Haitians continually face.

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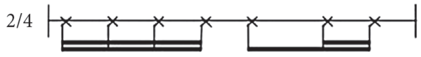
Kullawada

Kullawada (also *cullahuada*, *cullawada*, *cullaguada*, *kullawa*, *cullahua*) is a Bolivian musical form and street dance evoking the wool spinners of the Andes, especially those of communities situated in the Lake Titicaca region, where it originated, and an urban musical genre of the city of La Paz. The dance is performed by both sexes as part of the *entradas folklóricas* (folkloric processions) in La Paz and Oruro in which large groups of dancers, paired up and arranged in rows, dance to music performed by brass bands (Gutiérrez 1999, 305). Traditional *kullawada* is a genre of music and dance performed in Aymara communities in commemoration of Andean textile culture. In those communities, *kullawada* was primarily performed by Andean wind ensembles. In the mid-1960s, with the movement of the Aymara population to the cities, it was taken up first by brass bands, and then, at the end of the decade, by the *conjuntos folklóricos*, small ensembles of young musicians playing guitar, *charango* (small Andean lute), *quena* (notched vertical flutes), *zampoña* (panpipes) and *bombo* (double-headed bass drum). In this respect, *kullawada* can be considered one of the characteristic subgenres of Bolivian neofolklore, as its popularity is associated with the preferences of young mestizo and urban Bolivians. In its original setting, *kullawada* is performed to accompany dancers during religious and auspicious festivals, but in the cities it lost this function and became an urban genre favored by youth.

Kullawada has a strongly rhythmic base tailored to the dance. The basic rhythmic pattern is in 2/4 (see Example 1), with four semiquavers on the first beat and, on the second, one quaver followed by two semiquavers. This seemingly simple structure is nuanced by an important characteristic: the brass band musicians do not execute the rhythm straight, but rather, in a show of musical expressiveness, they apply a rubato which creates a slowing effect and is responsible for the music's characteristic ritardando feel. As they accompany the dancers, the musicians (as is typical of such groups) alternate an A theme performed on the trumpets with a B theme performed on the bass instruments (tubas, trombones and helicons). Typically the latter slow down the tempo when they perform the B theme, with the tempo coming back up to its original level when the trumpets return with the A theme; at which point the dancers perform with renewed vigor and enthusiasm, infecting the audience in the bleachers with their energy as they pass by. Another characteristic feature of this genre is that drum rolls are used to reinforce the strong beats.



Example 1: The basic rhythmic cell of the *kullawada*

Kullawada dancers move from side to side, lifting the arms and using the hands to simulate the spinning of wool onto small distaffs that they carry and moving the waist, shoulders and head to the beat of the music. Members of *kullawada* troupes all wear the same brightly colored outfits. The signature piece of a *kullawada* costume is a heavily embroidered hat with a round brim with a fringe of small colored tubes hung all around its perimeter. In the early twentieth century there were also square-brimmed hats, but even then the characteristic fringe was present, obscuring the faces of the dancers and swaying with the movement of the head. The men also wear a brightly colored shirt, tie, jacket and trousers, lavishly decorated and covered in intricate designs; the trousers are bell-bottomed, often fitted with eye-catching triangular panels at the cuff. They usually also wear short, embroidered ponchos. The women wear white blouses, layered soft skirts and high-heeled shoes. They cover themselves with elegant short mantles cascading over the back and shoulders, held in place with silver brooches known as *topos*. The dance leader appears as the Walfuri, Waphuri or Waphur, a stock character wearing a plaster mask and carrying a very large, highly ornamented distaff. The mask features a long, aquiline nose, rosy cheeks and large eyes. The Walfuri's outfit is particularly showy, with exaggerated epaulettes and, often, special high-heeled shoes. These outfits are as much-exaggerated stylizations of youth fashion of the 1970s as they are about embroidery and Andean colors.

'Carding, spinning, plying and dyeing the wool'

Some folklorists trace the origins of the dance to pre-Inca times, associating it with the legend of

Cullahua, the wife of the deity Wiracocha, created to provide him with company. Cullahua was the goddess of spinners and medicine and the dance was performed in her honor. There is also mention in the literature of the dance having been performed by the Collana people, who were highly skilled spinners. Weaving is a fundamental part of Andean life, so it is not surprising that rituals should exist to honor it. The *kullawada* is closely related to the *llamerada* or *llamaya*, an Inca shepherd's dance mentioned by Espinoza Soriano (1997, 401, 402). To this day, the *llamerada* and the *kullawada* are very similar dances and are often confused. According to Lanza Ordóñez, the *llamerada* 'was performed … at the start of the *chacu* – the great Aymara roundup [of vicuñas] – and the kullawada at its conclusion, after the shearing, at the point where the wool is divided up for spinning and weaving into clothing' (1993, 44). Bolivian folklorist Antonio Paredes Candia notes that chronicler Fray Martín de Murúa had witnessed two Inca dances: the *llama-llama* and the *guacones* (1991, 18). According to Espinoza Soriano, the *huacones* dance was staged 'with special costumes and masks with long noses; it was performed as a means of social control' (1997, 402). The exaggerated noses can be linked with those of today's Walfuris. As Martínez Miura notes, 'In Andean cultures symbolism around the seed was crucial, expressed as a crude phallic icon' (2004, 199). In any case, the dance was practiced in the nineteenth century among Aymara communities in Bolivia.

After the War of the Pacific (1879–83), *kullawada* was recorded as part of the religious festival of La Tirana in Tarapacá, northern Chile, as one of the dances performed by Bolivian peasants working in the saltpeter mines there. In 1917 the following indigenous fraternities were listed, all bearing the title 'Cullave': 'Cullaves (de la Aguada) del señor de Sipiza' (González Miranda 2006), 'Cullaves (de Buen Retiro) de San Isidro' and 'Cullaves (de Galicia) de La Candelaria' (García Vásquez 2007, 4, 5). The dance re-emerged in Chile in 1993, starting with the founding of the Conjunto de Baile Cullaguas de San Lorenzo (Cullaguas Dance Group of San Lorenzo]) in Iquique. In the twenty-first century, however, these Chilean groups, along with groups participating in the Candelaria religious festival in Puno, southeast Peru, perform renditions of the modern *kullawada*, which was invented in La Paz at the end of the 1960s.

Modern *Kullawada*

Around 1970 the first modern *kullawada* dance groups were formed in working-class Aymara areas of La Paz. These groups participated in the major local religious festivals. They were made up of young people of Aymara origin who held the *kullawada* up as a symbol of their modernity, at a time when middle- and high-class youth were participating in the international culture of youth represented by the Beatles, psychedelia and hippies. In this way, in 1970 a *kullawada* group was formed in the nearby community of Viacha called 'Verdaderos Rebeldes Extraños de Pelo Largo' [The True Blue Strange, Long-Haired Rebels]. Over the Christmas season in 1971 *cullagua* or *kullawada* youth groups battled it out in dance festivals, giving themselves expressive appellations such as 'Los Lirios Chicos Malos de Sopocachi' (The Bad Boy Lillies from Sopocachi), 'Dramáticos Andinos de Pucarani' (Dramatic Andeans from Pucarani) and the unforgettable 'Los Satánicos de Sopocachi Sicodélicos Existencialistas' (The Psychedelic Existentialist Satanists from Sopocachi). All these dance groups were made up of Aymara members, young *cholitos* (people of indigenous and European blood) in competition for the best rendition of the 'modern' *kullawada* (Sánchez Patzy 2006, 255).

Costuming, choreography and attitudes of the dancers were also being refreshed at that time, thanks to numerous aesthetic innovations introduced by young dancers such as the Estrada brothers, founders of the Asociación de Baile Urus del Gran Poder. Thus, the ways in which Bolivian Aymara youth are able to reconcile the expression of community traditions with participation in trends in youth fashion are paradigmatically represented in modern *kullawada*. The *kullawadas* preferred by these young people are romantic songs that retain some of the rhythmic and melodic characteristics employed by the brass bands in folkloric processions.

With the rise of the new dance trend, many popular musicians began to compose songs in the rhythm of the *kullawada*, resulting in best-selling records and radio hits in the mid-1970s. As these modern *kullawadas* were in a style that was associated with the tastes of 'cholos' (a derogatory term for people of indigenous origin) and the lower classes, they did not find favor with young middle-class Bolivians. The lyrics found in these *kullawadas* are concerned with themes of love and bitterness following failed romance, painting into an urban social setting the love pursuits of young Aymaras and the unavoidable disappointments associated with these, as, for example, in 'Falsas Promesas' (False Promises) by Luis Carrión known as 'El Rey de las Kullawadas' (the king of the *kullawadas*). Notable songs include Carlos Palenque's 'Lágrimas' (Tears) and 'Ojitos negros' (Little Black Eyes); Octavio Cordero's 'Mascarita' (Little Mask); Ramiro Alcócer's

'Paceñita' (Woman of La Paz); 'Elizabeth,' 'Quién dime quién' (Who, Tell Me Who) and 'Te puedes ir' (You Can Go) by Luis Carrión; 'Jichapi,' recorded by Los Payas and combining a brass brand with 'folkloric' Bolivian instruments; and José Zapata's 'Acaso porque soy pobre' (Maybe It's Because I'm Poor]).

The impact of the successful exposure of *kullawada* on the radio in the 1970s was eventually felt in the adjacent northeast Argentine province of Jujuy due to a large influx of immigrants from Bolivia whose musical tastes remained anchored in this style. A good example of the impact of Bolivian *kullawadas* on popular taste in neighboring countries is 'Acaso porque soy pobre.' In the late 1990s it was covered by Argentine groups and singers such as Los Tekis, Los Diamantes Jujeños, Coroico and Fortunato Ríos. Perhaps out of ignorance, perhaps as a commercial ploy, these artists changed the rhythm to that of *carnavalito* (a genre from the Quebrada de Humahuaca), *takirari* (a genre from east Bolivia) and, in a recent release by young *cumbia* singer Sebastián Mendoza, *cumbia norteña*. In Bolivia in the 2000s, neofolkloric groups have reworked old *kullawadas* from the 1970s as catchy dance numbers, medleys recorded for primarily commercial reasons. These groups include Yara, El Grupo Femenino Bolivia and Aquí Bolivia, from Sucre. In 2006 Los Kjarkas included a *kullawada*, 'Loco por tí' [Crazy for You], on their album *35 Años*.

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MAURICIO SÁNCHEZ PATZY (TRANSLATED BY MONA-LYNN COURTEAU)

Kumina

The term Kumina refers to an Afro-Jamaican ancestral-based religion, as well as the music and dance associated with it. Kumina drumming exerted a great influence on the emergence of Jamaican popular musical forms – ska, rocksteady, reggae – indirectly, through cross-fertilization with the masquerade and processional tradition of Buru, and more directly through its impact on Rastafari nyabinghi music. The much-referenced 'one drop' rhythm style, which signifies the unique characteristic of Jamaican popular music, where the snare drum stroke and bass drum emphasize the third beat rather than the expected first beat of every measure or bar in 4/4 or 4/8 time, may be readily identified in the Kumina *kbandu* drum rhythm which sustains the constant underlying rhythm of the music. It is to be found also in related traditional forms such as Buru and the masquerade dance/music/street parade tradition of Jonkonnu, which dates back to the early days of slavery. Whylie asserts that without the 'one drop' feature, the music of Africa and the African diaspora would be considered incomplete and ineffective (2011).

Kumina's adherents refer to themselves as part of a distinct African Bongo/Kongo nation or family comprising the living and the 'living dead' (the ancestors). They signify and pay homage to King Zaambi, or Zambi Mpungu, as the omnipotent creator from whom the Kumina people believe all power ultimately emanates. Kumina is derived culturally from a specific Central African Kongo antecedent, and in Jamaica is limited primarily to the east of the country, notably in the parish of St Thomas. Nevertheless, it incorporates a common Jamaican Afro-Creole religious form – Myal, which is considered to have been the central Creole manifestation of spiritual beliefs and religious practices in Jamaica, prior to the advent of a distinct Kumina form (see Ryman 1984, 87–9).

Myal, incorporating the core components of music, dance, use of herbs and spirit possession, came strongly to the fore after full emancipation in 1838 (colloquially termed 'full free') as part of the 'Great Revival Movement' of the 1860s. The '1860 order' of Revival, referred to as *Revival Zion,* was (and has continued to be) the more overtly Christian expression of the movement, while the '1861 order' or Pukkumina (little Kumina), also known as Pocomania, was (and is) more distinctly African in its orientation. The connection to Kumina is evident here, given the centrality of Myal and 'catching Myal' (spirit possession) in Kumina and Pukkumina ceremonies. As Ryman has pointed out (1984, 81), Kumina displays both Creole and specific ethnic Kongo features expressed in language, dance and music. The core Creole Afro-centric religious features are to be found under the dance-music-spirit possession and use-of-herbs umbrella of Myal.

The consensus among scholars is that Kumina and its modern-day adherents are specifically identified with Central Africans and their descendants who settled in their largest numbers between 1841 and 1869. Other exclusive Central African settlements of this period in Kongo Town in Trelawny, St Catherine (Sligoville), Portland and St Mary (Annotto Bay) all seem to have had direct and continuing infusions from St Thomas. Except for the May River group from St Mary, which exhibits significant differences from the St Thomas Kumina tradition, all groups readily acknowledge the 'headship' of the St Thomas Kumina groups.

Importantly, there is a close relationship between the two primary African 'nations' in Jamaica – the Akan Maroons and the Kongo Kumina people. The myth of the 'two sisters' – Grandy Nanny (Maroon) and Sekesu (Kumina) – speaks to the mutual respect and closeness of these two 'nations.' The two sisters are reputed to have founded the Maroon nation in the northeastern parish of Portland and the Bongo (Kumina) nation in the easternmost parish of St Thomas, respectively.

There are two forms of Kumina: 'bailo' and 'country.' 'Bailo' is the more recreational, secular and public form. It employs Creole songs and spirit possession is actively discouraged. Kumina practitioners have referred to the 'bailo' form of Kumina as 'Buru' (and 'Tambu') in part because of Buru's acknowledged Afro-centricity and its suggested Kongo antecedence. In addition, the 'music' aspect of Buru had become associated largely with secular and entertainment activities being played at private and public functions such as 'Coney Island' and village fairs, wakes and 'nine-nights' (a dance-music celebration for the deceased performed nine nights after the death of a person). 'Country,' the more serious or 'business' form of Kumina, is ancestral-focused and more spirit-oriented. Here, the songs and their words move markedly to the African-Bakongo extreme of the language continuum.

Kalunga, Kadunga and Kumeka are each used to describe different aspects of *Kumina*, while Kumeka also points to the possible etymology for the name. Kalunga speaks to the 'sea water' transmission and by inference to the African provenance and cosmology, of the original Kumina people. In the belief system associated with *Kumina*, highlighted by the word 'Kalunga,' water forms a natural barrier between the worlds of the living and the 'living dead' and is the home in which a deity of the same name resides. The original African antecedents of the Kumina family are therefore called 'salt water Bongo,' as distinct from the Creole descendants (i.e., those born in Jamaica of Bongo ancestry), who are termed 'creolin Bongo.' 'Kadunga' refers to the beating and the striking of the drum and signals the centrality of the drum for music and dance and its power to summon the ancestors in the Kumina ceremony. 'Kumeka,' another Kongo word glossed by Bilby (1983, 75), which translates as 'to fight, to hex someone,' is sometimes used as a synonym for the Kumina music and/or dance. Kumeka highlights the spirituality or 'science' function of the Kumina dance and music to bring about a prescribed goal – for healing, celebration or punishment. The evolution from 'Kumeka' to 'Kumina' is linguistically feasible and offers one possible origin for the 'Kumina' nomenclature. Leaders of Kumina groups who possess these 'science' attributes are known as '*Kumina* Specialists' and function as doctor-healers and dispensers of the 'Bongo Law' in judgment and justice, as well as diviners and counsellors. As such, they are accorded the greatest respect by the Kumina members whom they lead, as well as by the Kumina and non-Kumina members whom they serve. This type of leader may be male or female and potentially performs the functions of two or more functionaries in any given Kumina group – that is, spiritual leader, organizational leader, 'master of ceremonies' or ritual leader, lead drummer (if a man), lead singer (especially for women) and lead dancer. Such male leaders carry no specific designation beyond 'Leader' or 'Science Specialist,' but the equivalent female leader is referred to as a '*Kumina* Queen.' These types of leaders carry the primary 'ritual' responsibilities within the *Kumina* ceremony.

At another – lower – level of leadership, a male functionary who does not carry the 'science' prowess of the Kumina Specialist is referred to as the Captain, while his female counterpart is called a 'Mother-Queen' or 'Black and White Girl,' so designated by virtue of the black and white cord worn around the waist of the Specialist, and is distinguished by her primary role of assisting with the Specialist's ritual responsibilities. A Mother-Queen at this level is the second most important functionary next to the Kumina (Science) Specialist, based on her ability to control the proceedings by the type of songs that she raises, which usually dictates a change in the rhythm that is being played. The Playin Kyas Drummer sometimes plays the dual role of the Captain or Leader of the group or operates at the secondary level of importance in groups led by a Kumina Specialist.

In Kumina music, there is a close relationship between the drummers of the lead drum (the playin' cyas or kyas*),* the *kbandu* drum (basic rhythm) and the dancers. A 'third drum' rhythm is simulated by a 'katta stick' player who sits behind the open end of the drum and beats out a faster rhythm on the sides of the drum with two 'katta' sticks. Other accompanying instruments usually included in the Kumina music ensemble are a grater (and spoon) and shakkas. The drumming style is distinguished by the Kongolese feature of sitting on top of the drum, which is placed on the ground, and using the heel to modulate its pitch while playing the drum with the hands. Once the singer (usually the Queen/Black and White Girl) raises the appropriate song at any point in the day or days over which a Kumina ceremony may extend, the 'call and response' action of the musicians and dancers effect the desired outcome of the Kumina play (ceremony). The 'God-infused' ancestral spirits, sometimes referred to as the *nkuyu*, are invited and enticed to possess the dancer. It is through this medium of 'catching Myal' that the presence and satisfaction of the *nkuyus* may be expressed and achieved, respectively. This allows for specific requests for assistance to be made of the *nkuyus* by the living members of the Kumina family.

In the Kumina dance, the flat-footed inching and shuffling of the feet, facilitated by bent knees and either a slightly forward-bent or an upright-but-relaxed back, is accompanied by a side-to-side, forward thrusting or upward heaving of the hip. Whether the feet are placed one slightly in front of the other or side by side (the more usual stance), the weight is not evenly distributed. This facilitates the noticeable emphasis of a drop step on each strong one drop beat (i.e., the third beat of the *kbandu* drum), while the hips move continuously. Several specific stylistic variations of this basic form may be found in the Kumina dance repertoire across different groups and by different practitioners within any given group. Regardless of the variants, *Kumina* dance constitutes the thread that weaves together all the elements of the carefully manipulated sequence of events that comprise the Kumina ceremony.

Meaning is found in the symbols and 'keys' which the Kumina people refer to as *nkisi.* These keys comprise songs, rhythms, dance and sundry paraphernalia such as herbs, flowers, blood (the life force invoked through animal sacrifice), water, white rum, clear-colored and sweet drinks, fruits, breads, meat, starchy food, colors (in cloth and candles), fire and iron. The *nkisi* or keys unlock and enhance the spiritual forces that may be at man's disposal when desired, if there is knowledge about their use and how to unlock their power.

Other dances directly related to the *Kumina* dance complex include Kongo (largely secular and performed by younger participants), Tambu (a Trelawny-based version of Kumina with additional characteristics), Makumbe (an earlier variant of a

Kongo dance-music-ancestral form) and Warrick or Kittihali sometimes referred to as the 'Shakespeare' of the Kumina people – a stick-fighting dance form found among some Kumina groups in St Thomas and Trelawny.

Kumina's Influence on Modern Jamaican Popular Music

Kumina's entry into the popular music arena came primarily via Rastafari and its associated musical form nyabinghi, which evolved in the 1950s. Nyabinghi is the most recent Creole development straddling African ancestral, traditional and urban contemporary elements. Kumina's influence on Jamaican popular music was initially facilitated by its cross-fertilization with another strong Afro-centric traditional music form – Buru. By the 1930s and 1940s Buru had already occupied an important and quasi-popular space in the urban environment of West Kingston and as such, the incorporation of the Buru triple set of drums – thunder/bass, *fundeh* and repeater/*pita* – into the emerging Rastafari nyabinghi music was inevitable. In this crucible, Kumina drumming rhythms performed by the Kumina or Kumina-influenced Buru exponents flowed seamlessly into those of their Buru counterparts. Count Ossie played a pivotal role in this development.

Count Ossie hailed originally from St Thomas, the home of Kumina, and migrated to the capital city of Kingston, where he eventually embraced Rastafari. Here, he came under the mentorship of a Rastafari elder and master Buru drummer, Brother Job, and before him Watta King, who was also a Buru master drummer of Kongo descent and a drum maker. Watta King migrated from Clarendon to West Kingston and became the primary mentor of Brother Job and to a lesser extent, that of Count Ossie.

With both Buru and Kumina influences impacting on Count Ossie, he became not only a major Buru exponent but also in due course a key player in the development of Rastafari nyabinghi music. His later contribution to the evolution of Jamaican popular music in West Kingston was signaled by the groundbreaking background Rastafari drumming of the group Count Ossie and the Mystic Revelation of Rastafari for the ska recording, 'Oh Carolina' –recorded by the Folks (also spelled Folkes) Brothers in 1960 by Prince Buster and released in the United Kingdom in 1961 on the Blue Beat label. This classic not only resurfaced on Count Ossie and the Mystic Revelation of Rastafari's seminal three-record album *Grounation* in 1973 but was rearranged and re-recorded in 1993 by popular Jamaican and international DJ/Reggae recording artiste, Shaggy.

Evidence for Kumina's influence on the development of reggae dance and music is most clearly seen in the basic nyabinghi rhythm, which is attributed to the recognizable slowing down of the Kumina rhythm – that is, a 'decelerated Kumina rhythm' (Whylie 2011). The combination of the Buru set of drums and a slower basic Kumina drum rhythm has been described as being '... close to the Rastafarian fundeh ostinato, whose tempo is much slower than the former [Kumina]' (Nagashima 1984, 77). In the early twenty-first century Kumina's presence is still to be felt and heard in the 'Kumina Riddim,' which was one of the rhythms created by the outstanding producers, Sly Dunbar and Robbie Shakespeare, in 2002, and featured on recordings by nearly 20 dancehall recording artistes such as Sizzla ('Wild World'), Mr Vegas ('Wheel and Turn'), Tanya Stephens ('Champagne') and Chaka Demus & Pliers ('All Eyes On Me'). This speaks to the cross-fertilization of organic folk traditions which contributed to Jamaica's popular music forms and to the evolution of Rastafari nyabinghi music, which in turn had a major impact on the evolution of Jamaican popular music.

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CHERYL RYMAN

Lambada

Lambada is a Brazilian urban music genre which developed from a partner dance of the same name. It emerged in the Amazon region, particularly in Pará State, in the 1970s and is considered to be a hybrid combination of *carimbó*, a dance of African and indigenous origins practiced in Pará since the Brazilian colonial period, and some music and dance genres from the Caribbean (easily heard on radio transmissions in this part of Brazil), such as *salsa*, calypso, *merengue* and *zouk*.

According to Lopes (1995), the term *lambada* has two distinct etymologies, both African. One of them is the Yoruba word *lagbá*, which means a whip; and the other is the Quioco (Bantu) word *lamba*, which means a strike, a hit. In Portuguese, the dictionary definition for *lambada* is 'whipping with a flexible object' (Michaelis 2004). The term was first used in the early 1970s in Pará by radio broadcasters Paulo Ronaldo and Haroldo Caraciolo to describe an emerging 'hot' and upbeat dance style, featuring pronounced movement of the hips and frequent spins, turns and twirls. The spread of *lambada* to other northern and northeastern states enabled the incorporation of features of *forró*, primarily apparent in the *lambada* danced in Porto Seguro, a city in the south of Bahia state. The *lambada* is generally included within the *brega* category, a broad music genre that is used in Brazil to encompass all subgenres listened to by the masses.

The new music genre reached the record market in the middle of the 1970s. The first song entitled 'Lambada' is thought to have been part of the album *No embalo do carimbó e sirimbó vol. 5,* recorded in 1976 by singer/songwriter Aurino Quirino Gonçalves (also known as Pinduca). Pinduca is considered by media in Pará as one of the primary developers of the *lambada*, along with electric guitarist Mestre Joaquim Viera, who is also known for a distinctive music style called 'guitarrada.' Vieira's first album, entitled *Lambada das Quebradas*, was recorded in 1976, but only officially released two years later. The music of both Vieira and Pinduca followed urban music trends occurring around the world at the time, principally in their use of electric and electronic instruments such as the bass and keyboard in what is considered by scholars to be a modernization of the *carimbo* of Pará (Amaral 2003; Tinhorão 1991).

In the 1980s the *lambada* spread throughout the main northeastern and southeastern Brazilian capitals (Fortaleza, Recife and Salvador; Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo), accompanied by a proliferation of *lambaterias*, places where the dance was practiced (following the models of the *gafieiras* or *forró* clubs). During the 1980s artists such as Beto Barbosa (Pará singer Roberto Morhy Barbosa), Carlos Santos, Alípio Martins and Márcia Rodrigues were prominent. Supported by Pinduca, Beta Barbosa was the most renowned artist in the southeastern region. Introducing himself as Rei da Lambada (King of Lambada), a title created by the press, Beto Barbosa, has continued to perform live with a group. His greatest hits are the songs 'Adocica' and 'Preta,' each of which sold over four million copies during the 1980s.

The *lambada* garnered global notoriety in 1988 when French producer Jean Karakos and filmmaker Oliver Lorsac, while visiting Bahia, had the idea of introducing the dance to Europe. The duo created a *lambada* musical group with musicians, singers and dancers from different parts of the world, including Brazilians. The group, called Kaoma, became a worldwide musical phenomenon, especially with the success of their 1989 rendition of the Bolivian song 'Llorando se fué' (She Left in Tears), released under the title 'Lambada.' (The song was originally popularized by the Bolivian group Los Kjarkas, founded in the 1960s by the guitarist and songwriter Gonzalo Hermosa González. Los Kjarkas successfully sued Kaoma for using the song without their permission.) Despite the aim of spreading the *lambada* – music and dance – as practiced in Porto Seguro (Bahia), Kaoma in effect produced a mixture of elements from several Latin American genres, with a global approach. Capitalizing on the great success of 'Lambada,' North American producers included it in *The Forbidden Dance* (1990), a movie also notable for several ideological cliches about Brazil and the Amazon region.

The *lambada* is a partner dance characterized by very sensual choreography, particularly due to many of the spinning steps performed by the couples with their hips pressed closely together. The music combines traditional elements of the *carimbó* with Caribbean music such as salsa, *merengue* and calypso, while also incorporating electric and electronic instruments (electric guitar and bass; keyboards and synthesizers). According to Salles (1969), *carimbó* tempo is *andante*, with simple duple meter. Like Afro-Brazilian music genres, the *lambada* has a responsorial structure. The accompaniment consists of two tubular membranophone drums of different sizes and a varied instrumentation which includes strings, generally fiddles, guitars, *cavaquinhos* (a small string instrument from the European guitar family) and banjos, wind instruments (mainly flutes, clarinets, saxophones) and drums (primarily *pandeiros,* a type of frame drum similar to a tambourine, but which can be tuned to produce high and low notes), maracas, *matracas* (rattles) and *caxixis* (an African type of shaker). *Lambada* lyrics have short and repetitive verses and generally address daily life, love, legends and cultural traditions.

The popularity of the genre declined after the 1990s, but in the early 2000s it is still alive, found mostly in ballroom dance schools throughout Brazil and in music production emanating from the northeastern region. As an international genre, the term *lambada* has gradually been replaced by the term *zouk*, a similar dance from Martinique, and is also frequently referred to by hybrid terms including *lambadazouk*, *lambazouk*, *zouk brasileiro* (Brazilian *zouk*), in addition to variations such as *lambada carioca* (*lambada* from Rio de Janeiro).

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MÔNICA LEME (TRANSLATED BY MAIZA DE LAVENÈRE BASTOS)

Landó

The Peruvian *landó*, nearly forgotten by the mid-twentieth century, was recreated during the Afro-Peruvian music revival of the 1960s and 1970s. Since then, it has been popularly considered the most 'African' of Afro-Peruvian music and dance styles, but its actual relationship to African heritage is the subject of debate. The *landó* has played a significant role in both establishing and reevaluating stylistic features that define Afro-Peruvian music (Feldman 2006, 162–4; León Quirós 2003, 229, 243–4).

Ethnomusicologist Javier León Quirós suggests that stylistic ambiguity, paradoxically, is a defining feature of the *landó* (2003, 229–47). To the extent that it is possible to generalize about the *landó*, it is typically in a minor mode with a triple feel in a moderately slow tempo. *Landós* may be felt in 6/4 or 12/8 (or in between), with shifting beat groupings. The mood is sensual, but lyrics are not usually romantic. Typically the form includes an instrumental introduction, instrumental interludes and two or three contrasting strophic sections, alternation between a vocal soloist and chorus, and some call-and-response singing. While the core instrumentation is guitar and *cajón*, other instruments vary and may include congas, *cencerro*, *bongó*, bell, handclaps, *quijada*, piano, bass guitar, strings and more (León Quirós 2003, 233–4; Tompkins 1981, 299–303). Standardized *cajón* patterns have changed substantively in a relatively short period of time (Feldman 2006, 113; León Quirós 2003, 234–8).

While there is no written documentation of the *landó* before the twentieth century, various dances with similar-sounding names have been suggested as possible progenitors, including *zamba-landó*, *ondú* and even the Brazilian *lundú* (Tompkins 1981, 288–96). Afro-Peruvian revival leader Nicomedes Santa Cruz affirmed that the *landó* was descended from an Angolan couple dance called *lundu* (characterized by a pelvic motion simulating sexual intercourse) that inspired the Brazilian *lundú* and over 50 other couple dances in Portugal, Spain and the Americas. Santa Cruz further stated that the *landó* evolved into the Peruvian *zamacueca*, *marinera* and *tondero* (1970, 18–20), seeking to reverse popular assumptions that these coastal dances were of exclusively European origin. While he offered little evidence, his theory is widely accepted in Peru (see Feldman 2006, 101–6; Tompkins 1981, 293–6).

Two *landó* songs are considered 'traditional' and were staged and recorded in the Afro-Peruvian revival: 'Samba malató' and 'Landó.' In the 1960s a few elderly black Peruvians remembered sung fragments of 'Samba malató.' Working with the Santa Cruzes, guitarist Vicente Vásquez composed an introduction and instrumental interlude based on the melody fragment, and percussion parts were added (V. Santa Cruz 1995; R. Vásquez Rodríguez 1982, 44). Nicomedes Santa Cruz contributed a new verse with pseudo-African lyrics (N. Santa Cruz 1970, 47) and 'Samba malató' became the first recorded *landó* (performed by Nicomedes Santa Cruz's theater group Cumanana in 1964). Since it is not widely known that Santa Cruz invented the new lyrics, their 'African' sound contributes to the *landó*'s 'very African' public identity. A choreography later popularized by Perú Negro for 'Samba malató' depicts black laundresses dancing as they do their chores (see Feldman 2006, 151–5).

In the 1970s the second traditional *landó*, simply titled 'Landó,' was still performed during the *yunza* celebration at Carnival time in El Guayabo. William Tompkins describes the choreography as a free and provocative couple dance performed in a circle of onlookers who shouted encouraging phrases. The rhythm was similar to that of the *resbalosa* (the final section of the *marinera*) (Tompkins 1981, 297–8, 303–4, 547–9). Members of the dance company Perú Negro visited El Guayabo and learned 'Landó,' and they subsequently staged a stylized musical arrangement that became standard. The resulting choreography downplays erotic elements (Tompkins 1981, 305) but celebrates female sensuality with a basic waltz-like pivot step (long–short–short) that causes skirts to swirl gracefully.

During the revival, Victoria Santa Cruz (Nicomedes's sister and a renowned choreographer, composer and director) recreated the *landó*'s choreography for her theater group, Teatro y Danzas Negras del Perú, using what she calls her 'ancestral memory' (Feldman 2006, 65–9, 73–4). It is not known whether Victoria Santa Cruz's choreography is related to dances later popularized by the group Perú Negro in conjunction with the *landó*.

Peruvian composer Chabuca Granda's compositions based on the *landó* were influential in defining the experimental spirit of new *landós* in the 1970s and 1980s, supported by Caitro Soto's *cajón* and the guitar of Félix Casaverde (and earlier Lucho González). Since the late 1980s *landós* have often been composed and arranged as ballads without choreography (see León Quirós 2003, 229–48). Peruvian singer Eva Ayllón has popularized a number of *landós* with ballad-like arrangements, and Peruvian singer Susana Baca has recorded *landós* in experimental ways, including the song 'María Landó' that launched her into the international world music arena (Feldman 2006, 236–8).

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HEIDI CAROLYN FELDMAN

Lapo Kabwit

Lapo kabwit is the homegrown drum and percussion-based street dancing music of Carnival in the Caribbean island of Dominica. The term literally means 'goatskin,' a reference to the goatskins used in the making of these drums, and is used both to describe the form of music and as a shorthand term for describing a band that performs it.

The instruments used in a *lapo kabwit* ensemble are the *tiki* drum, which improvises and solos, the bass drum, which provides a steady bass throb on the beat, and a variety of percussion instruments such as the *syak* (traditional shaker/scraper), conch shells, horns and whistles. Dancers and other revelers strike a long whip called *fwet* at regular intervals. The *fwet*, which makes a cracking, gunshot (whiplash) sound when struck on the ground, adds to the ambience of the performance. The rhythm is very strident, as it is the music of 'jump up,' the street dancing of Carnival.

Closely linked to *lapo kabwit* is the *chanté mas* song (masquerade song), which provides *lapo kabwit* with its vocal element. These are typical responsorial songs featuring call-and-response between a lead singer, called *chante* (if male) or *chantwel* (if female), and the other revelers. *Chanté mas* has a social function, highlighting events or scandals and targeting persons who are deemed to have erred in their ways.

Lapo kabwit music is rooted in drumming traditions derived ultimately from Africa. It is also likely that the phenomenon of European military parades in the colonial era have had some influence. This influence of this tradition has also become apparent in more recent times in the increasing use of drums associated with military marching bands.

Up until the 1970s *lapo kabwit* was the dominant music of Carnival, particularly in rural communities. Since then it has lost this position to electronic bands, steelbands and, more recently, sound systems. Beginning in the 1990s the Carnival Development Committee, the body which oversees the organization of Carnival in the capital city Roseau and nationally, responded to this decline by making a concerted effort to enhance the presence of *lapo kabwit* on the streets. Jouvert, the early morning jump-up on Carnival Monday (Lendi Gwa), was particularly targeted. As an incentive, prizes were awarded to the first *lapo kabwit* band to appear on the streets and electronic bands were discouraged or banned altogether from the streets between 4 a.m. and 6 a.m. In the Roseau street carnival of 2010 several *lapo kabwit* bands were present. Awards were issued to the best band and the band of longest duration on the road.

Further developments have also taken place in the early twenty-first century. *Lapo kabwit* bands are becoming more formally organized and are adopting names. Some examples of this are Sakis, Sugar Fire, Yampiece Lapo Bwit and Newtown Lapo Kabwit. The bands employ many more drums and in particular there is the greater use of snare drums, toms and bass drums. In some cases, bands replace the synthetic skins used in these types of drums with goatskins to maintain that traditional, and some may add, authentic, *lapo kabwit* timbre. *Lapo kabwit* bands are also making more appearances outside of Carnival periods, at occasions such as political rallies, Creole music festivals and major sports events.

Efforts have also been made to reproduce *lapo kabwit* rhythm and timbre using modern electronic instruments, synthesizers and computers. The first major success story in this regard was the release by Exile One of the song 'L'Hivernage,' popularly referred to as 'Tchwe Yo' (Kill Them) after a punch line in the song. This song employed the *lapo kabwit* rhythm and timbre and became the unofficial road march (Carnival song) during the 1986 Carnival. Later, in the 1990s, other bands such as WCK and First Serenade and calypsonians such as The Hunter, released songs based on the *lapo kabwit* rhythm. More recently, an amateur recording was made with the Sakis Lapo Kabwit of Grand Bay. Despite these efforts, this new version of *lapo kabwit* music based on modern electronic instruments failed to take off, largely due to the fact that another genre, *bouyon*, which itself draws on *lapo kabwit*, continues to be the music of choice among the electronic bands and also functions as a street dancing music. Nevertheless, the evolution and development of *lapo kabwit* continues. While it may have lost its dominance at Carnival, there are signs in 2010 that developments are favoring a resurgence of the form.

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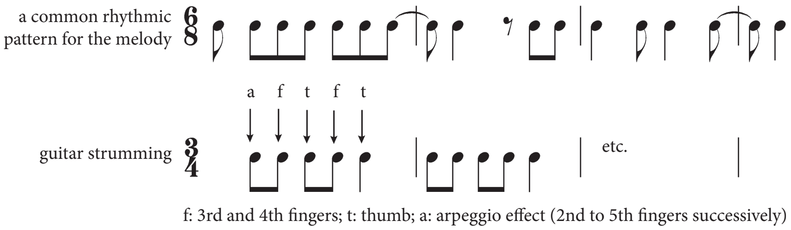
GREGORY RABESS

Latin Pop, *see* Latin Pop (Volume XII, International)

Litoraleña (Canción Litoraleña)

Litoraleña is a type of song within Argentinian folk-derived, media-disseminated urban music, collectively known as *folclore*. The adjective '*litoraleña*,' meaning 'from or associated with the riverfront provinces of northeast Argentina' (the so-called Argentine Mesopotamia, consisting of the provinces of Misiones, Corrientes and Entre Ríos), has designated at different times each and all of the types of music considered to have originated in these regions – *chamamé*, *polca correntina*, *rasguido doble*, *chamarrita*, etc.); the term '*música litoraleña*' still serves that purpose. But '*canción litoraleña*,' '*litoraleña*,' or even just '*canción*' refers usually to a slow song in measures of six eighth-notes, with the melody mostly marking 6/8 and the accompaniment 3/4. The standard syllable-bearing note is an eighth; anticipations of the first beat are characteristic. The guitar accompaniment (often the only instrument employed, although harp and accordion are frequent adjuncts) is a fairly even and gentle strumming in patterns of four eighth notes plus a quarter note (see Example 1). Unlike other species in *folclore*, there are practically no variants for this strumming.

The subject matter of the lyrics usually has a marked regional color, with a great many songs speaking about the two great rivers in the region, Paraná and Uruguay. The language, however, does not particularly favor local vocabulary; it is often in a literary, not popular, register. This may be connected with the modeling of the *litoraleña* upon the *guarania* or *guaraña*, a genre of Paraguayan origin (it was created in 1925 by José Asunción Flores), halfway between the folk and the academic worlds. In point of fact, within Argentine *folclore*, *litoraleñas* and *guarañas* are one and the same thing. The lines are often *de arte mayor* (11–14


a common rhythmic pattern for the melody
6/8
a f t f t
guitar strumming
3/4
etc.
f: 3rd and 4th fingers; t: thumb; a: arpeggio effect (2nd to 5th fingers successively)

Example 1: Rhythmic patterns for melody and accompaniment in *litoraleña* syllables), rather than the standard *folclore* octosyllables and *seguidillas.* On the other hand, it is often linked to the most popular dance of the region, the *chamamé*, with which it shares the accompaniment pattern, albeit in a slower tempo, and for this reason has been called a ballad-*chamamé.*

Lyrics and performance style of the *litoraleña* are set somewhat apart from other *folclore* types and are related to the so-called *romántica* Latin American song. For example, high female voices are employed, such as that of Ramona Galarza. Although folk enthusiasts in search of the 'authentic' have frequently branded the emergence of the *litoraleña* in the 1960s as 'commercial' and 'opportunistic,' many of these songs have become extremely popular, being recorded by many artists and often sung in informal gatherings. 'Canción del jangadero' (Song of the Raftsman) (Dávalos and Falú; recorded for example by Mercedes Sosa in 1959), 'Río manso' (Calm River) and 'Río rebelde' (Rebellious River) (both by Cholo Aguirre and recorded by him in 2007) and 'Canción de cuna costera' (Lullaby of the Coast) (Linares Cardozo; recorded for example by Los Fronterizos in 1970) are some of the more popular *litoraleña*s.

A related nondanced species of *música litoraleña* is the *galopa*, which is a dance of Paraguayan origin, but is incorporated by many *litoraleño* Argentinian performers. Similar in rhythms and lyrics, the *galopa* is more lively and brisk. It is built in two clear sections, often in contrasting modes and styles. A well-known example is 'Trasnochados espineles' (Night-weary Fishing Lines) by Cholo Aguirre.

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LEONARDO WAISMAN

Loncomeo

Loncomeo is a vocal musical genre that emerged in the region of Argentine Patagonia, an area comprising the provinces of Neuquén, Río Negro, Chubut, Santa Cruz and Tierra del Fuego.

In its original manifestation, the term *loncomeo* (or *lonkomeo*) designates a male dance specific to the Mapuche ethnic group who inhabit various provinces of the southern or Patagonia region. It is performed by five dancers around the *rewe* or ceremonial center during the course of the *nguillatún* or *camaruco*, a collective annual supplication during which fertility and well-being are requested from the god Nguenechén. The *purrufe* or dancers wear feather head dresses and execute movements imitating a bird the ostrich and for this reason the dance is called *choikepurrún* (dance of the *choike* or ostrich). They also use a sash made of woven wool placed across the chest, to which metal bells called *kaskawillas* are attached that shake in rhythm with their movements. The accompaniment is made with a *kultrún*, a timbal or kettle-drum whose body is traditionally built by carving a piece of wood in the shape of a flat-based bowl. The opening is covered with sheep or goat skin stretched by means of straps. Its diameter is between 45 and 60 centimeters and it is played by men with two drumming sticks.

In the 1960s the composer Marcelo Berbel took the name of this dance to create a vocal genre which he sought to transform into the representative music of the Argentine Patagonia. In the same period, a similar enterprise was undertaken by the composer Carlos Di Fulvio. These *loncomeos* are not related musically to the Mapuche dance. Written generally in binary meter and a major key, they are sung by one or two voices with guitar accompaniment. Sometimes the percussion of the *kultrún* is added, or another percussion instrument that evokes the sound of the *kaskawillas*. The poetic texts refer to themes typical of the Patagonia region, narrating the customs of the Mapuche and employing Mapuche words that are sometimes also used as titles for the songs. Among the *loncomeos* of Berbel, several with lyrics by Milton Aguilar are 'Quimey Neuquén,' 'Romance de Mamá Rosario,' 'Rogativa de loncomeo,' 'Loncomeo del amor mapuche' and 'Amutuy Soledad.' These became known through the interpretations of his children Hugo and Marité Berbel. 'Dale tero, tero dale' (Go, Tero, Go [tero is the name of a bird of the area]) by Carlos Di Fulvio (2006) also deserves to be mentioned. Another composer of this genre is Roberto Navarro, with titles such as 'El país de las manzanas' (Apple Country 2002), who together with Claudio Chehébar makes up a duo who include in their interpretations instruments like the piano and various wind instruments. Also notable are the *loncomeos* of Pehén Naranjo 'Sopa de luna' (Moon Soup) and 'Viento' (Wind 2005). For his part, the musician Oscar Alem incorporated the *loncomeo* in his work 'Sinfonía de la llanura' (Symphony of the Plain 2002), created in collaboration with the Hamlet Lima Quintana.

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HÉCTOR LUÍS GOYENA (TRANSLATED BY ZUZANA PICK)

Lundu

Lundu (also sometimes spelled '*lundum*,' '*landum*' and '*londu*') was the name used in Brazil from the mid-nineteenth century until about 1920 to designate a genre consisting of urban songs of a comical nature. The term had previously been used between the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries in Portugal and Portuguese America to denote certain dances practiced by blacks and *mestizos*. *Lundu* is also a type of folkloric music and dance currently practiced in Brazil, predominantly on Marajó Island (state of Pará). This entry addresses the first two stated uses of the term, especially the first one, to which the term '*lundu*' can be assumed to refer unless otherwise indicated.

The literature suggests a general acceptance of the term '*lundu*' as being a derivation of the word '*calundu*' (from the Kimbundu '*kilundu*'), known to have been in use in Brazil by the seventeenth century to describe certain religious rituals of Central African origin in which music and dance performed a major role. Over the course of the eighteenth century, the word '*calundu*' lost this specific meaning and came to be applied to any type of ceremony performed by enslaved Africans that included music and dance (Sweet 2006).

Lundu as a Dance

The first written record mentioning a specific dance called '*lundu*' that was not in any way associated with a slave ritual dates from 1780 (Alvarenga 1982). Written and iconographic evidence over subsequent decades indicates that the dance was performed outdoors, in private residences and in theaters. In these sources, descriptions of the *lundu* dance suggest that it featured a mixture of African traits (described by travelers and colonial chroniclers as lewd, indecent movements) and Iberian ones (it is compared to *fandangos*, *boleros* and *seguidillas*).

There are few clues about the music that would have accompanied the *lundu* dance, though some notation is extant from the early nineteenth century. Among the musical examples in the book by Spix and Martius, *Reise in Brasilien*, describing journeys made in Brazil between 1817 and 1820 and published in four volumes between 1823 and 1831, one is entitled 'Landum – Brazilian Dance.' The piece, transcribed only as a solo instrumental melody, is built on four-bar variations alternating between the tonic and the dominant, which musicologist Paulo Castagna viewed as influenced by the works of sixteenth-century Iberian *vihuela* players (2006; this same article also offers a full edited version of the piece).

Another source of interest is the manuscript 'Cifras de música para saltério' (Tablatures for the Dulcimer), transcribed by Antonio Vieira dos Santos in the early nineteenth century, which contains six instrumental *lundus* (a contemporary edition of these appears in Budasz 2002). The *lundu* as an instrumental piece was in practice until the mid-nineteenth century, as evidenced by the piece 'Grande lundu para pianoforte,' included by Mário de Andrade in his 1964 (1930) collection '*Modinhas imperiais*' (Imperial *Modinhas*). The last quarter of the century gave rise to the *polca-lundu*, an embraced couple dance which, based on descriptions from the time, was very different from earlier versions of the dance. Many *polca-lundus* for piano were printed in Rio de Janeiro between 1860 and 1890. They can be distinguished from polkas of European origin by the melody and/or the accompaniment presenting syncopated rhythmic figures characterized by the accentuation of the last semiquaver in the first beat of the 2/4 measure.

Lundu as a Song Genre

The first references to *lundu* as a song appeared in the *Jornal do Modinhas*, published in Lisbon from 1792 to 1796 by Frenchmen Milcent and Marchal (Albuquerque 1996). The songs 'Moda do lundu' and 'Dueto novo por modo de lundu,' written by Portuguese composer José de Mesquita, were published in this journal. However, in these songs the word '*lundu*' does not appear as a genre designation, nor do the music or lyrics reveal any specifics about how the word was used.

Although 'Modinhas do Brasil,' the manuscript of vocal music accompanied by guitar or harpsichord transcribed in Lisbon at the end of the eighteenth century, offers no direct reference to *lundu*, it nonetheless has a role to play in the story of sung *lundu* (Béhague 1968; Lima 2001; Sandroni 2008). This manuscript contains scores for Portuguese-language songs which reveal, for the first time and in a systematic way, characteristics that would be recognized to *lundu* as a song genre in Brazil over the course of the nineteenth century. These characteristics include both musical aspects, such as an abundance of melodic syncopation, and lyrical ones, such as references to Afro-Brazilians.

Little information exists about sung *lundu* in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The year 1826 saw the publication of the second volume of *Viola de Lereno*, containing works by Brazilian poet Domingos Caldas Barbosa, who made his career in Lisbon and died there in 1800. This volume included six poems entitled '*Lundu*.' We know that the *Viola de Lereno* poems were sung, but those for which we have the music do not include the ones in the book that were classified as *lundus* (Moraes 2003).

Sources of information regarding *lundu* increased significantly in Brazil from 1834 with the introduction of printed music. From then until the early twentieth century *lundu* would often feature among the published songs of Brazilian composers. The writers of these *lundus* tended to be the same people that composed *modinhas*, such as Cândido Inácio da Silva, Gabriel Fernandes da Trindade, Rafael Coelho Machado, Januário da Silva Arvellos and others. The *lundu* was considered on the one hand to be a kind of *modinha* (according to this word's commonly accepted meaning – a modern urban song – which was never completely lost), and on the other hand to be the jovial counterpart to the *modinha* (now interpreting the word in its restricted sense – a melancholy song whose lyrics refer to the sufferings related to love). From a musical point of view, the main differences between the two are the tendency for the tempo of the *lundu* to be faster, and above all, the occurrence of syncopation in the melody and accompaniment, which became more apparent approaching the twentieth century. Like the *modinhas* published in the same period, *lundus* published in the nineteenth century were always arranged for a solo singer with piano accompaniment.

In his classic article (1999 [1944]), author and musicologist Mário de Andrade presented a reading of *lundu* that drew a connection between its comical nature, its rhythmic characteristics and its Afro-Brazilian origin. He based his analysis on Cândido Inácio da Silva's *lundu* 'Lá no Largo da Sé' ('There in the Largo da Sé' [cathedral square], 1834). According to Andrade, Brazilian society would have strongly resisted the influence of any artistic practices of Africans and their descendants from early colonial times to the mid-nineteenth century. While Andrade acknowledges that such manifestations existed, were tolerated and sometimes even encouraged, he insisted that they did not mingle with the practices of the whites; both remained in separate watertight compartments. He contends that the *lundu* represented the first time that an Afro-Brazilian practice would have permeated white society: '*lundu* ... is the first Afro-Black musical form that spread to all classes and became nationalized.' The cost of this feat, however, would have been the obliteration of dramatic, controversial references to black enslavement through the systematic use of comedy. In this way, *lundu* typically depicts the seduction of a black woman (preferably a mulatta) by a white master, though always in a humorous tone, which elides the violence of the situation. Throughout the nineteenth century many *lundus* touched on a variety of issues that were unrelated to Afro-Brazilians, but they retained the humorous treatment of the subject as well the syncopated rhythms that Andrade – and, indeed, most of the literature – attributed to the African influence in Brazil.

The first song recorded on disc in Brazil was the *lundu* 'Isto é bom' (That's So Good) composed by Xisto Bahia and performed by the singer Manuel Pedro dos Santos, known as Baiano (1902). Over the following 15 years the *lundu* was one of the most highly recorded song genres in the country. The *lundus* recorded in the first two decades of the twentieth century are extremely varied, but the general rule is that they are strophic songs sung solo and accompanied on the guitar using a syncopated rhythmic pattern in 2/4. Continuing the practice established in the previous century, the lyrics were humorous, and popular themes included praises to the charms of the mulatta, references to typical foods of the people, often incorporating sexual innuendo ('A muqueca,' recorded by Baiano between 1907 and 1913, and 'O caruru' [both titles refer to food], recorded by Mário Pinheiro between 1904 and 1907), and the daily life of blacks during slavery and after abolition in 1888 ('Lundu gostoso' [Delicious Lundu] and 'Pai João' [Uncle John], recorded by the black composer and performer Eduardo das Neves between 1907 and 1912; and 'Preto forro alegre' ['Cheerful Freed Slave'], also recorded by Eduardo das Neves, between 1912 and 1913). An important characteristic of the *lundus* recorded at the beginning of the twentieth century was the frequent use of spoken interpolations, indicative of their various performance contexts: theaters, circuses, cafes. The main performers of *lundus* – Baiano, Eduardo das Neves and Mário Pinheiro – were the most established professional singers of the time. They also sang *modinhas*, *cançonetas* (light urban songs), *romances* and other genres in vogue at the time.

From 1920, with the progressive rise of *samba* as the main genre of Brazilian popular song, *lundu* gradually dropped out of use.

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CARLOS SANDRONI (TRANSLATED BY DARA MURPHY)

Mambo

Mambo is a dance music genre that originated in Havana, Cuba, during the 1940s and developed simultaneously but largely independently in Havana and in the US cities of New York and Los Angeles (both places with large Latin-American populations), attaining international success in the 1950s. It is characterized by a mixture of elements from Cuban music genres such as *son*, *danzón*, *rumba*, *guaracha* and *guajira*, with orchestra tions and harmonies from jazz, especially swing. A key figure in the development of *mambo* was Cuban musician Dámaso Pérez Prado, who succeeded in elevating his own *mambo* style to that of 'real' *mambo*. Others involved included Julio Cueva, Orestes 'Macho' López, Israel 'Cachao' López, René Hernández, Bebo Valdés, Andres Echeverria (Niño Rivera) and Arsenio Rodríguez. By the time Pérez Prado's *mambo* rose to fame in the 1940s, New York and Los Angeles had already developed local *mambo* scenes featuring particular *mambo* styles. In New York, Cuban musicians Frank Grillo 'Machito,' Mario Bauzá, Anselmo Sacasas, José Curbelo, Pupi Campo and Puerto Ricans Tito Puente, Tito Rodríguez and Noro Morales were particularly prominent.

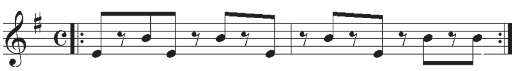
Origin and Use of the Term 'Mambo'

According to Pérez Prado, the word 'mambo' was not originally connected to music. It was used in Cuba to evaluate the social and economic situation: 'if the mambo was tough it meant that things were going bad' (Hernández 1986, 17). Other nonmusical meanings included 'something unique, relevant, unprecedented' (Santiesteban 1985, 303–4), and 'a priestess who officiates at the voodoo ceremony in Haiti' (Urfé [1948] 1993, 31). What is clear, however, is that the word was used in the context of Afro-Cuban music and that it was in common use by dance music orchestras by the 1930s.

In the environment of Afro-Cuban ritual music *mambo* designated certain practices of people who were descendants of the Bantu or Congo ethnic groups. *Palo mambo* was the name of an ancient style (Urfé [1948] 1993, 31). *Mambo* also denoted the '*puya* chants sung by the people in the festive-religious celebrations of palo monte' (Casanova 2000, 79). Fernando Ortiz notes that *mambo* was a liturgical chant of Congo priests or wizards known as *tata-nganga* or *nganguleros* (Ortiz [1950] 1998, 144). *Son* musician Arsenio Rodríguez has said that the expression 'mambo' was used in the music of the 'yucca drum,' when 'a singer says to another one: "abre cuto güirí mambo" which means: "open your ear and listen to what I'm going to tell you"' (Giró 1998, 211). In this sense, Ortiz says, the word *mambo* derives from the root *mambu*, the plural form of *diambu,* which refers to 'the spoken treatment through chants to invisible entities' (Ortiz [1950] 1998, 144–5).

In the world of dance music, *mambo* commonly refers to the 'measure of four or eight beats repeated in the chorus of brass instruments' (Joseito González, former director of the group Rumbavana, in Giró 1998, 211). According to Ortiz, it is a 'certain common musical device which results from the crossing of the rhythms of several instruments, it could be '"a conversation of rhythms" called a "palabre"' (Ortiz [1950] 1998, 151). ('Palabre' is an Afro-Cuban deformation meaning word.) The phrases 'o mambo' or 'a thousand times mambo' were used to designate a rhythmic-harmonic formula, which functioned as a base on top of which other instruments improvised (Casanova 2000, 79). In some big band scores, the note 'mambo' indicated the beginning of the section where that rhythmic-harmonic formula was repeated (Alén 2000, 670; Acosta 1983, 48).

Mambo was also the name of the last section of the *danzón de ritmo nuevo* (literally, 'new rhythm *danzón*'), created by the Orquesta Arcaño y sus Maravillas in the late 1930s. It was characterized by a syncopated rhythm or *guajeo* executed by the string instruments and taken from the motives performed in the early parts of *son* pieces by *tres* guitar players from the Eastern region of Cuba (Urfé 1979, 57). The *guajeo* was used as a base for the improvisations of flute, piano and percussion. One of the first *danzón* pieces that used this 'new rhythm' was one entitled 'Mambo' composed by Orestes López (ca. 1937 to 1939) (Example 1).



Example 1: *Guajeo* of the strings in the last part of the *danzón* piece entitled 'Mambo' by Orestes López

Mambo was also used to denote an aesthetic category expressing 'efficiency, demand, approval' among individuals who perform *rumba columbia*

(Urfé [1948] 1993, 31; Ortiz [1950] 1998, 151). In this context it seems to refer to the moment of climax in *rumba* performance.

History

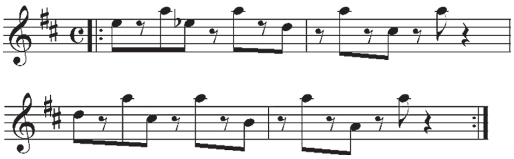
Reconstructing a precise linear history of the origins and evolution of *mambo* is problematic, as similar musical developments were taking place at the same time in Cuba and the United States. However, close examination of a number of significant individual events in both countries shows the intricacy of *mambo*'s history.

Havana

One of the most widely accepted hypotheses holds that a significant historical moment occurred at the moment when jazz bands and *conjuntos* (groups) in Havana adopted the *guajeo* of the last section (also known as 'mambo') of the *danzón de ritmo nuevo* of the Orquesta de Arcaño y sus Maravillas, described above. In the mid-1940s, orchestras with a jazz band format started to replace the old *charangas* (string orchestras with piano and percussion), because the former performed a wider variety of genres, such as *bolero*, *guarachas*, *danzón*, *rumba*, romantic songs and so on. The *guarachas* performed by these orchestras were in two parts: a first part consisted of a stanza, while the second part (*montuno*) included syncopated *guajeos* played by the saxophone section.

According to Enrique Jorrín, who is often credited with the creation of the *chachachá*, these *guajeos* could have been taken directly from *son tres* guitar players (Roy 2003, 101). However, in addition to the syncopated nature of the *guajeo* motive, the *danzón de ritmo nuevo* introduced a specific use of the rhythm in the climatic final section, in which the ecstatic dancers performed new and unusual steps, following the syncopated rhythm and the improvisations on the piano, the flute, the congas and the bell. (For further information, see the discussion between Odilio Urfé and Cuellar Vizcaino in the late 1940s [Cuellar Vizcaino (1948) 1993 and Urfé (1948) 1993]). Jazz bands executed the *guajeo* with the same objective: to give their *guarachas* an ecstatic element for dancers by lengthening the second section, inserting responsorial parts (soloist and chorus) with solos by piano, trumpets and/or percussion in an overall crescendo. *Son* musician Arsenio Rodríguez proclaimed himself the first composer to introduce a *guajeo*, which he called 'diablo,' into *son conjuntos* (groups). According to Rodríguez, his piece '¡So caballo!' was the 'first diablo or mambo ever recorded' (Giro 1998, 211). The first recording of this piece dates back to 14 September 1943 (Díaz Ayala 2002); however, in later recordings a style of *guajeo* and *tumbao* can be heard that is somewhat different from that of *mambo*, although the function is very similar to that of *mambo*'s *guajeo*.

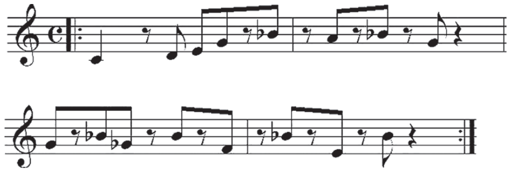
One of the first recordings of a mambo-style *guaracha* executed by a jazz band is 'Figurína del solar' composed by Chapotin and Pérez Canova, and recorded on 24 February 1944 by the Orquesta de Julio Cueva (Díaz Ayala 2002: card 630). The leading vocals were sung by Orlando Guerra 'Cascarita' and the piano was played by Rene Hernández, who was the orchestra's arranger at the time (Díaz Ayala 2002). After the first two stanzas of the introduction, a *montuno* with an obvious mambo-style *guajeo* begins, and it is a variant of the *guajeo* of *danzón* 'Mambo' with a chromatic melody (Example 2).



Example 2: *Guajeo* of 'Figurina del Solar'

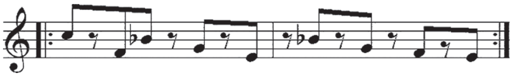
It is known that the composer, pianist and arranger Dámaso Pérez Prado (1917?–1980), who was to become the prominent figure in *mambo* in the 1950s, was the favorite musical arranger of Orlando Guerra, so it is highly possible that he made the arrangements. However, the style of the piano solo is very different from Pérez Prado's, whose playing was marked among other things by rhythmic exuberance, the introduction of strained silences, violent melodic gestures and many dissonances, suggesting that Hernández is the performer.

Shortly afterward, Guerra joined the orchestra Casino de la Playa, to which Pérez Prado also later moved. On 27 November 1945 in Havana they recorded with this orchestra the *guaracha* piece 'Coge pa' la cola' (Díaz Ayala 2002: card 436A). The second section reaches the climax by the repetition of a chromatic *guajeo* (Example 3).



Example 3: *Guajeo* of 'Coge pa' la cola'

The piece is also notable for the fact that the first section contains an anticipated *guajeo*, which creates the impression that the *montuno* is impatient to appear because it wants to hasten the climax (Example 4).



Example 4: Anticipated *guajeo* of 'Coge pa' la cola'

The piano solo in the second part is full of clusters, tense silences, virtuoso gestures and notes in the top register that are played as if the instrument was a drum and not a piano, all features of Pérez Prado's style. In the climax the singer weighs up the ecstasy that has been achieved and exclaims: 'look how good is the mambo.' There we have the essence of *mambo* executed as a section of *guarachas* by jazz bands.

Later in 1945 Bebo Valdés replaced Rene Hernández as the pianist with the Orquesta de Julio Cueva (remaining there until 1947) (Díaz Ayala 2002: card 2609). Hernández took his arrangements and piano style to New York, where he replaced Joe Loco as pianist for Machito's Afrocubans (Salazar 2002), and introduced *mambo* to the Machito orchestra (Acosta 1993, 31).

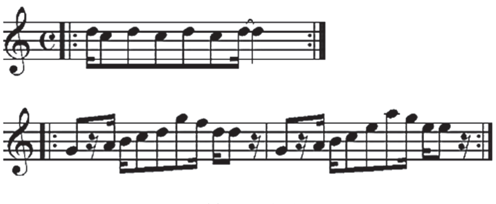
New York

During the first decades of the twentieth century, New York had received large waves of Latin American immigrants, especially from Puerto Rico, whose citizens had held US citizenship since 1917. The Latin immigrants, who gradually displaced other ethnic groups from the neighborhood of East Harlem until it became known as Spanish Harlem, were especially receptive to the music of Caribbean orchestras. Toward 1937 Frank Grillo, 'Machito,' met in New York with Mario Bauzá, with whom he created in 1940 the orchestra Machito and his Afrocubans, a band that was to be essential to the development of New York *mambo* and the creation of Afro-Cuban jazz (or Latin jazz). In 1939 Jose Curbelo arrived in New York and met Tito Puente, to whom he was to become both musical and entrepreneurial mentor. The following year, Miguelito Valdés and Anselmo Sacasas left the Orquesta Casino de la Playa in Cuba to move to New York. The former joined the orchestra of Xavier Cugat as a singer, while Sacasas waited for a short time before creating his own orchestra. (Arsenio Rodríguez, in the search for a cure for his blindness, would arrive in the late 1940s.)

The musicians and the leaders of Cuban bands who settled in New York did not break their ties with Cuba. Miguelito Valdés visited Havana frequently for personal and professional reasons, and Sacasas looked for singers there also (Pujol 1996, 2000). While there, they doubtless updated themselves on the latest musical developments. When the use of *mambo*-style sections proved a success in Cuba, they took the practice to New York (in some recordings made by Sacasas such as 'El tumbaito' (1946), *guajeos* and *tumbaos* of *danzon de ritmo nuevo* can be heard).

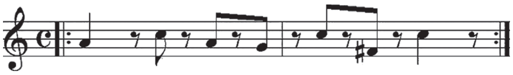
By 1946 – a crucial time in the crystallization of *mambo* as an independent genre – the practice of performing *mambo*-style *guajeos* had become widespread in Havana, and among the most outstanding arrangements were those of Pérez Prado. According to an interview published in the August 1946 issue of *Radio Magazine,* Pérez Prado had spent three months earlier in the year in New York making arrangements for Miguelito Valdés, Deni Arnaz and Xavier Cugat, and seeking to emulate the Cuban musicians who had settled in the United States since the late 1930s. The rules of the American Federation of Musicians, however, insisted that he remain in the country for six months before he could work, so he abandoned the attempt to settle in New York and returned to Cuba. In the same interview, Pérez Prado mentioned that he was preparing a new 'musical style' named *son mambo*. The first example was to be the song 'Pavolla,' which Pérez Prado expected to be recorded shortly (Betancourt 1986, 111–12). It is not known, however, whether that recording was ever made.

On 8 March 1946 in New York, while Pérez Prado was in the city, the orchestra of Anselmo Sacasas recorded 'Mambo,' a song classified on the record label as a *guaracha* and composed by Sacasas himself and C. Valencia (Díaz Ayala 2002). This was the first piece since the *danzón* composed by Orestes López in the late 1930s to be titled 'mambo.' The song speaks of Havana's fashionable new rhythm: the *mambo*. The *guajeos* in *mambo*-style are performed by the trumpets, occasionally overlapping with *guajeos* executed by the saxophones (Example 5).



Example 5: *Guajeos* of 'Mambo'

Occasionally, *guajeos* in the saxophones are combined with equally fast tremolo notes played by trumpets in the top register (an effect known as 'chiva' or 'shake'), very similar to the trumpet notes that were to characterize Pérez Prado's *mambos* in the 1950s. In October 1946, José Curbelo y su Orquesta played 'Botamos la pelota' (Let's Bounce the Ball), at New York's China Doll, a piece whose sections, *guajeos* and *tumbaos,* already sound like a distinctive New York *mambo* style (Example 6).



Example 6: Main *guajeo* of 'Botamos la pelota'

On 29 November, also in New York, Curbelo recorded the *guaracha* 'El Rey del Mambo' (The King of Mambo). In this piece, although the *guajeos* were considerably thinned down and were loosely related to the *guajeos* in *mambo*-style executed in Havana, there were many of the elements of New York *mambo*, such as faster tempo, harmonic modulations between some sections, and harmonic allusions to Tin Pan Alley and Broadway songs. In both pieces the leading vocals were sung by Tito Rodríguez and the *timbal* was played by Tito Puente. It is not known if there was any contact between Pérez Prado, Sacasas and Curbelo, and whether any mutual influences existed.

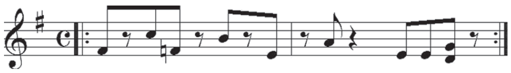
Cuban bandleaders filled their bands with Latin musicians (Cubans, Puerto Ricans and others), and occasionally recruited American musicians. From the outset, the *mambo* style was assimilated by non-Cuban musicians. Tito Puente (born in New York of Puerto Rican parents) played for Machito, Sacasas and Curbelo and with them shaped the New York style of *mambo*. Something similar happened with Tito Rodríguez, Noro Morales, Joe Loco and other Puerto Rican-born musicians.

Mambo also boosted the local New York music industry. It dominated Latin dance clubs such as China Doll, Madrid-Habana, La *Conga* and the legendary Palladium Ballroom, which was open from 1947 to 1966 and whose fame brought together Latino, black and white customers from different social classes, doing more for racial integration than 'any sociological theory' (Loza 2000, 10). Federico Pagani was one of the music's main promoters. Various artists recorded with the companies Coda and SMC (Spanish Music Company) owned by Gabriel Oller, while Machito recorded for the company Verne Records. With the success of *mambo* at its height, artists such as Tito Puente signed with international companies such as RCA Victor. Later, they were to be put aside in favor of Pérez Prado.

A *mambo* scene also developed in Los Angeles before the worldwide success of Pérez Prado. One of those who introduced it was Puerto Rican Ramón 'Moncho' Usera, an arranger for the Noble Sissle orchestra in New York. Usera distributed *mambo* arrangements among local orchestras during the second half of the 1940s (Delannoy 2001, 199–201).

Further Developments

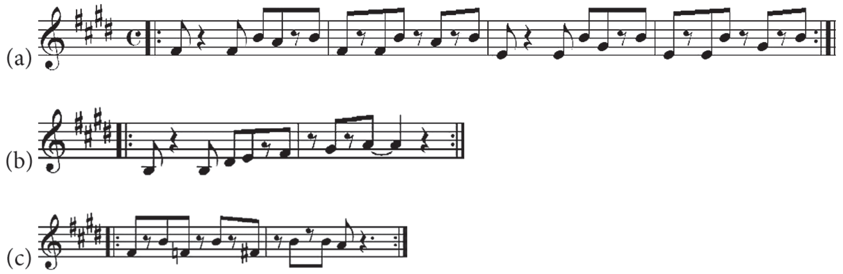
Meanwhile, in Havana on 29 October 1946, Bebo Valdés, with the orchestra of Julio Cueva and the voice of Cascarita, recorded his composition 'La rareza del siglo' (The Oddity of the Century), classified on the record label as a '*montuno beguine*,' in which he developed complex and dissonant *guajeos* (Example 7).



Example 7: Main *guajeo* of 'Rareza del Siglo'

On 20 November, also in Havana, Pérez Prado recorded the *guaracha* in mambo-style 'Son los bobitos' (They Are the Fools), and an instrumental piece for piano based on the style of orchestra *rumba* called 'Rumbambó' and 'Trompetiana.' The latter, since lost, is the first instrumental piece to be called a *mambo* (Díaz Ayala 2002: card 2033). With these recordings, Pérez Prado began a new process of experimentation that would be reflected in pieces such as 'Timba, timba,' 'Agony,' 'Rica' and 'Kuba-Mambo,' each of them complex and innovative.

Around October 1949 Pérez Prado moved to Mexico (Hernández 1986, 18). Before leaving Cuba, he reportedly recorded a demo with the *mambo* pieces 'Mambo caen' and 'So caballo,' but neither the registers nor the recordings of these pieces have been found. In Mexico, he assembled a new orchestra, modified the instrumental lineup and signed a contract with RCA Victor. In May 1949 he recorded the *mambo* pieces 'José' and 'Macome,' made the musical arrangements for the powerful Mexican movie industry of the time and even acted in some movies. Finally, when the record company adviced him to 'do more commercial stuff in the same style' (Pérez Prado in Hernández 1986, 18), he recorded 'Mambo No. 5' which would open the door to international success and set the prototype of *mambo* as a genre (Examples 8a, 8b and 8c).



Examples 8a, 8b and 8c: Main *guajeos* of 'Mambo 5'

This recording would be followed by many more, including some with Benny Moré. One particular hit, 'Cerezo rosa' (Cherry Pink), earned Pérez Prado a gold certificate from RCA Victor and remained in the *Billboard* charts for 26 weeks. The *mambo* 'Patricia' went on to sell more than 5 million copies and was used by director Federico Fellini in his film *La dolce vita*.

While the Mexican film industry was spreading *mambo* to the rest of Latin America, Pérez Prado was doing the same for the United States, alternating his residence between Mexico and the United States, where covers of his musical creations multiplied. The success of Sonny Burke's 'Mambo Jambo,' a cover of 'Qué rico el mambo' (Mambo is Great), was such that RCA moved Pérez Prado from their international division to the pop section (Pérez Firmat 2000, 101). At the same time, in Cuba, *mambo*-style dance was performed by bands such as the Conjunto Casino, Niágara, Sonora Matancera, the orchestras Hermanos Castro, Aragon, Benny Moré's Giant Band and Riverside, while the bands of Bebo Valdes, Pedro Jústiz 'Peruchín' Armando Romeu and Cachao played an instrumental *mambo* that was closer to jazz. In Mexico, along with Pérez Prado, other figures also rose to prominence, among them Mexican bandleader Luis Alcaraz and Cuban arrangers Arturo Nuñez and Juan Bruno Terraza. The latter wrote and arranged *mambos* in both Havana and New York styles.

Stylistic Characteristics

More than one attempt has been made to identify categories of *mambo*. Pérez Prado himself distinguished two types: *Mambo Kaen* which was slow and with elements of *son*, *danzón* and *guajira*, and *Mambo Batíri* which was faster and closer to *rumba*. Pérez Firmat (1994) proposed the following types of *mambos*: (1) pure *mambos*, (2) the inclusion of *mambo* sections in genres other than *mambo*, (3) *mambo* covers of songs, primarily *guarachas* and (4) *meta-mambo*: songs which celebrate *mambo* as a genre but are not in a *mambo* style.

In terms of structure, *mambo*-style *guarachas* from the 1940s (as previously described) have two clearly distinguished sections, the stanzas and the *montuno*. The latter is more animated and explosive than the first and features a repetitive chorus used responsorially. The syncopated rhythms called *guajeos* which appear in this part, generally played by the saxophones, are used by the piano, percussion and trumpets as the base for their improvisations, alternating between the choruses.

The *mambo* pieces composed by Pérez Prado from 1949 are different. They do not have the two well-distinguished sections and they move immediately to the syncopated *guajeos*. The climax is achieved by accumulation and repetition of notes in the high registers. The riff-like *guajeos* are repeated *staccatissimo,* rather than in a *cantabile* style, by the saxophones (occasionally trumpets). The trumpets search for the highest pitches, developing virtuoso effects – trills, tremolos (*chiva* or shake), flutter tonguing or *frulatti* (vertiginous rising gestures) and *glissandi*. The *chambola* or gradual accumulation of different brass instruments is common. The trombones (sometimes bass saxophones) develop pedals (low-pitched sounds sustained for a long period) and sudden, hard pitch attacks. The bass imitates the lines of the orchestral *rumba*. The harmony is generally simple with a succession of tonic and dominant chords. The frequent silences create a special tension.

According to Leonardo Acosta, Pérez Prado's orchestra uses only one trombone to make the changes of tempo and section and to make pedals, rhythmic accentuations and effects in the style of Duke Ellington's 'jungle jazz' of the 1920s and 1930s. Pérez Prado reduces the saxophone section to two altos, one tenor (instead of two) and a baritone, and uses them almost always in unison in the low register as a rhythmic-melodic base for the main melodies, which he gives to the trumpets. These are increased to five in number and are constantly used in unison in passages playing high and very high notes. Trumpets and saxophones join in polyrhythmic counterpoint together with percussion, bass (frequently in a 4-beat measure) and the piano. In the rhythm section, Pérez Prado introduced two congas instead of one, bongo, and *timbal* with cymbals, introducing more rhythmic versatility (Acosta 1983, 48–9; Acosta 2000, 166–9; Roy 2003, 100). Acosta concludes that, while jazz after the 1930s had tended to mix the sound of the different instruments more – something which is obvious in the music of Stan Kenton, Pete Rugolo and Hill Russo – Pérez Prado does the opposite, establishing different contrasting levels with two basic registers, one high from the trumpets and the other low from the saxophones, both in a constant counterpoint. The *mambo* sections also have a more melodic-rhythmic function than they have in jazz (Acosta 2000, 167–8).

Lyrics

Mambo is primarily an instrumental genre. Sung *mambos* are either *sons* or *guarachas* in a *mambo* style. As Pérez Firmat remarks, *mambo* lyrics show that the genre is 'laconic rather than lyrical, and repetitive rather than narrative' (2000, 96).

Style of Dance

The development of an original style of dance with its own series of steps and choreographies helped *mambo* to take shape as an independent genre. Roderico 'Rodney' Neyra, choreographer of the famous Cuban cabaret Tropicana, was in charge of the creation and spread of *mambo* dance through the participation of his dance group Las Mulatas de Fuego in Latin American films and New York shows in the early 1950s. *Mambo* is a couple dance in which couples alternate performing steps together and alone. Some of the first important steps were *mambeo*, *motoneta*, *tembleque*, *paseo*, *puntilla*, *palmada* and *jelengue* (Barral 1950). The frenetic *mambo* scandalized conservative Latin American societies. In Peru and Colombia the Church threatened to excommunicate those who practiced it. *Mambo* and rock 'n' roll were rival dances in ballrooms and parties toward the end of the 1950s and into the 1960s, drawing a clear line between two generations.

New York *Mambo* Style

New York *mambo* has a faster tempo and is harmonically more complex, with altered chords, harmonic progressions in the style of the songs of Tin Pan Alley, Broadway shows or Hollywood musical movies of 1930s and 1940s, with modulations between sections. *Guajeos* have the more pronounced swing of jazz. Elements of Pérez Prado's style, such as the *guajeos*, *chambolas* and the shake or *chiva*, are incorporated. Particularly characteristic are the *montunos* in the style of the famous piece 'Tanga' by Mario Bauzá, in which a *tumbao* (*ostinato*) on the bass and another one on the piano remain on the same chord on which the brass instruments improvise or execute riffs. Contemporary documentaries show young people dancing *mambo* in the style of swing and even singers such as Tito Rodríguez making steps similar to more recent break-dance.

Mambology

The study of *mambo* raises some very controversial topics. First, there is the debate about its creation. This began in the 1950s when Arsenio Rodríguez proclaimed himself as the real author of the 'diablito,' also called the 'syncopated guajeo,' featured in *mambo*. In the 1970s, Odilio Urfé (1979) and Maria Teresa Linares (1974) vindicated the role of the *danzón* 'Mambo' by Orestes López in the creation of the genre. In an interview in the 1980s, Pérez Prado called himself the sole creator of *mambo* and Bebo Valdes has since fueled the controversy by claiming that many Cuban musicians were already playing in a *mambo* style in the 1940s (Salazar 2005).

None of these authors denies either the originality or the value of Pérez Prado's music. What seems to irritate them is Pérez Prado's choice of a word full of meaning for them as the name for his music. Acosta has noted that the point of the debates is that it has mixed different concepts denoted by the same word (2004, 90). In fact, as has been noted and we have seen, the term 'mambo' can refer to very different things. However, the definition of *mambo* as a music genre is very complex. As Pérez Firmat has observed, 'when looking over literature about mambo [from the 1950s], it is clear to see that nobody knew exactly what it was or how it should be danced' (2000, 104).

This debate is also the result of the methodology used by Cuban scholars, who have worked with the models of a positivist approach to political history, seeking to establish linear and one-way stories marked by milestones with exact dates and 'great men' who change the course of history and whose facts are explained in terms of simple causality or by looking for intentionality.

Cuban scholars have devoted themselves arduously to proving and documenting the Cuban origin of *mambo*. Despite the fact that they have written about some of the Cuban musicians who worked in the United States (specially Machito and Bauzá), the study of New York *mambo* style has been neglected, as has the work of other important Cuban musicians such as Curbelo, Sacasas and Campo and their relationship with the style of Pérez Prado. US scholars, on the other hand, do not deny the Cuban origin of *mambo* but consider Pérez Prado's version to be a commercial and degraded one when compared to New York *mambo*, which they regard as more 'genuine' and 'artistically accomplished' (Roberts 1999, 127–8; Loza 2000, 51–2). Meanwhile, specialists within Cuba have tended to limit their view of music that is genuinely Cuban to that which developed inside the country, despite the fact that Tito Puente, at the request of Mario Bauzá, was officially recognized by the government of Fulgencio Batista in 1957 as one of the greatest performers of Cuban music in the last 50 years (Loza 2000, 18). As can be seen, mambology is not free of political dispute.

Behind all these arguments, we find more complex problems involving Cuban identity itself. Despite the fact that *mambo* was created before the Revolution of 1959, many debates about it have been enlivened by what Rafael Rojas (2006, 14) has called 'the dispute over national legacy, and over the symbolic heritage of Cuba,' between the Cubans who live on the island and the Cubans who live abroad, especially in the United States. According to Pérez Firmat, *mambo* is a 'model of hybrid ingenuity and intercultural freshness,' clearly Cuban-American in that it shares the identity signs of a generation of Cubans who were born in Cuba but grew up in the United States. Pérez Prado belongs to 'the Cuban tradition of movement, of "eviction".' He is 'another of those Cubans for whom the lack of their "own space" becomes a condition for their creativeness' (Pérez Firmat 2000, 87, 100, 113).

A number of excesses have marked this struggle. One of them is Cuban-American actor-director Andy Garcia's documentary *Cachao, como su ritmo no hay dos* (Cachao, His Rhythm Is Like No Other) (1993), where it is stated that Cachao is the creator of *mambo*. Cuban musicologists constantly deny this kind of information and put a huge effort into vindicating the Cuban origin of music commercially spread from the United States such as salsa. However, considering the intense Cuban diaspora of the recent years and its varied ways of cultural production, it is necessary to understand different styles of *mambo* developed both inside and outside Cuba and based on the musical fashions of Havana as one of the many forms of Cuban identity created simultaneously inside and outside the natural borders of the island (Rodríguez Rivera 2005, 56).

Note: all translations from Spanish sources are by the author.

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Puente, Tito. *El Rey Del Timbal: 1949–1951*. Tumbao TCD-011. *2004*: Spain.
Pupi Campo. *Rhumbas And Mambos: 1948–1951*. Tumbao TCD-007. *1993*: Spain.
Rodríguez, Tito. *Mambo Gee Gee: 1950–1951*. Tumbao TCD-021. *1995*: Spain.
Rodríguez, Tito, y Los Lobos Del Mambo. *Mambo Mona: 1949–1950*. Tumbao TCD-014. *1995*: Spain.
Valdés, Bebo, and his Havana All Stars. *Descarga caliente*. Caney CCD512. *1995*: Spain.
Valdés, Bebo, y su Orquesta Sabor de Cuba. *Mayajigua*. Caney CCD509. *1995*: Spain.
Valdes, Miguelito, and Morales, Noro. *Mr. Babalu: 1949–1950*. Tumbao TCD-025. *199–?*: Spain.

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Fictional and Musical Films

[Note: The dissemination and popularization of *mambo* via fictional and musical films was an important element in its history. Dramatic films produced in Mexico during the 1950s contained presentations of musicians and songs that would become reference points in Latin America and beyond. This list includes some of the most important of the films involved in spreading *mambo*.]

A La Habana me voy, dir. Luis Bayón Herrera. 1951. Cuba-Argentina. 104 mins. Musical film.
Al son del mambo, dir. Chano Urueta. 1950. Mexico. Musical film.
Amor perdido, dir. Miguel Morayta. 1951. Mexico. 101 mins. Musical film.
Baile mi rey, dir. Roberto Rodríguez. 1951. Mexico. Musical film.
Cha-Cha-Cha-Boom, dir. Fred F. Sears. 1956. USA. Musical Film.
Coqueta, dir. Fernando A. Rivero. 1949. Mexico. 87 mins. Musical film.
Del can-can al mambo, dir. Chano Urueta. 1951. Mexico. 107 mins. Musical film.
La dolce vita, dir. Federico Fellini. 1961. Italy-France. 174 mins. Drama.
La marca del zorrillo, dir. Gilberto Martínez Solares. 1950. Mexico. 105 mins. Musical film.
Locura musical, dir. Rafael Portillo. 1958. Mexico. 69 mins. Musical film.
The Mambo Kings, dir. 1992. Arne Glimcher. 1992. USA. 104 mins. Musical film.
Perdida, dir. Fernando A. Rivero. 1950. Mexico. 91 mins. Musical film.
Perez Prado and His Orchestra, Will Cowan. 1952. USA. 15 mins. Musical short.
¡Qué rico el mambo!, dir. Mario C. Lugones. 1952. Argentina. Musical film.
Rhythm of the Mambo, dir. Will Cowan. 1949. USA. 15 mins. Musical short.
Thrills of Music: Miguelito Valdes and Orchestra. 1949. USA. 10 mins. Musical Short.
Tivoli, dir. Alberto Isaac. 1975. Mexico. 127 mins. Musical film.
Una gallega baila mambo, dir. Emilio Gómez Muriel. 1952. Mexico. Musical film.
Una gallega en La Habana, dir. René Cardona. 1955. Mexico-Cuba. 108 mins. Musical film.

Documentaries

Benny Moré. Hoy como ayer, dir. Ileana Rodriguez. 2003. Cuba.
Cachao, como su ritmo no hay dos, dir. Andy García. 1993. USA. 109 mins.
Conozca Cuba, Mambo, dir. Jesús Dámaso González. 2007. Cuba. 24 mins.
From Mambo to Hip-Hop: A South Bronx Tale, dir. Henry Chalfant. 2006. USA. 55 mins.
Machito: A Latin Jazz Legacy, dir. Carlos Ortiz. 1987. USA. 58 mins.
Mambo, dir. Yves Billon and Juan Condé. 2003. France. 52 mins.
Mambo: Homenaje a Damaso Pérez Prado, dir. Rafael Baldwin. 1989. Mexico.
Nosotros, la música, dir. Rogelio Paris. 1964. Cuba. 66 mins.
The Palladium: Where Mambo Was King. A Latin Music Odyssey, dir. Kevin Kaufman. 2002. USA. 120 mins. TV Documentary.
Pérez Prado las número uno. 2005. USA. DVD compilation of archival footage from television and other sources.
Yo soy, del Son a la Salsa, dir. Rigoberto López. 1996. Cuba-USA. 100 mins.

RUBÉN LÓPEZ-CANO

Mangue

The term *mangue* generally is used to refer to a musical scene that emerged in Recife, Pernambuco (located in northeastern Brazil), in the early 1990s and became popular for fusing local folk music and culture with global musical styles. *Mangue* was not just a musical scene, but also a distinct cultural manifestation. Originally called *mangue bit*, whereby '*mangue*' referred to the vast mangrove swamps of Recife, and '*bit*' or '*beat*' highlighted the influence of technology and electronic music, it later became known as the '*mangue* movement.' The movement's architects were members of a small group of musicians and journalists who were responding to Recife's debilitated socioeconomic situation as well as to the city's lack of cultural venues and creative opportunities.

The state of Pernambuco has long remained at the margins of the nation's socioeconomic development and identity, suffering from droughts, widespread poverty and violence. Once the economic center of Brazil, the North-east's economy began to decline in the 1830s due to falling sugar prices. This weakened position allowed southern cities, such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, to gain economic dominance and thus position themselves in the nation's consciousness as the more 'civilized' region. By the 1990s, Recife had the highest unemployment rate in the country and an institute of population studies in Washington DC considered it to be the fourth worst city to inhabit in the world, with over half of its residents living in slums and flooded swamp areas (cited in Galinsky 1998). Despite the region's economic problems, Pernambuco is known for its rich and varied folk music culture, which blends African, indigenous and Iberian influences. The *mangue* movement aimed at rejuvenating Pernambuco's diverse regional culture, while inspiring Pernambucans to become aware of contemporary international musical styles.

Predecessors of *Mangue*

The late 1960s *Tropicália* movement, headed by Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil, was an important precursor to the *mangue* movement. *Tropicália* emerged at a time when Brazil was embarking on the most repressive period of its twenty-year-long military dictatorship (1964–85). The *Tropicália* artists protested against the country's political predicament and nationalist stance by ironically juxtaposing traditional Brazilian music and art with global artistic trends and musical styles (see Dunn 2001). The idea of anthropophagism, or cultural cannibalism, spurred on by Oswaldo de Andrade's 1928 'Manifesto Antropófago' (Cannibalist Manifesto), 'urged artists to essay all themes and to incorporate an international repertoire of styles, assimilating them in the local vernacular in a practice of cultural devourment [sic]' (Harvey 2001, 107). The Cannibalist Manifesto was a major source of inspiration for the Tropicalists and *mangue*.

The Tropicalists rejuvenated the careers of formerly popular northeastern musicians, such as Luiz Gonzaga and Jackson do Pandeiro, by using elements of northeastern Brazilian music as part of their musical palette. The yearlong *Tropicália* movement widened the range of musical styles accepted within Brazilian commercial popular music and inspired the *mangue* artists, as well as other Brazilian artists, to begin negotiating their regional, national and international cultural influences into new musical genres.

Several national factors contributed to the emergence of *mangue*. In the 1980s the military government began to ease its censorship laws. Imported records became more available and foreign influences inspired underground punk, rap and funk movements, as well as a growing mainstream rock scene, which turned the nation's attention even further away from the North-east and toward the rock scene's locales in southern Brazil (Teles 2001). By 1991 and 1992, however, Recife benefited from this growing rock scene through the arrival of MTV and Rádio Rock, one of Brazil's biggest rock radio stations.

The Emergence of the *Mangue* Movement

Although many people played a part in the emergence of *mangue*, the main provocateurs were Chico Science (of Chico Science & Nação Zumbi), Fred 04 (of Mundo Livre S/A) and the journalist Renato Lins. Chico Science & Nação Zumbi's (CSNZ) project 'symbolically involved planting a satellite antenna in the mud of the region [Recife is built on swamps] and picking up signals from the rest of the world' (Galinksy 1998, 28). The band quickly became popular for fusing rock, rap, soul, funk, ragamuffin dancehall, electronic dance music and punk with folk styles specific to the North-east such as *maracatu nação*, *maracatu rural*, *embolada*, *côco* and *ciranda*.

Mundo Livre S/A was formed by Fred 04 (Fred Rodrigues Montenegro) in 1984. The idea behind the group was to create a kind of Brazilian new wave music, blending *samba* inspired by Jorge Ben (a popular Brazilian musician who mixes *samba*, funk and soul) with Sex Pistols-inspired punk and electronic music. The band never played for more than 50 people until 1987, shortly before Fred 04 and Chico Science met and decided to combine efforts to create a new musical scene.

In 1991 *mangue* began to be referred to as a 'movement' when CSNZ distributed a manifesto, written by Fred 04 and Renato Lins, to the Brazilian press. Both Fred 04 and Renato Lins had been trained as journalists and they admired the complex discourse of Malcom McLaren, the producer of the British punk band The Sex Pistols. The *mangue* manifesto, entitled *Caranguejos Com Cérebro* (Crabs with Brains) (04 and

Lins 1995), outlines the movement's goals and motivations. It is divided into three parts: *Mangue* – The Concept, *Manguetown* – The City and *Mangue* – The Scene.

The first section of the manifesto stresses the importance of Recife's mangroves as a basic link to the ocean's food chain and points out that, although they are usually associated with 'filth and rottenness,' they are 'among the most productive ecosystems in the world' (04 and Lins 1995). The second section explains that the estuaries of six rivers surrounding Recife, due to the expansion of the city, are on the brink of extinction, stressing that bad planning and economic and cultural stagnation have led to misery, urban chaos and overall poverty. The final section describes *mangue* and its performers (primarily CSNZ, Mundo Livere S/A and Lamento Negro). This final section of the manifesto serves as a call to action for the young people of Recife, urging that the city needs to be reinvigorated and that '*mangue* boys' and '*mangue* girls' need to 'inject a little energy in the mud and stimulate what still remains of the fertility in the veins of Recife' (04 and Lins 1995).

Musical Structure and Style

The music associated with the *mangue* movement is varied and is not as defined by musical characteristics or style as it is by common beliefs, friendships and a shared ideology based on diversity. *Mangue* groups draw on a vast array of musical styles – some lean more toward international rock, while others draw more from local or national genres. However, they share the postmodern juxtaposition of technology and global culture with regional folklore – a juxtaposition often accomplished by using folk instruments in conjunction with modern instruments (e.g., samplers, electric instruments and traditional percussion) and mixing contemporary trends with regional traditions and styles through visual presentation. For example, Chico Science often wore Ray Ban sunglasses and a *chapeu de palha* (a straw hat typical of fishermen in the region), while his dance style borrowed from the movements and dress of the *caboclo de lança* (a character in the *maracatu* rural folk performance) and hip-hop.

Mangue's deconstruction of the barriers between traditional and global musical currents in Recife was evident in their blending of regional rhythms and singing styles. CSNZ mixed *maracatu* (a northeastern Brazilian carnival musical style) drumming and *embolada* (a traditional Northeastern Brazilian musical-poetic form) with funk rhythms, rapping and elements of thrash metal. Mundo Livre S/A blends samba with tropical beats, electronic samples and scratching.

Conclusion

In February 1997 Chico Science's career came to a sudden end in a fatal car crash. Even though *mangue* bands received almost no government support in the early 1990s, after Chico's death the State praised him in highly prominent newspapers for representing the essence of Pernambuco (Sharp 2001). In the summer of 1997 Central Park Summer Stage in New York organized a Brazilian Music Festival dedicated to Chico Science. The festival lasted 5 days and featured several groups from Recife's scene: Cascabulho, which plays *forró* and other regional styles; Mestre Ambrósio, which fuses folk and pop music; and the folkloric Banda de Pífanos Dois Irmãos do Caruaru. In addition, in 2000 Recife's municipal government sponsored a program called Acorda Povo that contracted bands such as Nação Zumbi (without Chico) and Faces do Suburbio to visit poor neighborhoods and speak to high-school students about breaking out of poverty (Sharp 2001).

CSNZ's work, along with the work of other *mangue* groups such as Mundo Livre S/A, Cascabulho, Faces do Subúrbio, Devotos, Querosene Jacaré, Eddie and Mestre Ambrósio, 'allowed the interested observer to rethink what is old and new, what is traditional and modern, what is local and global, and what is regional and foreign' (Galinsky 1998, 90). *Mangue* inspired the use of 'alternative' global genres, a general willingness to experiment, and a minimizing of the rigid separation between 'modern' and 'traditional' that had previously dominated the Pernambucan musical scene. In addition, *mangue* groups helped increase the exposure of Pernambucan folk artists such as Mestre Salustiano, Dona Selma do Côco and Zé Neguinho do Côco.

Mangue was not only one of the most popular trends to emerge from Brazilian popular music since *Tropicália*, but it was also a movement that created a surge in northeastern pride. Prior to *mangue* it was rare to see northeastern musicians reach international, or even national, success. *Mangue* inspired many other '*mangue*-style' groups, such as Cordel de Fogo Encantado, Comadre Florzinha and Chão e Chinelo. Other Pernambucan groups, such as Maciel Salú e o Terno do Terreiro, Renata Rosa, Tonino Arcoverde, Siba e a Fuloresta de Samba, Tiné, Caçapa, Juliano Holanda, Hugo Linns, Alessandra Leão, Orquestra Contemporânea de Olinda and many others, have shared *mangue*'s fearlessness in embracing musical diversity, but have now turned even more to local styles as the primary basis for their music.

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ELISA FERRARI

Mapalé

The *mapalé* is a dance and musical genre characteristic of the Caribbean coastal region of Colombia. As a cultural practice, *mapalé* is said to have originated as early as the 1600s among slaves from the western coast of Africa – Congo and Guinea, in particular – who danced and played the music while anglers fished for mapalé, a specific kind of fish from which the music took its name, and cleaned and sorted their catch. Fast and frenetic movements characterize the dance, which represents an erotic courtship between male and female dancing partners, who raise their feet intermittently, sway their hips back and forth and side to side and agitate their arms at high speed. Traditionally, the women take the men out to dance and lead through the performance, which may involve rapid gyrations and nimble maneuvers, as well as an occasional circle dance of couples. Individual movements are supposed to represent those of a fish out of water. Throughout the dance, sounds of drums, clapping of hands and entrancing voices – to the tune of '*¡El mapalé! ¡El mapalé!*' – accompany the couples.

The music mixes the sound of native *gaitas* (flutes) with African rhythms. In fact, the early practice of *mapalé* suggests the union of Colombian indigenous people and Afro-Colombians, sharing a similar milieu – in terms of setting and performance ensemble – with *cumbia*, the most popular Colombian music genre. According to Colombian historian Joaquín Posada Gutiérrez, this merging might have taken place as early as 1865 (1929, cited in List 1991). The main musical feature of *mapalé* is the constant juxtaposition of ternary and binary meters, usually in minor keys and with some modal elements. The typical *mapalé* ensemble involves a *gaita hembra* (a female flute, with five fingerholes), which carries the melody; a *gaita macho* (a male flute, with a single hole), which provides the harmony; and, as percussion instruments, maracas, *tambor mayor* (a big, leading drum) and *llamador* (a smaller drum, which keeps the beat). As in *cumbia*, a single musician plays the *gaita macho* and maracas at the same time. While the flutes correspond to the Amerindian heritage, the maracas and drums embody an African legacy.

During the 1930s and 1940s *mapalés* were recorded as part of the ballroom *rumba* craze. In the 1950s, during the golden age of Colombian tropical music *orquestas*, elaborately arranged versions were recorded and performed by masters of the scene, such as 'Robertico,' a *mapalé* composed by renowned bandleader Francisco 'Pacho' Galán and sung by Olguita Fuentes in a 1951 recording of the Emisora Atlántico Jazz band for Discos Tropical. From the 1970s on, with the growing popularity of more stylized versions of tropical music and other Caribbean genres, the *mapalé* became mostly the staple of highly trained dancers and *ballets folklóricos*. In the early twenty-first century, it is highly associated with tourist settings such as Cartagena de Indias or the port of Barranquilla during the time of Carnival.

As a musical genre, *mapalé* has become the source of considerable academic interest. Nonetheless, as a result of its clear association with a lengthy African tradition, as a cultural product it has been objectified and relegated to the status of musical curiosity, and is seldom practiced at a massive societal level.

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HÉCTOR FERNÁNDEZ L'HOESTE

Maracatu

A *maracatu* is an Afro-Brazilian performance group and popular organization rooted in the north-east of Brazil, mainly in the neighboring cities of Recife and Olinda in the state of Pernambuco. For these groups, music and dance are very important, but a proper definition of the term should take into account religious and festive aspects as well (the latter related mainly to Carnival). A *maracatu* performance – which has been characterized as a dramatic dance – is organized as an emulation of a royal court, complete with a king, a queen, princes, princesses and other personages typical of a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century European court, all in sumptuous costume, as well as dancers and a group of musicians (the latter in simple dress and bare feet). A typical performance therefore takes the form of a procession, not in private or on a stage, although stage renditions – involving people who are not necessarily from traditional *maracatu* organizations – have been quite common since the 1990s. The term '*maracatu*' also refers to a Brazilian popular music song genre from the 1930s to the 1960s which was inspired by the music of the *maracatus*.

There is a second kind of popular grouping, also called *maracatu*, but whose music, dance, instruments, thematic material and overall organization are totally different: the *maracatu rural*, or *maracatu de baque solto*, associated with sugarcane workers and very popular in the Zona da Mata Norte region (in Recife's northern and western hinterlands). The role of this type of *maracatu* in popular music has been far less important. Practitioners and aficionados of both types will talk simply of 'maracatu.' In this entry, the term *maracatu*, used without qualifiers, denotes the first type. When it is necessary to distinguish between the two, the first type is referred to as *maracatu nacao* or *maracatu de baque virado*.

Maracatus have been associated with the Africans brought to Brazil during the period of slavery (1530–1888), and their descendants, since the first documented reference to them in 1851 (MacCord 2005, 262). Their origin is generally attributed to the coronation ceremonies of slave kings known to have taken place in Brazil since the seventeenth century. The term *maracatu*, whose etymology is unknown, appears not to have been used, at first, by the groups themselves. Instead, it was widely used with a pejorative connotation meaning a noisy group of low-class black people. This use of the term was documented through the second half of the nineteenth century.

Maracatu's instrumental ensemble, the *baque* (as in *baque solto* and *baque virado*), includes *bombos* or *alfaias* (two-headed cylindrical drums), *caixa* (a shallow snare drum, also known as *tarol*), *gonguê* (a large metal bell with a handle and separate beater) and *mineiro* (a closed cylindrical shaker filled with beads, generally known in Brazil as *ganzá*). Some innovative *maracatus* add other instruments such as *abê* (a shaker made of a calabash with a net of beads on the outside) and *timbal* (or *atabaque*: a single-headed conical drum).

The songs of *maracatus* are called *toadas*. The traditional structure of the *toada*, which continues to be widely practiced, is responsorial, with one or two verses sung by a soloist with an equivalent answer by a chorus. Traditionally, the chorus is performed by the *maracatu*'s female dancers, stock characters known as *baianas*, though the responses may also be given by a larger section of the performers or by a group of stronger singers only. The melodies are built upon two rhythmic cycles (which can be written down as two 4/4 bars) sung by the soloist, and then repeated or completed by the chorus in phrases of the same length; tonic-dominant harmonies are often implicit in the melodic organization, and the ambitus rarely goes beyond one octave. Some recent *toadas* have emphasized greater development of the soloist's part. Lyrics are generally self-referring, frequently alluding to the coronation of the kings and queens and the glories of one's *maracatu* group.

In the 1930s, songs referred to as '*maracatus*' began to be composed explicitly for recording and radio. These songs, which only achieved minor success, were vaguely inspired by the *toadas* and rhythms of *maracatu*, but composed and performed by professionals not involved in *maracatu* groups. In the 1960s, *maracatu* as a popular music genre went out of fashion, although some national hits from this period did refer to *maracatu* as a sign of living tradition in their titles or lyrics, such as 'Mas que nada'(No Way!) (Jorge Ben) and 'Maracatu atômico' (Atomic Maracatu) (Gilberto Gil).

In 1992 the group Nação Pernambuco's first CD, *Batuque da Nação*, was released. The CD, recorded and released in Recife, was the first time *maracatu* music in the traditional style, with call-and-response songs and percussion orchestra, had ever been recorded. Also in the early 1990s *maracatu* was incorporated into recordings associated with the *mangue* artistic movement, this time by bringing sonic elements of *maracatu nação* and *maracatu rural*, such as the use of the *alfaia*, into an overall rock-band setting and approach. Visual and verbal elements used by Chico Science and Nação Zumbi (CSNZ), the leading *mangue* band, include references to *maracatu*. Clothing worn by Chico Science in his performances refer to the *caboclo-de-lança*, the main stock character in *maracatu rural*. Some CSNZ lyrics mention widely known *maracatu* performers; the use of the word '*nação*' ('nation') in the group's name is a direct reference to *maracatu nação* groups.

Nação Pernambuco was formed in 1989 by middle-class musicians and dancers who had developed an interest in traditional culture and perceived *maracatu* as a means of participating directly. Many other *maracatu* groups with strong middle-class participation were set up after that date. This development took place following a general climate of redemocratization in Brazil in the late 1980s, as a consequence of which there was a generalized renewal of interest in local traditions. The burgeoning of new *maracatu* groups in the late 1990s was also probably influenced by the previous success of the *blocos afro* groups (black carnival groups) in the neighboring northeastern state of Bahia. In addition, the success of CSNZ sparked an interest among many of Recife and Olinda's young people in participating in *maracatu*. Partly due to these developments, longstanding *maracatus* began releasing their own CDs, including traditional and new *toadas*. Since the late 1990s, groups taking traditional *maracatu* music as a model have been established in other parts of Brazil, as well as in other countries, especially in Europe and North America.

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CARLOS SANDRONI (TRANSLATED BY MONA-LYNN COURTEAU)

Marcha (Marchinha)

In discussing *marcha* (march) as a musical genre in Brazil, a range of contexts must be covered, from expressions of religious rituals from Afro-Brazilian culture, such as *Congados*, to the huge national festival, Carnival. The time period spanned by this genre is also very extensive; for example, the Carnival *marcha*, the main form of the genre when it comes to popular music, dates from the late nineteenth century and stems from marches performed by military bands, very prevalent in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Carnival *marcha*, which is mainly known by the diminutive form *marchinha*, is the principal focus of this entry; however, its other contexts must be noted at the outset, while bearing in mind that if there is any one characteristic that unifies them all, it is the use of duple meter.

The Reign of Our Lady of the Rosary or *Congado* was developed from within the Brazilian slave system as part of African rituals, values and knowledge. The musical code of the festivities thus derives from 'transcreative [processes] of cultural interaction, from the elements and concepts of Bantu musical cultures, remade in Brazilian soil through contact with Europeans, with other black cultures and also with the local indigenous ones, in a state of constant evolution throughout its historical path' (Lucas 2002, 18).

In her work, carried out in Minas Gerais, Lucas (2002) presented the *marcha grave* (deep march), *marcha lenta* (slow march), *dobrado* (double), *marcha dobrada* (double march), *marcha repicada* (ringing march) and *dobrado compassado* (measured double). According to the author, the *marcha lenta* and the *marcha grave do Congo* have almost identical basic rhythmic structures, and are only distinguished by the greater likelihood of the latter to include *repiques* (Brazilian tom-toms). The other *marchas* vary in the foundational patterns sounded by the snare drums. Differences also exist in the ritual contexts and spaces in which one or the other is performed.

Marcha is also one of the rhythms from the hymns of Santo Daime, a religion involving the consumption of psychoactive brews of the *ayahuasca* plant. There are very popular *marchas juninas* (June marches) in Brazil, which enliven the festivals of St John, St Anthony and St Peter with their themes of declarations of love, bonfires, balloons and typical festival foods.

However, the type of *marcha* that is best known as a musical genre in Brazil is that associated with Carnival. Carnival groups or associations also have their origin in religious parades. The *ranchos*, modest Carnival clubs or associations made up of humble people that made their first appearances in the Carnival of 1873, existed before that time and performed in parades celebrating *Dia de Reis* (Epiphany), 6 January, linked to the Christmas cycle. By virtue of having their own lyrics and music, they eventually created a new musical genre, cadenced and with great melodic richness: the *marcha-rancho.*

Many publications state that the first *marcha* was 'Ó abre alas' (Oh Open Wings) by conductor Chiquinha Gonzaga, created for the Carnival group *Rosa de Ouro* (Golden Rose) in 1899 and inspired by the rhythmic cadence of *ranchos* and *cordões* (both terms meaning Carnival groups). Since then, the *marchas*, or *marchinhas*, became popular with the public. In duple meter, with the accent on the strong (first) beat, they were initially slower so that the dancers could move to the rhythm, and have accelerated over time.

The Brazilian Carnival *marchas* derive from popular Portuguese *marchas*, which were very successful in Brazil until 1920. The songs 'Vassourinha' (Little Broom) (1912) and 'A baratinha' (The Little Cockroach) (1917) were particularly famous. The Carnival *marchas* share with these Portuguese *marchas* the duple meter of the military marches (though at a faster tempo), simple, vibrant melodies and spicy lyrics full of double meanings.

It is worth noting the role that military bands played in the history of popular music in Brazil, which partly explains the great impact of the genre. Although not well researched, bands from military corps were formed as of the nineteenth century. Musicians enjoyed prestige within their military organizations, which helped to attract them and contributed to the strengthening and perfecting of the activity. According to Tinhorão (2005), the bands of the National Guard – a paramilitary organization under the responsibility of the major landowners, created by act of law on 18 August 1831 – were the first to include in their repertoire, in addition to *marchas* and *dobrados*, classical and popular music, in competition with black Brazilian bands, who were the only ones who existed until then. With the rise in status of the military bands, 'hundreds of musicians of popular origin' had the opportunity to make a living from music, creating instrumental groups and musical genres that had a significant influence upon popular Brazilian music, including the *frevo* and the Carnival *marcha*. Carnival processions during the second half of the nineteenth century were also marked by the appearance of political criticism, which would characterize these new *marchas* as urban chronicles.

In Rio de Janeiro, Eduardo Souto, Freire Júnior and Sinhô became known as composers of Carnival songs, with Carmen Miranda, Almirante, Mário Reis, Dalva de Oliveira, Silvio Caldas, Jorge Veiga and Black-Out as performers, throughout the mid-twentieth century. They also performed the compositions of João de Barro, Braguinha and Alberto Ribeiro, Noel Rosa, Ary Barroso and Lamartine Babo. The last great *marchinha* composer was João Roberto Kelly. The *marcha*'s form is verse-chorus with an instrumental introduction.

The Carnival *marcha* or *marchinha* was part of the Brazilian Carnival from the 1920s to the 1960s, when it began to be replaced by the *samba enredo*. As the role of the *marcha* in Carnival was declining, the sophistication of the *marchas-rancho* began to attract the attention of *bossa nova* composers, culminating in compositions such as 'Manhã de Carnaval' (Morning of Carnival) by Antônio Maria and Luis Bonfá, 1959;

'Marcha da quarta-feira de cinzas' (Ash Wednesday *Marcha*) by Carlos Lira and Vinícius de Morais, 1963; 'Noite dos mascarados' (Night of the Masked) by Chico Buarque de Holanda, 1967; and 'Máscara negra' (Black Mask) by Hildebrando de Matos, 1967.

Since the turn of the twentieth century there has been a revival of the Carnival *marcha* genre in several cities, with festivals organized especially for the genre in the manner of *marcha-rancho* and *marchinha.* Rio de Janeiro has seen the founding of Carnival associations using the old *ranchos* as a template, along with the compositions of new *marchas* to enliven the parade.

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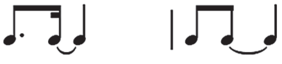
DEISE LUCY OLIVEIRA MONTARDO (TRANSLATED BY DARA MURPHY, WITH MONA-LYNN COURTEAU)

Marcha Camión

Marcha camión is one of the rhythmic patterns characteristic of the *murgas*, popular musical-theatrical ensembles in Montevideo, Uruguay, in their open-air performances during the long Carnival season (see Example 1).



Example 1: Basic pattern of the contemporary *marcha camion*

The term '*marcha camión*,' which literally translates as 'truck march,' is of recent origin. It is a reference to the vehicles (traditionally trucks, though these have given way to buses) used by *murga* groups to travel to and from the *tablado* (outdoor performance stage) for their performances. Rendered by the percussion instruments (*bombo* [bass drum], *redoblante* [snare drum] and *platillos* [clash cymbals]), the rhythm is distinctive and easily recognized.

After a long period in which the *murga* was seen as suitable for Carnival contexts but not for extra-Carnival ones, the *marcha camión* rhythmic pattern began to appear in popular songs. This happened in the late 1960s, and the novelty was introduced, paradoxically, by non-Montevidean musicians (Los Olimareños, followed by El Sabalero). As part of the new popular song movement of the late 1970s in Uruguay (the generation of 1977, involved in the resistance against the powerful dictatorship of the time), young songwriters adapted the *marcha camión* rhythm of the *murga*'s percussion trio to the guitar (the first recorded example being 'Cometa de la farola' [La Farola's Kite – a reference to a Uruguayan football club] by Jaime Roos [1977]). In this way, a model was gradually established for a renewed form of *marcha camión*: a creative modification of the rhythmic pattern for use by the guitar and other instruments, and a new pattern of popular song that could interact with *candombe* (Afro-Uruguayan drumming and singing, which was also being transferred to popular song at the time) and with rock. Other elements of the *murga*, such as the particular nasal tone of the voices, were incorporated into extra-Carnival popular song contexts only at the end of 1985, 8 years later. The *murga* choir had been introduced earlier, but without that particular characteristic.

The *marcha camión* seems to have a connection with the Afro-Montevidean culture. The link is so strong that often the audience confuses the concepts of *murga* and *candombe*, and the confusion is so pervasive that some songs are designated indiscriminately with both names. Sometimes composers or performers take advantage of this confusion, such as in the song 'A mi gente' (To My People) by José Carbajal, that has been sung in both *murga* and *candombe*. In spite of this, it cannot be said that the *murga* originated in *candombe*. The reasons are many. One is that the corporeality of the *murga* percussion is very different from that of the *llamada* (call) of the barrel-shaped drums of the Afro-Uruguayan tradition (which are of three sizes and interact polyphonically), the basis for the *candombe*. Another is that the *marcha camión* is not the *murga* as a whole. A third reason is that the *murga* rhythm is fundamentally a particular inflexion that permeates very diverse musical meters, a thing that does not happen with the *candombe*. Fourth, from different testimonies it can be deduced that *murga* ensembles originated in the lower classes but had racist or para-racist undertones. Black people – who have for decades been the almost unique protagonists of the *candombe*, not always of their own volition – were not accepted as members of the *murgas* until comparatively recent times. It seems that these recent times yielded a *murga* more influenced by the *candombe*, different from the *murga* of earlier times.

Since the early 1980s the *marcha camión* has become a very popular rhythmic pattern known simply as 'ritmo de *murga*' or simply *murga* and, from the 1990s onward it began to be adopted also by Argentinian musicians.

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CORIÚN AHARONIÁN

Marinera

The *marinera* is a music and dance genre from coastal Peru, considered to be the national dance of that country. The genre traces its history back to the *zamacueca*, an immensely popular couple dance featuring European, African and Amerindian musical influences that originated in Peru and flourished in the form of regional variants in many parts of South America during the nineteenth century. By the 1860s, a Chilean variant known as the *chilena* or *cueca* was the most prevalent type of *zamacueca* in Peru. After the War of the Pacific (1879–83) and the Chilean occupation of the city of Lima, the name of the dance was changed to *marinera* in honor of the Peruvian navy and it was declared the national dance of Peru.

The first composition formally labeled as a *marinera* was 'La Concheperla,' with lyrics by literary figure Abelardo Gamarra 'El Tunante' (1850–1924) and music by his associate José Alvarado. The first notated rendition and piano arrangement of 'La Concheperla' was created shortly thereafter by 13-year-old Rosa Mercedes Ayarza de Morales (1881–1969), who went on to become a noted scholar of Peruvian coastal genres. In the decades that followed, nationalist sentiment helped disseminate the *marinera* throughout the country and a number of regional styles began to take shape. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the *marinera* is found in a variety of different performing contexts ranging from family or neighborhood-based festive occasions such as birthday parties and weddings, to nightclub performances and recordings by professional musicians, to more institutionalized folkloric dance settings usually associated with dance instruction at schools, universities, social clubs and dance academies.

The *marinera* is usually organized into three main sections, all of which should be in the same mode, either major or minor. In some regional variants, the three sections are followed by one or two additional livelier sections in the same mode, known as the *resbalosa* and the *fuga*. Harmonic accompaniments tend to follow I-IV-V patterns in the major mode and i-III-V patterns in the minor mode. Guitarists vary these patterns through the use of alternate voicings and chord substitutions. From a rhythmic standpoint, the *marinera* exploits cross-rhythmic relationships between 3/4 and 6/8, often by varying the way in which particular patterns are accented. It is also common for melodic phrases to be syncopated, with ties across the bar line helping to blur the distinction between these meters.

The dance is one of courtship performed by a solitary male-female couple. While each regional variant has specific movements that differentiate it from the others, all variants are generally based on a series of 'passes' in which the dancers, twirling handkerchiefs in their right hands, approach each other from opposite ends of the dance floor, flirt with each other as they execute a turn in the center of the dance floor and then separate once again.

Of all the regional variants of the *marinera*, the most complex is the improvisational singing style known as the *canto de jarana* from the region of Lima. In this variant, two or more singers compete against each other by selecting from and elaborating on a large repertoire of song texts and melodies that are committed to memory, or from time to time, by creating their own lyrics in the moment of performance. In this version, the *marinera* proper is divided into three sections: the *primera, segunda* and *tercera de jarana*. Each section is based on a four-line stanza that is expanded through different types of repetition, ornamentation and improvisation. The singer or singers that introduce the *primera de jarana* establish the melody that will be used for the entire *marinera* as well as the various rhyme schemes, number of syllables per line and manner of elaborating the base text (these patterns differ in each section of the *marinera*). The challenging singer (or group of singers in parallel thirds) must then abide by these rules in addition to selecting or improvising text with subject matter that directly addresses what was sung in the previous section. There are also specially codified lines of verse that performers can use when an opponent breaks one of the rules. In such an event, a new *marinera* commences and the process continues until one singer or group of singers has won three out of five *marineras*. At that point, the *marinera* is followed by a livelier *resbalosa* section in which performers continue to compete with less strict rules. The final section is a series of *fugas* in which the challengers sing anywhere from one to four verses which must then be repeated verbatim by the opponents in a display of their memory skills.

The *marinera limeña* or *canto de jarana* is accompanied by one guitar that plays a series of ornamented melodic lines known as *bordones*, a second guitar that provides harmonic and rhythmic accompaniments, as well as hand-clapping and a wooden idiophone in the shape of a box called a *cajón*. Each section of the *marinera*, as well as the r*esbalosa* and *fuga* sections, is preceded by a guitar introduction or call that alerts singers and dancers to their places and is then followed by the entrance of the *cajón* which in turn is followed by the lead singer or singers and the dancers. As with the text, there are specific melodic passages and ornaments associated with each section of the *marinera* and with the mode in which it is being performed. Guitarists are also expected to avoid repeating any *bordones* that have already been used during a particular performance. The action on the dance floor has rules of its own that parallel the rules of the various sections of the *marinera* and determine the types of passes that are performed by the dancers.

While the *canto de jarana* continues to be performed in Lima, it is not as popular in the early twenty-first century as it probably was at the turn of the twentieth century, despite efforts by a small but vibrant community of singers, dancers, musicians and poets to foster its continued cultivation. Since the rise of the recording industry, there has been an increase in pre-composed *marineras* which, although at times they emulate some of the rules of the *canto de jarana*, tend to be shorter and sung by a single performer. In these cases, either the *resbalosa* or *fuga* section is omitted or at least shortened. Outside of Lima, pre-composed *marineras* are the norm and since approximately the middle of the twentieth century there have been two other main regional styles. The *norteño* or northern style is associated with the northern departments of La Libertad, Lambayeque and Piura. Musically, this style is strongly influenced by the *tondero*, another genre from the region, and it places more emphasis on various types of rhythmic strumming rather than on the elaboration of *bordones* that characterizes the Lima style. The *marinera norteña* also features a number of melodic and harmonic characteristics that are more associated with mestizo genres from neighboring highland areas. The third style is known as the *marinera serrana* or Andean *marinera*, and it varies greatly from one area to the next in mountainous regions of Peru. The *marinera* appears to have been exported to this region probably at the turn of the twentieth century in the wake of its nationalization and as a means of fostering national unity, but it has limited success in competing with popular mestizo genres from the highlands, such as the *huayno*. These variants are also pre-composed and tend to replace the *resbalosa* and *fuga* sections with a lively *fuga* in duple meter based on local mestizo genres such as the *huayno* or *carnaval*. Accompanying instrumentation varies greatly and is most often consistent with that used for other popular genres in each particular area. From time to time, variants of the *marinera* from the Amazonian region of the country have been recorded or are seen in performance. However, the lack of published research on the music of this region makes it difficult to ascertain whether these variants are or were widely practiced rather than being momentary fads inspired by nationalist fervor and the genre's popularities in other regions of the country.

In the early twenty-first century, the *marinera* in its many regional variants continues to be performed in various parts of Peru. While it is considered the national dance of Peru, specific variants are also keys to fostering particular types of local identity. This is particularly the case for those who continue to practice the *canto de jarana* in Lima, some of whom view pre-composed variants as dilutions or distortions of the tradition. During the latter half of the twentieth century, the institutionalization of the *marinera* also led to the emergence of a competitive dance circuit in which highly stylized and difficult to execute versions of the Lima and northern variants, along with the *tondero* (considered a close relative of the *marinera*), are performed to the accompaniment of large brass bands or military bands. Young people often undergo years of training at folklore schools and dance academies in order to participate in regional and national competitions that often include cash prizes and college scholarships. Within this context, the choreography and manner of dress of the dancers has become highly codified to highlight regional differences. The Lima style, for example, in an effort to highlight its urban character, uses smaller movements and performers wear clothing that is somewhat evocative of working-class urban attire from the turn of the twentieth century. In contrast, the *tondero* and *marinera norteña* styles make reference to rural themes, with the former referencing a more rustic, peasant character while the latter is based on the style of dress of the *hacendado* or wealthy land owner. Instrumental renditions of the *marinera*, most often performed by brass bands, are also commonly heard at patron saint celebrations, bullfights, Paso horse competitions and other large festive occasions in various regions of coastal and highland Peru.

Despite the *marinera*'s primary association with popular musical practices from the coast, the genre continues to be regarded by most individuals as an important symbol of Peruvian national identity. This recognition stems from the success Peruvians from different socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds have had, and will most likely continue to have, in adapting the genre to articulate specific regional identities and aesthetic predilections within the context of a broader sense of national belonging.

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JAVIER F. LEÓN

Maxixe

Maxixe is a Brazilian popular music genre which originated in the late nineteenth century, in close relation to the partner dance of the same name. The dance emerged in recreation clubs commonly called '*gafieiras*,' which proliferated in Rio de Janeiro and were frequented by people from the lower social classes, mainly freed slaves and manual laborers. From there both music and dance were spread to other areas of Brazilian society. Often involved in controversy because of the sexual suggestiveness of the dance, *maxixe* had declined in popularity by the 1930s following the rise of *samba*.

The term *maxixe*, designating a sensual dance, began to appear in printed media – newspapers, printed music, advertisements for balls – around the 1880s (the oldest source is a comic play by Francisco Vasques, entitled *Aí, Caradura!*, performed in the Teatro Santana in April 1883, and published by the *Gazeta da Tarde* newspaper on 25 January 1884 [Ferreira 1979, 244; Jota Efegê 1974, 20]), which may indicate that the dance was part of Rio de Janeiro traditions at the end of the previous decade, coinciding with the emergence of the first *choro* bands. A particular characteristic of *choro* musicians was their incorporation of African music elements, such as rhythmic syncopation patterns, into music genres based on European dances that were in vogue in Imperial Rio de Janeiro (for instance, mazurka, waltz, schottische and, primarily, polkas). This allowed the creation of new steps and choreography, which featured sensual swung steps and saunters between partners. *Maxixe* is a good example of this musical evolution.

There is much speculation about the origin of the term *maxixe*, but only a few sources are able to defend their hypotheses. Historians and musicologists Mário de Andrade (1975) and Jota Efegê (1974) question the hypothesis raised by Heitor Villa-Lobos, who claimed that the term emerged because of a dancer whose nickname was Maxixe. The dancer was a member of the Estudantes de Heidelberg carnival association and danced *lundu* in a new way. According to Villa-Lobos, the new style became popular and the other dancers started to dance 'just like Maxixe.' Jota Efegê refutes this hypothesis, primarily due to its lack of documented evidence, but also because in his research he found several other people with the same nickname. Jota Efegê maintains that until the 1870s the term *maxixe* was used to designate anything of inferior quality (1974, 37). The association of the term with the fruit of *maxixeiro*, or *cucumis anguria*, a vegetable of African origin introduced into Brazil by African slaves, appears to be the most reasonable hypothesis. The fruit, *maxixe*, deteriorates quickly. It is interesting to note (Pallas 1995) that in Kimbundu (a Bantu language), the term *muxixi* means 'rubbing down' and 'fire-starter,' which may be related to the licentious dance in which participants fervently rub their legs together (Lopes 1995).

Maxixe, as a dance or as a music genre, started to gain followers within the middle classes as a result of the *Teatro Musicado*, also known as the *Teatro de Revista* (musical theater or revue), a spectacle which was highly popular in Rio de Janeiro from the final decades of the nineteenth century through the first 20 years of the twentieth century. These revues, inspired by French operettas, featured a review of the main events of the previous year, in a comic style. French performers living in Rio de Janeiro adapted the French *vaudeville* for Brazilian audiences, treating aspects of the city's everyday social life.

Several conductors and composers working in Rio de Janeiro actively participated in the Teatro de Revista, writing music for revues. These frequently gave prominence to *maxixe*, as was the case with the revue *Zizinha Maxixe*, for which the composer Chiquinha Gonzaga (1847–1935) contributed music in 1897. The revue's great hit was the *maxixe* called 'Gaúcho,' later known as 'O Corta Jaca' and recorded by Grupo Chiquinha Gonzaga around 1910. 'O Corta Jaca' was renamed a 'tango brasileiro' (Brazilian tango) in order to designate the new genre. (The so-called 'tango brasileiro' is a term that is frequently confused with the term *maxixe*. The 'O Corta Jaca' theme was given a new style, along with other popular Brazilian themes, and was later used by the French composer Darius Milhaud, in the ballet play called '*Le Boeuf sur le Toit*,' opus 58, 1919.)

Maxixe's new and original dance style, with its sexually suggestive steps, was widely disseminated through caricatures and paintings, in poster advertisements for the revues, and in the most important newspapers of the day. Gradually, the practice obtained more and more attention from theater entrepreneurs, who organized balls where the choreography became increasingly obscene (Ulloa 1998, 170).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the success achieved by *maxixe* dance became a controversial subject in Rio de Janeiro, resulting in censorship by the Brazilian political authorities (the then president, Marshal Hermes da Fonseca, prohibited the military bands from performing *maxixes*) and even in the genre's prohibition by the Vatican. These events yielded several critical *maxixes*, for example the famous 'Maxixe aristocrático,' composed in 1904 by the conductor José Nunes for the revue *Cá e Lá*:

'Pois o próprio Santo Padre/ sabendo do gozo que tem/ virá de Roma ao Brasil/ dançar maxixe também/ Mexe, mexe e remexe/ De prazer vamos dançar!/ Ai, sim, dançar!' (Because even the Holy Father/knowing about its pleasure/Is coming from Rome to Brazil/To dance the *maxixe*/Swing, swing, swing/Let's dance with pleasure!/Oh yes! Dance!') (Tinhorão 1986, 76; translation added). 'Maxixe Aristocratico' was recorded by singer Pepe Delgado in 1904.

In a similar way to the *maxixe* 'Gaúcho' by Chiquinha Gonzaga, mentioned above, a number of works were edited and given the classification of *tango brasileiro*, for instance, the work by Ernesto Nazareth (1863–1934), one of the primary developers of the *maxixe* genre. In fact, the majority of Brazilian musicologists and historians agree that Nazareth composed *maxixes*, since *tango* and *maxixe* are frequently confused, due to their utilization of similar elements. Nazareth's renaming of his compositions as 'tangos brasileiros' reveals his concern that his work should not be associated with the dance *maxixe*. Considered indecent, rejected by the upper classes and disallowed by the church, but danced intensely in *gafieiras*, the *maxixe* was strongly associated with places frequented by members of lower social classes. Many historians draw a distinction between the work of Ernesto Nazareth and the *maxixe*, suggesting that his *tangos* are all composed in classic rondo form, with five sections, and that their tempos are slower than those of *maxixe*. However, even though the most popular *maxixes* do not have a well-defined form, the utilization of the rondo form – a characteristic also of *choro* composers – is not enough to characterize a distinct genre.

Musical Characteristics

As a musical genre, *maxixe* may be described as a music of moderately quick (*allegro*) tempo, in duple meter (similar to polka), and with syncopation common to Afro-Brazilian genres such as *lundu*, and to elements from *habanera*. One of its peculiarities is the use of bass in the accompaniment, which closely resembles what happens in *habanera*. It also features introductions comprised of dotted eighth notes and sixteenth notes, executed respectively in the tonic and dominant of the scale, followed by eighth notes, or by the rhythmic pattern of *lundu*: sixteenth note, eighth note, sixteenth note. This combination of elements is exhibited in many different genres and subgenres of music of the time that, while often confusing historians, roughly resemble each other: *polka-lundu*, *polka-chula*, *tango brasileiro*, *tanguinho* and *maxixe*. Broadly, this abundance of terms was created and maintained by the emerging musical press, which became more expressive in the second half of the nineteenth century. By the 1880s there were some ten music publishing houses in Rio de Janeiro, including Isidoro Bevilacqua & Cia, Narcizo & Arthur Napoleão, Viúva Canongia, Buschmann & Guimarães and Carlos Wehrs, firms that were later to publish sheet music of record hits (Leme 2006), and the role of printed music editors in the consolidation of terms of the new music genres was very important. It is also worth noting that the first *samba* to be recorded, 'Pelo telefone,' which was sung by Bahiano and released by Casa Edison on the Odeon label in 1917, may be considered a *maxixe* on account of its musical features, showing how common the *maxixe* instrumental style was among orchestral musicians of the day. Such musicians worked primarily in Teatro Musicado and were incorporated in the nascent record industry.

Despite its name, 'La Mattchiche' (by C. Clerc, P. Briollet and L. Lelièvre), a popular march released on record in France and the United States in 1906, did not have any musical similarity with Brazilian *maxixe*. The spread of information among theater companies from South America and Europe was intense, however, suggesting that the common name is appropriate, despite significant differences in musical and choreographical features.

Unquestionably, Duque, the dancer, was responsible for the spread of *maxixe*, the dance, in Europe. With his partners, Maria Lina, Gaby and Arlette Dorgère, he achieved great success in Paris by developing a more sophisticated performance of the dance, avoiding the over-exploited sexual appeal of the *gafieiras*, making the dance appropriate for the middle classes.

Conclusion

With the emergence of the first *samba* schools and the consolidation of the so-called 'samba do Estácio' (Sandroni 2001) in the 1930s, *maxixe* lost its popularity. In the early twentieth century, several dance steps from *maxixe* still remain in the *samba de gafieira*, which is practiced in nightclubs and traditional *gafieiras* in the historic center of Rio de Janeiro, mostly in the bohemian neighborhood, Lapa and throughout Brazil.

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Note: The Collections of the Instituto Moreira Sales include information on early 78-rpm recordings. Online at: http://ims.uol.com.br.

MÔNICA LEME (TRANSLATED
BY MAIZA DE LAVENÈRE BASTOS)

Mazouk

Creole *mazouk* (or *masouc*), also called *lakonmèt* in St-Lucia, and *mazouka* in Martinique and Guadeloupe, is a dance music of the Lesser Antilles that emerged in the nineteenth century. It derives in part from the mazurka, a dance that was fashionable in Parisian salons of the 1830s. Like the European mazurka, the Creole *mazouk* is in 3/4 with an accent on the second beat of each bar. However, the dance music that developed in the former French Caribbean colonies bears little resemblance to its European counterpart. In the early twenty-first century, variants of the genre exist in Dominica, Guadeloupe, Martinique, St Lucia, which are four neighboring islands sometimes referred to as the French quadrivium. *Mazouk* is additionally found in French Guyane where a new variant called *piké djouk* appeared in the 1970s. It is performed primarily during the 'bal des Touloulous' (Touloulous' ball), a unique Carnival event. Like the *mazouk*, *piké djouk* is in 3/4 but the accent is placed on the first beat to correspond better to the distinctive dance step performed in Carnival *bal touloulous*. A dance called mazurka also exists in

Puerto Rico. Many people of the French quadrivium, nonetheless, consider the *mazouk* as an emblem of their local specificity.

During the slavery era, the colored elite of the French Caribbean colonies usually performed the most fashionable European dances at their own functions. Slavery had already ended when the European colonists brought the mazurka to their Caribbean plantations in the mid-nineteenth century. However, following the same pattern, the black people appropriated the new dance just as they did before. Mazurka soon became infused with African elements and evolved into the Creole *mazouk*. The genre was first mentioned in print in the early 1870s, and did not seem to undergo drastic changes for about a century.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the *mazouk* served a variety of functions throughout the Lesser Antilles. Like its European counterpart, *mazouk* became included in the quadrille suite, but was also danced as a separate number. In the French Caribbean, *mazouks* were performed during late evening serenades and early morning *aubades* (predawn songs, traditionally performed in the French Caribbean as a surprise on special occasions, such as a birthday). On these occasions, the musicians left the trombone, horn and clarinet ensemble to the popular ballrooms and Carnival street parades, and instead chose a violin, a mandolin and a guitar or a banjo to accompany the *mazouks* that they sang to their belles. Up to 1902 in Saint-Pierre, Martinique, satirical *mazouks* were shouted by thousands of Carnival revelers in the streets. It functioned as the neighborhood gazette to uncover both political scandals and private affairs. After the destruction of Saint-Pierre in 1902 the *mazouk* entered a period of decline that lasted until the 1920s in Martinique. However, the genre continued to be practiced in the other Caribbean countries of the Lesser Antilles.

The popularity of *mazouk* rose again in Martinique in the period from the late 1920s up to the early 1940s as a renewed interest for the dance was sparked throughout the region by composer and clarinetist Fructueux Alexandre, 'Stellio.' He was a member of the Parisian jazz milieu of the 1920s and his music, though based on the tradition of Saint-Pierre, was open to jazz influence. Stellio was the first French Antillean bandleader to give the clarinet a prominent role in a band comprised of a guitar, a violin, a *chacha* (a shaker made from a metallic tube closed at both ends, filled with grains or small nails), a drumset and a piano. His music was a complete success at the 1931 Exposition Coloniale in Paris. However, the *mazouk* never reached a level of popularity outside the Caribbean area that could compare with the *biguine*.

Meanwhile, in fashionable dance bands of Martinique, the saxophone was making its first attempts at challenging the domination of the clarinet. Anderson Bagoe was the first to exclude the clarinet in his Orchestre de la Jeunesse, a band comprised of a piano, two saxophones, two trumpets, a cello and drumset.

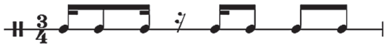
In the 1950s and 1960s, however, the clarinet, trombone and violin were still interlacing their melodic lines in a tight counterpoint in the urban *mazouks* played throughout the French Caribbean and Guyane, especially at Carnival time. These instruments were accompanied by a guitar, drumset, shaker and cello in Hurard Coppett's band. The violin and accordion accompanied by a banjo remained the favorite instrumentation for the St Lucia *lakonmèt* and all rural *mazouks* in Martinique and Dominica.

When *zouk* emerged in the French quadrivium in the early 1980s, the *mazouk*, which had been slowly declining since the early 1960s, seemed to disappear completely for a while. Yet, at the end of the 1990s the *mazouk* came back in the dance repertoire of middle-aged people, thanks to cultural activism in Martinique and French Guyane. In these late twentieth-century commercial *mazouks* the overlapping melodico-rhythmic fragments that traditionally formed the accompaniment of the *mazouk* were replaced by simple harmonies.

Musical Characteristics

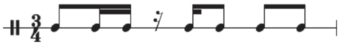
The Creole *mazouk* incorporates a number of features that allow a wide majority of Antilleans to identify with the music. Most sung *mazouks* have four-line verses. Traditional *mazouks* of Martinique have a tripartite structure in ABA. The central B section is called '*la nuit*' (the night). It contrasts with the section A, called *pitché*. The Dominican *mazouk*, on the other hand, can sometimes end with a section in 2/4 of varying length.

In traditional *mazouks* or *lakonmèt pitchés*, melodic phrases are generally four bars long. The accompaniment is provided by two or three melodic instruments each playing their own countermelody. For example, in the *lakonmèt* songs of St Lucia a banjo often punctuates the phrases of the violin with short melodic fragments that are enunciated on this rhythmic sequence (Example 1).



Example 1: *Lakonmèt* banjo, St Lucia

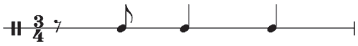
This type of melodic-rhythmic punctuation is played with a guitar or a trombone in other *mazouks*. The rhythmic characterization of the *mazouk*, however, is the following *ostinato* (Example 2):



Example 2: Basic *mazouk* ostinato, Martinique and Guadeloupe

It is always heard throughout the *mazouk*, played with percussion instruments such as the *tibwa* (a pair of sticks played on the side of the drum or against a bamboo branch), *chacha* or *shak-shak* and/or the drumset.

During the central *la nuit* portion of the Martinican *mazouk*, the *tibwa*/*shak-shak* sequences are varied. Meanwhile, the bass enunciates its melodic lines on this rhythmic sequence (Example 3):



Example 3: Rhythmic figure for bass, *la nuit* section

Up to the 1970s, *la nuit* was the moment of choice in which to make a brief quotation of an old French song from the *romance* repertoire.

In the early twenty-first century, although the *mazouk* and its variants seem relegated to Carnival time and cultural events throughout the French quadrivium, this dance music occupies a special place in the heart of its people. Perhaps because it was the first Creole genre to emerge after slavery ended in these countries, *mazouk* is cherished both as a reminder of the historical past and as a symbol of the vitality of the Creole people who created it.

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DOMINIQUE O. CYRILLE WITH JULIAN GERSTIN

Mento

Mento (variant, minto), a Jamaican folk music and dance style, originated in the nineteenth century and was the dominant Jamaican popular music style by the early twentieth century. Most mento songs consist of local melodies modeled on European tunes of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Witmer 1995, 31), with regular offbeat accents (labeled 'afterbeats' by Jamaican musicologists; explained below) in both the melody and accompaniment. Mento lyrics consist of Jamaican Creole words that often present local news, gossip and social commentary (Jekyll 1966 [1907], 216). Reckford (1982, 72) believes that the topical nature of mento's lyrics is the main reason for its popularity. Instruments associated with mento include European and African-American string instruments (guitar, violin and banjo), wind instruments (saxophone, clarinet and trumpet), neoAfrican instruments (hand percussion and rhumba box) and indigenous homemade instruments (bamboo saxophone, kitchen utensils and brake drums). The overall performance style synthesizes European and neo-African musical and body movement elements. In the 1950s and 1960s mento characteristics were combined with American rhythm and blues (along with other Jamaican elements) resulting in the emergence of ska, rocksteady and reggae.

Since the 1960s, mento has continued in several forms. The traditional style has been maintained (although to a lesser degree) as village recreational music and has been recognized as genuine Jamaican folkloric culture (appearing in cultural festivals, competitions, showcases and government celebrations). Parallel to this is mento's existence as a music directed at tourists – often in a more commercialized, pan-Caribbean style; in this form, mento is often labeled 'calypso' by both musicians and tourists. The traditional style has seen a resurgence in the late twentieth century because of CD and internet sales, linked to groups such as the Jolly Boys, who promote both traditional and modernized mento repertoire both locally and via international touring (see Jolly Boys discography entries). Since the early 1970s, Jamaican artists have frequently borrowed and adapted mento elements (musical, lyrical and body movement patterns) in newer songs and styles.

Origins and Etymology

Mento first emerged as a variation of French *quadrille* music and dance brought to Jamaica by British slave masters in 1830 (Neely 2008, 64, 110). *Quadrille* was divided into sections called figures. In Jamaica, one of the figures acquired neo-African sonic and movement characteristics that became known as 'mento' by the late 1800s (the actual *quadrille* figure that was changed is in dispute; Bilby [1995, 153] and Neely [2008, 81] believe it to be the second figure, whereas Noblett [2001, 2] claims that it is the fifth one). Jamaican entertainer-folklorist Ranny Williams believes that Jamaicans added indigenous music and movement elements to the European *quadrille* to assert their own identity (Williams in Reckford 1982, 79). In the early 1900s many Jamaicans worked in Cuba, Latin America and the United States. When they returned, those who were musicians incorporated foreign musical elements into mento, including arpeggiated bass patterns from Cuba, Latin America and Trinidadian calypso, and jazz instruments and styles from the United States (Reckford 1982, 73; White 1982a, 59–65; O'Gorman 1972, 50).

A variety of theories exist regarding the origin of the term 'mento.' Some authors believe that the term is a corruption of *kromanti*, a nineteenth-century designation for Jamaican folk music (Thompson 2002, 181). Other theories affirm that *mento* is derived from the Spanish verb *mentar* (Jamaica was a Spanish colony between 1509 and 1659) that means 'to call out' or 'to name' (Baxter 1970, 176). Another perspective maintains that it was rhythmically influenced either by a Spanish folk dance practiced in Jamaica in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (alternately known as *mento, bamboola* or *chica* and featuring frequent afterbeat accents) (Courtenay, cited in Murray 1971, 71–2) or by Jonkonnu (a Jamaican celebratory hybrid practice that combines neo-African music and dance with parading, miming, fife and drums, influenced by West African harvest festivals and British Mumming traditions practiced during the Christmas season) (Ryman 1984a, 1984b; White 1984, 63–4; Wynter 1970). Spanish *mento* dancing's slow body movements are similar to those of the neo-African Jamaican dance shay-shay, in which the hips are shaken rapidly and the feet beat time very quickly (Beckwith 1969 [1929], 214), and in the 1940s 'shay-shay' and 'mento' were used interchangeably to refer to Spanish *mento* (Dunham 1946, 26). Neely (2008, 58) notes that in the 1940s the music of shay-shay and Jamaican mento appear to have been very similar.

Popularization and Internationalization

Until the late 1940s, mento was widespread across Jamaica – performed at community gatherings, village dances, fairs, amusement parks, concerts, theatrical reviews and in nightclubs (Lewin 1998, 50–1; White 1982b, 32). Since there was no radio station in Jamaica until 1939, and no recording studios until the early 1950s, mento was primarily experienced in live performances, although lyrics were sometimes printed and sold on broadside-style, single-sided sheets. In the 1930s and 1940s a duo of itinerant musicians named Slim (Beckford) and Sam (Blackwood) performed mento 'blues' songs, probably influenced by contemporary American blues records (Witmer 1987, 5–8) and their own original compositions that blended mento and blues (Chang and Chen 1998, 15–16). They never recorded, however, only selling broadsides of their songs (Witmer 1989, 13).

The first recordings of mento were made between 1924 and 1930, when Trinidadian artists Sam Manning and Lionel Belasco recorded a dozen jazz versions of mento songs for US labels in New York City that were promoted as 'calypsos' – a Trinidadian folksong style similar to mento (Garnice 2010c). Calypso and mento are often considered similar in their lyrical, melodic and harmonic approaches, but there are many differences (White 1982a, 64; 1982b, 32). Mento's accented fourth beat and banjo/guitar rhythmic accompaniments result in rhythms that are less flowing than those in calypso. Mento tempos are usually slower, and there is a greater emphasis on sinuous and horizontal pelvic dance movements. Lyrical content and approach also differ. Although both styles address topical events and engage in social commentary (often satirically), calypso lyrics tend to be more political and overtly critical of colonial relations, whereas mento lyrics usually employ a greater degree of humor to make similar criticisms. Mento's rhythms are strongly influenced by the Cuban *rumba* style, while calypso rhythms are closer to those of Venezuelan *paseo* and Brazilian *samba* (see Floyd [1999, 21–5] for additional information about calypso history).

Between the late 1930s and the early 1950s Trinidadian calypso rose in popularity in Jamaica due to a number of factors (Neely 2008, 151–64). In 1937 RCA Victor and Decca Records had international successes with a large number of Trinidadian calypso recordings. In August 1938 *Time* magazine featured an article on calypso that was reprinted in the *Jamaica Standard* newspaper. As a result, Trinidadian musicians (such as Sir Lancelot [Lancelot Victor Edward Pinard], Lord Kitchener [Aldwin Roberts], Lord Creator [Kenrick Patrick], the Caresser [Rufus Callender] and Lord Beginner [Egbert Moore]) began performing regularly in Jamaica. This resulted in many Jamaican mento musicians (such as Slim and Sam, Lord Flea [Norman Thomas], Count Lasher [Terence Parkins] and Lord Fly [Bertie Lyons]) adding Trinidadian calypsos to their repertoire and employing the calypso label to promote themselves (primarily) to tourists. The use of Jamaica as an American military post during World War II further contributed to the country's popularity as a tourist destination and increased the popularity of Trinidadian calypso and Jamaican mento (although mento was usually promoted to foreigners as calypso).

In the early 1950s Jamaican entrepreneurs Ivan Chin, Stanley Chin, Ken Khouri, Stanley Motta and Dada Tuari issued recordings of local mento artists in Jamaica, mostly 78 rpm singles along with a few albums that were primarily compilations of singles. These records were often marketed as 'calypso,' especially those produced for tourists, to piggyback on the calypso craze which grew to international proportions after Harry Belafonte's highly successful *Calypso* album – discussed below.

The 1950s is generally regarded as the peak of mento's creativity and popularity, and its 'Golden Age' (Garnice 2010e). Most singles from this era were either traditional mento songs or newly composed songs in the traditional style. Examples of the traditional songs (many of which continue to be sung in rural communities in the early twenty-first century) include Lord Power's 'Penny Reel,' Count Lasher's (Terence Perkins) 'Slide Mongoose,' Lord Messan (aka 'Messam') and His Calypsonians' 'Linstead Market' and Monty Reynolds and the Silver Seas Orchestra's 'Long Time Gal A Never See You.' Examples of newly composed songs in a similar style include Laurel Aitken's 'Aitken's Boogie,' Lord Composer's 'Matilda,' Lord Flea's (Norman Thomas) 'Naughty Little Flea' (the previous two recorded and internationally popularized by Harry Belafonte in the late 1950s), Lord Tanamo's (Robert Gordon) 'Shame and Scandal' (recorded in ska style by Peter Tosh & the Wailers in the 1960s) and Harold Richardson and the Ticklers' 'Healing in the Balmyard' (renamed 'Balm Yard' in the 1970s by Stanley [Beckford] and the Turbines as a hit fusion of reggae and mento). Three albums of mento songs were particularly popular and influential: Edric Connor's *Songs From Jamaica* (1952), Louise Bennett's *Jamaican Folk Songs* (1954) and *Children's Jamaican Songs and Games* (1957).

Harry Belafonte was the first recording artist to popularize mento internationally (although his early releases were always labeled 'calypso' rather than 'mento'). Born of a Jamaican mother in New York City, Belafonte lived in Jamaica between the ages of 8 and 15 and then returned to New York, where he became a folksinger in the early 1950s. He performed many songs from Edric Connor's *Songs From Jamaica* (1952) and Louise Bennett's *Jamaican Folk Songs* (1954) as well as other mento songs (such as 'Matilda' and 'Jamaica Farewell') often adding new lyrics to traditional mento melodies. In 1956 he released *Calypso* on RCA records, a collection of mento and Caribbean folksongs that became the first album in any genre to sell a million copies. *Calypso* featured five songs from Connor's and Bennett's albums: 'Come Back Liza' (adapted from 'Wata Come to Me Eye'), 'Day-O' (adapted from 'Day De Light'), 'Hold 'Em Joe,' 'Hosana' (*sic*) and 'Judy Drownded' (*sic*), along with three other mento songs ('Brown Skin Girl,' 'Man Smart, Woman Smarter' and 'Jamaica Farewell' – an adaptation of 'The Iron Bar,' in turn an adaptation of a traditional mento song).

On his records Belafonte adopted a softened Jamaican Creole pronunciation, a pop crooning timbre and orchestral pan-Caribbean arrangements. His live performances, however, employed a melodic and rhythmic singing style closer to conventional Jamaican mento performance practice, featuring a freer vocal sound, less orchestrated arrangements and a great deal of improvisation, dancing and audience participation.

Following Belafonte's success, rural mento artist Lord Flea – a popular Jamaican artist since 1949 – was signed to Capitol records and performed with his band the Calypsonians in Miami, Las Vegas, New York City and on American TV. He also starred in two 1957 Hollywood films (*Calypso Joe* and *Bop Girl Goes Calypso*). In 1959 he died tragically of Hodgkin's disease (Neely 2008, 148–62; Garnice 2010b). In the 1960s Belafonte recorded Flea's two hits 'Naughty Little Flea' and 'Shake Shake Senora,' the latter of which was retitled 'Jump In the Line.'

Although initial mento airplay and record sales were strong in Jamaica, they faced serious competition from US R&B recordings released in the late 1940s and early 1950s. As the popularity of rock 'n' roll increased in the late 1950s, however, R&B recordings diminished in availability in Jamaica. As a result, Jamaican musicians recorded R&B-style original songs to fill the void at the behest of Clement 'Coxone' Dodd and Arthur 'Duke' Reid, two entrepreneurs who had developed huge disk jockey businesses (which were known as 'sound systems') by playing a combination of mento and US R&B records. In the late 1950s some of these musicians combined US R&B with mento and other indigenous styles and created ska, which became the most popular Jamaican music in the early 1960s.

During the ska craze of the 1960s, some artists recorded mento songs in a ska style, which was marketed as 'skalipso.' Most of these records were produced by Dodd and Reid. Like the mento singles released in the 1950s, these recordings were either traditional mento songs or newly composed songs in the traditional mento style. Examples of skalipso arrangements of traditional mento songs include Frank Anderson and Tommy McCook's 'Wheel And Turn' (196x), Baba Brooks's 'River Bank' (1963), Desmond Dekker's 'Day-O' (196x), the Gaylads' 'Brown Skin Gal' (196x), Carlos Malcolm and the Afro-Jamaican Rhythms 'Rucumbine' (1963) and Eric 'Monty' Morris's 'Penny Reel' (1964). Newly composed skalipso songs were fewer in number. Particularly successful were Lee 'Scratch' Perry's 'Sugar Bag' (1965) and Prince Buster's 'Girl Why Won't You Answer to Your Name' (1967). There were also skalipso-themed albums: Count Owen's (Owen Emanuel) *Come Let's Go Ska-Lipso* (196x), Euton 'Lord' Gayle's *Let's Dance The Ska* (1964) and the Hiltonaires' *Ska Motion in Ska-Lip-So* (1965).

Traditional mento records have continued to be produced into the twenty-first century, although airplay and sales have diminished significantly since the early 1960s. The mento style has remained popular with tourists and in rural areas (Neely 2008, 118–89). Most mento releases since the 1950s have been albums (for example, the Goldenaires' *Calypso Beach Party* [196x], the Hiltonaires' *Big Bamboo* [1966] and The Happy Smilers' *Plantation Inn* [196x]). Popular mento singles include Count Owen's 'Come With Me' (196x), Count Zebra's 'Bed Bug' (196x) and King Barou's 'Calypso Cha Cha Cha' (1972).

Although young people in the 1950s and 1960s increasingly viewed mento as old-fashioned and irrelevant (Witmer 1995, 31), in the late 1960s mento guitar and banjo strumming patterns (see Example 1 below) began to appear in rocksteady and reggae guitar styles (for example, in Derrick Morgan's 1966 rocksteady hit 'Tougher Than Tough' and Lee 'Scratch' Perry's 1968 early reggae hit 'People Funny Boy'). These strumming patterns proved to be a significant contributing factor in the emergence of the reggae style in 1968.

In the 1970s, mento experienced a resurgence. Some artists synthesized mento and reggae (with the resulting blend called 'reggae-mento,' 'mento-reggae' or 'country reggae'), and a number of rural mento artists also released new recordings of either traditional mento songs or new songs in the same style. Producers Sonia Pottinger and Alvin 'GG' Ranglin were a driving force for the country reggae style, of which the most influential proponent was Stanley Beckford who released recordings both as a solo artist and under the moniker of Stanley and the Turbines – also spelled 'Turbynes' (Neely 2008, xv), with records such as 'Wanted Man' (1973), 'Soldering' (1975), 'Brown Gal' (1977), 'Leave Mi Kisiloo' (1977) and 'Dreaming of a New Jamaica (A Land of Peace and Love)' (1980). Examples of reggae-mento based upon traditional mento songs include Cedric 'Im' Brooks and the Divine Light's 'Sly Mongoose' (1975), George Knooks and Barry Brown's 'Emmanuel Road' (1980) and Dandy Livingstone's 'Come Back Liza' (1973). Newly composed songs in a reggae-mento style include Eric Donaldson's 'Cherry, Oh Baby' (1971), which won the Jamaican Festival Song Competition in 1971 and was covered by the Rolling Stones in 1976, Larry Marshall's 'Throw Me Corn' (1984) and Peter Tosh's 'Maga Dog' (1971), which Tosh first recorded with the Wailers in a ska style in 1964.

Since the 1980s traditional rural mento artists such as the Jolly Boys, the Blue Glaze Mento Band and the Lititz Mento Band have become successful internationally, especially in the United States, Germany and Japan (Garnice 2010d). Since 2001 there have been many CD reissues of 1950s mento as well as new recordings that have also garnered strong international sales, especially on the internet (Neely 2008, 6–15).

Although the traditional mento style still exists in the early twenty-first century, a number of artists have continued to experiment with the synthesis of mento with other styles. Some reggae artists have adapted mento songs as the basis for new ones (for example, Samuel Cargill's 'Sambo Gal' [1994] is based on Lord Fly's [Rupert Linly Lyon]'s 'Big Big Sambo Gal,' the Congos' 'The River Beng Come Dow' [2006] quotes from 'River Ben Come Down' and 'Hold 'Im Joe,' Clint Eastwood [Robert Brammer]'s 'Some A Holler' [1999] is a reworking of 'Chi Chi Bud' combined with 'Charlie's Cow' and Prince Jazzbo [Linval Roy Carter]'s 'Penny Reel' [1990]). Others have written new mento-influenced songs, (for example, Big Youth [Manley Buchanan]'s 'Survival Plan' [1996] quotes 'Chi Chi Bud,' Barrington Levy's 'She's Mine' [1988] reworks 'Mango Walk' with new lyrics and Sister Nancy [Ophilin Russell]'s 'Ball A Roll' [1982] borrows freely from 'Day-O'). In early 2011, the Jolly Boys released the CD *Great Expectations* – an eclectic collection of cover versions of rock and popular songs from the 1960s to the 1990s synthesized with mento elements – which was promoted by live appearances on BBC TV.

This spirit of experimentation is also present in the work of some Jamaican dancehall artists, who have adapted mento songs or created new ones based on traditional mento (for example, Cutty Ranks's [Philip Thomas'] 'Ganja Pipe' [1996], which borrows from 'Mandeville Road,' Tenor Saw's [Clive Bright's] 'Ring The Alarm' [1985], which employs a few lyrics from 'Hold 'Im Joe' and Tony Tuff's [Winston Morris'] 'Find My Girl' [2005], which borrows heavily from Lord Flea's 'Naughty Little Flea' and Yellowman's [Winston Foster's] 'Hill and Gully Rider' [1984]) (for other dancehall mento adaptations, see Garnice 2010a).

Musical Characteristics

Mento melodies, harmonies, rhythms and structures are similar to those of other Jamaican folk and recreational musics (Murray 1971, 70–106). Melodies are generally in major keys and harmonized by the same three primary chords that characterize Anglo-Celtic folk music and Christian hymnody (I, IV and V). Other chords and modulations are rare; parallel vocal harmonies are common (Lewin 1998, 50). Songs in major keys are frequently altered by lowering third- and seventh-scale steps (White 1982a, 60), and melodies frequently begin and end between beats. Phrase lengths are also similar to those found in European models, usually four bars in length, in four-phrase verses, with the addition of recurring answering refrains. Mento music is usually composed and performed without notation.

Traditional mento instrumentation is flexible, and derived from many sources. European instruments include pennywhistle, fife, violin/fiddle, accordion, tambourine and guitar. There is homemade percussion: hollow branch of trumpet tree, PVC tubing, kitchen utensils, riding stirrup irons, sticks, brake drums and wheel rims. Neo-African instruments include hand drums, flutes, shakers, scrapers, animal jawbones, bamboo saxophone, rhumba box and banjo. The rhumba box (named using the Jamaican spelling of Cuban 'rumba') is a Jamaican variation of the Cuban *marimbula*, adapted and enlarged from the African *mbira*, a widely used sub-Saharan instrument. It is a large wooden box (upon which the player sits) with metal spring tines bolted over a circular hole cut into the side. These are plucked, sounding similar to a pizzicato string bass. In the late 1800s flute, saxophone, clarinet, trumpet, trombone and Cuban percussion (*claves*, *conga* drums, *bongos*, *timbales* and *maracas*) were introduced.

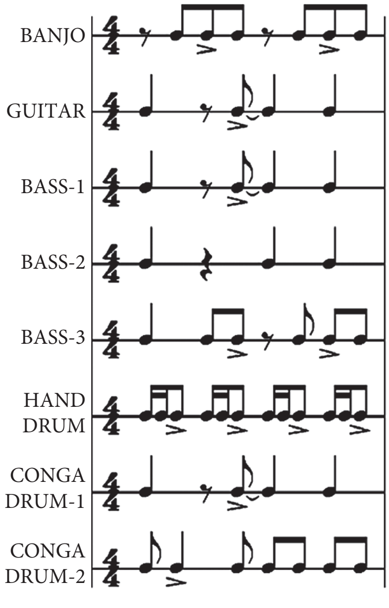
During the early twentieth century acoustic bass, keyboards (piano and organ) and drum kit (i.e., trap set) were sometimes employed, which led to the emergence of two mento styles. The rural style – known as 'country music' – was performed at informal family gatherings, or by village bands at community events, and featured the traditional instrumentation described in the previous paragraph. In the 1920s the influence of American jazz produced a polished, urban dance-band style of mento. By the 1940s this style was played primarily by 'society orchestras' – modeled after American big bands – that performed in nightclubs and hotels, mostly for tourists and upper-class audiences (Witmer 1987, 10–12). Homemade instruments were replaced with saxophones, clarinets and basses, and the banjo was often replaced with the electric guitar. When played in a more overtly jazzy style, piano and clarinet were frequently featured, along with a Latin rhythmic feel and diminution of rural percussion and overall rough edges. By the 1970s the dance band mento style was dying out, while the original rural style continued (Garnice 2010e).

In terms of performance elements, melodies often feature individualized phrasing and employ open, throaty timbres, melisma, slurs and slides (Reckford 1982, 73; White 1982a, 60). Pitch, lyrics and song structure are often improvised and adapted to suit the needs of the occasion. Verses are usually two repeated statements with responses, refrains and bobbins (short, percussive vocal refrains) (Jekyll 1966 [1907], 5, 158), but in live performances, songs are often open-ended, lasting up to 20 minutes (Lewin 1998, 51). Tempos run the gamut from slow to very fast (Murray 1971, 70–2; Baxter 1970, 174).

Mento rhythmic practices involve a constellation of rhythmic and instrumental roles that are described differently by various practitioners and experts. Both styles of mento employ a set of basic rhythmic patterns that are usually a composite of interlocking parts provided by a bass instrument and guitar/banjo strumming patterns (Neely 2008, 33, 38). The banjo strum (often called a bubble rhythm) (Neely 2008, 287–8) – see Example 1 – interweaves in and out of the bass pattern, which is usually played by the rhumba box (Neely 2008, 39).

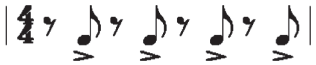
Rhumba boxes often play a 3 + 3 + 2 pattern (noted by Jamaican percussionist Marjorie Whylie, cited in Neely 2008, 36; Murray 1971, 141) or repetitive, rhythmic bass patterns, like those in other neo-African Jamaican musics (Ehrlich 1982, 53; O'Gorman 1987a, 86; Witmer 1981, 112). When supplied by a pitched instrument (or voice), however, bass parts are often muffled, muted and/or highly percussive, resulting in indeterminate pitches without a distinct melody line (Ehrlich 1982, 53).

Mento rhythmic patterns are interchangeable within a mento ensemble. Example 1 displays typical mento accompaniment patterns. In Neely's research into mento history and performance practices, he notes that the majority of mento musicians interviewed are aware of patterns similar or identical to the ones in Example 1. Older musicians usually know all of them. These patterns constitute a common pool of ideas that are utilized in various combinations and often are adapted in response to dancers' movements (especially in terms of accents and emphasis) (Neely 2008, 39–40).



Example 1: Typical mento accompaniment patterns

Mento rhythms emphasize offbeats, or 'afterbeats,' which is the term Jamaican musicologist Garth White and American musicologist and reggae bassist Luke Ehrlich use to describe the loud, heavy accents between the beats in Jamaican folk, religious and popular music; see Example 2 (White 1982c, 38; Ehrlich 1982, 55). Jamaican afterbeats continue the harmony of the preceding beat.



Example 2: Afterbeat accents

(See the 'Reggae' entry for a detailed explanation of why 'afterbeat' is preferred over other terms.) Mento afterbeats are usually played by banjo and guitar, and are also accented by percussion instruments. They also characterize the mento dancing style (described below).

When mento music is transcribed (for example, by scholars), although mento melodies are often notated as employing onbeat rhythms, accompaniment patterns usually generate melodic afterbeat accents or change melodic onbeat rhythms to syncopated ones. Indigenous performers, dancers and onlookers also feel a strong accent on the fourth beat, which Lewin attributes to the use of mento as work songs (Lewin 1998, 50). She notes that this accent is so conditioned among Jamaicans that older persons (i.e., over 50) often maintain this accentuation whenever they hear mento rhythms.

Mento Dance/Movement

Mento dancing consists of sideways, backward and turning steps combined with circular hip movements (Baxter 1970, 175). Specialists in Jamaican and West African movement and dance such as Bennett (in Johnson and Pines 1982), Carty (1988) and Ryman (1983) state that mento dancing is rooted in traditional West African dances, which also feature hip-sway and pelvic roll, especially in courtship/fertility dances. These African movement styles also show strong influences from the stateliness of the European quadrille (Wynter 1970, 47). Mento dance employs West African Kongo and yanga steps (Ryman 1983, Appendix, 57). In the Kongo step, the ball of the right foot pushes up, followed by a low, quick, flat-footed hop ahead by the left foot (Carty 1988, 36). In the yanga step, knees are bent with a forward torso (Bennett in Johnson and Pines 1982, 47). By the end of the nineteenth century, mento acquired head, shoulder and arm movements from Kumina dancing (Reckford 1982, 73), a form of dance associated with Central African-derived music-dance rituals practiced in Jamaica since the mid-1800s. While most older Jamaicans are able to execute appropriate corresponding movements when mento rhythms are played, the dance movements can present problems of execution, fluency and accuracy for people unfamiliar with this style (Lewin 1998, 53).

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ROBERT WITMER AND LEN McCARTHY

Merecumbé

The origin of *merecumbé* is closely linked to the myth of the creation of 'Ay cosita linda' (Oh Beautiful Thing), a 1955 tune by Colombian composer Francisco 'Pacho' Galán. There are many versions for the origin of the song: in one, Galán recalls a beautiful woman at the Paseo Bolívar, the main square of the city of Barranquilla; in another, it describes Patricia Ropaín, the daughter of a colleague who used to house Galán during his recording sessions in Medellín. In yet another account, the song describes a bathroom encounter between Galán and his wife. Regardless of the version, the song marks the official birth of *merecumbé*, a rhythm that propelled Galán into international stardom, establishing him firmly as one of the two most renowned figures of the Colombian tropical music *orquesta* boom, together with fellow bandleader Lucho Bermúdez. Galán recorded the song for the first time in 1955 at the Sonolux Studios in Medellín, but was not pleased with the initial result, which, according to him, sounded too much like *porro*, another well-known genre of the 1950s. In early 1956 he was able to record it again at Discos Tropical in Barranquilla, with a different arrangement, managing to reproduce the desired sound. The song gained such popularity that icons such as Nat King Cole (1959) and the Sonora Matancera (1957, with Carlos Argentino as vocalist) also recorded it, and Galan himself recorded it numerous times. In the early twenty-first century it has been recorded by *tropipop* acts such as Luis Carlos (2008) and by reggaeton duo Wisin & Yandel (2007, under the title 'Ahora es').

In terms of structure, the *merecumbé* usually exhibits short, catchy lyrics, which allow development of the melody by the saxophones, with percussion instruments setting the stage for an eventual response from the trumpets section, much like in *mambo*. According to Galán, the *merecumbé* is the product of his study of the Colombian variety of *merengue*, (a local version, peculiar to the Caribbean coastal region of Magdalena), the *cumbia* and the *porro*. The *merecumbé*, however, results mainly from the mix of the first two types of music. While the drums keep the beat of *cumbia*, the rest of the percussion instruments have the rhythm of the local *merengue*. In the *merecumbé*, *conga* drums are the equivalent of the cumbia's *tambor alegre*, improvising on a beat. In turn, the kettle does not always follow the rhythm of *merecumbé*. For two or three beats, it plays the *merengue-cumbia* rhythm, which is then followed for the next three to four beats by the rhythm of *cumbia*. This cycle is repeated several times through the entire length of the song, lasting up to three minutes. The cymbals are arranged as in the *porro*, emphasizing the sound of saxophones and handbells, which must be played in unison. Unlike the Dominican *merengue*, the Colombian variety uses ternary meters. The *merecumbé* embodies Galán's efforts to create rhythms that, while embracing musical elements of national culture as foundation, engage with foreign melodies.

Popular *merecumbés* include 'El brazalete' ('The Bracelet,' recorded as 'La butifarra de Pacho' by the Billo's Caracas Boys in 1974), 'Río y mar' ('River and Sea'), 'Ay que rico amor' ('Oh That Rich Love'), 'Carasucia,' 'El bombón,' 'Merecumbé en Bogotá,' 'Mujer celosa' ('Jealous Woman'), 'No me des con ese palo,' ('Don't Give Me That Stick') and 'Tico Noguera' (a homage to Galán's lawyer).

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HÉCTOR FERNÁNDEZ L'HOESTE

Merengue

The Spanish term *merengue* and its Haitian Creole cognate *mereng* or *méringue* refer to stylistically distinct dance musics performed in the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Venezuela and Colombia. Together, these styles can be considered a pan-Caribbean *merengue* complex. Of the various *merengues*, the Dominican form has dominated, emerging as a national symbol of the Dominican Republic in the mid-twentieth century and diffusing as a commodified form throughout Latin America in the late twentieth century.

Early History

Dating back to the 1840s, the earliest references to *merengue* are found in Puerto Rico, where it was considered a variant of the *danza*, which had developed as an Afro-Caribbean version of the European *contredanse*. *Merengue* attracted attention because it was danced by independent couples (instead of groups) and because of its African influences. While it made a hit at first, the new genre was soon rejected, probably because its dance style was considered lewd. The earliest historical reference to Dominican *merengue* dates to 1854 (Rodriguez Demorizi 1971, 111–12). As in Puerto Rico, Dominican *merengue* was originally a ballroom dance associated with the *danza*, which, in spite of being a hit at first, was soon rejected by high society for its suggestive choreography and African tinges. The rural Dominican majority, however, adopted *merengue* and infused it with even more African influences. *Merengue* variants with various instrumentations developed in several areas of the Dominican Republic, and variants of the music local to various regions of the country developed in the Dominican Republic; together, these can be considered a *Dominican merengue complex*. The variant local to the geographically contiguous Dominican regions of the Northern border and Cibao regions, called *merengue típico cibaeño* (Cibao-style folk *merengue*) or *merengue liniero* (border-region *merengue*), gained prominence during the mid-nineteenth century. While this variant originally featured string instruments such as the guitar and *cuatro*, these were supplanted by the button accordions, which became available, as a result of trade with Germany, by the 1870s. This was complemented by the *tambora* (a double-headed drum) and the *güira* (a metal scraper); by the early twentieth century, this trio was sometimes supplemented by an alto saxophone.

Accordionists led groups, composed and sang; Santiago natives Francisco 'Ñico' Lora and Antonio 'Toño' Abreu were the best-known accordionist/bandleaders of the period and the architects of the *merengue* style that later gained national and transnational prominence. Songs commented on everyday life and world events, employing a witty, light-hearted tone and, sometimes, ribald double meanings. Sometimes improvised on the spot, they could speak to the immediate context. Songs often addressed issues of the day, such as 'La libertad de Cuba,' composed in 1899, 'El aeroplano,' composed in 1903 and 'La guerra mundial' ('The World War') in 1914. Ñico Lora is credited with creating over 500 songs; some of Lora and Abreu's pieces have remained popular.

The musical style of *merengue cibaeño* combined European-influenced melodies and harmonies with interlocking, syncopated Afro-Caribbean duple rhythms. Two types of *merengue típico cibaeño*, both of which continue to be performed, became popular in the early twentieth century: *sectional merengue* and the *pambiche*. *Sectional merengue* consists of three parts denominated *paseo*, *merengue* and *jaleo*, each of which utilizes different *tambora* rhythms. The *paseo* is a short, march-like, instrumental introduction that is not danced. This is followed by the *merengue* section, which features a European-influenced melody sung and played on the accordion two to four times. The *jaleo* repeats accordion ostinatos over tonic and dominant harmonies and a *tambora* rhythm featuring a roll. The *merengue/jaleo* pairing is similar to the *canto/montuno* structure prevalent in Cuban music. The single-sectioned *pambiche* consists solely of tonic/dominant ostinatos driven by a highly syncopated *tambora* pattern. *Merengue típico cibaeño* utilizes the ballroom dance position and sideways step in one direction. Contexts for *merengue típico cibaeño* were recreational dances, cock fights and brothels.

Merengue During the US Occupation and the Era of Rafael Trujillo

On 5 May 1916, US President Wilson ordered an invasion of the Dominican Republic, and the United States established a military government that ruled the country until 1924. Rural Dominicans waged guerrilla warfare against the occupying forces, and the urban upper classes mounted an international program of protest on the diplomatic front. A virulent cultural nationalism, which encouraged the embracing of all things Dominican, accompanied this campaign. Many Dominicans, however, were simultaneously attracted to the North American popular culture that the Marines brought with them. These mixed feelings played themselves out in *merengue*'s subsequent stylistic and social history. While it is possible that it existed already before the US occupation, the *pambiche* is often said to have originated during this period. According to a popular anecdote, the Marines sometimes went to local fiestas but could not dance *merengue* correctly, combining fox-trot steps with *merengue* steps. Imitating the Yankees, Dominicans in the town of Puerto Plata created what they called *merengue estilo yanqui*, or 'Yankee-style *merengue*.' Accompanied by a novel, syncopated *tambora* rhythm, the dance was associated with a song about a fabric called 'Palm-Beach' (as in the Florida city). The new form was called '*pambiche*,' a Dominicanization of the city's name. Just as '*pambiche*' Dominicanizes a US placename, the story of its origin comments ironically on occupation-era power-relations: while Dominicans did not stand a chance of defeating the United States in armed combat, the local population reigned supreme on the dance floor, even creating a new genre out of the Marines' tangled attempts at dancing *merengue*.

When the occupation began, most upper-class Dominicans rejected both rural Afro-Caribbean genres and modernistic North American imports in favor of European-influenced forms such as the waltz, polka and *danza*. The patriotic mood that arose in the face of the US presence, however, encouraged composers to take interest in local rural music; Cibao natives Juan Francisco García and Julio Alberto Hernández composed concert pieces based on *merengue*. Influenced by this trend, Cibao bandleader Juan Espínola made a mark by performing refined *danza*-tinged *merengue* arrangements for ballroom dancing. By the 1920s and 1930s, salon dance bands were being influenced by North American popular music introduced by the occupying Marines. The jazz vogue, however, did not meet a wholly favorable reaction in the face of the anti-Yankee sentiment that reigned during and after the occupation. In 1933 the Cibao bandleader Luis Alberti diffused these sentiments by fusing *merengue* with big-band jazz. This new jazz-tinged *merengue* style soon found a permanent, though small, place in the Cibao dance band repertories.

Rafael Trujillo became dictator of the Dominican Republic in 1930. Understanding that music can serve as a potent symbol of the nation-state, he summoned Luis Alberti's band from the Cibao to the capital city of Santo Domingo in 1936 to play his jazz-tinged *merengue* arrangements at high-society balls. Renamed Orquesta Presidente Trujillo, Alberti's group became Trujillo's personal band. *Merengue* became a staple of radio broadcasts, and all of the country's dance bands were required to perform newly composed *merengues* praising the dictator. Trujillo espoused an extremely Eurocentric notion of national identity and, following his lead, scholars argued that *merengue* is of Spanish origin. Trujillo's embrace of *merengue* issued from the music's syncretic nature: in spite of its distinctly Afro-Caribbean aesthetic, *merengue*'s European elements set it apart from overtly African-influenced Dominican ritual drumming, making it compatible with the dictator's Eurocentric and anti-Haitian brand of Dominican nationalism. He also implemented an isolationist foreign policy which limited transnational intercourse; while he did not proscribe foreign musics, he consistently fostered native forms. When Brazilian hits became popular, for example, urban dance bands recorded *merengue* versions of them. Arrangements combining *merengue* with other Dominican genres such as the *salve* were also made. At the same time, accordion-based *merengue típico cibaeño* was promoted as a symbol of rural authenticity.

Under Trujillo, *merengue* was often performed on live radio broadcasts, but it was rarely recorded in the Dominican Republic. Ex-patriot Dominican bandleader Angel Viloria, however, recorded many *merengue* LPs in New York City in the 1950s, gaining fame not only among Latinos in the United States, but also in Haiti and Cuba. Ironically, in spite of the anti-Haitian character of Trujillo's nationalism, which played such an important role in the development of the genre, Dominican *merengue* gained popularity in Haiti during this period, even exerting a major influence on the preeminent Haitian popular music, *konpa* (which was also influenced by Haitian *méringue*).

Merengue in the Modern Period

Despite *merengue*'s close association with Trujillo, the music remained popular after the dictator's fall; an anti-Trujillo *merengue* entitled 'La muerte del chivo' ('The Death of the Goat') was a big hit immediately following his assassination in 1961. Bandleader Johnny Ventura incorporated *salsa* elements and rock 'n' roll performance style into his *merengue*, which abandoned big-band instrumentation in favor of a smaller *conjunto* ('combo') format. Significantly, during the 1965 Dominican Civil War, Ventura sang to troops who resisted North American forces, who had invaded the Republic in support of neo-Trujilloist elements.

The country opened to outside influences as never before in the post-Trujillo era, and under the influence of bandleaders such as Wilfrido Vargas and Juan Luis Guerra, *merengue* incorporated outside elements ranging from romantic *baladas* to Colombian and Haitian *konpa* (which, as already noted, was influenced by both Haitian *méringue* and Dominican *merengue*), to hip-hop. Massive outmigration to the United States, Puerto Rico and elsewhere marked the decades that followed; by 1990 an estimated 900,000 Dominicans (12 percent of the country's population) were living in New York City alone. *Merengue* gained a high profile in the growing Dominican diaspora in the late twentieth century, where it fomented social cohesion. Gaining access to the transnational music industry, *merengue* diffused throughout Latin America and beyond, even challenging *salsa*'s position as the preeminent Latin Caribbean dance music. Dominican *merengue* became so popular in Puerto Rico that many musicians and fans there came to consider it their own. This embrace is all the more significant when one considers the fact that *merengue* was first documented in Puerto Rico.

This transnational popularity bolstered *merengue*'s cachet within the Dominican Republic. Musicians incorporated elements of other musics into their national genre: Wilfrido Vargas and Juan Luis Guerra fused *merengue* with sundry transnational styles ranging from African-American music to Latin-American romantic *baladas*, Colombian *cumbia* and Haitian *konpa*. Even the basic percussion underpinning to the music, so intimately connected to dance movement, changed from the Cibao-style *típico* rhythm discussed earlier to a two-beat pattern called the *maco* (or toad) evocative of black North American dance rhythms such as disco.

Traditionalists, including Papa Molina, who led the preeminent Dominican *merengue* band of the 1950s, argued that the new forms of *merengue* were 'corruptions' of the genre and should not be called by the name. Others saw the new developments as a natural evolution. Interestingly, bandleaders such as Anival Bravo and Cheché Abreu attempted to baptize their innovations in *merengue* (which led the way toward the *maco* rhythm mentioned above), calling their music *chucuchá* and *mangué,* respectively. Audiences, however, continued to call the music *merengue*. The neologisms failed to stick, in part, because music industry promoters continued to sell the music as *merengue*, a 'name brand' whose market value outweighed the commercial benefits offered by the new terms. The industry strategy developed in dialogue with the predilections of *merengue* fans in the Dominican Republic, the Dominican diaspora and throughout Latin America, who continued to call the music *merengue*, a musical category that had clearly accrued a great deal of cultural capital.

Despite the phenomenal popularity of *merengue*, a new Dominican music called *bachata* became increasingly popular beginning in the 1970s. As a genre, *bachata* is distinguished by its guitar-based instrumentation and texts whose street language ironically comments on working-class life, often employing bawdy double meanings. Several musical types, including *merengue*, are performed within the rubric of *bachata*.

Accordion-based *merengu*e remained vital in the late twentieth century. While rural groups and those playing for tourists stuck with the traditional instrumentation, groups in the Cibao developed a new form of *merengue típico cibaeño* that added *conga* drums and electric bass to the traditional lineup of accordion, saxophone, *tambora*, *güira* and saxophone. These groups became more and more popular during the *merengue* boom, and eventually came to perform alongside top *merengue* bands in luxurious nightclubs throughout the Dominican Republic and among Dominicans in New York City. In the 1990s the New York-based Dominican bandleader Fulanito gained fame with his dramatic juxtaposition of *merengue* accordion riffs, evoking idealized rural authenticity, with quintessentially urban hip-hop.

In spite of growing urbanization and modernization, at the turn of the twenty-first century many Dominicans continued to live in the countryside. While *merengue* and *bachata* dominated in rural as well as in urban recreational contexts, a rich repertory of uncommodified genres such as *salve* and *palos*, which are associated with African-influenced religious rituals, were flourishing in the Dominican countryside. Perhaps the most striking aspect of Dominican music culture as a whole is the degree to which urban, mass-mediated, transnational recreational musics such as *merengue* coexist with local, rural, orally transmitted ritual musics such as *palos*.

The explicit African influences on *palos* stand in stark contrast to Eurocentric concepts of Dominican identity which had prevailed since the founding of the Republic in 1844, bolstered later by the dictator Trujillo. In the post-Trujillo era, however, a coterie of urban intellectuals and musicians began to challenge this Eurocentrism. Spearheading this movement was the activist *nueva canción* group Convite, who argued that pop *merengue* represented alienated mass culture, and composer/bandleaders such as Luis Días and José Duluc, who researched rural forms to use as fodder for a new roots music, even if the major movers in the music industry ignored them. In contraposition to the Eurocentrism that had surrounded *merengue* since it rose to national prominence under the racist ideologies of Trujillo, the prominent folklorist Fradique Lizardo proposed that Afro-Dominican *palos* drumming be adopted as a national symbol. While Dominican celebration of African roots never reached the prominence of Negritude movements elsewhere in the Caribbean, it is significant that several high-profile *merengue* musicians invoked Afro-Dominican culture in their music in the 1990s. Bandleader Kinito Méndez, for example, made mega-hits by blending *palos* drumming with *merengue*, as with his version of a traditional song dedicated to the Afro-Dominican *luá*, or spirit, Ogun Balendyo, 'Suero de amor.'

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PAUL AUSTERLITZ

Merengue Venezolano

The *merengue venezolano* is a twentieth-century dance music from Venezuela, with a characteristic attractive rhythm. It is a completely different genre from the *merengue* of the Dominican Republic in the way of its tempo, rhythm, instruments, culture and historical development. *Merengue venezolano* is also known by two other names: *merengue caraqueño*, relating its origin to the capital city Caracas, and *merengue rucaneao*, in which a reference to *Rúcano,* a mix for a popular jelly dessert, is used as a simile for the sensual pelvic movements of its dance. The *merengue* came into fashion in Venezuela during the period from the 1920s until the 1940s, the final years of a rural, backward country dominated by the dictator Juan Vicente Gómez, who died in 1935. The country's economics had changed gradually from an agricultural-based industry to those of a modern nation, becoming in this time the world's second largest oil exporter. At first, the music of *merengue* was closely associated with the *mabiles*, popular drinking and dancing places in Caracas, and with the capital's Carnival celebrations in street parades and plazas. Later in the 1940s it was absorbed into the dance halls of the higher classes through the adoption by the famous dance orchestra of Luis Alfonso Larrain, founded in 1939, and also became part of the repertoire of popular smaller groups such as the Cantores del Trópico, led by the guitarist-singer-composer Antonio Lauro (who composed 'Merengue para guitarra') and of composers such as Eduardo Serrano. Traditional hybrid ensembles of then and now who dedicate their programs to arrangements of Venezuelan folk music – ensembles such as *estudiantinas*, *orquestas típicas* and *bandas marciales* – always include *merengues* in their repertoire. These music groups consist of Venezuelan folk instruments (*cuatro*, guitar, mandolin, mandolas, maracas, percussion), mixed with symphonic instruments (strings, woodwinds, brass, saxophones) in different configurations. Twenty-first-century *estudiantinas* are mostly situated in the educational circuits, whereas the *orquestas típicas* and *bandas marciales* are usually subsidized by the local governments.

Historical Outline

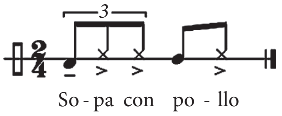
The origins of *merengue venezolano* are disputed. According to Ramón y Rivera, it is a music-type descended from the *danza cubana*, known up until the 1920s as *tango-merengue* (Ramón y Rivera 1976, 95), but it was named thereafter either *guasa* or *merengue* (Ramón y Rivera 1969, 190). This author traces the first appearances of the *danza merengue* to the scores of compositions included in the *Seminario El Zancudo*, such as 'La Boriqueña' by Salvador Llamozas (1854–1940), in 1880 (1976, 85) and to compositions by other art music composers such as José A. Montero (1839–81) (see also Soto 1998), and the famous band music composer Pedro Elías Gutiérrez (1870–1954) (see also Peñín 1998). Salazar, on the other hand, argues that the *merengue* originated from the Andalusian *tanguillo*, but could also have derived from the *fulía negra*, an Afro-Venezuelan folk type of the central coast, and that the *tango merengue* originated from Haiti, spreading throughout the Caribbean (Salazar 1991, 41). Soto mentions a possible derivation from the Basque *zorcico* proposed by Vicente Emilio Sojo (Soto 1998, 220). It was also performed by *grupos cañoneros* ('cannon' music groups), due to the fact that the musicians would call the listeners' attention by firing a bamboo cylinder (*trabuco*) filled with an explosive mixture dubbed *carburo* every time a performance of *merengue* started in the entrances (*zaguanes*) of private houses. Its traditional instrumentation consisted of guitar, *cuatro* (Venezuelan strummed four-string chordophone), *rallo* (gourd rasp), maracas, and a mandolin, flute, violin or clarinet as melodic instruments, with voices (Soto 1998, 221).

After the success of *merengue* in the arrangements of Larrain's orchestra in the 1940s, among many other *orquestas de baile*, the presence of this music and dance style diminished considerably in a changing, modernizing country, as a result of the growing distribution of foreign recorded music, which was widely accessible on radio as well as in concerts by touring foreign artists. During the 1950s, however, one or two *merengues* continued to be included in the repertoire of dance orchestras such as Billo's Caracas Boys, who played for higher social class events, and especially for the famous Carnival celebrations in Caracas during the regime of the dictator Marcos Pérez Jiménez (1952–58). *Merengue* has regularly been included in the repertoire of musicians with neofolklore tendencies – in small vocal ensembles such as the Quinteto Contrapunto, from the mid-1960s, and Serenata Guayanesa, originating in the next decade – as well as in choir arrangements from the beginning of the

1970s onward. The same applies to the new hybrid-instrumental *ensambles* which sprang up in the 1980s, such as El Cuarteto, Grupo Raíces de Venezuela and Ensamble Gurrufío, among many others, and to solo singers such as Simón Díaz, Cecilia Todd and Lilia Vera. It also became one of the rhythms adopted by the art music composers involved in the Nationalist School led by the composer Vicente Emilio Sojo in the mid-twentieth century, such as Inocente Carreño. This trend has persisted well into the twenty-first century, where art music composers equally versed in popular music, such as Orlando Cardozo in his *Merenguísticas*, have taken the *merengue* rhythm as being a symbol of the new Venezuelan culture, although it is part of the past as a dance music genre. New small *ensambles*, as well as jazz artists devoted to *fusión* music, have experimented in the search for the type of music style that could identify Venezuela, and advocate for the *merengue* as one of the best candidates among all Venezuelan rhythms to represent the new national pop music-to-be. In both cases – its usage in art music nationalism as well as in *fusión* music, where performance takes place without collective dance – the *merengue venezolano* faces a change from its former function, since it had been a music ideally suited for dancing in couples. At the same time, the *merengue* is also being continually promoted through different channels with the intention of regaining acceptance in the pop media, which, as a key to success, would imply its serving again as music for dancing. Just how this dynamic creative situation will develop is unpredictable today, but may depend on the creative level attained by whoever employs this attractive rhythm.

Musical Characteristics

Despite the many turnarounds in its history, the *merengue* has a birthright that qualifies it as the typical Venezuelan rhythm: traditionally, the first lesson given to anyone learning to play the *cuatro*, the national folk instrument, includes the *merengue* rhythm, strummed on the right hand by spelling the words '*sopa-con-pollo*' (chicken soup), in order to seize the rhythm (see Example 1). Once this technique has been mastered, the *cuatro* student learns to play the first song, the traditional *merengue* called 'Compadre Pancho.'

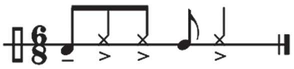


Example 1: *Merengue* in 2/4 meter (with the words used in *cuatro* lessons)

Merengue venezolano survives in a version intended to be close to the original, through the performances by *grupos de proyección* (revivalist folk groups) such as 'Los Antaños del Stadium' since 1950, 'Cañón Contigo,' founded in the early 1980s and 'Rucaneo del Mabil,' in 1995. The latter's stated purpose is 'to rescue this forgotten music typical of a city, Caracas, which has no longer any music to define it' and at the same time to 'provide a dance-music alternative to compete with foreign music' (Gil 2005, author's translation). They include other traditional salon dance music in their repertoire as well as *merengue*, such as *pasodobles*, *joropos*, *vals*, foxtrots and *aguinaldos*. These groups incorporate wind instruments such as the saxophone, trumpet and trombone, the *cuatro*, *rallo*, a snare drum with cymbal and the electric or double bass, and usually dress in formal pairs of trousers with suspenders and a flat-top, round, straw hat. Their performances are seen more as a museum-type of concert, nostalgic of the lost and forgotten cultural homogeneity of Caracas.

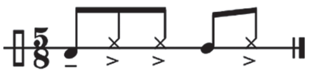
Although the *merengue* is no longer part of the regular dance repertoire in the early twenty-first century, the charm of the rhythm continues to attract present-day composers who are actively producing songs in this idiom, such as Luis Laguna, Pablo Camacaro of the Grupo Raíces de Venezuela, and jazz artists such as Aldemaro Romero, Gerry Weil and the newly emerged pianist Prisca Dávila, among many others.

The rhythm of *merengue* is traditionally written as a two-beat phrase (± 108 – 140 bpm), but a controversy exists as to how to transcribe it into music notation. Scholars and composers have proposed different versions of it, without arriving at any agreement (Ramón y Rivera 1976, 89; Salazar 1991, 42; Soto 1998, 221). As the *merengue* has become part of the life of written art music and of arrangements of jazz music in its recent history, three notational options have been used but none of them works efficiently to make a performance from notation sound like a *merengue venezolano*, without previous audio knowledge. It can be written in a 2/4 meter with triplets and two binary eighths notes (see Example 1 above), or in a 6/8 meter as in the majority of Venezuelan folk music (see Example 2).



Example 2: *Merengue* in 6/8 meter

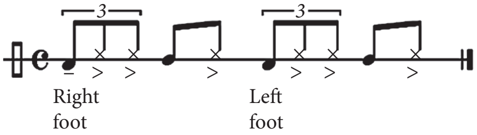
But among art music and jazz composers, the trend has been to choose a 5/8 meter (see Example 3):



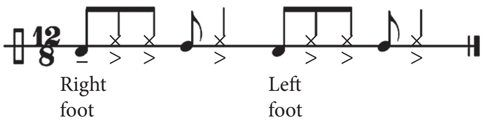
Example 3: *Merengue* in 5/8 meter

The problem with the first option is that the fifth note (the second eighth note on the second beat) sounds too slow. In the 6/8 version, the rhythm sounds too similar to an existing large body of Afro-Venezuelan music. With the version in 5/8 meter, the music would not be danceable because the two beats (dotted quarter note + quarter note) would be of different lengths of time. This version has become the preferred one for new composers since it is an unusual, irregular meter to experiment with, creating difficult syncopations. Since it is not meant to be danced to in any case, it is usually performed faster and measured in one single beat subdivided into five eighth notes. So there are two different rhythms existing for the *merengue venezolano* in the true musical sense, each differentiated by its regular or irregular beat structure. These two rhythms have become functional in two different fields of music activity: folk/pop/dance music using 6/8 or 2/4 and art music/*fusión*/jazz using 5/8.

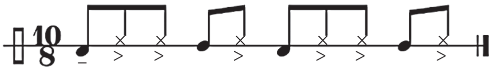
However, in the true *merengue* dance sense, the rhythm should be understood as a four-beat meter, since the dancer makes a major step with the right foot on the first beat and a major corresponding step with the left foot on the third beat. So it is either a four-beat rhythm (see Examples 4 and 5), or the undanceable 10 (5 + 5)/8 meter (see Example 6), a fact that has not been previously considered in any literature.



Example 4: *Merengue* in a four-beat, binary-subdivided meter



Example 5: *Merengue* in a four-beat, ternary-subdivided meter



Example 6: *Merengue* in a four uneven-beat, 10 (five + five)/8 meter

The difficulty caused by the last accented note of the phrase (the fifth note), in order to achieve the *merengue* 'feel' in its performance (see Examples 1, 2 and 3), can be solved by playing it with a nuance back or forth depending on whether it is written as a binary eighth note (Example 4) or as a quarter note within a 12/8 meter (Example 5). This is what does indeed happen in the performance of the *merengue venezolano*, a delightful, catchy dance rhythm.

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EMILIO MENDOZA

Méringue (Mereng)

Méringue (French), or *mereng* in Haitian Kreyòl, is an iconic Haitian music genre that developed from the legacy of social dance in the Caribbean in the nineteenth century. Its long history and popularity among diverse social strata has led to varied iterations of the genre over time, although it is best known to Western audiences in its parlor music form, *méringue lent*. After emerging in the mid-nineteenth century and coming to fruition in the early twentieth century, *méringue* reached the pinnacle of its popularity during the American occupation of Haiti (1915–34), earning unofficial designation as the island's national music; it remains a treasured emblem of national culture today (Fouchard [1973] 1988b). Because of its multifaceted past, the term *méringue* can denote a wide range of folk music styles, most commonly those that include the popular *quintolet* or *cinquillo* rhythm.

The *méringue* evolved from the European-derived *contredanse* tradition, which then blended with the *calenda* and *chica*, syncretic dances of African origin. Although *contredanse* originated as a form of rural dancing (country dancing) in England in the seventeenth century, the *contredanse français* was an important activity in the French court by the early eighteenth century; the dance quickly became popular among lower classes as well. The French brought the *contredanse français* to Haiti, where they held social dances. Slaves frequently provided the musical accompaniment for these social dances and thus became familiar with *contredanse,* adopting it for their own social gatherings.

The *carabiné* (French: *carabinier*), a couple's dance that blends aspects of *contredanse* and *calenda*, is the believed direct precursor of the *méringue*. This dance emerged shortly after the 1804 revolution, during the Presidency of Jean-Jacques Dessalines. It became the most popular social dance among the elite in Haiti until the *méringue*'s debut around 1847. Rural communities continued to practice the *carabiné* until the mid-twentieth century, especially at dances and at *fèt champèt* (country dance), where *contredanse* was typically performed.

Méringue Varieties and Social Class

By the early twentieth century, the *méringue* was ubiquitous in the social life of both Haitian elites and the lower class. However, the style and practice of these '*méringues*' greatly varied between the classes. Typically, *méringues* can be grouped into two subsections: *méringue lent* (slow *méringues*), the slow-tempo and lyrical salon songs of the elite, and *mereng koudyay* (French: *méringue coup d'jaill*), the fast rural music practiced by the lower class.

The *méringue lent*, the best-known variety of *méringue* outside of Haiti, is sometimes called *méringue salon* (parlor *méringue)* because of the genre's popularity as lyrical parlor songs written for piano and performed at Sunday afternoon salon concerts of the elite. In addition to these parlor songs, Haitian art music composers in the late nineteenth century, including Occilius and Occide Jeanty as well as Michel Mauléart, embraced *méringue* in their music, which they composed for dances as well as salon concerts. The bourgeoisie consumed *méringue*-inspired concert music as a way to celebrate their Haitian cultural roots through a contemporary medium. One example of such a *méringue* is 'Choucoune,' composed by Michel Mauléart Monton (1855–98) and published in 1884 by Ferdinand Frangeul. The text for 'Chocoune' was taken from a poem by Oswald Dunand (1840–1906), and was originally called 'Frè P'titt Pierr' (Little Brother Pierre), after the narrator of the song, a young slave who is in love with a woman named Chocoune. The lyrics evoke rural life so as to allow elite listeners to connect to local culture.

The *méringue* also remained an important staple at elite social dances, typically closing the dance as the final selection of the night. Gage Averill presents a *mérigue lent* that exemplifies this point, as well as the *méringue*'s importance in Haitian culture (Averill 1997, 35):

Mereng ouvri bal	The *méringue* opens the ball
Mereng fenmen bal	The *méringue* closes the ball
San mereng panpwen kanaval	Without the *méringue*, there is no Carnival

It is fitting that the song mentions *méringue* and Carnival, because another variety of *meringue*, favored by the lower class, was commonly used in Carnival song practices. Preceded by the *mereng kanaval* (Carnival *méringue*), the *mereng koudyay* (French: *méringue coup d'jaill*) is meant to denote the music-fueled, 'gushing, surging events' that took place at political rallies post-independence (Largey 2009, 213). Although the *mereng koudyay* and *mereng kanaval* have different names, they are nearly identical in style. The fast-tempo songs of *mereng koudyay* were originally used in the early days of the Haitian military to celebrate victories, and this celebratory nature conveyed well into Carnival song practice.

There are some exceptions to the typical delineation of *méringue* by class. The best-known examples of this are in the work of composer and pianist Ludovic Lamothe (1882–1953). Lamothe bridged the different class-based styles of *méringue*, composing both the *méringue lent* 'La dangereuse' and the *méringue de carnival* 'Nibo,' the latter of which won best song in the 1934 Carnival competition. However, the upper class mostly consumed *méringues* of lower status through select pieces that were published and stylized.

Significance as a National Symbol

By the end of the American occupation of Haiti *méringue* had become a cultural staple across class lines and was revered as the country's (unofficial) national music. However, there have been debates as to whether the *méringue* can be called a distinctly Haitian genre, particularly due to its similarities to other Caribbean national musics. Most obviously, the shared use of the *quintolet* or *cinquillo* rhythm in the Haitian *méringue*, the Martinican *beguine*, Dominican *merengue* and Cuban *danzón* has caused scholars to question how closely these genres are related and how unique each is to its respective island (Largey 2009, 209).

The most heated of these debates has involved the Dominican Republic, Haiti's neighbor on the island of Hispaniola. The two nations have a long and tumultuous history, and it comes as no surprise that they disagree with each other on the origins of the *méringue* and the *merengue*. Many Haitian music scholars trace the connection of the genres to the Haitian occupation of the Dominican Republic from 1822 to 1844 (Fouchard [1973] 1988b; Saint-Cyr 1981–82; Dumervé 1968). They posit that during this time Haitian soldiers introduced their neighbors to early forms of *méringue* and that the *merengue* is the direct offspring of the *méringue*. Not surprisingly, Dominicans vehemently disagree and denounce the idea of any Haitian influence on the *merengue*. One Haitian musician, however, has taken another stance. Haitian pianist and composer Ludovic Lamothe, one of the best-known composers and performers of *méringues* during and after the American occupation, wrote an essay in 1935, 'Can We Have a National Music?' in which he acknowledged *méringue*'s dubious origins. In the essay, he conceded that the dance is related to the *habanera* and is of Spanish origin. However, Lamothe maintains that the *méringue* is now a distinctly Haitian art, regardless of its antecedents.

Thus, the *méringue* remains an important heirloom of Haitian culture and national identity. Although the dance has lost its large-scale commercial popularity, it is commonly performed today in folkloric settings as a homage to Haiti's rich and variegated history. In spite of its differing styles and class stratification, it is clear that the *méringue* has served an important purpose for Haitians of all classes for over 100 years.

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LAURA DONNELLY

Milonga

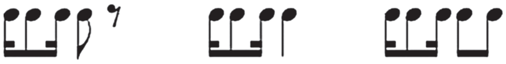
'*Milonga*' is one of those words, often encountered in the cultural field, whose meaning is taken for granted but difficult to define precisely. The origin of the term has been postulated as being Afro-Brazilian (Rossi 1926, 116) or directly African (Vega 1965, 309). The word comprises a group of musical genres that extended at different points in time across a good portion of the territory of Argentina, the entire territory of Uruguay and the extreme south of Brazil (a part of the state of Rio Grande do Sul state). As is often the case, the origin of a word is not necessarily related to the origin of the object the word indicates. Since the second half of the nineteenth century the term has consistently carried several different, changing meanings. It was the name of a musical genre with at least four subgenres, one of them quicker, danceable and mostly instrumental, and the other three slower and mostly sung. It was the name of a lively and angular dance that originated, according to Rossi (ibid., 113–28) on the eastern bank of the Río de la Plata. The danceable *milonga* was not especially suitable for lyrics, even if it often gave shelter to low texts, sometimes mischievous or obscene. The other, slower subgenres allowed the development of singable *milongas*. As in other parts of the continent, in earlier times in Uruguay and Argentina the word 'milonga' meant 'muddle' or 'mess,' or even, in certain places, enchantment or sorcery; it also designated a celebration that included dance. Later on, by the end of the nineteenth century, any dance venue could be designated by the term. In the last decades of the nineteenth century there was a large influx of young European workers into the Río de la Plata area, resulting in an overpopulation of single males and a thriving network of brothels. As a consequence, the term *milonga* began to acquire less positive meanings, and as well as referring to the places where people danced the *milonga* (and other dances), it began also to be used to mean a licentious woman. More recently, the term has been used to denote an event where people dance *tango* and *tango*-related dances.

Ayestarán (1967) placed the origin of both *milonga*-music and *milonga*-dance at around 1850, recognizing that it had reached its peak by 1870, though he knew, as did Vega, that its origin could have been earlier than the appearance of the term in documents. Vega presupposed the existence of a genre from which the *milonga* derives. The nineteenth-century *milonga* seems to have disappeared by 1900, though it has been revived repeatedly and perhaps never really died out. In any case, at the start of the twenty-first century the *milonga* was still in good health.

In Uruguay the *milonga* has been, at various periods, the central genre cultivated by popular musicians (and accepted by the audience). By observing the genre as it existed in Uruguay through the second half of the twentieth century, we can establish some of its characteristics. (For information on *milonga* in Argentina and Brazil, see Milonga [Argentina] and Milonga [Brazil])

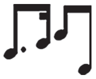
The Danceable *Milonga*

Performed principally by the guitar, followed at some distance by the accordion, a danceable *milonga* preceded the *tango* historically but gave way to it at the beginning of the twentieth century, only to reappear three decades later within the context of *tango*, like an updated echo of past practices. Recovered above all as the gesture (in both musical and physical terms) of the old dance, the music of this danceable *milonga* is perpetuated in the *tango*-orchestra repertoire as *tango-milonga* (or *milonga tanguera*). A particularity of this *milonga* is the rhythmic cell, called '*pie de milonga*' in the Río de la Plata, of sixteenth note-eighth note-sixteenth note that falls on the beat in quaver or crotchet or two quavers (see Example 1).



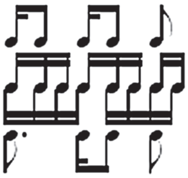
Example 1: *Pie de milonga* rhythmic cell

This melodic gesture, which is probably the central core of the danceable *milonga*, also appears in musical expressions in other parts of the Americas. Another important characteristic is the accompaniment, which can be understood as a quick version of the *habanera* bass (or the rhythm of Cuban *tango*, as *habanera* was known in Cuba in the first half of the nineteenth century), probably, but not necessarily, derived from it (Example 2).



Example 2: Scheme of the accompaniment of the danceable *milonga*, similar to the *habanera* bass

Both schemes conform to an implied underlying structure in which the binary metric unit can be subdivided in two different ways: on the one hand, into two equal halves of four sixteenth notes, and on the other, into three unequal thirds of three, three and two sixteenth notes, respectively (see Example 3).



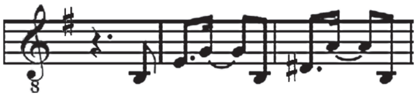
Example 3: Superimposition of the rhythmic structures underlying the danceable *milonga*

These characteristics may be omnipresent in a danceable *milonga*, or present only sometimes, or merely suggested.

The implied frame allows the consumers to perceive as danceable *milonga* pieces of music that are not explicit in terms of these types of structures and that defy any attempts at academic analyses with melodies or accompaniments which, when put on paper, may appear rigid.

The Singable *Milonga*

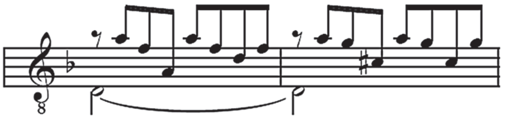
In the second half of the twentieth century, the singable *milonga* was developing a number of variants, usually slower. These can be broadly grouped into three main types. One is the *milonga oriental* or *orientala* (eastern *milonga*), cultivated in what is today Uruguay. Rugged, with aggressive and sharp accentuation, it was defined by Carlos Molina (the principal personality among the *payadores* of the second half of the twentieth century), as 'more vigorous, more virile, more appropriate for singing epic things' (quoted in liner notes for the album by Molina and Sosa, *El arte del payador*; author's translation) (see Example 4).



Example 4: Basic accompaniment of *milonga oriental*

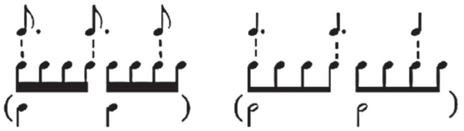
The dotted eighth notes and sixteenth notes (with tie) in this accompaniment can often be of an eighth note and two sixteenth notes, the second of which is clearly more accentuated than the first (and is tied to the next eighth note as well).

The second broad type is that of the *milonga pampeana* (western *milonga*). Lyrical and tender (in contemporary terms), it is described by Molina as 'a little softer, very nostalgic' (ibid.), so more able to express feeling. Here the lower notes subtly trace the three-three-two pattern (see Example 5).



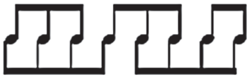
Example 5: Basic scheme of the beginning of the Introduction to Atahualpa Yupanqui's 'Hay leña que arde sin humo.' (Some Wood Burns Without Smoking)

In the singable *milonga*, the superimposition of the two different subdivisions noted earlier in the danceable *milonga* (Example 3) is again present. In the singable type, the basic rhythm again is three-three-two, that is two dotted quarter notes followed by a quarter note, simultaneous with two half notes subdivided into eighth notes (see Example 6).



Example 6: Rhythmic simultaneity in the singable *milonga*

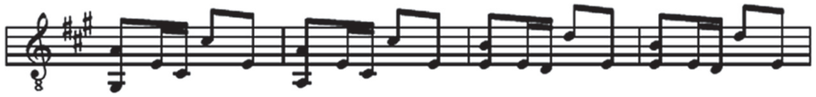
This is an example of a metric scheme which is widespread in the Americas (especially on the Atlantic coast, as established by Vega), in which the binary is superimposed over the ternary, both subdivisions having a corporeal feel. As noted earlier, this metric structure subdivides two beats into four, which are superimposed – note against note – over three pulses of unequal duration: two three-note and one two-note subdivisions (see Example 7).



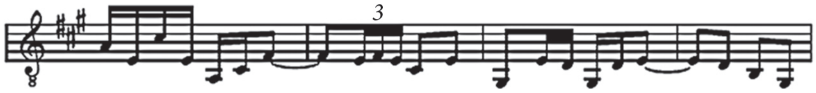
Example 7: Basic polymetry of the three-three-two scheme

It is important to note once again that this three-three-two pattern is implicitly perceived though not necessarily explicit. As a consequence, this metric family retains its rhythmic feel even when the melody line or the accompaniment feature equal note values (i.e., a series of eighth or thirty-second notes in a two-guitar accompaniment).

It is likely that *milonga* contains an important component of remote African origin, whether in its gestational crossbreeding or in its interactions with other genres, but that origin cannot be affirmed. Vega (2007, 66–7) thinks that the *milonga*'s origin is in the



Example 8: *Milonga achamarrada* accompaniment pattern



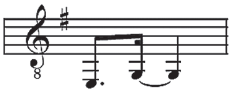
Example 9: Cutting gestures in a *milonga achamarrada*

lundú, a genre, both sung and danced, that originated in Brazil in the eighteenth century. That would mean the process of hybridization with African traits would be a second-generation process: effectively, a hybridization of what was already a hybrid.

A third type of singable *milonga* may also be identified: that of the *milonga* of northern Uruguay, which bears many similarities with the *chamarrita* (or *chamarra* or *chimarrita* or *shimarrita* or *cimarrita*) and is potentially danceable. In fact, the *chamarrita* has been defined as a variant of the *milonga*. The accompaniment to this '*milonga achamarrada*' ('chamarrized' *milonga*) is a kind of hammering pattern, as in Example 8 above. This pattern can be interspersed within the introduction and interludes with certain cutting gestures, which perhaps reflect the influence of dance; see Example 9 above for a common variation.

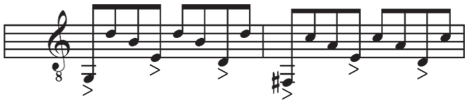
These three branches of singable *milonga* have persisted into the twenty-first century, cultivated not only in Uruguay but in parts of Argentina and in some adjacent areas of southern Brazil. They have also been of fundamental and continued importance in the work of popular musicians since the 1960s. Through the influence of radio and the frequent visits of Argentinian musicians (mainly Atahualpa Yupanqui, Antonio Tormo and Abel Fleury), the second, western branch of the singable *milonga* appears to have influenced the first, eastern one by the mid-twentieth century.

Among the enormous diversity of variations in use, within eastern *milonga* we find variants such as the scheme of a dotted eighth note and sixteenth note tied to a quarter note (close to the scheme of *milonga oriental*, already defined) (Example 10):

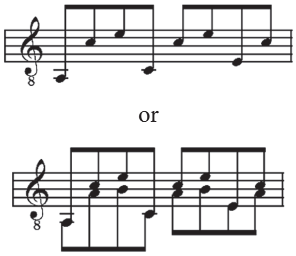


Example 10: Eastern *milonga*'s accompaniment variant

A further variant is a scheme of eight eighth notes (if written in 2/2) in which the interplay between pitches (i.e., their highness and lowness) determines how the three-three-two is perceived (more distant from *milonga oriental*), and in which the direction of the articulation can be descending or ascending (Examples 11 and 12):



Example 11: Descending movement (fragment of 'Nací para andar caminos' [I Was Born to Travel the Roads] by Anselmo Grau)

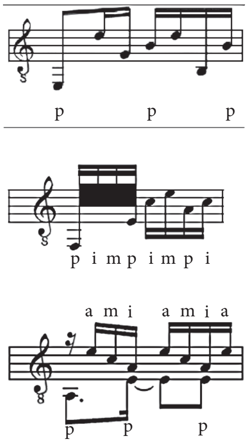


Example 12: Ascending movement (fragment of '¿No lo conoce a Juan?' [You Don't Know Juan?] by Rubén Lena, recorded by Los Olimareños)

This scheme can be present in very different tempi.

Another aspect to be noted is that in the singable *milonga* a higher or lower tempo is not linked to eventual danceability. Moreover, there is no inherent range of tempi.

The character of the *milonga* can also be seen in the way the guitar is played: as Rubén Olivera has stressed (personal communication with author), the right hand has a decisive role in the way the strings provide the implicit (and not necessarily explicit) perception of three-three-two. The play of accents in the above examples (*marcato* in Example 11, *non marcato* in Example 12) is provided by the thumb, the use of which is very important in the popular guitar style of the Río de la Plata cultural tradition (see Example 13). The use of the thumb generates an entire palette of timbres, sound qualities and gestures of attack. But the thumb can go beyond the usual strings (4, 5 and 6), to the 3 and even the 2.



Example 13: Examples of three-three-two feel being brought out in the bass notes of the guitar accompaniment pattern in singable *milonga* (p = thumb, i = forefinger, m = middle finger, a = ring finger)

The meter of *milonga* lyrics is generally octosyllabic, structured in groups of four, six, eight or ten lines. The singing is, as almost always in this region, syllabic. With its static character, the *milonga* is well suited to the development of long sequences of lines, appropriate for narrating epic stories or current happenings in daily life. That is why, since the nineteenth century and over several decades, the warp and woof of *milonga* has permitted confrontations between two singers (*milongueros*), though in a different praxis and in a less demanding manner than the duels of the *payada* (alternate improvisation of lyrics by two singer-guitarists). From the end of the nineteenth century the *payadores* themselves adopted the *milonga* as an important support for their duels.

It is in that *payador* tradition that we find, surviving strongly, a way of intoning the melody that does not fit with the molds of the tonal system; the *cifra* tradition demonstrates a similar phenomenon. In traditional *milonga* singing ('canto por milonga'), the boundary between song and spoken intonation can be very fluid, and the articulation of the lyrics achieves a high level of intelligibility. In the long series of stanzas, the sung text often alternates with recited sequences.

Historically, the *milonga* has often been conceived as a repertoire of formulaic patterns at the levels of melody, accompaniment and embellishment. This historic trajectory is also common to other local genres, such as the *cifra*, and, possibly to a greater degree, the *vidalita*. The culture of formulas became less prominent during the twentieth century, due perhaps to the influence of recordings and radio, though it reappears here or there; however, the approach is linked with the ongoing tradition of the 'walking' formulas, which was attacked by the twentieth-century cultural industry and by the capitalist concept of authorial rights. The *milongas* frequently use walking solutions (which have no owner and are free for use among those who cultivate the genre), in the singing line as well as in the accompaniments, or in the introductions and preludes (see Example 14 below).

And finally, there is an almost hidden, secret current within the *milonga* family: that of the *milongón*, a genre that can be perhaps defined as a sluggish and thick *milonga*. This genre has a more explicit relationship with Afro-Montevidean traditions.

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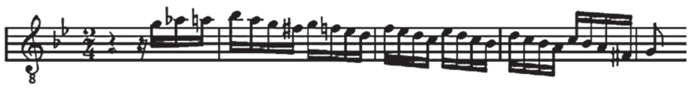

Example 14: A 'walking' formula in the guitar accompaniment of a *milonga*

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CORIÚN AHARONIÁN

Milonga (Argentina)

In Argentina, *milonga* is a traditional vocal genre of *criollo* origin, normally performed by a solo voice with a guitar accompaniment. The genre is present mainly in the provinces of Buenos Aires, La Pampa and Entre Ríos, and in the south of the provinces of Mendoza and San Luís. However, the influence of *milonga* extends from the Patagonia region to urban sectors thanks to the work of nationalist composers. The term may have originated in Africa (see main entry on Milonga) but the origins of *milonga* as a song genre appear to go back to the mid-nineteenth century. Ventura Lynch documented this type of song in 1883 (1925 [1883], 37–40), transcribing a few examples that he collected in rural areas. He defined these songs as 'zandungueras,' namely for their graceful and animated character. He also distinguished between the rural *milongas*, which were sung, and those that were danced in the suburbs of the city of Buenos Aires. At the start of the twentieth century, the *milonga* was revived and disseminated by the traditionalist movement in Buenos Aires, becoming the song par excellence of the River Plate *payadores* who, until then, had used the *cifra* (a traditional melody with accompaniment based on improvised verses).

The *milonga* normally starts with a guitar prelude usually plucking the strings, reproducing the rhythmic formula characteristic of the genre: dotted eighth-sixteenth-eighth-eighth, over tonic and dominant chords. This serves as a base for the accompaniment once the voice is introduced. It contains the musical features proper to the songbook that Carlos Vega (1944, 230–45) denominated as 'colonial binary': major or minor key, sometimes bimodal (i.e., with the superimposition of F major and the melodic minor). It is in duple meter with occasional polyrhythms between the accompaniment, which is in triple meter, and the vocal line, which is usually in duple meter. *Milongas* are syllabic, with each sung verse separated by an interlude that repeats the theme of the prelude. Often the melody line starts on a pickup, and it also tends to start on a higher register with a gradual descent to lower registers as the song progresses.

The texts, based on octosyllabic lines, are organized in verses of four, six and eight lines and, above all, in *décimas*. The range of subject matter explored in these poems is wide, including patriotic, narrative, comic or burlesque, romantic and historical themes. In addition, the *milonga* is used to improvise on a theme proposed by the audience, and also for counterpoint *payadas,* literary-musical duels between two singers on a poetic theme either previously agreed upon between them, suggested by the audience, or that emerges freely in the course of the duel. In a *payada*, one of the singers is defeated when he is unable to respond correctly to the other contender.

In the province of La Pampa, the *milonga* has been registered as performed by two voices and two guitars, the singers alternating after two verses or each stanza. This *milonga* has also been given different names and functions according to the strumming techniques used to perform it: *corralera*, *campera*, *surera* or *para payar*. It can also be interpreted by a solo guitar in a purely instrumental mode.

Many of the art music composers affiliated to the nationalist movement of the first half of the twentieth century were inspired by the *milonga* to create works for piano, voice and piano, choir or orchestra. Notable among them are 'Aires de la pampa,' ten *milongas* for piano, opus 63 (1913) and opus 64 (1916) and 'Las milongas de la orquesta,' opus 107 (1935) by Alberto Williams; 'Ritmos argentinos' for piano (1933) by Cayetano Troiani; 'Milonga' for mixed choir by Juan Bautista Massa; and 'Frescas sombras de sauces' (Cool Shades of the Elm Tree) for voice and piano by Carlos López Buchardo.

Creators and interpreters of popular music have also made the *milonga* one of their preferred genres for their compositions. Among the most relevant are Atahualpa Yupanqui with works such as 'El payador perseguido' (The Hunted Payador), a tale in the form of a *milonga*; 'Milonga del solitario' (The Loner's *Milonga*) and 'Milonga del peón de campo' (*Milonga* of the Country Peon); Eduardo Falú's 'Variaciones de milonga,' 'Contrapunteando' and 'Preludiando'; Carlos Di Fulvio's 'Milonga ¿cómo le va?' ('How Are You?' *Milonga*), 'De nadie y de todos' (Nobody's and Everybody's) and 'Abuelo gaucho' (Gaucho Grandfather); Hugo Giménez Agüero's 'Sangre de peón' (Peon's Blood), 'Por el sur de Piedra Buena' (South of Piedra Buena), 'Glaciar,' 'Solo soy un peón' (I Am Just a Peon) and 'Metáfora' (Metaphor), Hilda Herrera's 'Al calor de mi tierra' (In the Heat of My Land); Atilio Reynoso's 'Cuando llama la querencia' (When Home Beckons) and 'La matera de San Francisco' (The Mate Shack of San Francisco).

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HÉCTOR LUIS GOYENA (TRANSLATED
BY ZUZANA PICK WITH PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

Milonga (Brazil)

Milonga appeared in Brazil around the end of nineteenth century in the extreme south of the country, in the region where Brazil borders on Argentina and Uruguay. It was widely disseminated as a genre of popular music, mainly in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, in the context of the *música nativista* festivals that appeared around the end of the 1970s. In the 1980s, when these festivals were of considerable importance (Lucas 1990, 227; Santi 2004, 94–5), *milonga* was considered their most emblematic musical genre (Lucas 2003, 70).

In Brazil, the Río de la Plata region of Argentina and Uruguay is widely accepted among musicians and researchers as being *milonga*'s point of origin. Ferraro characterizes it as 'one of the most important genres of musical communication' (2006, 59; author's translation) within *platina* (from Argentina and Uruguay) and *gaúcha* (in this case, from the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul) cultures. It should also be noted that in two well-known dictionaries of popular music and Brazilian folklore (Andrade 1999; Câmara Cascudo 2011), the term *milonga* is associated with African origins, and with meanings such as 'a reunion to solve some problems,' 'a kind of gossip, intrigue, plot' (Andrade 1999, 336) and also 'words,' 'words in general, foolish or insolent words' (Câmara Cascudo 2001, 383; author's translations). (See also main entry on Milonga.)

As in *rio platense payada* (music of the *payadores* of the Rio de la Plata) *milonga* in Brazil has a strong connection with the spoken word, for example in that form of performance which provides instrumental accompaniment (traditionally played on the guitar) for verbal improvisation. *Milonga* can also be sung or be played as an instrumental.

In the modern era, at least in Brazil, *milonga* is characterized by a great deal of variety, in terms of style of composition and mode of performance, mood, arrangements and instrumentation. At the 'traditional' end of the spectrum, *milongas* in different moods are common in the repertoire of groups and musicians associated with the aesthetics of *música gauchesca/nativista*, such as Os Monarcas, Os Serranos, Gaúcho da Fronteira, among many others. At the other end, and confirming *milonga*'s plasticity and its ability to transcend boundaries whether national or aesthetic, it is also present, for instance, in the title track of the first album of one of the most important Brazilian rock bands from the 1980s, Engenheiros do Hawaii, from Porto Alegre, the capital city of Rio Grande do Sul (*Longe demais das capitais*, 1986). *Milonga* also continues to be included in the repertoire of musicians who originated in Rio Grande do Sul and who perform in broader popular musical contexts at both national and international levels, composing and recording new *milongas* as well as drawing inspiration from the genre as a whole. Two good examples are the composer, singer and instrumentalist Vitor Ramil and, from another style, the virtuoso guitarist Yamandu Costa. Meanwhile, in the work of musicians such as the instrumentalist Renato Borghetti, *milonga,* together with other genres from the south of Brazil, approaches the borders of jazz, with complex arrangements and harmonies, and the inclusion of elements such as an improvised solo.

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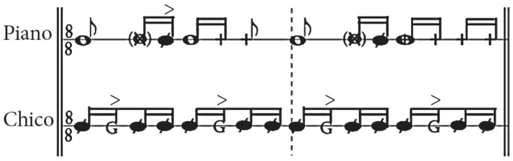
LUÍS FERNANDO HERING COELHO

Milongón

The *milongón* forms part of the *candombe* repertoire of the Afro-Uruguayan Carnival associations, who perform it mostly in popular theaters during the Carnival period in Uruguay (and not, therefore, when marching in parades). *Milongón* is also played, sung and danced in the domestic sphere, in families of African descent, as part of a party – for example, to make a joke or to engage in an imitation of the elders, animating them to dance. Like the *candombes* presented by those associations ('comparsas') in popular theaters, *milongón* is played by a trio, quartet or quintet of the best drummers. Many *milongón* pieces are songs for a singer and a chorus. In this type of *milongón*, besides the drum group, there will be an arrangement for electric bass, guitar, keyboard and perhaps brass (Ferreira 1997; Aharonián 2007).

The drum group interacts with two of the *candombe*'s main dance figures, the ancestral couple of the group – the 'Gramillero' and the 'Mama-Vieja.' Many *comparsas* experts consider that the *milongón* refers to an early noble dance, representing that of the King and Queen of an ancient nation – an African society in the colonial and early republican period in Uruguay – on the occasion of a ritual. This representation may be expressed in gesture by the way in which the dancers' movements designate noble rank, following the subtle improvisation of the medium drum and the fills and some breaks by the large drum. According to historical sources, some of the main Nations established in the southern districts of Montevideo in the 1870s and 1880s were the Congo, Benguela, Mina-Mahi, Mina-Nago, Calabari and Mozambique (Ayestarán 1953; Goldman 1997).

Milongón has the same musical structure and organizational principles as *candombe* drumming, but is played at a much slower pace. A fast *milongón* would be a slow *candombe*. *Milongón* may be represented as a sixteenth notes pulse in 4/4 time or, better, in 8/8 (see Example 1).



Example 1: *Milongón* in 8/8

This is because the big drum *piano* (bass) often uses a special technique, similar to ‘manotazo’ in Afro-Cuban music, of successive strokes by the palm (⊙) and fingers (⊗) of the left hand in the center of the patch, accentuating an eighth note flow. Meanwhile, the right hand with stick (●, open stroke; +, muted stroke) emphasizes a three/two/three metric organization in the first half of the measure, and a three/one/four organization in the second half (⊕ is a simultaneous palm and stick stroke). At the same time, the small drum *chico* (treble) plays a pattern named *chico repicado* (G is *galleta*, a strong left-hand open slap stroke; ●, open stroke with stick).

Medium drum *repique* improvisation and responses (to other *repique* drums or to the vocal part) may include the superimposition of triplets (Example 2) as well as quick sextuplets (Example 3), and a variety of colors (G is a *galleta* slap stroke; X is a left-hand closed slap stroke; ● stands for open stick stroke; T is *timbaleteado* – a rim-shot stick stroke).

A *milongón*, played with drums only, is related to another of the main dance figures of *candombe*, which the master of ceremonies – the ‘Escobero’ – performs during the slowest part of the dance with his light broomstick twirling round his body. Beginning with a medium-time *candombe*, a drum trio or quartet abruptly slows the *candombe* pace down to that of a *milongón*, creating a sense of suspense when the dancer lets his stick to fall to the floor. Soon, the dancer smartly recovers the stick using just his feet, and the drums very rapidly accelerate to a fast *candombe* time, releasing the tension and signaling the success of the dancer.

Most of the composers of *milongón* are the same as those who compose the *comparsas*’ *candombe*s; one or more *milongón* are composed and choreographed by each *comparsa* every Carnival (for example, Esther Fernández and Comparsa Marabunta. ‘Milongón’ [2000], Eduardo Da Luz, ‘Milongón de Reyes’ [1999] and Heber Píriz, ‘Milongón de la Mama Vieja’ [2003]). In comparative terms, the production of *milongón* appears rarely in other manifestations of Uruguayan popular music. Some *milongón* may be related to the *milonga* of Uruguayan ‘canto popular’ (popular song), influenced perhaps by the contribution of Miguel Angel Herrera, an Afro-Uruguayan *comparsa* drummer, composer and singer. Herrera was one of the guitarists who played with Alfredo Zitarrosa, one of Uruguay’s most important *milonga* artists in the 1970s (for example, on the 1984 recording ‘Romance para un negro milonguero’). Argentinian *tango* ‘Orquestas Típicas,’ such as the one led by Francisco Canaro between 1938 and 1956, composed and played a few special *milongas* that were called *milongón* (for example, Canaro’s ‘Milongon,’ 2003). In the 1960s, *milongón* could also be found in some of the ‘Candombe Beat’ productions in Uruguay as a mixture of *milonga* and slow *candombe* (for example, ‘Y es así’ by Jaime Roos [1994]).

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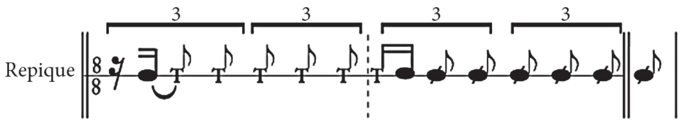
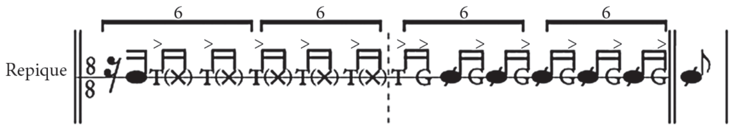


Example 2: Repique triplets



Example 3: Repique sextuplets

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LUIS FERREIRA

Miskitu Popular Music

Miskitu people have historically been residents of the Atlantic coastal region of Central America known as the 'Mosquitia,' now the eastern coast of Nicaragua and Honduras. This region was informally colonized by England and later by the United States before being integrated, to some extent, in Spanish-speaking nation-states. Miskitu people have a cosmopolitan history of intimate relations with escaped African slaves, European buccaneers, English colonists, Moravian missionaries, West Indian migrants and North American investors. These relations have shaped and sometimes radically transformed Miskitu musical practices. Nevertheless, Miskitu people's aesthetic flexibility and cultural syncretism have facilitated the maintenance of a distinct indigenous identity over 500 years of intercultural contact.

Sacred and Secular

At least since the 1950s the most common genre division in Miskitu music has been between sacred and secular – *dawan lawana* (God's song) and *tasba lawana* (earthly song). Miskitu people consider certain music in both categories to be popular in the sense of widespread contexts of performance, participation and circulation. In Nicaragua, Miskitu musicians are especially known for their popular recordings of Christian songs, accompanied by acoustic guitars, or increasingly by bands of electric guitar, bass, keyboard and drum set. Electric bands are also common in Honduras, but there Miskitu musicians have recorded more secular songs, including updated versions of traditional songs and new dance numbers.

These contemporary popular songs are descendants of a genre that researchers identified in the 1970s as *tiun*, from the English 'tune' (Scruggs 1998a). Velásquez and Agerkop (1979) described this as a genre associated with youth participation, song texts about love and travel, and guitar accompaniment. Contemporary Miskitu songs may also draw on older forms of men's songs about travel, labor and love (Agerkop 1977; Conzemius 1932). When American companies dominated the region, these songs narrated experiences of work in the mines and logging companies. Now they are more often associated with lobster divers and other maritime laborers in the region's formal and informal economies (Herlihy 2004).

In the early twenty-first century, Miskitu popular songs are most commonly referred to simply as *Miskitu lawana* (Miskitu songs), and they are heard across a range of contexts. Christian popular songs are performed in churches, religious gatherings and homes; secular songs are performed in homes, bars, small community gatherings and larger political events. Cassette and CD recordings are broadcast on radio and sometimes television, and played in shops, restaurants and dance halls along the Atlantic Coast. Miskitu popular songs fill public and private spaces with regional sonorities, which, in the case of Nicaragua, form an aural counterpart to political autonomy (Antonio 2006). The circulation of Miskitu recordings also facilitates cultural and aesthetic ties between Miskitu people in Honduras, Nicaragua and other places such as south Texas and Florida, where Miskitu communities have formed in the United States (Peter Espinoza 2005).

Style and Lyrics

Contemporary Miskitu popular songs often display the constricted, high-pitched vocal style that is characteristic of Miskitu traditional song, with syllabic texts in Miskitu, Spanish or more rarely Creole English. Vocal harmonies are commonly in thirds, while the harmonic accompaniment is usually limited to I, IV and V chords. Songs performed in rural communities have conventionally been accompanied by acoustic guitar with percussion. Recent urban songs may also use an electric band, a synthesizer or occasionally more elaborate studio mixing. Contemporary Miskitu recordings often adapt stylistic elements from Honduran and Belizean Garifuna *punta*, Trinidadian *soca* and calypso and Jamaican and South African reggae. The classic themes of love, nature and travel are still narrated in strophic song forms, but the influence of Caribbean dance music has also spurred songs with repeated textual fragments in a driving rhythmic groove. Other popular song lyrics attempt to raise consciousness about the conservation of natural resources and protest against exploitation by logging and fishing companies.

Performers and Textual Change

Older styles of Miskitu popular music are sometimes associated with singers in the Wangki River region, along the border of Honduras and Nicaragua. Prominent Wangki singers who maintained indigenous styles until their death include Paladino Taylor, Lester Arthurs, Bonifacio Solano and Kingsman Lino. The Honduran Modesto Morales was one of the first Miskitu singers to make recordings, including the song 'Sirpiki Mairin' (My Little Woman), which has maintained widespread popularity over several decades. In the 1980s this song gained national and international renown when it was performed and recorded using electric instruments by the Nicaraguan Creole bands Grupo Gamma and Dimensión Costeña (Scruggs 1999).

In the early 2000s, some of the best-known Miskitu bands on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua included Grupo Amigo (Group of Friends) and Los Peregrinos (The Pilgrims), both of which have played primarily Christian songs in Miskitu with electric instrumental accompaniment. Around 2004 a new wave of Miskitu secular music moved from Honduras to Nicaragua, often with the syncopated rhythms of a synthesizer accompanying singers such as Joaquina (Joaquina Acuna), Beningno Bordas, Doroteo Feldeman and Romel Reyes (cf. Antonio 2006). In Nicaragua, Doroteo Feldeman came to be called Papa Nulan, based on his popular dance tune by that name; in Honduras, he is sometimes known as Yakal Siksa.

Joaquina may be unique as a woman recording secular popular songs, but Miskitu Christian songs have been recorded by Nicaraguan women such as Emmy Rosa and Katia. Together they represent the slowly increasing presence of women's voices in Miskitu popular music. The incorporation of women's perspectives in popular song can be heard in Joaquina's version of the classic Miskitu song 'Maritkam wihki lilam ba wal' (Your Wife and Your Lover). In the past, this song was typically performed by a man, as recorded on the album *Saumuk Raya* in the 1980s. It asks the question of whether one's wife or lover is preferable, and ultimately answers that the lover is preferable because she is more obliging, attentive and always ready to serve her mate. In contrast, according to the male singer, the wife is full of complaints, criticisms and bad moods. Joaquina recorded a new version of the song asking the same question, but responding that the wife is preferable because she remains with her husband under all circumstances, in poverty and wealth, illness and health, while the lover is only with him for money and leaves as soon as it is gone. Joaquina reinterprets not only the song, but also the discourse of gender relations, creating a dialogue between gendered voices and songs that has been noted in other cultural contexts (Fox 2004, 258–9).

Revitalizing Indigenous Roots

While Miskitu popular music is connected to international styles, it also serves as a tool of indigenous cultural revitalization. Miskitu popular music is part of a deeper history of autochthonous music performed in shamanic rituals, community celebrations, song games and dances. Shamanic (*sukia*) rituals were suppressed by German Moravian missionaries beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, but song games (*pulanka*) were more often encouraged. For many Miskitu people, song games such as 'Usus Mairin' (Lady Buzzard) and 'Urale' evoke idyllic memories of song, play and dance on moonlit nights around Christmas time during their youth. In spite of missionary suppression, several musical forms related to indigenous spirituality have survived in memory and sometimes in practice, including curing songs (*iumuh*), laments (*inanka*) and rituals for the spirit of the deceased (*kwal taya* and *sihkru*) (Cox 1998, 2003). Beginning in 2004, the *sihkru tara* ritual has been reconstructed as an annual binational event that unites Miskitu people from Nicaragua and Honduras through cultural and aesthetic practices (Matamoros 2008). It has featured mostly Honduran musicians playing contemporary, secular popular music with electric bands. Some songs performed in this context aim to raise social consciousness about the loss of natural resources, while others aim to enliven the audience and stimulate dance.

In the early twenty-first century, as in the past, Miskitu popular music is a fundamental part of spirituality, labor, love, joy and sorrow. The history of missionaries and Christianization had ambivalent effects: they sparked dramatic changes in the music of Miskitu communities, but they also established institutions that became tools of indigenous mobilization in the latter part of the twentieth century (Hale 1994; Hawley 1997). In sacred and secular popular music, Miskitu people incorporate cosmopolitan styles while vocalizing Miskitu texts and ideas. From Miskitu Christian songs to performances of the *sihkru tara*, unique forms of musical syncretism connect Miskitu people to modern circuits of exchange, while grounding their aesthetics in indigenous histories.

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Modinha

Modinha is a Luso-Brazilian genre of sentimental song. Its first documented references date from the end of the eighteenth century in Lisbon, the capital of Portugal, where it developed through the early years of the nineteenth century in the context of the colonial exchange between Portugal and Brazil, which included the presence and influence of Afro-Brazilians. It flourished mainly in Brazil during the imperial period (1822–89).

Origins and Early History

'*Modinha*' is the diminutive form of the Portuguese word *moda*, from the French word *mode*, meaning 'fashion.' Beginning in the eighteenth century, the term was used as a general designation for all urban, relatively simple and newly composed songs. Initially, '*modinha*' did not imply anything beyond a recently written short song (an overall meaning it has never in fact lost). Thus, in 1792, when F. D. Milcent and P. A. Marchal began publishing a *modinha* magazine (*Jornal de Modinhas*) in Lisbon, their central purpose was to publish simple songs that had a sentimental tone and had recently been written for amateur musicians who could sing and provide simple accompaniment on keyboards or guitars (Albuquerque 1996). The word also designated the music of servants and other members of lower social classes, who would learn the songs by ear and sing them unaccompanied or with a simple guitar accompaniment.

Already in the late eighteenth century there is evidence of a distinction being made between Portuguese and Brazilian *modinhas*. The first written reference to the word '*modinha*' appears to be in 1779 in Lisbon. It occurs in the plural (*modinhas*) and is associated with the qualifier 'Brazilian.' The late eighteenth century offers a variety of documentary evidence for the success of Brazilian *modinhas* in Lisbon, as well as for their simultaneous occurrence alongside Portuguese *modinhas*.

The identification of a Brazilian type is often said to be connected to the poet Domingos Caldas Barbosa (1738–1800). Son of an African mother and a Portuguese father, Barbosa was raised in Rio de Janeiro, where he may have learned to play a Portuguese type of guitar, called the '*viola de arame*' (wire guitar) (Tinhorão 2004). In the early 1760s he traveled to Portugal and in 1775 started to be known as a poet, achieving significant success (Moraes 2003; Tinhorão 2004). The nationalist inclination in Brazilian music historiography has given credence to the idea of a link between the origins of *modinha* and the poems of Caldas Barbosa – see, for example, works by Mozart Araújo (1963) and José Ramos Tinhorão (2004), who state that the genre was taken by Barbosa from Brazil to Portugal. There are, however, at least two problems with such a statement. First, there is no documentation of a genre with this name in Brazil until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Second, Caldas Barbosa himself hardly ever referred to his poems as *modinhas*, instead using the word 'cantigas,' particularly the poems gathered in his most famous book, *Viola de Lereno* (Lereno's Guitar, or Lereno's Songbook), which was first published in two volumes in 1798 and 1826.

In musical terms, *modinhas* in the late eighteenth century were very diverse. However, these *modinhas* were typically composed for two voices singing in parallel thirds or sixths, with a reasonable use of melisma, at a moderate tempo. The only known musical sources from that century through which it is possible to establish a clear musical distinction between Portuguese and Brazilian *modinhas* are manuscripts from 1595 and 1596 in the Biblioteca da Ajuda in Lisbon. The manuscripts are entitled, respectively, *Modinhas* and *Modinhas do Brazil* [*sic*], and there is no identification of their author (Béhague 1968; Lima 2000). The main musical difference between the manuscripts of 1595 and 1596 is the pronounced use of syncopation in the melodies and, less frequently, in the accompaniments of manuscript 1596, *Modinhas do Brazil*. Titles and verbal instructions added to the music by the composer or copyist link a Brazilian and Afro-Brazilian character to this syncopation. This link has been stressed by musicological commentary in the twentieth century. It is important to emphasize, however, that these rhythmic features are unique to manuscript 1596 in the context of eighteenth-century Portuguese (including Brazilian) musical documents known to date.

Although it is known that these so-called '*modinhas* from Brazil' were sung in Portugal in the late eighteenth century, there is no indication that they were sung at that time in Brazil. The first known *modinhas* written and sung in Brazil are those of Joaquim Manoel, an Afro-Brazilian composer who lived in Rio de Janeiro during the early nineteenth century and who is known for composing and playing the small guitar known as the *cavaquinho*. Twenty of his *modinhas* were transcribed and harmonized by the renowned Austrian composer Sigismund Neukomm, who lived in Rio de Janeiro between 1816 and 1821 and worked in the court of King John VI of Portugal (Joaquim Manoel 1998). In addition, it is important to mention the two *modinhas* presented by Spix and Martius in their book *Reise in Brasilien* (Journey Through Brazil), a narrative covering 1817–20. The most remarkable difference between the *modinhas* known to be sung in Brazil in the early nineteenth century and the ones sung in Portugal 20 years earlier is that the former are invariably composed for one melodic voice only, whereas the latter prominently featured two melodic voices singing together.

In Brazil, sheet music began to be printed in the 1830s, and throughout the nineteenth century *modinhas* had a significant share of the written and printed sheet music in Rio de Janeiro (then the capital of Brazil). They were referred to as '*modinhas de salão*' (salon *modinhas*) (Mascarenhas 1989), due to the fact that they were written for piano accompaniment and published in sheet music for an amateur audience, who could read music, afford to have the instrument and perform it at home. Nonetheless, neither Joaquim Manoel's *modinhas* nor the ones in the book by Spix and Martius were initially available as sheet music. This suggests that there were local songs dating as far back as the 1810s in Brazil to which the designation *modinha* could be applied; they were orally composed and performed. These were the *modinhas de rua*, (literally 'street *modinhas*,' but perhaps better understood as 'serenade *modinhas*') which were accompanied by instruments including different types of guitars, *cavaquinhos* or mandolins, and performed by amateurs, who would sing and play them by ear. There appears, however, to be no real division between the two types: instead, the designations '*modinhas de salão*' and '*modinhas de rua*' only indicate performance contexts, and many of them usually passed from one context to the other. Among these, some of the more significant include 'Beijo a mão que me condena' (I Kiss the Hand That Condemns Me) (José Maurício Nunes Garcia, 1767–1830), 'Nestas praias de límpidas areias' (On These Clean Sandy Shores) (Januário da Silva Arvellos Filho, ca. 1820/ca. 1890) and 'Quando as glórias que gozei' (When The Glory I Enjoyed) (Cândido Inácio da Silva ca. 1800/ca. 1838).

After the 1860s *modinhas* were not only published as sheet music but were included as texts (i.e., without music) in magazines and songbooks. This indicates the genre's popularity, as the melodies, being broadly known by the audience, did not need to be printed. In this context, the term *modinha* acquired a superordinate value: collections said to comprise '*modinhas*' also included *lundus*, *cançonetas*, *romances*, *fados* and so on. Simultaneously, up to the 1910s *modinhas* also took on an important position in public entertainment venues, for instance in circuses, theaters, music halls and *café chantants*. Indeed, some of the best-known composers and performers of *modinhas* of the day were essentially theatrical artists, for example, the actor Xisto Bahia (1841–94) and the circus clown Eduardo das Neves (1874–1919). This was not the case, however, with another important *modinha* composer, Catulo da Paixão Cearense (1863–1946). Although he could eventually sing and play the guitar, he became well known, primarily, as the lyricist of *fin-de-siècle modinhas*, including 'Não vê-la mais' (Never See Her Again) and 'O talento e a formosura' (Talent and Beauty) (with music composed by Edmundo O. Ferreira).

In 1902, with the beginning of commercial recordings in Rio de Janeiro, *modinha* attained a primary position among the recordings being released, mostly by the company Casa Edison. The previously mentioned Eduardo das Neves and the singer Manoel Pedro dos Santos, known as Baiano (1870–1944), and Mário Pinheiro (1880–1923) were among the most important recorded *modinha* performers. Pinheiro recorded Paixão Cearense's 'O talento e a formosura' for Odeon between 1904 and 1907 and Baiano recorded his 'Não vê-la mais' between 1907 and 1912. Some other famous *modinhas* recorded in this period were 'Casinha pequenina' (Little Cottage) (unknown composer), recorded by Patricio Teixeira in 1927, 'Na casa branca da serra' (In the White House in the Mountains) (Miguel E. Pestana/Guimarães Passos), recorded by Mário Pinheiro between 1904 and 1907 and 'Perdão Emília' (Please Forgive Me Emilia) (unknown composer), recorded by Pinheiro between 1907 and 1912. In these recordings, the instrumental accompaniment was mostly on guitar.

Oral transmission, sheet music, magazines and recordings each contributed to the dissemination of *modinhas*. The main production center was Rio de Janeiro, but *modinha* was never considered to be specifically connected to that city. Many of its most famous composers and performers had different origins and diverse local composing and performance traditions developed around *modinhas* in different parts of the country.

The *modinha* has continued to be played by amateur musicians into the twenty-first century, but after the 1930s the number of professional recordings declined drastically. Even so, a few composers who started their careers in the 1950s have continued to use the term *modinha* as a genre classification or song title, suggesting songs that are highly sentimental and somehow old-fashioned in style. Examples are 'Modinha,' by Tom Jobim and Vinícius de Moraes (1958), 'Modinha,' by Maurício Tapajós, Cacaso and Hermínio Bello de Carvalho (1967) and Chico Buarque de Holanda's 'Até pensei' (So I Thought) (1968).

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***See also*: Modinha (Vol. XI, Europe)**

Morenada

Also known as *Danza de Morenos* (Black Dance), *morenada* is a popular musical form that is inextricably linked to the dance it accompanies. Although it originated in Bolivia, during the late twentieth century the influence of the *morenada* expanded into neighboring countries such as Peru and the north of Chile.

The origin of the dance is controversial. However, it is clear that it is closely related to the presence of black slaves in the territory that is now Bolivia. *Danza de Morenos* may have been a form of mockery by the original inhabitants (Aymará) against black slaves who enjoyed some privileges during colonial times due to their high price; some authors believe it may have been a representation of the transporting of slaves to the mines in Potosí. Either way, *Danza de Morenos* first appeared in Bolivian territory – most likely in the city of La Paz – as a mestizo dance that was developed by tailors during the nineteenth century. Some versions place its origin in the region of Oruro.

In musical terms, *morenadas* have been identified with the traditional music of the Aymará. In fact, they were originally performed using wind instruments belonging to Aymaran organology. Today, *morenadas* are interpreted using diverse instrumental forces, which will vary according to the physical and social context in which the *morenadas* are performed.

In rural areas the *morenada* is still performed with *pifanos* (i.e., fife, a type of flute made out of bamboo) following the tradition of the *altiplano*. The presence of text is infrequent. Conversely, in urban areas there are two distinct uses of the *morenada* as music: one in which text is a driving force, and another in which the music functions as accompaniment to the dance.

The first type of *morenada* is performed by voices as well as instruments of both indigenous and Western origin. A typical ensemble features guitars, *charango*, *bombos* (bass drums) or drumset, *matraca* (wooden ratchet of the idiophone family of instruments) and voices. Occasionally, an electric bass is also included. In these *morenadas* the text is very important – through it a collective notion is built around the meaning of both the dance and the music. Recurring themes revolve around economic power, celebrations and desired, loved or misleading women.

In the second type of *morenada* the music accompanies a street dance (i.e., a popular event that features several parade-style dances). Instrumentation for this type of *morenada* consists of a brass ensemble of variable size, ranging from seven or eight musicians to over one hundred. In music performed by larger ensembles, the orchestration preserves the linear nature of traditional Aymará music (several instruments playing the same melody) while incorporating the vertical aspect of Western music (tubas carrying the rhythm using fundamentals, trombones and *bombardinos* [saxhorns] arpeggiating chords, and trumpets carrying the melody).

The most characteristic sound in *morenadas* is that of the *matraca* (ideophone). In group dances, each dancer plays a *matraca* that has been shaped to represent each individual group. The sound of the *matraca* may represent the sound of the chains worn by the slaves during colonial times, or the sound of grapes being crushed in the making of wine – a task supposedly given to slaves who did not acclimatize to the rigorous weather at the Potosí mines.

The music of *Danza de Morenos* is built upon a marked and rigid duple meter (2/4) in the manner of a slow march. The tempo is usually *andante*. The formal structure is in three sections – two themes of four to eight measures each and a third section called '*Fuerte de bajos*' (literally, 'strong of basses') where the melody appears in a lower register.

There are specialized composers of *morenadas,* among them José Félix Flores Orozco el Jach'a, Manuel Solíz Flores and Oscar Elías Siles.

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OSCAR GARCÍA GUZMÁN (TRANSLATED BY PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

MPB

The initials MPB, standing for 'Música Popular Brasileira' (Brazilian popular music), were used for the first time in the context of competitive music festivals organized by Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo television stations as of 1965. The audience at these festivals mainly comprised university students, styling themselves as politically, morally, aesthetically and musically enlightened. These festivals took place against the backdrop of the dictatorship that was installed following the military coup of 1964. Internationally, the Cold War was at its peak.

The term 'MPB' suggests the inclusion of all types of Brazilian popular music, but this is not the case. In fact it is selective, indicating a particular type of song – suggestive of genres such as *samba*, *baião*, *frevo*, *choro* and others – and excluding genres not considered by those within the MPB circle as advanced enough in the above-mentioned areas. One of MPB's defining features is its rhetorical emphasis on sophistication in harmony, melody, rhythm, arrangements and lyrics. Its performers, who in general consider themselves as heirs of the *bossa nova*, are still active in the early twenty-first century, including Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil and Tom Zé (who were part of the *Tropicalismo* movement); Geraldo Vandré and other *canção de protesto* artists; Chico Buarque, Edu Lobo, Jorge Ben Jor, Alceu Valença, João Bosco and Tim Maia; Milton Nascimento and others from the Clube da Esquina movement; singer-songwriters Ivan Lins and Paulinho da Viola; vocal-instrumental groups MPB-4 and Os Mutantes; performers Nara Leão, Maria Bethânia, Gal Costa and Elis Regina; and others. MPB's selectivity was constantly under challenge by those excluded from it – especially by those involved in the rock, *choro* and *música instrumental* scenes – who argued that it was false and arrogant to brand the characteristics inherited from *bossa nova* as markers of MPB, and that the real reason for this appropriation was to do with marketing. The outstanding figures of MPB continue to be venerated in Brazil and internationally. They enjoy great market success and a strong presence in narratives about Brazilian popular music.

From 1970 onward MPB began to include successful artists from a younger generation of musicians, such as Os Novos Baianos, O Som Imaginário and 14Bis (vocal-instrumental groups), Djavan, Arrigo Barnabé, Itamar Assumpção, Cazuza, Marina Lima, Lenine, Cássia Eller, Adriana Calcanhotto, Arnaldo Antunes, Marisa Monte, Carlinhos Brown, Chico César, Paulinho Moska, Zeca Baleiro and many others; additionally, it moved more and more into the realm of pop. Gradually, MPB has distanced itself from the meaning referred to in its name, and become an umbrella term for a wide array of genres.

Social, Cultural and Historical Context

In 1965 TV Excelsior produced the first Brazilian Popular Music Festival in São Paulo. Subsequently, many more such festivals were organized, both in São Paulo and in Rio de Janeiro, and through the 1970s they constituted the main platform for a new popular music scene, with a young audience consisting mainly of university students (Mello 2003; Ribeiro 2002; Vilarino 1999). It was within this context that the expression *música popular brasileira* – abbreviated to MPB – took on its new meaning. Until the 1960s, the expression had been used by scholars, taking their cue from folklorists, to designate what is known today as *música folclórica* (folkloric music), perceived as rural and orally transmitted. This sense of the term had been consolidated by Alvarenga (1960 [1947]), in accordance with the idea that only certain genres – *modinha*, *lundu*, *maxixe*, *samba*, *choro*, *marcha*, *frevo* and others – ought to be considered popular music (283–301). The rest was pejoratively labeled *música popularesca* ('popularesque' music). This sense of the expression gained currency among music critics and chroniclers in the media in the 1950s and 1960s: that which had been seen as peripheral in the (urban) eyes of folklorists gradually came to occupy a central position. Rangel (1962) was one of the first to use the expression to designate popular music as an authentic type, in the way folkloric and art music already were. Nevertheless, this designation was also selective, encompassing only *samba* and *choro* from Rio de Janeiro. Vasconcelos (1964) broadened this perspective in historical terms, though maintaining the status of Rio de Janeiro as its near-exclusive niche. With Tinhorão (1966), this usage became more firmly established, incorporating a sociological and political dimension. With the festivals of the 1960s, the expression, which in the beginning became synonymous with the initials 'MPB,' was adopted to identify an array of trends which, at the time, had been known as *música universitária* (university music), recognized as the heir to *bossa nova*. The rest was dismissed as residual.

These festivals were modeled after the San Remo International Festival in Italy. They were also strongly linked to the practice employed by Brazilian radio stations – which went back to the 1930s and were linked to the Carnival in Rio de Janeiro – of holding competitions for composers, and, later on, live on-air programs. Designed to feature talent, they were known as *programas de auditório* (radio programs with live audiences) and *programas de calouros* (newcomer programs) (Tinhorão 1981, 175–7). It is important to emphasize that in Brazil, television always drew its performers from the world of radio, not from cinema as was usual in the United States (Ortiz 1988).

The festivals made possible a repositioning of popular music in Brazil involving television, radio and the press in general, the recording and entertainment industry as a whole, musicians and lyricists, audiences, civil society and the state. Politically, with the military dictatorship and the Cold War setting the scene, the sense of opposition between left and right was significant among audiences, although, due to factionalism (on musical, aesthetic and moral levels), it tended to lose its meaning: fans of music that was held as technically advanced and not morally traditionalist (regarding sexuality, sexual orientation and gender relations) accused the self-proclaimed political left of being conservative, styling itself the 'real left.' Public participation in live broadcasts of the festivals was very spirited, with clapping, screaming, booing and sometimes fist-fighting. This inclination spread through the universities, the press and the expanding range of publications focusing on popular music (Barbosa 1966; Schwartz 1978).

Through the festivals, a new type of live program in Brazil was created on Brazilian television, linked to MPB's main figures. *O Fino da Bossa*' (The Best of *Bossa*) was the first of them, launched by São Paulo's TV Record station after the first festival in 1965 and presented by Elis Regina and Jair Rodrigues. Regina had won first prize at the first festival with her performance of the song 'Arrastão' (Trawler; music by Edu Lobo, lyrics by Vinícius de Moraes). In 1967 TV Record launched the program *Disparada*, directed by Geraldo Vandré, who penned the lyrics of the song 'Disparada' (Stampede; music by Théo de Barros) which tied for first place with Chico Buarque's 'A Banda' at the second TV Record festival in 1966. Finally, in 1968, São Paulo's TV Tupi hired Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil, who had won third place at the fourth TV Record Festival with the song 'Divino, maravilhoso' (Divine, Wonderful; music by Gilberto Gil, lyrics by Caetano Veloso), to host a program of the same name. The program was banned by the military toward the end of the year as morally and politically subversive and the two musicians were subsequently exiled to London. All these programs had far-reaching consequences for MPB as they provided important spaces for its cultivation, dissemination and celebration.

Beginning at the end of the 1970s, MPB went through a period of expansion, integrating many musicians from younger generations. It moved progressively closer to pop, though without losing its rhetoric of progressiveness. These new musicians included Moraes Moreira (and others from the group Os Novos Baianos), Djavan, Arrigo Barnabé, Itamar Assumpção, Cazuza, Marina Lima, Lenine, Cássia Eller, Adriana Calcanhotto, Arnaldo Antunes, Marisa Monte, Carlinhos Brown, Chico César, Paulinho Moska, Zeca Baleiro, Chico Science (leader of the band Nação Zumbi) and Fred 04 (leader of the group Mundo Livre S/A). The term 'MPB' became progressively more ambiguous and removed from its original meaning. This ambiguity was made evident by a fluctuation between a supposedly descriptive meaning – according to which 'MPB,' abbreviating 'Brazilian popular music,' is viewed as a type of music in the same way as is 'folkloric' or 'classical' – and a selective meaning whose basis became more and more difficult to substantiate. This process also involved a tendency toward dilution; by the early twentieth century, MPB was considered by many as '*música de barzinho*' (small bar music).

Analytical Considerations

Despite having an overall sound, MPB is not monolithic. This becomes apparent when the various constituencies (such as *Tropicalismo* and *Clube da Esquina*) and artists (such as Chico Buarque and Edu Lobo) that come within its ambit are compared. In what follows, a comparison is made of the two principal groups within MPB, *Clube da Esquina* and *Tropicalismo*. From the outset, their identification with the states of Minas Gerais and Bahia, respectively, must be highlighted. This points to a particular feature of MPB, and indeed, of all the popular music in Brazil: a mooring of identity in the region and in the states, that is, Bahia, Minas Gerais, Pernambuco and so on. In Brazil, among the debates that occurred through the twentieth century and which can be summarized through binary opposites (e.g., modern/traditional, urban/rural and change/preservation [see Oliveira 2009]), that which sets the regional and the national in opposition had particular importance. As of the 1930s, the national was equated with Rio de Janeiro (Vianna 1995), the country's capital until 1960; any other musics were considered regional, referencing their states.

Tropicalismo (see Veloso 1997; Menezes Bastos 2005) involved musicians, poets and other artists (from areas such as cinema, theater and visual arts), mainly from Bahia and São Paulo, in 1967 and 1968. Its main figures included its leaders, Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil, as well as Tom Zé, Gal Costa, Maria Bethânia, the band Os Mutantes, and arrangers Rogério Duprat, Damiano Cozzela and Júlio Medaglia. Its poets (lyricists) included José Carlos Capinam and Torquato Neto. The group's ethos can be summarized as a tendency toward mockery – a type of 'Carnivalization' (Bakhtin 1997, 1999) – signaling a critical attitude toward the traditional/modern, Brazilian/foreign and scholarly/popular dichotomies. Performances featured extravagant outfits and theatrical body language. One of its icons was Carmen Miranda, the famous singer known in the United States as the 'Brazilian Bombshell' during the 1940s and 1950s. *Tropicalismo* made use of collage and pastiche; its lyrics were influenced by Concretism and its aesthetics by the cultural cannibalism movement (*antropofagia*), espoused in the 1920s by the modernist intellectual Oswald de Andrade (see Maltz 1993). Musical arrangements featured harmonic and contrapuntal configurations common to the art music that was at the forefront during that period.

The *Clube da Esquina*, led by Milton Nascimento, involved, toward the end of the 1960s, musicians and poets (lyricists) mainly from the state of Minas Gerais (see Borges 1996; Beraldo 2005). The main figures included Toninho Horta, Wagner Tiso, Lô Borges, Beto Guedes, Tavinho Moura and Flávio Venturini, and the bands O Som Imaginário and 14Bis. Lyricists included Márcio Borges, Fernando Brant and Ronaldo Bastos. In 1967 Nascimento achieved fame at the second International Song Festival with the song 'Travessia' (Crossing; lyrics by Fernando Brandt). He then began collaborating with musicians involved in the emerging Brazilian *música instrumental* genre (see Cirino 2009), and in 1968, through the arranger Eumir Deodato, traveled to the United States, where he recorded his first LP. His subsequent success, both nationally and internationally, opened the doors for success to other *Clube da Esquina* figures. Musically, *Clube da Esquina* tends toward the sophistication typical of *música instrumental* (which includes the human voice), jazz and international pop. In 1975 and 1976 Nascimento consolidated his international profile, recording with Wayne Shorter, Airto Moreira and Herbie Hancock. Guitarist and musical arranger Toninho Horta's career took a similar turn.

Comparing these two groups reveals a point in common, expressed by the narrative of progressive thinking and the appropriation of musical-aesthetic, political and moral qualities associated with this narrative. In the case of *Tropicalismo*, the musical-aesthetic vanguard of the period acts as a mirror, with mockery and jest playing important roles. *Clube da Esquina*, on the other hand, took jazz as its model, its ethos tending more toward austerity. This point in common makes explicit the international connections achieved by both movements. At the same time, they also hold in common the quest for identification with traditional Brazilian music models, in particular folkloric music. For both movements, this quest results in a focus on region or state.

Pinheiro (1992) demonstrated that relationships between MPB musicians (as well as their audiences) are ridden with conflict and characterized by mutual political, ideological, moral and musical-aesthetic accusations. Piedade (2003) reached similar conclusions in his research on *música instrumental brasileira* (Brazilian jazz), applying his concept of 'friction of musicalities' to understand these accusations as a discursive system. Based on these findings, among others, it can be stated that on a musical level, the central discursive element of the system in question is technical sophistication, extending into aesthetics in general, since many MPB subgroupings forge links with cinema, theater, visual arts, literature and other arts (authors such as Chico Buarque and movements like *Tropicalismo* are notable in this respect). In this situation, the term 'technical' seeks to neutralize the arbitrariness of artists' musical and aesthetic choices, presenting them as neutral and universal. On the political and ideological planes, the central element of the accusations is *loyalty* (as opposed to *betrayal*) to Brazilianness and Brazilians, in particular to the masses, their cultural traditions and their liberation from exploitation and domination within the capitalist system. The viewpoint that capitalism is diabolizing, socialism is messianic and the artist is a kind of Prometheus who can liberate the weak and oppressed becomes relevant. Morally, the system's central element is a nontraditionalist position, particularly with regard to sexuality, sexual orientation and gender relations. These three elements – technical sophistication, loyalty and nontraditional sexual values – are values within an ideological system (Dumont 1985), pointing toward an ideal of perfection that extends beyond the domain of the professional.

As any discourse is, by definition, inconsistent and contestable, further light can be shed on the situation by examining narratives suggesting counterargument. Caiado (2001) compared transcriptions of *bossa nova* performances by João Gilberto with old-time *sambas* and *choros*, concluding that the latter are 'more complex' than the former in terms of rhythmic, melodic and harmonic structures. Here, technical progressiveness, a touchstone of the narratives surrounding *bossa nova* and its heirs (see Garcia 1999), is counterexemplified. In addition, these narratives are considered by the author not only as false and arrogant, but as pieces of a marketing strategy – he also seeks to demonstrate that the consecration of *bossa nova* and MPB resulted in many old-time musicians losing their standing in the market. Nonetheless it should be noted, as a counter to this argument, that Gilberto's notability has never rested on a concept of complexity, but rather on one of innovation in his singing and playing.

Midani, a producer within the Brazilian recording industry, posited a counterargument (2008) in relation to the notion of loyalty to the Brazilian people which is so central to the system on the political and ideological levels. As already stated, a corollary to this notion of loyalty is the demonization of capitalism and a messianic sort of socialism, equated, respectively, to Evil and Good. At the same time, the artist takes on a Promethean role. Midani was a powerful figure within a number of influential record companies, such as EMI-Odeon, Capitol Records, Companhia Brasileira de Discos (a subsidiary of Phonogram) and Warner Music, from the late 1950s, era of the birth of *bossa nova*, to the 1980s, the golden age of BRock, the term applied to Brazilian rock of that decade (Menezes Bastos 2005). He played a fundamental part in the launching, development and consolidation of the careers of Gilberto, Veloso, Buarque, Gil and the rock bands Ultraje a Rigor, Titãs and Barão Vermelho. His viewpoint contradicts the Manichean nature of this concept of loyalty, taking the view that the recording industry should not merely be subjected to generalization and equated with the *status quo*.

A counterargument also exists concerning the nontraditionalist – in other words, libertarian – stance associated with MPB with regard to sexuality, sexual orientation and gender relations. As stated above, this is the central element of the discursive system in terms of morality, pointing on the one hand toward ostensible sexual freedom and on the other to an equally ostensible symmetry in terms of the relationship between partners in an affective-conjugal relationship, be it heterosexual or homosexual. Although this subject has rarely been examined in Brazil, existing literature points toward the hypothesis that the sexual ethos described above – especially for couple relationships – practiced by adherents of MPB is far from libertarian, and in fact presents characteristics that might be considered conservative (Grossi 2000), including those related to conjugal violence (Cantera 2007; Nunan 2004; Faour 2006).

Conclusion

Since its earliest days, Brazilian popular music has demonstrated a great capacity to articulate its own characteristics – many originating in folkloric music – along with the major currents of popular music worldwide: Latin-American, Caribbean, European, African and American. This was consolidated first with *bossa nova*, then with MPB: it was a conscious approach adopted by the musicians themselves, especially with *Tropicalismo*, *Clube da Esquina* and, as of the 1990s, the *manguebeat* movement which arose in Recife and was led by Chico Science and Fred 04. This capacity has two principal sources: first, since the 1970s Brazil has been one of the few countries in the world where the consumption of national popular music exceeds that of music from outside the country; and second, since the 1960s, again with *bossa nova* and MPB, Brazilian music has had a strong impact internationally, acknowledged by musicians, scholars and the general public alike.

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Murga

Murga is a name given to a musical phenomenon with theatrical elements that is performed in Uruguay and Argentina during the annual Carnival period, and to the groups that perform it. Although the two countries' traditions share some similarities with each other, they are nevertheless distinct. The term began to be used in Buenos Aires, the capital city of Argentina, at about the same time as in Montevideo, the capital city of Uruguay, but apparently no connection existed between the respective genres in the two cities during most of their histories. The Argentinian *murga* is a street parade phenomenon, while the Uruguayan *murga* is mainly a stage one. The *murga* of Montevideo went through a particular process of development that lasted through the whole of the twentieth century, whereas in Buenos Aires the early form of the genre declined in popularity; when it was revived, the influence of the Uruguayan *murga* was apparent in some of its characteristic features.

Murga in Uruguay

In Uruguay, *murga* is performed in many towns. In Montevideo, where the Carnival season lasts for a month or more and involves many open-air stage performances in different neighborhoods, *murga* has a prominent place among the Carnival genres. The term 'murga,' which carries pejorative connotations in Spanish, has been in use in Montevideo since the 1910s. It is also used to refer to popular music in Uruguay that incorporates musical features of Carnival *murga*. Since around 1920 the format of the Carnival *murga* has been that of a small choral group of a dozen singers (all of them male, in principle) accompanied by a percussion trio, performing in a theatrical manner (including the conductor, who executes pirouettes while he conducts). No serious conclusions can be established about the history of the phenomenon prior to that time. By the mid-century, a period happily documented in some basic recordings, the performance characteristics of *murga* seem to have become firmly established. From their first appearances up to the 1970s, the Montevidean *murgas* have been a product of people occupying the city's low social strata. Their search for grotesque costumes has been solved for decades with very low budgets, a situation that changed radically by the end of the twentieth century.

Musical Style

The male choir that is a defining characteristic of the Montevidean *murga* is structured on the general basis of three voices, from high to low register: *sobreprimos*, *primos* and *segundos*. The *primos* are subdivided into *primos altos* and *primos lisos*, and the *segundos* into *segundos* proper and *bajos*. Members of the *sobreprimos* can separate off and sing another part, called the *tercia,* which has a more soloistic character, thus 'escaping' the choir and establishing a dialogue with it. The choral sections alternate with soloist sections, producing standardized structures. There are very fixed harmonic criteria, with the principal melody often below the highest part (depending on the ensemble and the particular song), and with insistently parallel voice movements (or apparently so, because the voices often intersect each other), as well as a particular repertoire of contrapuntal resources. The intervallic relations can seem not at all orthodox if considered in relation to the dominant conservatory-like view of musical culture.

The choral character of *murga* makes it exceptional among local musics. The various regional traditions are almost exclusively non-choral, soloistic, typically isolating a single individual and featuring two voices at most, exceptionally three, or one individual voice alternating with another. Choral groups are found in some types of Carnival expression, especially in the Afro-Montevidean ensembles, but the *murga* solution does not seem to correspond to this model. The structural foundation of *murga*, with the principal voice often 'in the middle,' may be perhaps related to some Mediterranean traditions, but this possibility remains to be proven.

The way the voice is produced is very specific to *murga*. It is nasal and twanging, especially in the higher registers, and projection is strong, which means it can be clearly heard at a distance at open-air performances. For the dominant Western taste, it may be perceived as wounding to the senses and rough. Vocal attacks are very strong, lending a hard edge to a 'sound wall' that is generated by just a dozen singers. This kind of vocal production does not correspond to the various models of the local tradition: not to the projection of the *payador* (the troubadour of the Rio de la Plata region), the chamber music approach of the *estilo*, or any other regional singing style; it seems to have emerged from the void. Further research into cultural influences on the *murga* should take care to explore this point.

The Montevidean *murga* has a rhythmic system of its own, implicit in its way of singing and explicit in the accompanying percussion ensemble of *bombo* (bass drum), *redoblante* (snare drum) and *platillos* (clash cymbals). The rhythmic sense is sluggish (uncouth or coarse on first approach), and tends to slide. It has many influences, not necessarily explicit, including rhythmic gestures from other Latin American regions, as well as from the Afro-Montevidean *candombe* and the cultural complex of *milonga* and *tango.*

The *murga* freely uses popular melodies of the moment (especially those that have been circulating since the last Carnival), or ones taken from the collective memory, preferring these resources to the composition of new music. Creativity is focused in devouring and reassembling preexisting melodies, which gives rise to a new syntactic process. The texts are written *ad hoc*, and they give the structural sense to those preexisting melodies. This procedure has roots in diverse cultural traditions and appears in various expressions of the European popular culture. In the Uruguayan case, it also preserves a relationship with the local tradition of seeing melodies as freely available, a custom that has been attacked by the gradual imposition, over the twentieth century, of intellectual property laws, followed by institutional activities such as songwriting competitions organized by municipal authorities and the authors' rights society, each of which privileges the composition of original melodies and discourages the borrowing and rehashing of musical material.

In terms of its theatrical aspects, *murga* involves a very particular system of corporal gestures and characteristic choreographic criteria. The performers' faces are completely painted in a mask-like manner. Costumes are bizarre, grotesque and usually related to the storyline being narrated in the lyrics, which focuses on satire and criticism, mainly social and political, of whatever has happened during the last year. The members of the ensemble have a particular way of moving. The problem of the portrayal of feminine characters (in an all-male ensemble) is solved by transvestism, which is not seen as unusual by the audience.

Important *murgas* founded during its first half century are Los Amantes al Engrudo (1907?), Patos Cabreros (1910?), Curtidores de Hongos (1912?), Los Saltimbanquis (1922), Asaltantes con Patente (1928), La Gran Muñeca (1931), Araca la Cana (1935), La Milonga Nacional (1939), Diablos Verdes (1939), Línea Maginot (1940), Don Timoteo (1944) and La Nueva Milonga (1952). Periods of transition (marked by moves in different stylistic directions) are represented by La Soberana (1969), La Reina de La Teja (1980), Falta y Resto (1980), Antimurga BCG (1982), Contrafarsa (1987) and La Gran Siete (1989). Since the early 1990s A Contramano (1992), La Mojigata (1999), Queso Magro (1999) and Agarrate Catalina (2000) have been created, among others.

From the late 1960s on the *murga* phenomenon underwent various changes. Apart from its influence on Uruguayan popular song (discussed below), including the incorporation of one of its rhythms, the *marcha camión*, attempts have been made by different ensembles to modify some rules. For example, in some *murga*s (such as Falta y Resto), the vocal production has been turned into a more standard one, pseudo-operatic soloists have occasionally been incorporated (e.g., by La Soberana and La Reina de La Teja), and influences from other theatrical traditions have played a role. At the same time, a form of expression that was once the domain of marginal sectors of society has been shifting to more wealthy strata, thus dispossessing lower-class citizens of an element of language of their own. A significant proportion of the *murgas* at the beginning of the twenty-first century were formed by middle-class young people, often university students.

Murga in Uruguayan Popular Music

Murga has deeply influenced Uruguayan popular music. After several decades of a socially disqualified existence, during which it was considered to be in bad taste, elements of the language of *murga* began to be integrated into Uruguayan popular song in the late 1960s. By the end of the 1970s there had been a qualitative leap in this direction in people's estimation, and by the mid-1980s the hearts of large portions of the Uruguayan audiences had been conquered. The principal element introduced into popular music has been the *marcha camión*, a characteristic rhythmic pattern in *murga* rendered by the percussionists, which in popular music was transferred to other instruments, including the guitar (see separate entry). Other rhythmic gestures from *murga* have also migrated from the world of Carnival into that of popular song, as well as forms and resources of its choral behavior and the alternation of soli and chorus. The element of the *murga* language to which there was most resistance among both musicians and the public – its characteristic vocal production – was incorporated as well. Popular music that included *murga* gestures began to be also called '*murga*,' at the expense of semantic precision.

Los Olimareños, working with composer Rubén Lena, were among the first popular musicians to draw on the *murga* vocabulary in their music. When they began to record songs featuring elements of the language of Montevidean *murga*, these were defined on the record sleeve as '*canción carnavalera*' (Carnival song), thus avoiding the very word '*murga*.' The album *Todos detrás de Momo* (Everything Behind Momo [1971]), adventurous at the time, was predominantly in *murga* style (and with real *murga* percussionists). The album was a commercial failure. The enormous popularity of the performers could not compensate for the fact that up to that point the *murga* had been confined to the Carnival context, had not been broadcast outside the Carnival period and had scarcely ever been recorded for public release.

At the end of the 1970s the most important impulse to the adoption of *murga* techniques was given by Jaime Roos, who proposed a guitar version of the *marcha camión*. Notwithstanding the commercial failure of the Los Olimareños album, it left an important legacy and by the end of the 1970s was to exert a profound influence on many restless musicians of the younger generation (Los que iban cantando, for instance, in 1977), and the *murga* spirit, or '*murguez*,' began to gain ground. In dialectical terms, the public rejection of aspects of the *murga* language concealed an identification with them at very deep psychic layers. And so, 'A redoblar,' a song in *murga* style composed in 1979 by Rubén Olivera and Mauricio Ubal (and recorded by Rumbo and by Olivera [both 1980]), was not only not rejected, but quickly became the anthem of the resistance against the political dictatorship of the time. Soon afterward, in 1985, Jaime Roos took a big risk when he incorporated the *murga*'s particular style of vocal production – which had hitherto been felt to be coarse, suitable for Carnival stages but not for other purposes – in the solo voice of his song 'Brindis por Pierrot' (Toast for Pierrot).

Freed from the Carnival context, the new genre traveled through a very wide range of expressive situations, from the dramatic to the humorous and from political commitment to love song. By the beginning of the twenty-first century *murga*-infused popular song had accumulated a history and a number of high-standard compositions that themselves constituted an already firm tradition; for instance, 'A mi gente' (To My People) (José Carbajal, El Sabalero), 'Al Paco Bilbao' (To Paco Bilbao) (Rubén Lena), 'Los olímpicos' (The Olympics), 'Adiós juventud' (Goodbye Youth) or 'Los futuros murguistas' (The Future *Murguistas*) (Jaime Roos), 'Baile de máscaras' (Masked Ball) (Raúl Castro and Jorge Lazaroff), 'Como el clavel del aire' (Mauricio Ubal) (*clavel del aire* is a species of tillandsia, or air plant), 'Terapia de murga' (*Murga* Therapy) (Ruben Rada), 'Las agujas de un reloj' (The Hands of a Clock) (Daniel Viglietti) and the already mentioned 'A redoblar' and 'Brindis por Pierrot.'

In parallel with this, by the 1990s some musicians from Buenos Aires began to adopt elements from the Montevidean *murga* song in their popular music, thus provoking a confusion with their own, different, *murga* tradition.

Murga in Argentina

Murga in Argentina integrates diverse components – music, dance and theater – in group performances by named ensembles of men, women and children, who parade under their own group name during the pageants of the Carnival period, particularly in the city of Buenos Aires, the country's capital and its most important port (hence its alternative name, *murga porteña*, referring to the native population of the city of Buenos Aires). These groups also perform in clubs, theaters or dance halls.

In Argentina, *murga* first appeared at the end of the nineteenth century among popular musical and theater ensembles established by diverse immigrant communities. As neighboring groups collaborated, they slowly expanded in size, and the genre enjoyed its heyday in the years between the 1940s and the 1960s. A decline set in during the 1970s, in part because the military dictatorship eliminated the carnival days from the festivities calendar. In the mid-1980s a revival began, with certain groups adopting elements from Uruguayan *murga*, in particular the singing style, while others returned to the original *porteño* model from the early twentieth century. Thanks to neighborhood associations in different areas of the city the genre was practiced and disseminated by means of workshops, meetings and showcases, achieving rapid acceptance and contributing to the birth of new and numerous *murga* ensembles.

The songs performed by the *murgas* are based on popular music genres, such as *tango*, rock or *cumbia*, among others. Each *murga* group starts its parade with a presentation song in which the name of the ensemble and its neighborhood are mentioned. After that, the group performs songs criticizing social situations or political or public personalities. Often, well-known compositions are used but the lyrics are modified. The group may also perform songs that pay homage to significant figures of popular culture from various historical periods. At the end of the performance, a farewell is sung announcing the return of the *murga* in the next carnival. The songs are interpreted by most of the ensemble; in exceptional cases a song may be performed as a solo or a duet, and sometimes the group singing adopts a call-and-response mode.

One of the most important accompanying instruments is the *bombo* with cymbals. It is a membranaphone with double skins, similar to the one used by military bands. In one hand the player holds a felt-covered stick, with which the drum is beaten, while the other hand holds a cymbal which strikes a second cymbal, attached to the top of the drum. The function of the instrument is to mark the beat and execute different rhythmic designs. *Murga* ensembles include several *bombos*, never less than three or four. In recent periods, some ensembles have incorporated drums or snare drums and other membranophones of Afro-Brazilian or Afro-Cuban origin. They also employ a whistle which is used occasionally to signal modifications in the percussion rhythm or the dancers' movements. The members of the *murga* enter the parade performing either improvised or previously rehearsed, coordinated dance steps, according to the rhythmic patterns of the musical instruments.

The members of the *murga* all dress in identical outfits, which in most ensembles means a dress-coat, that is, a swallow-tail coat but with the tails crossed in the front. These outfits are made of satin cloth in the identifying colors of each group. Each participant adds decorations and individualized sequin embroidery. Headgear or hats of various designs, but always in the same color, are also worn, as well as very elaborate makeup. Each *murga* carries a banner with the name of the ensemble, the year in which it was established and the year in which it is parading.

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Música Caipira

Música caipira is a term used to denote the large group of musical subgenres performed in the rural areas of the 'Middle-South' of Brazil, that is, the states of São Paulo, Mato Grosso, Mato Grosso do Sul, Paraná and the southern areas of Minas Gerais and Goiás. The term 'caipira,' which originated in the second half of the nineteenth century, designates the people who live in this area, which is historically linked to the state (province) of São Paulo. *Música caipira*, therefore, is one of the stronger representations of *paulista* culture (i.e., culture of São Paulo) (Martins 2004).

Many of the group of subgenres that are embraced by the term *música caipira* share few similarities among themselves. This is a reflection of the urban origin of the term. From an urban viewpoint, in the 1920s and 1930s – a very important period for Brazilian popular music, when many genres, such as *música caipira*, began to be recorded – any musical practices undertaken in the rural areas of Brazil's Middle-South, the *caipira* area, could be described as *música caipira*. It was music denotative of a specific area.

Música caipira has a direct connection with *música sertaneja*, which resulted from the insertion of *música caipira* into the urban entertainment market in the 1930s, and has to be examined in that light. *Música sertaneja* brought about a considerable transformation in the subgenres of *caipira*, the song forms of which were changed and simplified. *Música caipira* can be seen, therefore, as a musical genre with a place both in the *folklore* of rural areas and the popular music of the urban environment (Nepomuceno 1999).

History

The origins of genres that are collected under the label *música caipira* are located in the colonial period of Brazilian history, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, when there was a mixing of indigenous, Portuguese and African traditions. The *cururu* is a good example of this: it developed from the adaptation of indigenous traditions by Jesuits interested in the conversion of the indigenous people to Christianity (Cândido 1956). The same process occurred in the formation of *catira, dança de São Gonçalo* (a Portuguese saint), *dança de Santa-Cruz, cana-verde* and *querumana*.

The expression *música caipira* began to be used in the late 1920s, when these genres were first recorded. These recordings came at a time when urban populations, in Brazil and elsewhere, were greatly taken with all things they considered exotic. In Brazil, this translated into an interest in the music of rural areas, among them the *paulista* area. In 1929 Cornélio Pires, a journalist and writer, made the first records of *música caipira*, for the Columbia record label (Souza 2005), including *modas-de-viola, cururus* and *catiras*. These recordings were well received by the urban public and many others followed. With these recordings, *música caipira* began to change to *música sertaneja* (Tinhorão 2001; Caldas n.d).

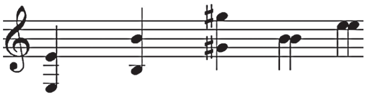
When the term *caipira* itself first began to be used, about 1870, it had connotations of Romantic thought (Moraes Leite 1994): the *caipira*, as a human type, was described as a being whose existence close to nature made him or her pure and full of honor. This vision in turn created a discourse valuing the authenticity of *música caipira*, which was seen as the real expression of the peasant soul. In the 1960s, as *música sertaneja* and pop music grew closer together, some musicians – Inezita Barroso, Tonico e Tinoco, Moreno e Moreninho and others – began to use the expression *música caipira* to denote their works. They played *música sertaneja*, but called it *música caipira*, as a means of displaying greater authenticity. In the early twenty-first century there is a strong movement in support of the idea of *música sertaneja* as containing a rootedness that uses the expression *música caipira* as a discursive symbol (Marchi 2002).

The Romantic discourse of purity was not the only one involved, however. Between 1890 and 1920 another discourse emerged, one with a more deprecating view, formulated by sections of urban society. In it, the *caipira* appeared as a symbol of the underdevelopment of Brazilian society, ignorant and sick. In 1914, in his book *Urupês*, the writer Monteiro Lobato created a character who embodied this negative view, Jeca Tatu: physically weak, intellectually foolish, lacking any spirit of enterprise (Saliba 1998). Jeca Tatu became a powerful and influential representation of the *caipira,* and, for decades, was the model for discourses about *caipira* culture. The Jeca Tatu character is central to an understanding of typical performance practice in both *música caipira* and *música sertaneja*. The dress or manner speech of many artists in contemporary *música sertaneja*, for example, is an attempt to escape the Jeca Tatu characterization. For the 'rootedness' movement, cited above, the Jeca Tatu character is detestable and only goes to prove the hateful vision that urban elites have of peasant life and culture (Sant'Anna 2000). Unlike their contemporaries in *música sertaneja*, many artists linked to the rootedness movement – who use the expression *música caipira* to indicate their works – emphasize the influence of Jeca Tatu in dress and in manners of speech, in a deliberate attempt to invert Monteiro Lobato's enduring stereotype.

Musical Elements

As a collective idea, the term *música caipira* embraces many different musical practices: dances (such as *catira, dança de São Gonçalo, dança de Santa Cruz*), religious rites (such as *folia de Reis* or *festa do Divino*), dances with sung duels (*cururu* or *cana-verde*), among others. Within these practices some specific parts later became autonomous genres. Such was the case with the *moda-de-viola*, the sung first part of the *catira*. The *catira* is a dance in which two musicians play and sing, while two parallel lines of dancers tap dance and clap. In effect, it is in the form of a suite, in which the sung and instrumental parts alternate with parts for dancing. An analogous suite form appears in the *dança de São Gonçalo* and *dança de Santa Cruz,* with the difference that women are included, unlike in the *catira*. With the entry of *música caipira* into the world of radio broadcasting, beginning in the 1930s, musicians wanted to include performances of these musical suites in radio programs, but radio, being an aural medium, inevitably limited the effectiveness of dance performances. So the dance parts were dropped and the *moda-de-viola* was played by itself, gradually becoming an autonomous genre.

Alongside their numerous differences, the subgenres within *música caipira* also share some common elements. One of these is the great symbol of *música caipira*: the *viola caipira,* a type of acoustic guitar. The *viola* is a very popular instrument in rural areas in Brazil, and different types are connected to each area. In Brazil as a whole *violas* can come with four, seven or ten strings. In the *caipira* area, the type with ten strings – five-double strings – is the most common. Its tunings, called by specific names, have been the subject of numerous studies, because there are many different versions (for example, Souza 2005; Correa 2000). Since the 1940s, in *música caipira*, one tuning has predominated: *cebolão* [literally 'big onion']. The name has a variety of explanations, reflecting different representations of capira culture. Some musicians say the name refers to the fact that women cry when they hear the guitar with this tuning, as they do when chopping onions. Others say that the name is a reference to the tuning of the strings in 'layers,' as in an onion: in the first 'layer,' the fifth and first pair of strings are tuned in E; in the second 'layer,' the second and fourth pair are tuned in B (see Example 1).



Example 1: *Cebolão* tuning, the most common tuning in *música caipira*. Here, it appears in the E major version, but it is common in D# or D major also

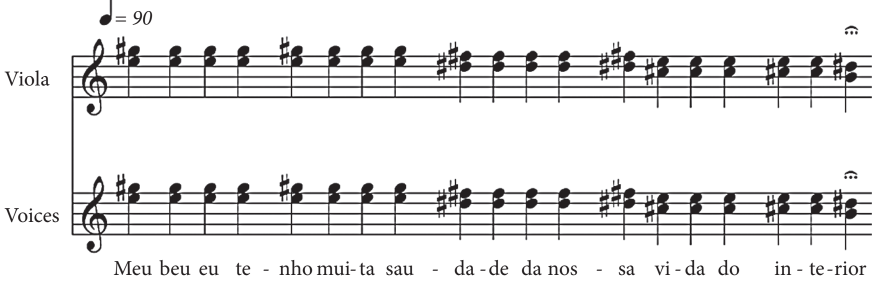
The *cebolão* permits the *viola caipira* player to perform the *recortado*, a kind of rhythmic pattern used in many *música caipira* genres. In the *recortado*, the *viola* player alternates between the chords, played with pressed strings, and the free strings, creating a strong rhythmic sense (Correa 2000).

Instruments such as the *adufe* (a kind of tambourine) and the *ganzá* (a kind of rattle) are common in *música caipira* also. They appear, for example, in the *folia de Reis* or *dança de São Gonçalo*, subgenres that have a percussion accompaniment to the *viola caipira*. Sometimes, the subgenres also feature the accordion and the *rabeca* (a kind of fiddle). The latter appears mainly in the *folia de Reis,* which is performed in the north of Minas Gerais state.

Another important characteristic of the practice of most of the *música caipira* genres is the vocal duet singing in thirds. This feature was established in *música sertaneja*, but it is common in many *caipira* subgenres as well, and in fact became the main symbol of both *música caipira* and *música sertaneja*. The sung parts in *catiras*, for instance, are performed this way. It appears also in the *cururus* and in other dances such as the *cana-verde, querumana* or *dança de São Gonçalo*.

The lyrics of *música caipira* are another element that has been widely studied, and indeed, for many researchers, they represent the greatest distinguishing factor between traditional *música caipira* and modern *música sertaneja* (Sant'Anna 2000). In *música caipira*, the main themes are provided by life in a rural environment – nature, animals and narrative tales about journeys or hunts – and express many values of peasant life. In *música sertaneja*, by contrast, the main subject was love, and during the decades of the twentieth century, this tendency became more and more apparent.

A good example of how *música caipira* expresses the values of peasant life is the *moda-de-viola*, widely seen as its noblest subgenre. Always sung as a duet, its lyrics almost always describe the land, the moral questions of life or some narrative tale. *Moda-de-viola* is sung in a particular way: one of the singers and the *viola* perform the same melody line, while the other singer


= 90
Viola
Voices
Meu beu eu te - nho mui- ta sau - da - de da nos - sa vi - da do in - te - rior

Example 2: Excerpt from a *moda-de-viola*. The lyric says, 'My dear, I miss our life in the country ...'

sings the melody line a third above or below; there is no instrument to establish the rhythmic beat (see Example 2 above). It is almost 'speech song,' to which audiences listen with great attention. For some researchers (for example, Sant'Anna 2000, Nepomuceno 1999), an important difference between *música sertaneja* and *música caipira* is the fact that the modern duets of *música sertaneja* almost never sing *modas-de-viola*.

Conclusion

In the twenty-first century *música caipira* is regarded as a basis of Brazilian popular music, one of its most traditional genres. It can be heard in many places in the Middle-South, chiefly at communitarian events such as parties or on specialist radio programs. Although it has some exposure on television, in shows such as that of singer Inezita Barroso, which has run since the 1970s, *música caipira* lacks the media profile of *música sertaneja* and in general terms occupies a small portion of the Brazilian music market. At the same time, *música caipira* is at the heart of debate about the transformations that urbanization and modernization have wrought in Brazilian society and Brazilian popular music. For many musicians and critics, the process of modernization that *música caipira* underwent, and the emergence of *música sertaneja,* are seen through a negative lens, one that laments the dissolution of many traditions. From this viewpoint, *música caipira* is a good index of the problems created by the modernization of society. Yet in spite of this, *música caipira* remains a powerful symbol of Brazilian musical and cultural traditions, in particular those of the Middle-South.

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ALLAN DE PAULA OLIVEIRA

Música Chicha, *see* Chicha

Música Costeña

The term '*música costeña*' literally means 'music of the coast.' The term is most current in Colombia, where it refers to music associated with the country's Caribbean coastal region, although the term may also be heard in Mexico, to refer to music from the Costa Chica region of the country's Pacific littoral and music from its Caribbean coast, and also in Nicaragua, again to refer to music or bands from the Caribbean coast.

In Colombia, the term is a generic umbrella category used to encompass a wide variety of styles, principally *cumbia*, *porro*, *fandango*, *gaita* and other more minor genres such as *bullerengue* and *mapalé*. It may be used to include the accordion-based *vallenato* as well. Historically, it is difficult to trace the emergence of such a general term, but in Bogotá a radio show called 'La Hora Costeña' aired in 1942 and showcased musical styles from the Colombian Caribbean region (Wade 2000, 123). This was linked to the increasing popularity and commercialization of genres such as *cumbia, gaita* and *porro*, which were originally part of peasant and town brass-band repertoires, but were being played in the cities of the Colombian Caribbean region from the late 1920s by jazz-band lineups and were beginning to spread to the rest of the country, spearheaded by band-leader Lucho Bermúdez, himself from the Caribbean coastal region (Wade 2000). As the music industry commodified these styles, the term *música costeña* became more common in Colombia. Such styles of music might also be referred to by the equally umbrella term, *música tropical*, evoking its 'tropical,' Caribbean origins, although this term could easily include other non-Colombian Caribbean styles such as Dominican *merengue* and Afro-Cuban music. *Música costeña* is not a category often used by the national record industry, which tends to use terms such as *música tropical* or *música bailable* (danceable music). Outside the country, too, more specific labels, such as *cumbia*, were used. As *cumbia* became transnationalized from the 1960s (Fernández L'Hoeste 2007), spreading especially to Mexico, it became a central element in the repertoire of bands, such as Los Bukis, playing 'tropical music' and *música grupera* there.

It is important to note that *música costeña* and *música tropical* have racial connotations, certainly in Colombia and also in Mexico. *Música costeña* was seen as being relatively 'black,' partly because the Caribbean coastal region of Colombia is relatively black in the cultural-geographical imaginary of the nation (as is the case for Mexico and many Central American countries), and partly because of the perceived 'Africanness' and 'hotness' of the rhythms that listeners found in styles such as *cumbia*.

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PETER WADE

Música de Capoeira

Combat games, known under the generic name *capoeira,* were widely practiced by African and Creole slaves and freedmen in late colonial and nineteenth-century Brazil. Different styles developed in Bahia, Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro and other regions. *Capoeira* usually involved some form of acrobatic mock combat in a circle (*roda*), using feet, head and hands for attack, accompanied by instruments, handclapping and singing. While friendly games were part of slave and popular diversions, rougher games could end in brawls, injuries and even death. Gangs also used *capoeira* as a fighting technique to impose their rule over the streets. Authorities considered *capoeira* a threat to public order and tried to suppress its practice. After the abolition of slavery (1888), *capoeira* further developed in Salvador, Bahia, especially among port workers (sailors, fishermen, stevedores). Together with *samba-de-roda* and *batuque* it was part of Afro-Bahian culture and as such it had a prominent place in the cycle of celebrations to honor Catholic saints and associated African divinities from December to Carnival. During the twentieth century *capoeira* underwent an intense process of modernization. Paramount in this development are the 'regional' and 'Angola' styles developed in Bahia from the 1930s onward by *mestres* (teachers, 'masters') such as Bimba and Pastinha. These styles were exported to other regions of Brazil, where they underwent further changes. Since the 1980s *capoeira* has undergone an impressive process of globalization and is practiced by several million people around the world.

There is only very patchy information on *capoeira* music prior to the 1930s. One of the earliest representations of *capoeira*, an engraving based on drawings by Bavarian artist Rugendas, suggests that *capoeira* players used a drum in the *roda*. In the 1930s and 1940s anthropologists started to study the art more systematically in Salvador, and Lorenzo D. Turner made the first known recording, of M. Bimba and his group and M. Cabeçinha with the group Esperança Angola, in 1940. Photographs from the same period and oral history suggest that up to three musical bows (*berimbaus*) and two tambourines (*pandeiros*) were used in Bahian *capoeira* orchestras before its modernization. M. Bimba, however, preferred to have only one *berimbau* playing. M. Pastinha codified the use of three *berimbaus*, with the *gunga* providing the basic rhythm, the *médio* playing the counterpart and the *viola* improvising. He also introduced other popular instruments such as the bell (*agogô*), the scraper (*reco-reco*) and a medium-sized drum (*atabaque*). Hence a *capoeira* Angola orchestra is almost inevitably constituted by these eight instruments, while in other contemporary styles the composition varies.

The *berimbau* called *gunga* takes the lead. The old Bahian *mestres* had an established number of *toques*, which they taught and played in the *roda* (the circle where *capoeira* is played). A *toque* consists of a basic rhythmic and melodic pattern, to which variations are added according to individual taste. There is not and never was complete consistency in the naming and performing of these *toques* (Shaffer 1977). The most common and well known are Angola, Angolinha, São Bento Grande, São Bento Pequeno, Iúna, Jogo de Dentro, Santa Maria and Cavalaria. Typical for the regional style of Bimba are Amazonas, Idalina, Iúna, São Bento Grande and São Bento Pequeno. Each *toque* demands a specific type of game. The slower Angola, for example, suggests a more ritual, playful pace for the game than the faster, more antagonistic São Bento Grande. Santa Maria is played specifically for the money game, when the two players try to pick up a banknote thrown into the *roda* by the audience. Cavalaria is said to serve the purpose of alerting everyone present that the mounted police are approaching, and that the *roda* is about to disintegrate so everybody can run away. *Capoeira* music thus provides a framework for the game in the *roda*; it can suggest a faster pace, or induce the players to slow down if the *gunga* player or the *mestre* considers it necessary.

The lyrics fulfil a similar role: they can stimulate a faster and more aggressive play, or on the contrary induce a slowing down, to play more and fight less. They comment on the character of the players, the game or anything else happening in the *roda*. They also remember famous *capoeira* fighters, wars and street battles. In pre-1940s *capoeira*, in *capoeira* Angola and in some other contemporary *capoeira* styles, the initial *ladainha* ('litany') consists in a monologue by the lead singer, who passes on his view of the world or hails famous *capoeiras* of the past. This is followed by the *louvação* ('praise,' also called *canto de entrada* or *chula*), where the lead singer intones a short verse, which is repeated by a chorus formed by the orchestra and audience. The *louvação* usually honors one's own *mestre*, mentions landmarks of *capoeira* geography in Bahia, or alludes to weapons and fight. During the *louvação* and *ladainha* there is no *capoeira* play, as they have an introductory function, which is to create the proper atmosphere for the subsequent games. The *corrido* accompanies the players in the *roda*. It consists of a part by the lead singer, and the answer of the chorus, and is usually introduced by the lead singer intoning both parts. In older *capoeira* there used to exist a further form called *quadra*, a poetic challenge between two lead singers. Rego (1968, 89) made it clear that no clean division is possible between the 'old' and the 'present-day' *capoeira* songs. Many *mestres* start with a 'traditional' verse from the public domain to which the chorus knows the answer and then start to improvise or sing their own compositions. He also pointed out the difficulty of distinguishing between *capoeira* songs proper and those of other provenance (samba, *candomblé*, etc.) that are sung in *rodas.* On the other hand, *capoeira* songs have often been used in MPB (*Música Popular Brasileira*), from Baden Powell's 'Berimbau' (1960s) to Caetano Veloso's 'Meia lua inteira' (Half Moon) (1989). The strong association of the *berimbau* with *capoeira* remains, despite its use in other musical genres. In the early twenty-first century *capoeira* music is frequently used in movies and publicity. All major *capoeira* groups issue CDs recording their masters' songs as well as interpretations of songs from the public domain and from other composers. Important groups record a CD at regular intervals (Muzenza, for instance, has issued one on a yearly basis, in a total of more than 20 years). These CDs circulate mainly within the group and are sold at events and workshops. *Capoeira* CDs now constitute a sizeable market, with hundreds, probably thousands of titles, most of which are quite difficult to obtain as they are not issued by commercial labels.

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MATTHIAS RÖHRIG ASSUNÇÃO

Música de Carrilera

Also known as *música cantinera, guasca, música de despecho* or generically just as *música popular, música de carrilera* (literally, railroad music) is a commercially derived umbrella term coined in the 1950s in Colombia to describe a wide repertory of drinking songs produced by the local recording industry. Commercial recording began in 1949 in Colombia, when several record labels opened for business in Bogotá and Medellín. Several small record labels in Medellín, including Zeida, Silver, Ondina and Victoria, began to produce very inexpensive records to supply jukeboxes in rural bars and canteens across the wealthy Antioquia province. The railway network connected the coffee-growing hinterlands with Medellín, the region's main urban center, and therefore, the train became fundamental for the distribution and commercialization of those records. In this way, *carrilera* music turned into a strong cultural marker of the whole coffee region in central Colombia, which comprises the *departamentos* (provinces) of Antioquia, Caldas, Risaralda and Quindío, as well as parts of Valle del Cauca, Tolima and Huila.

Carrilera lyrics are usually full of passion but also gloomy and nostalgic; their most common topic is unrequited love, and many songs praise drinking as an effective remedy to drown one's sorrows. Musically, *carrillera* includes several styles drawn from Spanish-language popular genres including Mexican *ranchera*, *corrido*, *norteña,* Cuban *bolero*, Peruvian *vals*, Argentinian *tango*, Ecuadorian *pasillo* and Colombian *bambuco*. Several songs are covers or local reissues of old foreign hits, but there are also many original pieces indistinctly combining musical traits from different genres, particularly concerning instrumentation. Some of the most important singers include Julio Jaramillo, Alci Acosta, Darío Gómez 'el rey del despecho' (the lovelorn king), Gali Galiano and Juan Gabriel González 'el Charrito Negro.'

In spite of the prominence of grief in their lyrics, more than a few *carrilera* songs indulge in sorrow by means of witty black humor, evident in Hermanas Calle's songs, such as 'La cuchilla.' This particular feature links *carrilera* with the so-called *música parrandera*, which is also a product of Medellín's record industry aimed at rural audiences in Antioquia, but unlike *carrilera*, *parrandera* is especially created for partying and dancing during the Christmas and New Year's celebrations. Both *carrilera* and *parrandera* are important musical sources for Medellín-born Colombian pop star Juanes.

Carrilera singers, most of whom identify themselves simply as singers of *música popular*, have thousands of followers in Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela and Central America, but rarely appear in mainstream media. The reason might be that their music appeals mainly to rural and blue-collar urban audiences. In the 1990s, *tecnocarrilera* was a short-lived and not very successful attempt by the singer Marbelle to make *carrilera* attractive to urban youth. In spite of it, *carrilera*'s commercial niche is a great business for local labels such as Discos Fuentes and Sonolux.

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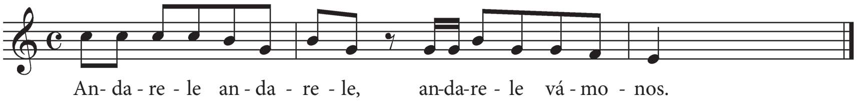
CAROLINA SANTAMARÍA DELGADO

Música de Marimba (Colombia and Ecuador)

'*Música de marimba*' is a general term used to refer to a group of Afro-Colombian and Ecuadorian traditional musical genres, specifically those practiced along, and identified with, the coastal strip running through southern Colombia (departments of Valle del Cauca, Cauca and Nariño) and northern Ecuador (province of Esmeraldas), an area whose population is almost completely made up of descendants of African peoples. Although the term refers to the *marimba*, a type of xylophone, not all of the traditional musics included within the label '*música de marimba*' actually feature the *marimba*. In Colombia, *música de marimba* is also known as *currulao*, a term which can also refer to a specific genre within *música de marimba*, a particular instrumental ensemble that includes a *marimba*, and a social event. '*Música de marimba*' is also used to refer to adaptations of these Afro-Pacific musics into popular music recordings and stage performances, primarily in Colombia. Finally, it can designate the traditional *marimba*-based musics of several indigenous groups in adjoining regions in Ecuador.

Afro-Pacific *música de marimba* has its historical origins in the black slave communities that were put to work in the gold mines of Colombia's southern Pacific region. Slave activity in this region peaked in the eighteenth century and was focused on the mines of Barbacoas (Nariño), located midway between what are known today as the cities of Pasto, in the Andes, and Tumaco, a coastal port. Concurrent with moves over the first half of the nineteenth century to abolish slavery, the slave population began to migrate toward the coastal areas, first to Tumaco and Guapi, and then on to Buenaventura further north and Esmeraldas to the south. Today's *música de marimba* is rooted in these


An- da - re - le an - da - re - le, an-da-re - le vá - mo - nos.

Example 1: Stock melody and lyric of the *anderele* genre of *música de marimba*

areas, around the Colombian towns of Buenaventura, Timbiquí, Guapi, Iscuandé, El Charco and Tumaco, and San Lorenzo and Esmeraldas in Ecuador. These are rural regions with high levels of poverty, isolated from other parts of their countries.

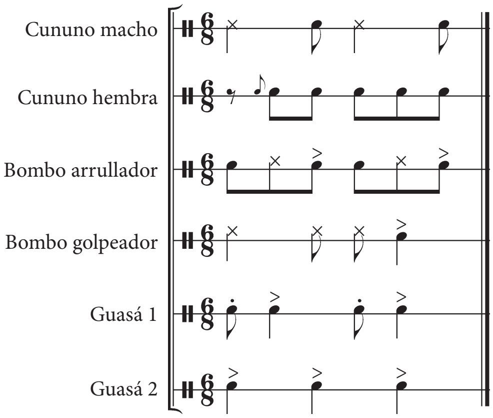
In the Colombian regions, *música de marimba* is showcased at two types of events: the *arrullo* and the *baile de marimba* (also known as the *baile de currulao*). The term *arrullo* refers to an event dedicated to the adoration of Catholic saints, the Virgin Mary or the Christ Child at which people get together to sing religious songs. '*Arrullo*,' which means 'lullaby,' is a reference to the songs sung on 24 December to the Christ Child to help it sleep. *Arrullos* may take place on the feast days of the Virgin Mary (6 December) and of particular saints, and through the pre-Christmas novena (16–24 December). The *baile de marimba* ('*marimba* dance') is a gathering for the purpose of fun and relaxation; here the repertoire is secular rather than sacred. After an *arrullo* has taken place, it is common for the festivities to segue into a *baile de marimba*, in the same location and with the same participants.

In Ecuador, the *baile de marimba* was still performed in the mid-1960s at the *casas de marimba* (*marimba* houses), community centers that brought Afro-Ecuadorian people together for activities involving *marimba* performance, as well as in private households. The *bailes* and *casas de marimba* provided social spaces for the preservation of the *marimba* tradition. The *casas de marimba* disappeared by the mid-1970s, and private *bailes* probably a short time after that, as a result of the social transformations caused by the construction of a railroad system connecting the highland city of Ibarra to the port of San Lorenzo (1957) and an oil pipeline from the Amazonian old fields to San Lorenzo (1972), including urbanization, industrialization and the migration of highlanders to Esmeraldas and of Afro-Ecuadorians to other parts of the country in search of wage labor. *Marimba* music has survived in Ecuador in folkloric performances at festivals and other public events by Afro-Ecuadorian musical ensembles. Due to the disappearance of *marimba* houses, the *marimba* repertoire is limited and comprises just a few pieces that are well known to all *marimba* players. For example, the repertoire of the *andarele* has now essentially been reduced to a single song with the lyrics 'Andarele, andarele vámonos' ('Andarele, let's go'; see Example 1). Other Afro-Ecuadorian musical expressions in Esmeraldas province include the *arrullo* and the *chigualo* (child's wake), both of which are performed without *marimba* accompaniment.

Música de marimba, which is in call-and-response form, features singing accompanied by percussion instruments and sometimes *marimba*. The *marimba* ensemble generally includes two *cununos* (single-headed conical drum), two *bombos* (double-headed bass drum), a lead singer (either male, known as the *glosador*, who may also play a *marimba de chonta* [xylophone], or female, known as *entonadora*) and three or more *respondedoras* (female singers who respond to the calls of the lead singer) who also play various *guasás* (shakers). The *cununo* is struck with the hands while the *bombo* is played with two beaters, one for striking the wooden side of the drum and the other covered with fabric at one end and used to strike the head. The shakers, used to continuously mark the time, are made of tubes of *guadua* (a local type of bamboo) filled with seeds and fitted with strips on the inside to slow the seeds as they pass from one end of the instrument to the other when it is played. The *marimba de chonta* generally has between 19 and 23 keys made of local varieties of palm (such as *chontaduro*, *gualte* and *pambil*), with bamboo resonators. Traditionally, the use of the *marimba* has been essential to only one of the genres included within the contemporary *música de marimba* label, the *currulao* or *bambuco viejo*; more recently, the *marimba* has been adopted into other Afro-Pacific genres, especially in performances at public events or festivals. Traditionally, the keys of the *marimba* have been tuned to seven pitches per octave, falling somewhere between Western diatonic tuning and isoheptatonic tuning; in the 1990s Western-tempered tunings (diatonic or chromatic) began to be used. Where the tuning of the *marimba* is diatonic or chromatic, major and minor keys are both employed according to the singer's preference.

The lyrics of *música de marimba* usually consist of a few lines, or even a single one, specific or improvised, sung repeatedly in call-and-response format. Depending on the genre, lyrics may allude to everyday topics such as geographic locations, local concerns, religious themes or personal relationships, and may incorporate puns, sexual innuendo or other devices. For example, Franco (2005: 149) gives the lyrics of an *arrullo* entitled 'Esmeraldas': 'Esmeraldas es grande/Más grande dicen que es Quito/Más bonito es mi Señor Jesucristo' ('Esmeraldas is a big place/They say Quito is even bigger/But none as beautiful as my Lord Jesus Christ'). Another example is the chorus of 'Caderona' ('Caderona, vení, menéate'), which playfully invites a wide-hipped woman to move her body seductively.

The most representative genres within the *música de marimba* designation in Colombia are *currulao* (or *bambuco viejo*), *juga*, *torbellino*, *bunde* and *rumba*; in Ecuador, they include *caderona*, *bambuco*, *andarele* and *agua larga* (known as *juga grande* in Colombia). Apart from the *bunde* and *rumba*, they are all in 6/8 meter and share the same basic rhythmic structure (see Example 2).



Example 2: Typical rhythmic structure of *música de marimba*

Typically the harmonic sequence alternates regularly between the tonic and the dominant, the frequency of alteration varying between genres. The *marimba* performs a brief introduction, the percussion instruments enter and call-and-response begins with the female chorus responding to the soloist. Some variations between genres include the following examples. In *currulao*, the call-and-response singing is preceded by the *marimba* player singing three or four renditions of a typical melody known as *glosa* or *chureo*. In the *juga*, the voices begin and guide the song as the *marimba* is not traditionally used. The *torbellino* is an adaptation of the Andean genre *rajaleña*, which is typical of the departments of Huila and Tolima. *Rajaleña* features a repetitive melodic line, sometimes with variations, the lyrics changing with each new verse; the *torbellino* retains this melodic structure but features standard lyrics. The rhythm of the *juga grande* is identical to *juga* and *currulao*, but its melody and harmony are built upon a pentatonic scale. *Bunde* is associated with children and is sometimes performed at *chigualos* or children's wakes. The *rumba* genre was recently established as a local adaptation of *salsa* music to the *marimba* ensemble. Sometimes the name of a specific song within a genre's repertoire may be referred to as a genre in and of itself, such as Patacoré, Pango and Berejú, which are traditional *currulaos*, and Caderona, a popular *juga*.

Since 1997 *música de marimba* has gained in national visibility in Colombia, primarily due to the establishment that year of the Petronio Álvarez Pacific Music Festival, which takes place every August in the Colombian city of Cali. Before 'El Petronio,' as the festival is popularly known, few recordings existed of *música de marimba*, and those that did exist were academic field recordings of an unpolished, rustic nature. The festival has resulted in the formation of formal performance groups dedicated to *música de marimba* and a corresponding rise in studio-produced recordings. Prominent groups have included Naidy, Socavón, Buscajá and Grupo Gualajo. Their recordings are designed to conform to the expectations of an urban, record-buying public, favoring 'clean' production values, the inclusion of the *marimba* in the ensemble even in genres where traditional practice would not have done so, a preference for tempered tunings, predefined vocal arrangements with little improvisation, and the development of a standard formal structure (introduction, call-and-response, *marimba* solo, call-and-response and coda). This highly polished, practiced approach is also evident in these groups' live performances, especially those of Socavón. Performing groups participate in official competitions, wearing stylized versions of traditional costumes and presenting predetermined musical sets. They position themselves not in a circle as in traditional practice, but facing the public, placing the *marimba* prominently center stage, closely flanked by the other percussion instruments, with the singers out front or to the side. Although these features of these groups' work represent a departure from practices at *arrullos* and *bailes de currulao*, these groups maintain the traditional musical format, and both consider and position themselves as representatives of the traditional style.

Well-known traditional *marimba* players in Colombia include José Antonio Torres 'Gualajo,' Baudilio Cuama and Marino Beltrán; the best-known singers are Juana Angulo, Gladys 'Tití' Bazán, Elizabeth Sinisterra, Inés Granjaherrera, Nidia Góngora, Alba

Elena Aramburo and Benigna Solís. These musicians, mostly of an older generation, not only are active in traditional *música de marimba* in their communities of origin, but also travel to perform at events such as El Petronio.

Another phenomenon arising from El Petronio is the rise, in major centers such as Cali and Bogotá, of music groups that have taken up *música de marimba* in order to fuse it with other types of music. Dance orchestras such as Bahía and Herencia in Cali have mixed it with elements of *salsa*, and sometimes reggae and rock, while in Bogotá the best-known example has been La Revuelta, which has added bass, drum kit and stylistic elements of rock and rap to traditional *marimba*.

The rise of formal performance groups working the *música de marimba* style must be seen in the context of a more general discourse seeking to reaffirm 'ancestral' culture of the Pacific coastal region in both Ecuador and Colombia and the strengthening of a sense of ethnic and cultural identity there. In Colombia, these processes are linked to the adoption in 1991 of a new Constitution, which formally designated the country as pluriethnic and multicultural. This has led to a greater recognition within Colombia of the contributions of its minorities, including the Afro-Colombians of its Pacific region, to the nation's cultural patrimony. This must be seen in the context of a history of discrimination against blacks of which the effects are still felt in contemporary times. *Música de marimba* in particular been transformed into a powerful symbol of Afro-Pacific culture within Colombia and a marker of identity for these communities. Because the *marimba* instrument is at the core of this process, these groups have incorporated it into Afro-Pacific genres that did not traditionally feature it. While *música de marimba* cannot be considered a popular music genre in Colombia in the sense that it has not been fully commercialized, its visibility at the national level has continued to increase, primarily through recorded works and exposure at festivals, contexts which allow for institutional support of Afro-Pacific culture.

In Ecuador since the early 2000s, Afro-Ecuadorian musicians have been teaching children to play and dance *marimba* music in an effort to revive the *marimba* tradition, which has become a marker of Afro-Ecuadorian identity. Renowned performers include Papá Roncón and his group La Katanga, and Petita Palma and her group Tierra Caliente. In 2002 *marimba* player Lindberg Valencia, in collaboration with other members of the Afro-Ecuadorian community, composed an Afro-Ecuadorian mass for the Sacred Music Festival in Quito. Performed by the typical *marimba* ensemble (*marimba*, *bombo*, *cununo*, *guasá*, *glosador* and *respondedoras*), the themes of each mass section are based on Afro-Ecuadorian religious songs. Rock bands, such as La Grupa, have released a series of songs with *marimba* accompaniment. The Orquesta de Instrumentos Andinos from Quito has recorded the *andarele* in an arrangement for *marimba* and Andean instruments. Academic composers have arranged the same piece for the symphony orchestra format. Although Ecuadorian musicians and composers from different stylistic trends have incorporated the *marimba* timbre in their works, *música de marimba* nonetheless remains an ethnic expression that does not have commercial visibility or significant political implications at the national level.

The *marimba* is also popular among the indigenous groups Chachi, Tsa'chila and Awá in the provinces of Esmeraldas and Pichincha. German travelers chronicled the use of *marimba* by indigenous people in the early twentieth century. It is likely that these peoples adopted the *marimba* from Afro-Ecuadorian practice, although this point is debated. In these communities, both the construction and performance of the *marimba* instrument are linked to the animal and spiritual world, and the music has musical characteristics, tuning systems and performance contexts distinctive from those of the Afro-Ecuadorian tradition. For example, Tsa'chila people perform *marimba* music at their rituals, weddings and community celebrations. The most important Tsa'chila festivity is the Kasa'ma (the New Day celebration), which takes place on the winter equinox and coincides with Easter week. Four typical rhythms characterize their music: *pirpa kotochi*, *bonkoro teka*, *donebele kinfu* and *tseinasa marimba*. As in Afro-Ecuadorian practice, the ensemble used by these indigenous groups is formed by one or two *cununos* and *bombos*, a *marimba* and shakers. However, the rhythmic structure is less complex than the polyphonic texture of Afro-Ecuadorian music – it is characterized by a more regular meter – and uses soloist rather than call-and-response singing.

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JUAN SEBASTIÁN OCHOA AND KETTY WONG

Música del Recuerdo

Música del recuerdo (music of yesteryear) comprises a specific repertoire of romantic *balada*s (ballads) from the 1960s and 1970s, which are currently listened to by Ecuadorian lower-class youths in large concerts of Ecuadorian popular music. In these venues, *música del recuerdo* is played together with other styles of Ecuadorian music associated with a stigmatized lower-class population such as *música chichera*, *música rocolera* and *tecnocumbia*. Thus, in Ecuador the term *música del recuerdo* points not just to 'music of yesteryear' but also to a category of romantic music that has been re-signified by the lower-class youth.

The *balada* genre, which replaced the old-fashioned romantic *bolero* with its lively rhythm, was popular among all social classes in Ecuador in the 1970s. As a modern popular music at the time, it represented the musical aesthetics of the upper-middle classes in terms of lyrical content and performance practice. By the late 1980s and 1990s, *baladas* from the 1970s were frequently listened to on the radio as an expression of nostalgia for yesteryear. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, however, these *baladas* are listened to by lower-class youth seeking a collective expression of modernity and romantic love. In general, lower-class youth regards Ecuadorian popular music as old-fashioned because its lyrics usually deal with themes of negative love (breakups and unrequited love), topics that are reminiscent of the *pasillo* and *música rocolera*. For lower-class youth, modernity manifests itself in the use of electronic instruments and the preference for the *balada* genre, which provides an alternative outlet for expressing positive feelings, particularly experiences of falling in love.

Música del recuerdo is performed by local bands from Quito, such as Caravana, Israel and Sahiro, which were popular in the mid-1970s and 1980s. These bands, made up of electric guitars, synthesizers and drum set, played covers of songs by international *artists* such as Leo Dan (Argentina), Buddy Richard (Chile) and Los Iracundos (Uruguay). Caravana and Sahiro also played original songs composed by their band leaders – Franklin Villegas and Saúl Proaño – in the *balada* style of the period, some of which have become 'classics' of *música del recuerdo*. Caravana, Israel and Sahiro disbanded in the early 1990s, then reunited in the 2000s and have had enormous success singing their old repertoire for a younger generation of lower-class Ecuadorians. Other bands with the same type of repertoire, such as Los Búfalos and Primos G, emerged with moderate success in the 2000s. With the massive exodus of Ecuadorians at the beginning of the twenty-first century, Sahiro and Los Búfalos tour internationally, performing *música del recuerdo* mainly for the Ecuadorian migrant population living in Spain and the United States.

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KETTY WONG

Música Gauchesca/Música Nativista

The term *gaúcho* refers, in Brazil, to the native inhabitants of the extreme south of the country, more specifically the people born in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, where the country borders on Argentina and Uruguay. By extension, *música gauchesca* is understood as the traditional music of this region, known for having a very specific cultural identity in relation to the rest of Brazil. The term *música nativista* points, in a broader sense, to the same cultural universe, while also being used to designate a specific aesthetic tendency within *música gauchesca*.

The figure of the *gaúcho* is central to the construction of cultural identity in Rio Grande do Sul. A pejorative term until the end of the eighteenth century, associated with the rogues and cattle thieves who populated the border region that was still being disputed between the Portuguese and Spanish Crowns, the *gaúcho* image acquired a more positive aspect, and indeed began a path to idealization, from the second half of the nineteenth century, when the economy of the region began to stabilize, with ranching and cattle-raising work as its central activities. The first cultural associations dedicated to the cultivation and promotion of *gaúcha* culture date from this time – Partenon Literário (1868) and Grêmio Gaúcho de Porto Alegre (1898). By the end of the 1940s, the Centros de Tradições Gaúchas (Centers of Gaucho Tradition (CTG)) were appearing, the first of which was the *35 CTG*, founded in Porto Alegre – capital city of Rio Grande do Sul – in 1948 by students from the countryside. The spread of these centers, inside and outside the state, and the collaboration between its promoters gave form, in the 1960s, to the Movimento Tradicionalista Gaúcho (Traditionalist Gaucho Movement (MTG)).

Music and dance designed within this context as 'traditional' were among the major themes treated by some very renowned intellectuals and ideologists from this movement, as one can see in *Manual de danças gaúchas* from Paixão Côrtes and Barbosa Lessa (1955), a book widely adopted as a pedagogical reference. The original ideology of the movement was largely based on conservative ideas about maintaining the original rural aspects of the tradition. A tough character, and a way of life associated with the countryside (specifically with cattle), are essential points of the *gaúcho* image, and important themes in the symbolic dimension of *música gauchesca/nativista*. Similarities with the *gaúcho* traditions in Argentina and Uruguay are discussed, sometimes affirmed and sometimes minimized, as well as providing empirical evidence of the existence of a cultural identity that is, to some degree, transborder.

By the early twenty-first century, the officialization process, and even the institutionalization of the *gaúcha* regional identity in Brazil, had been developing for more than a century. Involving several actors – within cultural and intellectual associations, means of communication, artists, consumers and even the state – it was permeated by ideological polemics and relations of power. In the midst of these processes, the musicality of the *gaúcho* tradition is one of the most essential and most discussed elements. In geographical terms, the region covered and influenced by the so-called *gaúcho* cult extends beyond the Rio Grande do Sul and includes the states of Santa Catarina, Paraná, Mato Grosso do Sul and beyond.

In 1971 the CTG *Sinuelo do Pago* promoted the *Califórnia da Canção Nativa* in the city of Uruguaiana, the first *nativista* music festival to take place in the state. During the 1970s and the 1980s there was a marked increase and diffusion of such competitive festivals, generating a large market of records and other products related to this identity, and revitalizing the cult of regional culture for, and partly by, young people from urban middle classes. These festivals became the *locus* of an ideological polarization, sometimes very intense, between a conservative 'voice of tradition' and a more progressive stance that was open to aesthetic and thematic changes. The argument between these two groups, the first known as *traditionalist* and the second as *nativist,* centered primarily around music, and many musical subjects were intensively discussed and disputed – subjects such as instrumentation (whether or not particular genres incorporating electronic instruments should be considered authentic), and the topics dealt with in song lyrics – but other related, though not strictly musical, topics were featured also, notably the issue of innovations in traditional; *gaúcho* dress among both musician and participants.

A Musical Supergenre

In a sense, *música gauchesca/nativista* is best understood as a musical *super-genre* or umbrella genre, comprising a certain number of specific genres (Hoffmann 2007, 07). The mixture of traditional dances brought by the Açores colonizers from the eighteenth century and European ballroom dances, diffused mostly through Paris in the second half of the nineteenth century and widely adopted in Brazil and elsewhere, is generally accepted as providing the basis of what has become known as *música gauchesca/nativista.* Spanish influence is apparent too, emanating from the Rio de La Plata region and verifiable, for instance, in the increasingly common practice, originally begun at festivals in Brazil in the 1970s, of adopting such genres as *chamamé* and *milonga*. Lucas (1990, 223–9) lists as the main *música nativista* genres: *bugio*, *rancheira*, *vanerão* (also called *vaneira*), *polca*, *toada* and *milonga*. Ferraro (2006, 41) adds to this list *chamamé*, *xote*, *chimarrita* and *rancheira*.

Linking these together as an identifiable whole are the acoustic guitar and the accordion, considered the most characteristic instruments of *música gauchesca/nativista*, together with a virile and intense, essentially male, vocal quality, one that is very different, for instance, from the soft voice that characterizes *bossa nova* singing. To the traditional set of acoustic guitar and accordion is added the *bombo legüero*, an instrument associated with the *rio-platense* culture of Argentina and Uruguay. The use of this instrument was diffused by the festivals and was sometimes judged as adding an international component.

In the twenty-first century, the instrumentation of groups of *música gauchesca/nativista* is often composed of drums, electric bass, electric guitar (played at the same time as, or substituting for, the acoustic guitar) and keyboards, together with the virtually indispensable accordion, which acts as a central identifying characteristic. Within the genre (or super-genre), a great deal of variation can be found with regard to arrangements and styles according to the particular aesthetic orientations and interests of the different groups and/or musicians.

From the encounter between *música gauchesca/nativista* and other musical genres such as *música sertaneja*, *axé* and *pagode*, a new genre appeared in the 1990s, called *tchê music* – also designated as *vanera pop, música de baile, vanera maxixada, estilo fandangueiro jovem, estilo do sul* and *linha mais aberta* (Hoffmann 2007, 32–3). It is to be found in urban dances, not only in Rio Grande do Sul, but in other states, covering almost the entire south of Brazil, in contexts unlike those of the traditional CTGs, and is considered to be more commercial in character. The *vaneira* or *vaneirão* is perhaps the most significant genre in these contexts, in which the music is essentially a function of the dance. In such developments are found dynamic new ways and new scenarios for the expression of the polarization between tradition and innovation that lies at the heart of the universe of *música gauchesca/nativista*.

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LUÍS FERNANDO HERING COELHO

Música Grupera

The term *grupo* is used in Mexico to refer to a 'group' or band of musicians that does not prioritize any of its members (although many groups have one or more better-known members, for example, the vocalist). The 'group phenomenon' is commonly referred to as *onda grupera* (literally 'the group wave'). *Grupos* are ensembles with electric guitar, synthesized instruments and a lead vocalist which play easy-listening Mexican and international pop ballads, as well as *cumbias* (a Mexican variety, not to be confused with Afro-Colombian *cumbias* which are often called *cumbia tropical* in Mexico). Among the top bands are Los Bukis, Los Temerarios, Liberación and Los Fugitivos. As well as the ensemble type, the term *grupo* also refers to the music these groups perform. *Música grupera* ('group music') is one of Mexico's most commercially successful forms of popular music.

Grupo is a hybrid as well as a transnational type of music, enjoyed mostly by younger people. It has its origins in the 1960s Mexican pop ballad/rock groups (such as Los Babys, Los Ángeles Negros, Enrique Guzmán, Los Locos del Ritmo and Los Freddy's) that imitated English and US rock groups like the Beatles, the Rolling Stones and the Beach Boys. Inspired by 1960s youth music, the Mexican *rocanroleros* (rock 'n' rollers) Los Teen Tops in turn stimulated a number of rock groups which all signed to the Peerless label. Although the Mexican recording industry did not yet believe in the country's rock groups and much foreign music could be heard on radio, *rock en español* (rock in Spanish) was soon to surpass English rock in popularity. *Grupo* is also indebted to the Colombian *cumbia* craze that had reached Mexico in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and was soon appropriated by *ex-rocanroleros* such as Mike Laure y sus Cometas and later Rigo Tovar y su Costa Azul. During live performances, typically held at regional fairs of a public or private nature and dance events in smaller towns and villages, Mexican groups would usually also interpret pop *baladas* (ballads) for romantic dancing. Due to a lack of access to the mainstream media as well as for economic survival in the local music market, the first generation of *gruperos* (*grupo* musicians) in the

1970s developed a mixed repertoire that borrowed from the *pop balada* (singers such as Julio Iglesias, José José and Camilo Sesto), *cumbia tropical*, rock and *ranchera* (Mexican country music). This hybrid music style would mainly appeal to the lower classes. The pioneer groups hailed from anywhere between the southeastern peninsula of Yucatán to Acapulco on the Pacific coast, but eventually Mexico's north-east became the hub for the *grupo* movement due to the growing importance of Monterrey's recording industry.

Cumbia, a genre which is incorporated under the umbrella of (what is known in Mexico and elsewhere as) *música tropical* (tropical music) and is a form of *música bailable* (danceable music), has been popular among Mexico's lower-class dancing audiences since the 1960s. Seminal in *cumbia*'s internationalization was the Colombian group Sonora Dinamita (formed in 1960 in Medellín) with its brassy, innuendo-drenched *cumbias* such as 'A mover la colita' ('Let's Move the Little Tail'). Mexican regional ensembles, from accordion-based groups to brass bands, joined the *cumbia* craze, popularizing the genre in urban and rural areas alike. *Cumbia* became a distinctively Mexican genre or style when it was played by *rocanroleros* who failed in their genre and turned into *tropicaleros* (musicians of the tropical genre). Mexican *cumbieros* (*cumbia* musicians) simplified the complex polyrhythmic patterns of the popular Colombia *cumbia* of the time and introduced the electric organ or synthesizer, the drum set and the güiro (gourd scraper). In the 1980s, their fusion of American rock/*rock en español* and *cumbia mexicana* (Mexican *cumbia*) became known as *chunchaca*, a derogative term ('chunchaca' is onomatopoetic for the kind of guitar strum and the drum rhythm of this music: quarter note followed by two eighth notes). *Cumbia* music had become more associated with Mexico's lower and working classes.

Instrumental in the development and dissemination of Mexican *cumbia* has been Monterrey, capital city of the northeastern state of Nuevo León and the center of a potent cultural industry that promotes predominantly *música norteña* and *música grupera*. During the 1980s Monterrey's increasingly professionalized recording and entertainment industries propelled the pop-influenced *grupera* music and *grupo/norteño* fusions (bands such as Los Mier, Bronco and Grupo Límite) out of their regional confines. Although northern groups did not yet have airplay in Mexico City, the music began to attract a larger audience, notably the growing Mexican immigrant population in the United States. After an earthquake devastated Mexico City's infrastructure (including its recording industry) in 1985, *norteño* music made huge inroads into the capital. By the early 1990s Monterrey's commercially promoted *cumbias* enjoyed prominence in the whole of Mexico as well as in parts of the United States. Due to the increasing decentralization of Mexico's culture industry and the proliferation of new channels of communication in the 1990s, popular genres such as *cumbia tropical* began to be recorded outside of the established recording centers, both south and north of the border.

The *grupo* phenomenon peaked in the early 1990s when it became part of another expanding fashion in Mexico: massive, Woodstock-style dance concerts in major cities such as Monterrey and Guadalajara. Televisa, the world's largest Spanish-language media company with headquarters in Mexico City, for example, developed a 540,000-square foot multipurpose facility in Guadalajara. Music shows at this entertainment center routinely drew between 70,000 and 90,000 fans who listened and danced to *grupos*, *norteños*, *bandas* and fusion bands. These marathon concerts would typically feature up to five stages and ran from 7 p.m. to 7 a.m. *Norteño* and *tejano* groups such as Ramón Ayala, Mazz, La Mafia and Selena competed with the *onda grupera*'s popularity in the mid-1990s.

Leading Groups

Among the most notable musicians/bands who spearheaded the *grupo* movement in the 1970s were Marco Antonio Solís y Los Bukis, Rigo Tovar y su Costa Azul, Liberación and Bronco.

Los Bukis, headed by singer/songwriter/producer Marco Antonio Solís, led and dominated the *onda grupera* for more than two decades. Formed in 1970 in Michoacán, Los Bukis became the role model for dozens of bands – among the most successful were Los Yonics (formed in 1977 in Guerrero) and Los Temerarios (formed in 1982 in Zacatecas). They imitated not only Los Bukis' romantic pop repertoire, but also their elegant coat-and-tie look. Los Bukis also dominated the pop *grupero* scene in Mexico in the 1980s with their highly melodic and easily danceable romantic pop tunes and with elaborate stage shows featuring giant videos, sophisticated light shows and high-tech sound systems. Los Bukis' fan base, although still rooted in the lower socioeconomic classes, was able to transcend class barriers with the support of the Mexican and Latino media in the 1990s. Solís departed from the band for a solo career in 1995. The remaining band members regrouped as Los Mismos ('The Same Ones').

Singer/songwriter Rigo Tovar (Rigoberto Tovar García), originally from Matamoros, Tamaulipas, formed his band, Costa Azul, in 1972 in Houston, Texas. Like other Mexican rock musicians of the time, he turned to *música tropical* to make a living. In the mid-1970s Tovar's name became synonymous with the keyboard-driven *cumbia* genre. His trademark style was a creative mixture of *cumbia tropical*, rock, *ranchera* and *balada pop*.

Liberación (named after the feminist and Palestinian liberation movements of the time) was created in 1976 in Monterrey with an egalitarian *grupero* concept, though they also covered disco music, such as the Bee Gees. Soon, however, the group rivaled Los Bukis with their romantic pop-*cumbia* keyboard-heavy style, which relied on a strong rhythm section (with the addition of a second keyboard) and sentimental, apolitical lyrics. Many of the pioneer *grupos* broke up or ceased to function, particularly after the rise of *tejano* music in the late 1980s, although Liberación's success continued. However, the popularity of *tejano* was short-lived, dramatically halted by the death of the tejano star, Selena, in 1995. Grupera music made a comeback and by 2010, commercially oriented banda ensembles (such as Banda El Recodo) and norteño groups (like Los Tigres del Norte) had entered the *movimiento grupero* (with a similarity in dress, dance routines, use of modern technology and so forth).

Los Temerarios, a group formed by the brothers Adolfo and Gustavo Ángel in 1982 in Fresnillo, Zacatecas, similarly was catapulted to stardom in the mid-1990s with a series of hit pop-ballad tunes in a mariachi-influenced style. Starting with a number of independently produced albums with organ-driven ballads, *rancheras*, good-time *cumbias* and even *corridos*, Los Temerarios were signed by the Monterrey-based indie label Disa in the late 1980s. Combining elements of sentimental ballads and Mexican *ranchera* music with keyboards, electric guitar, bass and percussion, they created a sound that propelled them to superstardom and frequently took them to the top tier of Billboard's Latin charts. In 1993, Los Temerarios ventured into the business side of music by setting up a modern studio in Monterrey and creating their own AFG Sigma label, which signed dozens of other groups including pioneer *grupo* Mr Chivo and Conjunto Primavera. Three years later, however, Los Temerarios signed with Fonovisa, the leading seller of 'Mexican Regional Music' in the United States (until the late-1990s, when Disa, EMI Latin and PolyGram Latino challenged Fonovisa's supremacy in the US market). In 2000 the band collected an award for Best Grupero Performance at the first annual Latin Grammy Awards.

The *grupo* sound is not clearly defined, as groups explore their individual creativity and develop their own repertoire, often fusing different popular styles. Probably the most successful of such 'fusion bands' was Bronco, which started in 1978 (Nuevo León) as a *norteño* band dressed in cowboy hats and colorful fringed cowboy suits imitating the highly popular binational *norteño* band Los Tigres del Norte in both clothing style and repertoire. Influenced by Los Bukis and Los Ángeles Negros, Bronco exploded on the *grupero* scene in 1990 with a new type of *norteño-grupo* fusion. The four-man band (accordion/keyboard, electric guitar, bass/vocals, drums) developed a repertoire of original *corridos* and *norteña rancheras*, as well as witty *cumbias* and romantic *baladas*. After a worldwide good-bye tour, Bronco ended its glorious career in 1997 at the Estadio Azteca in Mexico City in front of 115,000 fans. Other successful *norteño-grupo* fusion bands include Los Mier (1980s, Nuevo León), Los Fugitivos (1991, California), Grupo Tentación (1991, Guanajuato) and Grupo Límite (1995, Monterrey), the latter headed by singer/songwriter Alicia Villarreal. Grupo Límite is noteworthy for its many awards in both the Billboard 'Regional Mexican' and 'Tejano' categories, but also for being the only (commercially successful) female-led *norteño* fusion band.

Grupo's Influence on Other Transnational Popular Music Phenomena

Mexico's political opening and neoliberal tendencies since the 1980s, which have caused a gradual democratization of the media, aided the emergence and success of new popular music phenomena across the US-Mexico border. In the mid-1980s a grupo version of the acoustic *banda sinaloense* appeared in Guadalajara. This fusion became known as *tecnobanda* (*technobanda*) or simply *banda* (consisting of electric bass, keyboard synthesizer, saxophone, trumpets, drums and vocalist). In the early 1990s Southern California was swept by the 'banda movement,' carried and supported by large numbers of recent immigrants from Mexico and Central America. *Tecnobanda*'s accelerated tempo and powerful amplification set off a dance craze that spread to other parts of the United States and back to Mexico. A decade after *tecnobanda*'s international breakthrough, a new type of group that, like *tecnobanda*, fused Mexican rural-rooted music with synthesizers and drum sets, burst out of Chicago and made headlines in the United States after topping the Billboard

Latin charts in 2003. The novelty sound became known as *pasito duranguense* ('little step from Durango'). Although the Durango groups mainly reinterpret Mexican standards (*rancheras* and *baladas*), *el pasito duranguense* is a distinctly Chicago invention, and in the Mexican home state of Durango it is consequently called 'Chicago sound.' Both the *tecnobanda* and the *pasito duranguense* phenomena owe much to the *onda grupera* which paved the way in the music industry for keyboard-driven, eclectic youth musics rooted in Mexican sensibilities.

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HELENA SIMONETT

Música Instrumental Brasileira

Brazilian instrumental popular music, called *música instrumental* in Brazil, is also known as Brazilian jazz, in the specific sense of a distinct musical genre with its own characteristics and sociocultural nexus, and not as a national adaptation of jazz. While the word 'instrumental' itself denotes music that does not have any lyrics or text, including genres from Western European art music, the term *música instrumental* is used by Brazilian musicians to identify the specific corpus of musical productions of Brazilian jazz.

There are many types of Brazilian instrumental music, such as *choro* or concert music, and Brazilian jazz musicians are aware of the inadequacy of the term *música instrumental* to refer to this music. A more accurate designation would be *música popular instrumental brasileira* (Brazilian instrumental popular music), but *música instrumental* is the commonly used term. In magazines and stores outside of Brazil, it is termed 'Brazilian jazz' or 'Latin Jazz,' especially in the United States, where Brazilian jazz is frequently regarded as a kind of Latin jazz. Brazilian jazz musicians, however, refuse to call *música instrumental* 'Brazilian jazz,' as the category 'jazz' is regarded as too limiting and does not encompass all the musical diversity of *música instrumental.*

According to Brazilian musicians, *música instrumental* originated at the beginning of the twentieth century, with the emergence of the instrumental genre of Portuguese influence known as *choro*, which to this day is played and greatly appreciated (Cazes 1998), and is considered by musicians as the ancestor of Brazilian jazz. It was only with the advent of *bossa nova*, however, in the 1950s, that Brazilian jazz differentiated itself most clearly from *choro* and emerged in its own right.

Brazilian jazz musicians have much respect for *choro* performers, especially great masters such as Pixinguinha, yet there is a very subtle rivalry between them, resulting from the *choro* musicians' self-conscious strategy of avoiding the jazz influence, an attitude which touches on several symbolic points to which the Brazilian musicians are sensitive. But even though a certain tension exists between *choro* and *música instrumental,* as a consequence of the symbolic advantage that *choro* holds from being a kind of 'roots' music and from not having undergone the influence of jazz, *música instrumental* absorbs much of *choro's* musicality. This musicality is primarily enacted through a nostalgic ethos inscribed in melodic characteristics, which emerge in the typical shaping of the melody and use of *appoggiatura* and *arpeggios*, often in *scherzando* spirit.

In the 1950s, when *bossa nova* was flourishing, artists such as João Gilberto and Antônio Carlos Jobim became known worldwide, constituting landmarks in Brazilian and world popular music (Castro 1990). While the wider world was discovering *bossa nova,* an entire generation of jazz-influenced Brazilian instrumentalists became involved with it, creating mostly instrumental *bossa nova* trios, such as the Milton Banana trio, Tamba trio, Jongo trio and larger groups, such as J. T. Meireles and the Copa 5. All these groups have frequently played at bars and jazz clubs, such as Bottle's and Farney's bar in Rio de Janeiro. US West Coast jazz was very much appreciated and played, and its influence on *bossa nova* is undeniable, even though the 'cool' element of *bossa nova* may have an older connection with the nineteenth-century *modinhas* in Brazil (Menezes Bastos 1999). The crystallization of Brazilian jazz as a musical genre happened precisely in this environment – the instrumental universe around *bossa nova* – and it developed apart from *choro*, which would still cultivate its conservative nature.

Even before the 1980s, Brazilian jazz musicians began to participate in international festivals such as the Montreux Jazz Festival. Brazilian jazz of this period achieved its maturity in the music of Hermeto Pascoal and of Egberto Gismonti, forming a musical body that remains to this day relatively homogeneous in thematic, structural and stylistic terms, and consisting, therefore, of a genre of recent tradition (Piedade 2003). Brazilian musicians feel the need to enact very jazzy musical phrases when they improvise. They refer to *bebopear* ('to bebop') as meaning to articulate phrases according to this style, which means it is necessary to know, respect and follow its rules. *Bebopear* expresses the Brazilian reading of jazz musicality, yet this musicality seems simultaneously both valuable and fearsome for most Brazilian jazz musicians. The mastering of bebop demonstrates technical knowledge of the jazz language, which is a passport to communicating with jazz musicians anywhere on the globe. Yet, at the same time, the natives feel a need to dissolve bebop itself and express Brazilian musicality by means of its many idioms and topics, therefore establishing a tense relationship that is constitutive of *música instrumental*.

Since the 1990s the number of Brazilian jazz musicians and bands has increased at an impressive rate, even though there has been no corresponding growth in space in the media, and in the number of record labels, producers, specialized studios and places to play. In the early 2000s the new generations no longer voraciously pursue bebop as their predecessors did. Regional instrumental music is growing and as a consequence so is decentralization in relation to the Rio de Janeiro/São Paulo axis. An increasing number of young people are playing the *cavaquinho*, *viola caipira*, *zabumba* and the accordion, instruments that until now had been left out of *música instrumental*. A much less prejudiced and more advantageous relationship with the world of art music has also been established, and chamber music groups, such as clarinet quintets and guitar quartets, have emerged, dedicated to playing *música instrumental*. What is now maintained from the spirit of jazz is much less the *bebop* phrasing and the worship of great jazz masters and much more the freedom of creation and improvisation.

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ACÁCIO T. DE C. PIEDADE

Música Junina

The term *Música junina* (June Music) refers to music performed in Brazil during the period of the annual Festas Juninas (June Festivals). While the practice of organizing annual festive celebrations, including music, at that time of year has a long history and strong religious associations, going back to the colonial period, and to the efforts of the Jesuits to convert and catechize the indigenous population, '*música junina*' itself began to be used in the first half of the twentieth century as a catchall term by the media and the music industry to turn public interest in specific musics at that time of year (which is also harvest time) to economic advantage.

In the colonial period, Jesuits and European settlers relived the celebrations of harvest time that had been part of their culture in their native countries. Settlers organized celebrations in their villages' and towns' farming and cattle-raising regions, holding them in the name of the Catholic saints Anthony, John and Peter, as a form of thankfulness for the abundance of crops. The indigenous population was involved also, as the celebrations radiated outward from the chapels, lighting bonfires and disseminating songs and tidbits.

The June celebrations have continued to be held in many parts of the country, usually in a *kermesse* (funfair) fashion, with decorated market stalls and plays to entertain the public. In addition to bonfires built in front of houses and in the center of the main town square, there is invariably a fireworks display, as well as the mast with the saint's flag. On the dancing court, a varied mix of local musical genres is performed, gathering the population together: *baião*, *polka*, *rancheira*, *marchinha*, *xote* and *forró*, a repertoire of traditional music, played by small groups made up of accordion, *zabumba* (big bass drum) and triangle. The introduction of *vaneirão,* a dance from the state of Rio Grande do Sul that migrated with its rice, grape and soybean farmers to the Brazilian North-east, has blended there with *forró,* generating a mixed genre, called '*forroneirão*,' which has now been incorporated into the June celebrations in several Brazilian states.

Other dances that stand out, because they are held only around the June festivities,. include the *quadrilha* (square dance) and the *dança do pau-de-fita* (ribbon tree dance). The roots of *quadrilha* date back to the European courts of the eighteenth century, where it developed from the old square dances. In England it was called country-dance, in France *quadrille* and in Portugal, *quadrilha*. The *quadrilha* had significant success in the Brazilian court during the Regency period (nineteenth century), in Rio de Janeiro. From the aristocratic salons it was appropriated by the wider populace, who adapted it to the Brazilian rural culture. Thus groups of *quadrilha* dancers were established right after *Carnaval* for competition in the June contests. Though modified over time, the essence of *quadrilha* remains in the choreography, where men and women dance in pairs, and are characterized as people from the hinterland.

In the *dança do pau de fita*, a heritage from the Portuguese and Spanish settlers, and similar to the English maypole dance, participants are organized in a circle around a mast decorated with colorful ribbons, each tied at the top and held at the tips by a dancer. The dance involves braiding and unbraiding the ribbons, to the accompaniment of a group made up of an accordion, guitar and tambourine.

Little by little, in the first half of the twentieth century, the *quadrilha* and other June dances began to be used by the media and music industry to fill a production gap in the interval between *Carnaval* and the festivities at the end of the year. With the dissemination and expansion of radio, the attention of composers, lyricists and singers started turning to the traditional June songs and from that interest, commercially speaking a new genre, *música junina* appeared. Its heyday lasted from the 1930s to the 1950s.

Some specific examples of music used during the June celebrations were noted in 1837 by the priest Lopes Gama (*Dicionário Houaiss* 2006, 510). For example, he mentions some ballads such as the one beginning 'Acordai, acordai, acordai João/ela está dormindo/Não acorda não, acordai/Acordai João/Ela está dormindo/Não acorda não' (Wake up, wake up/wake up John/she is sleeping/Do not wake her up). Beginning in 1930, traditional ballads such as these began to be discovered by recording artists and record companies. 'Acordai, acordai,' for example, was reinterpreted in 1949 by composers João de Barro and Alberto Ribeiro for singer Emilinha Borba to perform, under the title 'Capelinha de melão' (Melon Chapel). In the 1940s, the radio played a major part in making public a rich repertoire with its origins in the less sophisticated areas of nineteenth-century society, in the rhythm of *baião*, *xote, xaxado*, etc.

Between the years 1930 and 1950, popular music composers such as Lamartine Babo, Braguinha (Carlos Alberto Ferreira Braga), Ari Barroso and others composed several songs specifically for the June festivities. Among them are 'Chegou a hora da fogueira' (The Time for the Bonfire Has Come) (1933) by Lamartine Babo, which Carmen Miranda and Mário Reis recorded on the Victor label; 'Cai, cai balão' (Fall, Fall Balloon), a popular ditty developed by composer Assis Valente with orchestration of

Simon Bountman, and recorded on the Odeon label in 1933 by Francisco Alves and Aurora Miranda; and 'Noites de Junho' (June Nights), a march by João de Barro and Alberto Ribeiro recorded by Columbia Records in 1939 by Dalva de Oliveira. In 1950 Luiz Gonzaga and Zé Dantas – taking advantage of the national success of *baião,* in which they had been prominent in promoting and stylizing – composed and recorded (for RCA Victor) 'A dança da moda' (The Fashion Dance) specially for the June Celebrations. Thereafter, Gonzaga, Dantas and Humberto Teixeira recorded a number of songs in styles such as *marchinha, rancheira, polka* and *baião*, all with June motifs and all for RCA Victor, including compositions that have since become classics of this festive time of year. Among them are 'Olha pro céu' (Look at the Sky [1951]) by José Fernandes and Luiz Gonzaga; 'São João na Roça' (Saint John in the Countryside [1952]) by Zé Dantas and Luiz Gonzaga; 'Noites brasileiras' (Brazilian Nights [1954]) by Zé Dantas and Luiz Gonzaga; 'São João Antigo' (Old Saint John [1957]) by Zé Dantas and Luiz Gonzaga; and 'São João no Arraiá' (Saint John at the Country Festivity [1960]) by Zé Dantas.

Since its peak in the 1950s, *música junina* has continued to claim a high percentage of interest in the media and music industry and has, in addition, aroused the interest of Brazilian society, which uses this musical style as a way of evoking nights in the Brazilian hinterlands on the occasion of festivities held for the three saints in backwoods towns.

Música junina traces the cultural and social transformations of regional communities, from Mario Zan's 1951 'Festa na Roça' to the *marchinha* written by João Fernandes and Wadinho 'Sonhei que eu era balão dourado' (I Dreamed I Was a Golden Balloon) interpreted by the band Chiclete com Banana (2005) and 'Festa no Interior' (Party in the Backlands), a *frevo* song by Moraes Moreira (1997), originally composed for Carnaval and which today integrates the musical repertoire of the June festivities.

With changes and cultural transformations, the music has adapted itself, without sacrificing its traditions, in order to satisfy the tastes and requirements of a globalized and technologically dominated world, for example by being interpreted in a mestizo manner with the fusion of several rhythms. In the twenty-first century, *música junina* allies its traditional instrumentation – the accordion, the *zabumba* (big bass drum) and the triangle – to external influences and accepts electronic instruments and a mix of rhythms and genres such as funk, reggae and hip-hop.

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MARIA ANGÉLICA RODRIGUES ELLERY

Música Montubia

The music of the coastal peasants in Ecuador, *música montubia*, survives in folkloric renditions performed by professional dance groups. This term is collective and embraces a number of smaller musical genres popular in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Folklorists Manuel de Jesús Álvarez (1929), Rodrigo Chávez González (1930s) and Guido Garay (1987) have compiled and reconstructed the music and choreography of *montubio* dances through their own experiences and oral histories provided by older people. The word *montubio* is a local term used in Ecuador to describe the Ecuadorian *campesino* (peasant) of the rural areas of the lowland provinces of Manabí, Guayas and Los Ríos. Although *montubios* have assimilated to the dominant culture, they distinguish themselves for their particular sense of humor, way of speaking and horse riding dexterity. In search of a distinctive ethnic identity, *montubios* have been fostering a revival of *montubio* traditions since the late 1990s, especially in the areas of music, dance and rodeo competitions.

In the cities, *música montubia* is often performed in school festivals and civic parades as the ‘typical’ music of the coast. Dancers usually wear white outfits, straw hats and a colorful handkerchief around the neck, which they usually wave in the air during the dance. Women wear blouses and ample skirts with flounces. Music recorded by Guido Garay in the 1960s usually provides the musical accompaniment for the dances. According to Garay’s research, typical *montubio* musical instruments were originally cane flutes and drums made of *zaino* (wild boar) leather; however, contemporary recordings of *música montubia* do not include these instruments.

In the early twentieth century *música montubia* was passed down to the next generation by oral transmission. The main musical genres included the *amorfino*, the *alza que te han visto*, the *moño*, the *iguana,* the *corre que te pincho*, the *galope*, the *baile del sombrerito* and the *polca montubia*. Songs in these genres were usually composed in the major mode. The *amorfino* was a song performed by two singers who improvised *coplas* (rhymed verses) in a verbal duel. They displayed great creativity, mental dexterity and command of the rhyme in their improvisations. The texts were usually related to love and scenes of rural life. The center of attention tends to be on the singers’ ingenuity and improvisation skills rather than the fairly simple melodic line and harmonic accompaniment. The few *amorfinos* known today are characterized by a duple meter and a binary form, though a few transcriptions from the late nineteenth century show rhythmic patterns in 6/8 meter. *Amorfinos* are no longer improvised, and the few examples known at the beginning of the twenty-first century survive in recordings produced in the 1960s by folklorist Guido Garay. The *alza que te han visto* was a very popular dance in the early twentieth century, as 78-rpm recordings from the early 1910s demonstrate. Written examples of the *alza* in both binary and ternary meters (*sesquiáltera*) point to its versatility. Because *música montubia* is considered an ethnic music, it has not entered the song repertoire of the national music anthology. Academic composers, such as Luis Humberto Salgado and Segundo Luis Moreno, included stylizations of *alzas* in their nationalist works.

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KETTY WONG

Música Norteña, ***see*** **Norteño**

Música Rocolera

Música rocolera is a term widely used in Ecuador to refer to a style of music associated with drunkenness, violence and a stigmatized working-class population. It emerged in the 1970s in the aftermath of the massive rural-to-urban migration caused by the effects of agrarian reform and modernization of the country. *Música rocolera* has no relation to rock music. The name derives from the word *rocola*, the Ecuadorian word for jukebox. In the 1950s the *rocola* was found in a variety of upper-middle-class public spaces such as coffee shops, restaurants and open-air venues for entertainment. By the 1970s, it was an old device replaced by the 33-rpm record and the cassette. The *rocola* was gradually confined to *cantinas* (bars) located in lower-class neighborhoods, particularly in the 'red zones.' The *cantina*, the *rocola* and liquor are frequently referred to in *música rocolera* lyrics.

In Ecuador, there is no consensus on what *música rocolera* is among its listeners and detractors. It means different things to different people in different contexts according to people's ethnicity, social class, gender, age and educational background. Basically, *música rocolera* is an umbrella term that encompasses a repertoire of songs in three specific musical genres: the *bolero*, the *valse* and the *pasillo*. Many Ecuadorians, however, define *música rocolera* as the music that one might hear coming from a *rocola*. This vague definition is problematic because many types of national and international music were listened to in the *rocola* in the 1950s and 1960s, yet only specific performers such as Daniel Santos, Julio Jaramillo and Alci Acosta, and specific types of *boleros*, *valses* and *pasillos* composed in the 1970s and 1980s, have come to be identified with *música rocolera*. Broadly, these are *boleros* and *pasillos* written by a new generation of Ecuadorian composers born in the 1940s, such as Naldo Campos, Fausto Galarza and Nicolás Fiallos, whose music reflects the aesthetics and urban sensitivity of the lower-class populations.

Música rocolera is often called '*música cortavenas*' (literally, 'music to slash your veins to') because many listeners perceive it as depressingly melodramatic and sentimental. The lyrics of *valses* and *boleros rocoleros* usually deal with negative aspects of the couple relationship such as despair, betrayals, love triangles and breakups. Using colloquial language, most lyrics portray men as victims of women, who are generally depicted in derogatory terms. The *pasillo* from the 1970s, however, is distinguished from the *bolero* and the *valse* in the avoidance of pejorative terms toward women and allusions to drunkenness. This type of *pasillo* also diverges from the traditional *pasillo* from the 1920s to the 1950s, which is considered the musical symbol of the Ecuadorian national identity, in that it uses colloquial rather than poetic language and less elaborate musical forms and arrangements. Notwithstanding the differences in lyrical and musical form, the main distinction between the two types of *pasillo* derives more from the social background of the listeners, the performers' singing style and the performance contexts associated with the lower classes and *mestizo* (mixed Hispanic and indigenous) people.

The upper-middle classes scorn *música rocolera* and condemn the vulgar language, the immorality of the texts, the lack of artistic quality, the massive commercialization and the short lifespan they think this music has. In contrast, the lower classes criticize upper-middle-class Ecuadorians for having a double discourse toward *música rocolera* since, despite their critiques, some of the latter attend these concerts disguised with hats and sunglasses so that they cannot be recognized. Interestingly, most lower-class Ecuadorians perceive *música rocolera* as a national music because it is composed, performed and listened to by Ecuadorian people.

Música rocolera is usually performed by a soloist singer to the accompaniment of a guitar ensemble, which includes an acoustic guitar, *requinto* (small high-pitched guitar), synthesizers and percussion instruments. *Boleros* are always played with *bongo* drums and *maracas*, which emphasize the typical 4/4 rhythmic pattern characteristic of the Antillean *boleros*. *Valses* and *pasillos* may occasionally include light percussion, which is atypical for these genres because they normally do not have percussion accompaniment as the *bolero* does. The use of synthesizers with various types of organ and accordion timbres, which are typically used in arrangements of other national music genres, gives *música rocolera* a distinctive Ecuadorian sound. Singers usually sing with a loud, nasal and high-pitched voice. Main performers of *música rocolera* are Segundo Rosero, Claudio Vallejo, Roberto Zumba, Aladino, Ana Lucía Proaño, Juanita Burbano and Teresita Andrade. FEDISCOS and IFESA, the two major national recording companies which have promoted Ecuadorian national music, first recorded and released this type of music. Later, Producciones Calle became the main recording company involved in this type of music.

In the late 1970s music entrepreneurs organized the first *música rocolera* festival in Ecuador, basically a one-night-concert event with the participation of singers from Ecuador, Peru and Colombia. The presence of singers from the latter countries was appropriate because these countries have similar genres of music dealing with breakups and betrayals, known respectively as *música cebollera* (onion music) and *música de carrilera* (railroad music). These festivals became regular events, usually sponsored by Ecuadorian liquor companies such as Trópico and Licor Cristal. In the 1980s René Torres and Hugo Zavala organized their own festivals in New York and Chicago for the '*colonia ecuatoriana*' (Ecuadorian residents in the United States). Since the late 1990s *música rocolera* has been performed in massive concerts of Ecuadorian popular music, and alternates with other types of Ecuadorian dance music such as *música chicha* and *tecnocumbia*.

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KETTY WONG

Música Sertaneja

Música sertaneja is a vocal duet-based genre that first emerged in Brazil in the 1930s as a result of the process of urbanization and modernization of the traditional rural musical genre called *música caipira*. The histories of the two genres are profoundly related. Since the second half of the 1980s, *música sertaneja* has been one of the best-selling musical genres in the Brazilian market, along with *pagode* and *axé music*. According to ABPD (the Brazilian Association of Recordings Producers) in 2009, the 'top 20' list of best-selling compact discs in the Brazilian market included seven *música sertaneja* titles (ABPD 2009).

Música sertaneja is directly related to a specific Brazilian geographical area, the 'Middle South': the states of Paraná, Mato Grosso, Mato Grosso do Sul, the south sides of Minas Gerais and Goiás. This area, with an agricultural industry central to Brazil's economy, contains almost 50 percent of Brazil's population. The Middle-South was historically colonized by São Paulo and the inhabitants of its countryside are defined by the term *caipira*. The culture of Middle-South rural areas is also known as *caipira* culture, which includes the traditional musical genre known as *música caipira*.

Música Sertaneja and *Música Caipira*

At the beginning of the twentieth century, with the first recordings in Brazil, the term *música sertaneja* (from the Portuguese term *sertão*, meaning rural areas) described any rural Brazilian music, while the term *música caipira* referred specifically to genres from the rural Middle-South region. However, over time, the connotations of the term *música sertaneja* changed and the term ultimately described urbanized music with its roots in the *música caipira* of the Middle-South region.

The differences between these genres are difficult to define. *Música sertaneja* is a product of transformations that occurred in *música caipira*, including changes in the arrangements (such as the introduction of electric instruments) and lyrics, including a preponderance of romantic themes, and the influence of foreign musical genres such as *bolero* and *guarânia.* Traditionally, *música caipira* is played by a vocal duo, singing in thirds, and accompanied by a six-string acoustic guitar (*violão*) and a ten-string acoustic guitar (*viola caipira*). The lyrics describe traditional activities of rural areas – hunting, for example – or traditional elements of rural culture, such as beliefs and tales. Romantic themes are rare. Several processes related to the urbanization of Brazilian society – the introduction of new instruments such as the accordion in the 1930s and the electric guitar in the 1960s, the fusion with foreign genres, the change of lyrical themes (to include romantic contents) – were responsible for the shift from *música caipira* to *música sertaneja*.

Although *música sertaneja* was a product of the urbanization of *música caipira*, its name retained a rural reference. However, since its history is connected to rural-to-urban migration, *música sertaneja* is the subject of intense debates about its rural references (Dent 2009). While some people (musicians, critics and fans) lament its loss of rural references, others see this as an unavoidable historical process.

History

In the early twentieth century, any music produced outside Rio de Janeiro – then the capital of Brazil and the symbol of Brazilian urban life – was called *música sertaneja*, regardless of region of origin. For example, in the 1920s *cateretê* and *embolada* were popular musical genres that were both called *música sertaneja*, despite the fact that the former was typical of Middle-South rural areas while the latter was from the North-east. The meaning of the term changed in the 1930s with the transformations of the recording industry, including the entrance of companies new to Brazil such as Victor and Columbia and the introduction of sound recording. The emergence of radio broadcasting in 1922 and the combination of radio and commercial advertising also brought changes. At this time, the expression *música sertaneja* began to denote the musical genres typical of Middle-South rural areas only, while musical genres from northeastern regions received other names. This Middle-South connotation persists in the early twenty-first century (Oliveira 2009).

Whereas *sertão* originally denoted any rural area, the term *caipira*, used by writers such as José de Alencar since about 1875, always referred specifically to the Middle-South rural area and its culture. Foreshadowing later debates about *música sertaneja*, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century there was a debate around the term *caipira*. For some romantic writers and thinkers who were critical of urban ways of life, *caipira* denoted purity and a more elevated lifestyle. To others, chiefly urban people of Rio de Janeiro, *caipira* was a negative term and indicated the absence of progress and health.

The music of *caipira* culture was called *música caipira*, but until 1929 there were no recordings with this label; any recordings of the genre were described on the records as *música sertaneja*. In 1929 the first records labeled *música caipira* appeared, spearheaded by Cornélio Pires (see, for example, Nepomuceno 1999 and Souza 2005). Pires, a writer and journalist with a great knowledge of the culture of the countryside of the Middle-South, signed a contract with Columbia Records and produced, between 1929 and 1931, 43 78-rpm records containing *música caipira* and its different subgenres. At this time, with recording companies including Victor and Columbia entering the Brazilian market, Pires offered Columbia the possibility of a new public, chiefly in São Paulo and in Middle-South cities such as Campinas, Sorocaba, Itú and others.

These recordings, along with a presence on the radio, then an emerging media form in Brazil, began to effect some changes in *música caipira*. For example, many of its subgenres were originally danced, with improvised lyrics and potentially unlimited duration time. On the radio, the phonographic effect (Katz 2010) meant that some subgenres were modified to conform to new song forms, with precomposed lyrics and a prescribed duration time – the famous three-minute time limit imposed by the recording industry due to the capacity of the disc. Between 1930 and 1950 other changes included the introduction of electric instruments and the influence of foreign music genres. As a result of these changes, many musicians, music critics and fans rejected *música caipira* and began to show a marked preference for the term *música sertaneja*. Around the 1960s, *música caipira* was being used to refer to the more traditional style of *música sertaneja*, played with acoustic instruments and containing lyrics with traditional themes, such as the land or hunting stories. Thus, from the moment it was recorded, in 1929, in its own name, ironically *música caipira* began to take on a new identity as *música sertaneja*.

To urban listeners, the *música sertaneja* with *caipira* roots that they heard on the radio in the 1930s sounded exotic and denoted an area of Brazil – the Middle-South countryside – that was seen as backward. For these listeners, *música sertaneja* was perceived as humorous and its artists of the period exploited this aspect (Oliveira 2006). Duos such as Jararaca and Ratinho, Alvarenga e Ranchinho, along with solo artists such as Raul Torres, all famous in the 1930s, presented themselves dressed as peasants and used many performance elements that denoted the countryside, such as speech style.

In the 1940s and 1950s many changes occurred, including the emergence of duos with a less humorous style. Their music was closer to their *caipira* roots (they played *caipira* subgenres including *catira, catererê, cururu* along with the *moda-de-viola*, considered the most traditional subgenre *of caipira* culture), and many of them recorded folklore themes. Famous duos such as Vieira and Vierinha (known as the kings of *catira*), Luizinho and Limeira, among others, started their careers in the 1940s and 1950s.

Tonico and Tinoco, a duo who also began their career in the 1940s, was an important example of these more serious duos. With an image related to the romantic vision of peasants uncorrupted by civilization, the duo performed songs in traditional style (generally with acoustic guitar and *viola* only) and their lyric themes related to rural life. For 50 years the duo of Tonico and Tinoco was *the* symbol of a more traditional *música sertaneja* with few influences from foreign genres. In the 1940s duos with a more traditional sound became a symbol of discourse opposing foreign influences in Brazilian popular music (Tinhorão 2001; Martins, 1975; Caldas n.d). In addition to Tonico and Tinoco, the singer Inezita Barroso, who emerged in the 1950s, was an important figure in these discourses. In the twenty-first century she remains a very strong critic of changes in *música sertaneja* and her television program is an important venue for more traditional practice. Inezita Barroso and duos including Tonico and Tinoco became symbols of the advocacy of more traditional *música sertaneja* and its *caipira* roots. Sometimes their music is referred to by the older name *música caipira* (Oliveira 2009; Nepomuceno 2000).

Beginning in the 1940s, the gap between the style of *música sertaneja* that was closer to its *caipira* roots and the modern *música sertaneja* widened when *música sertaneja* began to be influenced by musical genres from outside the country. One of these foreign genres was the Paraguayan *guarânia*, which had been transformed into the musical symbol of Paraguay in the 1930s. *Guarânia* was introduced in Brazil in the 1940s through a circuit of musical exchanges, hitherto little known, that involved recording companies, radio broadcasting and the contact between Brazilian and Paraguayan musicians on the border of the two countries (Higa 2010). From this point on, a hybrid style of *música sertaneja* developed that combined Paraguayan elements – for example, the use of Paraguayan harp or styles of playing the guitar, such as the *rasqueado* (scraping strum) – and *música sertaneja* elements – such as the vocal duet sung in thirds. In the 1950s the duo that epitomized this mix, Cascatinha and Inhana, emerged, recording many Portuguese versions of Paraguayan songs, including the guarânias 'Índia' ('Indian Woman') and 'Meu primeiro amor' ('My First Love'). The work of Cascatinha and Inhana consecrated this style and it became one of the more popular musical styles of the Middle-South of Brazil.

Another significant foreign genre was the Mexican *bolero*, which began to be internationally known in the 1940s and expanded its influence throughout Latin America between the 1940s and 1960s, through the huge impact of Mexican romantic movies, influencing many Brazilian music genres, including *samba* and *música sertaneja* (Tota 2000; Borges 1982). The 1940s and 1950s are widely considered the Golden Age of Mexican Movies, when actors such as Dolores del Río, Maria Felix and Mario Cantinflas became very popular throughout Latin America. Mexican movies such as *Flor Silvestre* (Wild Flower, 1943) and *Las Abandonadas* (The Abandoned, 1945) achieved great success in Brazil and helped to disseminate Mexican songs in many genres, including the *bolero*. Recordings of *boleros* by American singers such as Nat King Cole, Perry Como and Dean Martin also achieved acclaim in Brazil in the 1950s and 1960s in a process related to the USA's Good Neighbor Policy.

The *bolero*'s influence on *música sertaneja* included romantic themes in the lyrics and the use of instruments including *congas* and *claves* playing the *bolero*'s rhythmic patterns. A good example is the recording 'Boneca Cobiçada' ('Coveted Baby') by the duo Palmeira and Biá (1956). Many duos worked in this *bolero* style, including Tibagi and Miltinho, Irmãs Galvão and others. Even more traditional duos, such as Tonico and Tinoco, performed *boleros*, and their influence on the *música sertaneja* scene has remained strong.

Like the *bolero*, two other influential Mexican genres, *ranchera* and *corrido,* entered Brazil by way of Mexican movies between the 1940s and 1960s, when Mexican actor-singers such as Pedro Infante and Miguel Aceves Mejía became very popular in the country. American Western movies, which attained great popularity in Brazil beginning in the second half of the 1930s, were also important in introducing these genres in Brazil. A mixture of *música sertaneja* aesthetics and *ranchera* and *corrido* elements – such as the use of trumpets or vocal cries – began to appear, in addition to performance elements such as dress. The acclaimed duo that represented this mix was Pedro Bento and Zé da Estrada, who performed dressed in the style of *mariachi* musicians (Oliveira 2009; Souza 2005).

By the 1960s the *música sertaneja* scene was very diverse. There were traditional duos that also used the name *música caipira,* such as Tonico and Tinoco, Moreno and Moreninho, among others; duos influenced by Paraguayan music or Mexican genres such as Cascatinha and Inhana, Pedro Bento and Zé da Estrada; and duos that moved between these tendencies, such as Tião Carreiro and Pardinho, one of the most popular duos in *música sertaneja* history, who sang traditional *modas-de-viola* and *cururu* as well as *boleros*.

In the late 1960s and the 1970s a new style emerged, influenced by the foreign genres discussed above but also incorporating a new element: the rock music that entered Brazil during the 1960s and created a musical movement called *Jovem Guarda* (Young Guard). As a result of this influence, *música sertaneja* became increasingly urbanized and the rural references (clothes, speech and so on) were eliminated in performances in the pop-rock style. The duo style remained but new instruments – electric guitar and bass, drumset and keyboards – were appropriated from rock. The work of the Léo Canhoto and Robertinho duo was very important in this process, and this duo is frequently cited by musicians and fans of *música sertaneja* as the first to produce this hybrid style, with elements of both *música sertaneja* and pop-rock music. Other duos, such as Milionário and José Rico, mixed this pop influence with the Paraguayan and Mexican styles discussed above to create a very strong formula that would last for several decades. Duos such as Matogrosso and Mathias, Chitãozinho and Xororó, along with trios such as Trio Parada Dura, who began their careers in the 1970s and 1980s, were influenced by this blending of musical idioms (Ulhoa 1999).

The emergence in the 1960s and 1970s of the style more linked to pop-rock profoundly increased the gap between traditional and modern tendencies in *música sertaneja*, and the debates that began with the first recordings of *música caipira* in the 1930s intensified, although many duos worked in both styles. Fans and musicians of the traditional style began to reject the label *música sertaneja* and many returned to *música caipira* to mark the difference. Musicians such as Inezita Barroso and Rolando Boldrin became very critical of *música sertaneja* that was produced beginning in the 1970s. Other duos that appeared on the musical scene in the 1970s, such as Pena Branca and Xavantinho along with Zé Mulato and Cassiano, made the rejection of pop influences a trademark of their work.

In the 1960s and 1970s *música sertaneja* was associated with a specific public: migrant workers who moved from rural areas to cities such as São Paulo (Reily 1992). In the 1970s and the 1980s, with economic development and social changes in Brazil, this public increased its acquisitive power and as a result *música sertaneja* began to expand its public and its presence on radio and television. The duo that represents this ascension of *música sertaneja* is Chitãozinho and Xororó. They began in the 1970s, but with the 1982 recording *Fio de Cabelo* [Hair] they achieved national fame and their music began to be played on the radio and on television programs aimed at the middle class, which was now reinforced by former migrant workers who had moved up in the social scale. In 1989 another duo, Leandro and Leonardo, recorded a hit called 'Entre tapas e beijos' ('Between Slaps and Kisses') that attained national success. With this exposure, *música sertaneja* was transformed into one of the three biggest popular music genres in the country and remained so throughout the 1990s, when there were many successful duos, such as Zezé di Camargo and Luciano, Bruno and Marrone, among others.

With the popular success of *música sertaneja*, new mixtures began to appear, particularly blends with American country music, which was seen in Brazil as the American equivalent of *música sertaneja* because of its rural roots. *Música sertaneja* borrowed some elements from American country culture and music, chiefly the fashion for hats and belts. Dances, such as the Lindy Hop (transmitted through popular music and the movies), were also appropriated. This process is visible chiefly in the towns of the Middle-South countryside and where traditional fairs, related to *caipira* culture, were changed to rodeos. In this sense, the distinction was blurred between the rodeo aesthetic, typical of American rural culture, and *caipira* culture, and in this process *música sertaneja* was a central factor. A good example can be heard in the 1998 recording by Chitãozinho and Xororó: '*Pura emoção*' ('Pure Emotion'), a Portuguese version of 'Achy Breaky Heart' (a 1992 success by Billy Ray Cyrus, who sang with the Brazilian duos in some shows). This country style became very influential in the second half of the 1990s and deepened the international character of the *música sertaneja* (Ulhôa 1999; Dent 2003).

Musical Elements and Subgenres

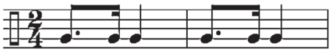
Música sertaneja is known for its characteristic vocal duet sung in thirds (Dent 2007; Oliveira 2005). This style, developed from some *música caipira* genres, became a symbol of *música sertaneja*. In twenty-first-century Brazil, thousands of duos sing *música sertaneja* and the names of acclaimed artists who have performed this genre over the years demonstrate its importance: Tonico and Tinoco, Tião Carreiro and Pardinho, Chitãozinho and Xororó, among others.

The duets are organized simply into *primeira* (first) and *segunda* (second) voices. The *primeira* sings the melodic line and the *segunda* sings the same line a third above or, more often, below. Until the 1960s, singers often demonstrated a high level of tension in the voice and little use of vibrato. Beginning in the 1960s, the duos began to sing in a lower (e.g., softer) style but with plentiful use of vibrato (Ulhôa 1999). This change is related to the predominance of romantic themes in the lyrics that began in the 1960s (previously lyrics were more often about rural life).

The classic duo is formed by two singers with their instruments: one acoustic guitar and one *viola caipira*. In the 1940s and 1950s other instruments began to be used: accordion, trumpet (as a result of Mexican influence) and harp (as a result of Paraguayan influence). Later, in the 1960s, the duos began to be accompanied by bands, with drums, bass, keyboards, guitars and, eventually, horn sections. In the 1970s duos began to appear with two acoustic guitars and without *viola caipira*. Since the 1980s the most popular duos have not included *viola caipira* and the singers have not played instruments but have been accompanied by a band.

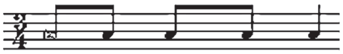
Melodic lines generally are composed from diatonic scales in a major mode, without the use of dissonance. The accompaniment typically follows a simple I–IV–V (or V7)–I progression, with some variations. Key changes are very rare and only began to be used in the 1990s as a result of the influence of pop music.

Música sertaneja has many subgenres (Mugnaini Jr 2001; Correa 2000). Some are rhythmic adaptations of *música caipira* genres such as *cururu*. While in *música caipira* the *cururu* is a sung duel between two vocalists accompanied by *viola* (Oliveira 2008), in *música sertaneja* it is a pattern of rhythmic accompaniment related to the music of the sung duel (see *música caipira*). Other *caipira*-related subgenres of *música sertaneja* include *catira, moda-de-viola, querumana* and *cateretê*.



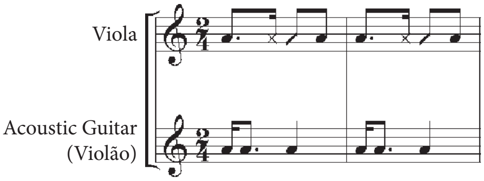
Example 1: Rhythmic pattern of *cururu* (acoustic guitar accompaniment)

When foreign styles are included in *música sertaneja*, especially those derived from Paraguayan and Mexican music, the musical characteristics of these subgenres are basically the same as their foreign progenitors. Many songs are Portuguese versions of Paraguayan and Mexican hits, with the same instrumentation or a few changes. In *música sertaneja*, these subgenres are renamed *guarânia, rasqueado, polca mato-grossense* and *xamamé* when derived from Paraguayan influences, or *rancheira* and *corrido* when borrowed from Mexican influences. The Paraguayan group is characterized by its ternary meter, the use of instruments including Paraguayan harp (often replaced by the *viola*) and a *rasqueado* (scraped) accompaniment technique for the *viola* and acoustic guitar. The Mexican group is characterized by the use of instruments such as trumpets or by vocal cries.



Example 2: Rhythm of *rasqueado* (accompaniment of *viola* or acoustic guitar), where (x) indicates the scraping motion

An important subgenre is the *pagode-de-viola*, developed by *viola* player Tião Carreiro in the 1960s. A very danceable style, it has lyrics full of humor and demonstrates a specific accompaniment technique in which the *viola* plays the *recortado* (a rhythmic pattern produced by the combination or *rasqueado* [scraped strum] and the muffling of the guitar strings with the left hand).



Example 3: Accompaniment of *pagode-de-viola*. The last eighth note of the viola part and x are sounded on undamped strings
x: right-hand upward *rasqueado* movement
/: left hand muffles the strings

The influence of pop music is seen in the subgenres *batidão* (big beat) and *balanço*. These subgenres are characterized by 4/4 time and the use of instruments including drumset and electric guitar. In essence, they are pop songs performed by *sertaneja*-style vocal duos.

Conclusion

Música sertaneja's popularity demonstrates its importance in Brazil. In addition, it is a musical element that is not part of hegemonic discourses about national identity, in which samba, as the 'official' music of Brazil, with its center in Rio de Janeiro, is dominant. *Música sertaneja* claims a Brazilian space that is seen not as national, but as regional. Thus, its study illuminates alternative ways to represent Brazil. Furthermore, as its history is full of processes of appropriation and the construction of new significations based on foreign elements, *música sertaneja* is an excellent example for the study of modern social phenomena in the social sciences, such as world systems and globalization (Hannerz 1997).

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Música Tropical

Música tropical is an umbrella term found in many areas of Latin America to refer to styles thought to have a 'tropical' flavor, often linked to the Caribbean. It is a category used by the music industry in countries such as Mexico, Colombia and Peru and now also the United States. A central component of the category is Colombian *cumbia*, a style that, in the early twentieth century, was part of the peasant repertoire of the Colombian Caribbean coastal region, but became commercialized in Colombia from the 1930s, as part of the national popularization of *música costeña* in the country (Wade 2000). *Cumbia* became internationalized and hybridized from the 1960s, spreading into Mexico in particular (and from there into the southern USA), but also into the Andean region, where it fused with Andean *huaynos* to form *chicha* and later *tecnocumbia*, and into Argentina where, from the 1990s, it spawned *cumbia villera* in poor districts of Buenos Aires (Fernández L'Hoeste 2007). It is notable that *cumbia* found particular favor among working-class people and urban migrants in these places. *Música tropical* may be used to refer to *cumbia* and its hybrids in any of these countries, but it also includes other Caribbean styles such as *merengue* and the post-1990s music that draws heavily on Colombian accordion-based *vallenato*, especially as purveyed by Carlos Vives. In Mexico in particular, the category also includes *música romántica* (mainly *baladas* [ballads]), and *baladas* and *cumbia* are both mainstays of the small four-piece *grupos* that play *música grupera* on electric guitar, synthesizer, bass and trap drums. In some regions – for example, in the Andean region – the term may include salsa, but in others – for example, Colombia and Mexico – it generally does not.

Important exponents of *música tropical* include Colombian artists such as Juan Carlos Coronel, Pastor López, Los Tupamaros and La Sonora Dinamita (the latter more popular in Mexico than in Colombia), and Mexican bands such as Rigo Tovar y su Costa Azul, Los Yonic's and Los Bukis. A more international definition of the term would encompass such artists as the *merengue* star Juan Luis Guerra and the Peruvian *tecnocumbia* singer Rossy War.

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Nengón

Nengón is a music and dance genre that has its geographical origins in the coffee-growing regions of Oriente (Eastern Cuba) particularly in Baracoa and in other rural areas of the Guantánamo province. The genre is also performed in areas surrounding Santiago de Cuba, such as El Cauto, that were formerly part of the larger Oriente province prior to the redrawing of its borders in 1976. At a *changüí* gathering (a party where people play and dance to *changüí*), a *nengón* provides an opportunity for musicians to play with less intensity, since the focus is on lyrical content and long vocal improvisations rather than on instrumental improvisation. *Nengón* is considered to be the oldest of three associated styles: *changüí*, *nengón* and *kiribá*. This determination is largely based on the absence in *nengón* of the *pasos de calle* (arpeggiations played between lines of text) found in *changüí* and the fact that it is slower in tempo than *kiribá*. *Nengón* also lacks the complex rhythmic emphasis of *changüí* and *kiribá*. Numerous genres related to *nengón* are also found throughout the region, such as the *contrapás*, *manajú*, *rompía* and others.

The word *nengón* is believed to be a corruption of the Spanish word *negrón*. In his considerable field research exploring the diversity of genres in the often overlooked region of Eastern Cuba, musicologist Danilo Orozco has identified sub-styles of *nengón* such as *nengón-manajú*, *nengón-serrano*, *nengón de cuenca del cauto* and *nengón de Toa*.

Origins

Important *nengón* compositions recorded in the twentieth century date to the late nineteenth century and they included the use of the *bajo en tierra* or *tumbandera* (groundharp), a strummed *tiple*, a *bongó de monte* (tuned with heat rather than metal tuning lugs) and a *quijada* (horse jawbone). The ground harp's structure gives it a volume that can be heard from great distances. In the twentieth century, the *tres* (small, guitar-like instrument) was substituted for the *tiple* and the *botija* (clay jug) replaced the *bajo en tierra*. Soon, the *guayo* (metal scraper) and *maracas* were added to this configuration. Around the mid-twentieth century, the *marímbula* (large lamellophone of Bantu origin) replaced the *botíja*. Some traditional groups, such as Kiribá Y Nengón, include a guitar and they use a wooden *güiro* (gourd scraper) instead of a guayo. Some modern groups have added *tumbadoras* (*conga* drums), double bass instead of *marímbula*, as well as other instruments. In his 1983 fieldwork in the Cauto region, Danilo Orozco documented the continued use of the *bajo en tierra* and the unique way in which its performance technique combines both the plucking of the string and percussive attacks on the fibrous stalk of the palm tree used to cover the resonating chamber dug into the ground. He convincingly argued that this musical concept is present throughout many musical traditions in Oriente. One example of this technique as applied to another instrument can be easily seen and heard when observing the *marímbula* in *changüí*, *kiribá*, *nengón*, *son* and the performance of other genres.

Music, Dance and Lyrical Characteristics

Nengón is deceptive in its simplicity. The *tres* plays a constant syncopated melodic pattern that outlines tonic and dominant chords, while the *maracas* and *guayo* accent both downbeats and upbeats as in *changüí*, albeit slower. On many occasions, the *tres* player will employ *doblando*, a tremolo technique that adds further syncopation to the music. The *marímbula* and the bongó parts accent beat 2, the 'and' of beat 2 and beat 4. The *bongosero* does not improvise during *nengón* performance as he or she does in *changüí*, but the *bongo* may be heard playing short fills and phrases that emphasize beat 4. The choral refrain begins on the downbeat or on an anacrusis, so the vocalist must take care not to enter at the wrong point when improvising. Traditional choral refrains usually include the phrase '*cogelo pa' ti nengón*,' '*para ti nengón*' or '*pa' ti nengón*,' each one accenting a different entrance point. Modern composers have used other refrains, but they follow the general structure and instrumental expectations of the genre. When a vocalist improvises a *copla* (ABBA) or a *décima* (ABBAACCDDC), he or she enters with a long melodic shout that may last one or two repeated cycles. When two *trovadores* (vocalists who improvise longer poetic forms) engage one another in a musical duel, it is called a *controversia*. These improvisations are often humorous and well crafted and have been memorized and repeated by many vocalists.

Numerous *nengones* are dated back to the two wars of independence: the Ten Years War (1868–78) and the War of Independence (1895–8). Orozco has identified a penchant for using names of birds to describe Spanish colonial forces in *nengón* songs from Cuba's second war of independence. Judith Bettleheim has indicated that in Santiago de Cuba these birds were actually launched at Spanish colonial authorities by *tumba francesa* musicians as a means of distracting them from their duties.

Some groups perform *nengón* without any percussion accompaniment other than handclaps on beats 1 and 3. On recordings by groups such as La Familia Valera Miranda, the performers combine handclaps with percussion and traditional instrumentation.

There is some debate among *tres* players regarding the standard *tres* tuning used in *nengón*. Traditionally, the instrument is tuned gG-cc-Ee. However, this traditional tuning changes to gG-bb-Ee when executing *nengón*, and aspiring *treseros* (*tres* players) are taught to retune the middle course of the instrument. This tuning is similar to the three highest strings on the guitar and it renders the movement from tonic to dominant in a slightly easier fingering than that employed in the gG-cc-Ee tuning. However, other *tres* players point out that there are many different tunings for the *tres*, and they maintain that a novice player could play *nengón* in any of these tunings, including the traditional gG-cc-Ee. One of the foremost exponents of the *tres*, Pancho Amat, tunes his *tres* gG-bb-ee and plays traditional *nengón*.

Scholars have noted that, depending on where the variant of *nengón* is performed, its choreography reflects local agriculture or cultural characteristics. This is the case in Baracoa, where dancers move one foot in a circle on beat 4 (male moving forward and female moving backward), and shift their weight on beats 2 and the 'and' of beat 2. The latter movement is believed to be mimetic of spreading coffee out to dry. Recently, Cuban musicologist Olavo Alén has suggested that Cubans tend to move their bodies when not dancing as if they were dancing to *nengón*, rather than to *son, danzón* or *rumba* (Soroa Fernández 2012).

Diffusion

The musician who is most responsible for placing *nengón* firmly into the core of Cuban music, albeit without it being recognized as such, is the composer, arranger and pianist Luis Martínez Griñan or 'Lilí.' Starting in the 1930s, Martínez Griñan incorporated *nengón* patterns into his piano accompaniment style after studying and transcribing the *treseros* (*tres* players) he heard in his hometown of Guantánamo, such as Chito Latamblé, among others. In 1937 he founded a dance orchestra called Los Champions that performed regularly on the radio station CMKS, and this group included Latamblé and his brother. Martínez Griñan continued to incorporate *nengón* into his recorded work as a performer and an arranger with Arsenio Rodríguez, Estrellas de Chocolate, Conjunto Chappottín and with his own groups. As a result, these patterns have become part of the lexicon of Cuban piano technique and by extension they are prominent in non-Cuban salsa as performed by Larry Harlow, Papo Lucca, Eddie Palmieri and countless others.

Based in Santiago, but hailing from the Cauto region, La Familia Valera Miranda is perhaps the only group that tours internationally and has performed and recorded *nengón* for generations. This family of musicians provided Danilo Orozco with important historical and musical information about the development of *nengón a*nd related styles. Additionally, the Guantanamo-based hip-hop group Madera Limpia has released several tracks using *nengón, changüí* and *kiribá* in their traditional forms and continues to tour internationally promoting these genres in modern iterations.

A number of Cuban groups based in Baracoa and in other municipalities in the Guantánamo province, such as Kiribá y Nengón, Nengón de Imías, El Sexteto Yumurí and Maravilla Yunqueña, have dedicated their repertoire exclusively to *nengón*. Additionally, the *nueva trova* pioneer Pedro Luis Ferrer has incorporated *nengón* into his modern compositions. The Santiago de Cuba-based musician Eliades Ochoa frequently performs *nengón* and has also recorded *nengones*. The Miami-based Cuban vocalist Albita Rodríguez, Canadian saxophonist Jane Bunnett and The Mexican-American percussionist Poncho Sánchez have also recorded and performed *nengón*.

Conclusion

In light of the aforementioned information, it is reasonable to consider *nengón* as the oldest and least complicated of the *changüí*-related genres found in the region of Guantánamo and elsewhere in Oriente. Locals and, more recently, scholars beyond the region, consider the chronological order of development to be *nengón*, *kiribá* and *changüí* from oldest to most recent. These three genres can be conceived of as parts of a *changüí* complex that would also include other lesser-known styles beyond these three dominant genres. At present, all three are heard in a *changüí* gathering or performance. This chronological placement does not diminish the fact that composers and performers in the region and beyond continue to use the salient features of *nengón* to create new iterations and understandings of the genre. Ramón Gómez Blanco, Jesús Álvarez and Ariel Daudinot Brooks are three such composers and performers whose internationally known *nengón* compositions use other words in addition to, or which substitute, the traditional *nengón* refrain.

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BENJAMIN LAPIDUS

Neofolklore (Bolivia)

In Bolivia, the term neofolklore refers to a group of musical styles that emerged in the late 1960s among urban middle-class musicians. Neofolklore is characterized by the renewal of Bolivian traditional music according to the new aesthetic values to which the youth at the time ascribed. As changes and transformations in musical tastes rippled through Latin America, Bolivian neofolklore asserted itself as a renovating force within the repertoire of traditional music, allowing young people to become fans of the traditional music of Bolivia. In this sense, neofolklore represents a generational issue comparable to that presented by pop, rock and Caribbean music, genres that also influenced the musical tastes of Bolivians starting in the 1960s.

In Bolivia, the terms *música folklórica* (folk music), folklore and neofolklore are used interchangeably to refer to the musical current that emerged in the 1960s, which comprised several styles that could easily be assimilated under the idea of a new folklore. Bolivian neofolklore relies heavily on the existing system of commercial labels, implying that Bolivian folk music of recent years is not a product of tradition, but rather the product of communicational transformations that took place in the twentieth century. Following Hobsbawm's perspective on tradition (1983), Bolivian neofolklore is an invented tradition; it is also a cultural artifact which is fundamental to the construction of the National State, as it has been asserted by a number of scholars (for example, Abercrombie 1992; Céspedes 1984; Rosells 1996; Sánchez C. 1996).

Emergence

While the Revolution of 1952 did not accomplish immediate cultural or artistic changes, these changes began to surface in folk music in the mid-1960s. The creative predisposition of young musicians – a condition that stemmed from their nonconformist attitudes toward the political order and the cultural environment of the time – allowed the repertoire of traditional-popular music to be renewed by the contributions of new popular music composers and by new performance practices. The success that folklore had in the 1960s among young audiences, along with the growth of the Bolivian recording industry and the support given by communication media (especially the radio), helped pave the way for a new musical sensitivity that was characterized since the beginning by a sense of national pride; this new musical phenomenon began to be identified as neofolklore.

By 1960 the lessons of nationalist folklore were beginning to be set in the population. Folk music festivals appeared in various cities as a way to incentivize a nationalist social conscience among the younger generation. In addition, concerns about the so-called 'defense of artistic wealth' and the desire to improve the production and dissemination of national music were already a constant at the time. The nationalist spirit made cultural chauvinism one of its most frequent narrative axes. Broadcasters, journalists, teachers and folklorists took up the demands for the 'nationalization of music' to confront the heretofore solid international cultural industries. Their goal was to increase the dissemination of Bolivian folk music through records and radio broadcasts.

The national record industry was the first to notice the economic potential that Bolivian national music had: in 1949 the label Discos Méndez was founded in La Paz; in 1958 Lauro y Cía appeared in Cochabamba; and in 1964 Discolandia emerged in La Paz. These labels began to record musicians who were involved in Bolivian traditional music, adapting arrangements to the popular tastes of the time. In the 1950s and 1960s – decades known as the 'golden age' of Bolivian music – the national repertoire experienced a renewal through recordings by artists such as Gladys Moreno, Raúl Shaw Moreno (later a member of the Mexican trio Los Panchos) and Arturo Sobenes; and by duos such as the Kantutas, Hermanitas Saldaña and Hermanitas Arteaga, who traveled to Brazil to record their LPs using elaborate orchestral accompaniments.

By the mid-1960s a new musical taste had emerged among the younger generation living in the major cities. Influenced by cultural changes, young audiences began to valorize the sounds of 'authentic' traditional indigenous music and to prefer them over the sound of big bands and orchestras. This change in musical sensibilities found its paradigm in the emergence of the group Los Jairas in 1965. The group was initially formed by guitarist Julio Godoy, singer and *bombo legüero* player Edgar 'Yayo' Jofre, *charango* player Ernesto Cavour and Swiss *quena* player Gilbert Favre, with notable composer and guitarist Alfredo Domínguez joining in on occasion. Around this time, *peñas folklóricas* (nighttime locales featuring only traditional and folk music that was adapted from its Chilean and Argentinian counterparts) became fashionable. (The Peña Naira, founded in La Paz in 1966 by Pepe Ballón and Swiss musician Gilbert Favre, was inspired by the Peña de los Parra [i.e., peña of the Parra family] in Santiago, Chile.) Los Jairas, along with other groups that emerged during these years such as Los Chaskas, Los Payas, Los Caminantes, Los Kory Huayras, Los Caballeros del Folklore and Intiwara, began to sell considerable numbers of records, gradually also becoming stars of Bolivian radio. *Peñas folklóricas* became spaces where middle-class intellectuals and artists listened to folk music, while popular sectors attended open-air theaters, coliseums and stadiums where big festivals were held, usually on Sundays, featuring the new ensembles of Bolivian music.

The sound of Los Jairas set a new musical standard. In contrast to earlier ensembles whose records involved large orchestras, the new sound was based on a singing line plus five basic instruments: guitar, *charango, quena, zampoña* and *bombo legüero* (instrument adapted from Argentine traditional music). The new sound was greatly influenced by Gilbert Favre, who quickly became an icon of the new style. Cavour expanded performance techniques for the *quena* by introducing resources from European music such as the glissando, vibrato and staccato. He also enriched interpretive techniques for the *charango*, following what the noted musician Mauro Núñez had been doing since the 1940s. Musicians were experimenting with traditional Andean music, endowing it with a flavor of 'authenticity' to urban ears; they were also to some extent fashioning the neofolklore style under the influence of the changes taking place in Chile at the same time – developments that produced figures such as Violeta Parra, Victor Jara and the ensemble Cuncumén. In fact, Bolivian traditional music of the 1960s enjoyed widespread acceptance and esteem among Chilean musicians, who were shaping what would eventually emerge as *nueva canción chilena*. Influence was reciprocal, and Bolivian musicians borrowed stylistic resources from Chilean musicians in the consolidation of the new sound of neofolklore.

During the 1970s neofolkloric music exploded with the emergence of numerous new bands and ensembles across Bolivia. The production of vinyl records increased from 800,500 copies in 1969 to 2,356,442 copies in 1974 (García 1975, 87). At least 40 percent of these records, if not more, were of folkloric music that had already assimilated the new stylistic resources of neofolklore. By the 1980s, the presence of folklore and neofolklore ensembles was astounding. This decade saw the release of hundreds of records, the formation of many new groups and the appearance of *peñas* in schools and universities as well as song festivals, of which the Festival Lauro de la Canción Boliviana, created in 1961, is the best known and the one which has generated the largest number of artists of the new style.

Sub-styles

From its inception, neofolklore generated a number of sub-styles. First, musicians looking for a more authentic approach and to show respect for the original sources of Aymara and Quechua music formed what would later be known as 'cultural centers of autochthonous music.' These centers attracted many college students who sought to learn from the musical 'guides' in peasant communities. Among the groups to emerge from this environment, the most notable were Los de Canata, Kollamarka, Nayjama, Los Masis and Jaya Mara. Meanwhile, starting in the 1970s the first musical ensembles of autochthonous music began to travel to Europe, where some of them, such as Ruphay, Aymara and Boliviamanta, remained. There, their search for the true spirit of Andean music found success among intellectual audiences, who had their own idealization of indigenous peoples of the Bolivian Andes. It is a paradox that, in the name of indigenous music, migrant Bolivian musicians were able to lead Western lives and to consume modern culture in the countries in which they settled.

In the mid-1970s a new version of neofolklore emerged in Cochabamba in the music of the group Los Kjarkas. Widely considered the best interpreter of neofolklore, the group, led by brothers Wilson, Castel, Gonzalo, Ulises and Elmer Hermosa, is known for their daring musical experimentations in the context of neofolklore, adding new instruments such as the *wanq'ara* (a type of Andean bass drum) and the *ronroco* (a large *charango*, harmonically in between a guitar and a *charango*) to the basic formation. Los Kjarkas also experimented with traditional genres and styles that had been introduced to the urban repertoire by musicians such as Ernesto Cavour and Mauro Núñez, among them *chuntunqui, pasacalle, trote, tonada* and the so-called '*aire de cueca*' (*cueca* air). Following their first LP *Bolivia* each new album was received as an event by the audience at large, shaping musical tastes and marking styles and tendencies that would influence other neofolklore ensembles such as Proyección Kjarkas (later renamed Proyección), Amaru, Khiswara, Los Quipus, Jach'a Mallku, Semilla, Horizontes and Bonanza. The radio success of the group imposed an aesthetic upon an entire generation of young listeners, and the sound of the first wave of neofolklore (i.e., of groups such as Los Jairas, Los Payas or los Chaskas) was soon replaced by the Kjarka style.

A third sub-style in neofolklore, and one that greatly impacted Bolivian urban taste, is represented by the ensemble Savia Andina, who proposed a more cultivated, almost academic musical aesthetic, under the presumption that Bolivian music must be on par with the art music tradition of the West. Formed by Gerardo Arias, Eddy Navia, Alcides Mejía, Oscar Castro and Julio César Paredes, the group not only refined arrangements of instrumental works from the Bolivian repertoire, but also performed pieces by the great European composers using traditional Andean instruments (i.e., guitar, *charango, quena* and *zampoñas*). Examples include *Rondo alla Turca* by W. A. Mozart and the *Minuet in G Major* by J. S. Bach. In all cases, Savia Andina sought the instrumental refinement of the traditional sound of Bolivian music, although many of their albums evoke the sounds of background music in the 1970s and 1980s.

A fourth stream within neofolklore (and in many ways a genre on its own) is represented by the 'nueva canción boliviana' movement. After the impact of *nueva canción chilena* in the late 1960s, the Bolivian version was founded in 1983 following the return of democracy in 1982. This sub-style differs from others in neofolklore in the attitude of political involvement that its main expositors (mostly singer-songwriters) sought to portray. These musicians fostered the idea that popular and folk music in Bolivia and Latin America were the foundation for the revolutionary transformation of society. The *nueva canción boliviana* movement, which lasted until 1986, sought to detach itself from the so-called 'protest song' movement of the 1960s. Although both produced lyrics of high poetic complexity, *nueva canción boliviana* was also inserted into the Latin American search for new forms of musical expression, drawing resources from both traditional and contemporary music. Similarly, it sought to retrace the path set forth by those musicians whose leftist political affiliations caused them to lose their lives in the guerrilla war (as it is the case of Benjo Cruz) or to be incarcerated or forced into exile (as happened to Nilo Soruco). However, *nueva canción* musicians did not pursue their political militancy in a coherent manner; on the contrary, each singer-songwriter or group chose their own musical road, some closer to pop while others turned to issues of Christian faith.

Lastly, and perhaps as a direct consequence of the eroding effect of so many sub-styles, in the early twenty-first century a new form of neofolklore emerged, identified by scholars such as Amílcar Copa (2006) as 'post-neofolklore.' When the musicians who carried the first generation began to turn 50 or 60 years old, musicians under 30 revamped the aesthetic of neofolklore following the styles of *pop tropical* or *cumbia* groups and basing their work not so much on the crafting of music and lyrics but more on live performances and a strong interaction with the audience (Copa 2006).

Social Importance

The long process of consolidation of a national musical aesthetic ended in the 1970s with neofolklore. This style summarizes all the expressive contributions of popular music national in character. Young folklorists in the 1970s encouraged many other older musical tendencies that also sought to be an expression of the national. Neofolklore added a musical language supposedly Andean (but very Western) into the quest. In addition, the new style allowed for the union of nationalist inquiry with many others, attractive especially to young audiences, and showed a successful ability to dominate the recording market in Bolivia. Neofolklore was a structured movement as well as a defined and characteristic space for the production, dissemination and consuming of music that developed in tandem with the construction of new identities.

Neofolklore was constituted as a musical style capable of making questions around nationalist and indigenous identities a regular procedure. It was also capable, however, of including within its ample expressive spectrum other kinds of inquiry about identity: ethnic, generational, class-based, political, erotic, generic and so on. It is this richness that calls for a detailed analysis that will emphasize the narrative, metaphoric, symbolic and imagined aspects that the style has promoted.

The popularity of neofolklore in Bolivia has waned since the 1990s, when competition with Bolivian tropical music and with *rock nacional* (national rock) began to question its aesthetic. However, it continues to exist and thrive where groups such as Los Kjarkas, Proyección and Savia Andina are still considered the ultimate expressions of Bolivian popular culture and ambassadors of Bolivian culture and pride.

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MAURICIO SÁNCHEZ-PATZY (TRANSLATED BY PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

Neofolklore (Chile)

Neofolklore – in its Chilean context – describes a musical trend that developed between 1963 and 1968, especially in the capital city of Santiago, representing a modernization of the practice of mass folklore, or folklore produced within the cultural industry. Neofolklore was created in the early 1960s by the Chilean musical industry, administrating the tendency of young people who wanted to renew mass folklore practices of that period. At the time, mass folklore was the realm of musicians who were professional (duos and female solo singers), semiprofessional (male quartets with no lead part) or amateur (mixed ensembles). Performances included vocals in two or three parts in parallel thirds rendered at the microphone with proper, trained vocal production, accompanied by two or more guitars and perhaps a harp, with performers dressed in the typical clothing of the rural people of central Chile. Folklore was dominated by two genres from central Chile, both based on 6/8 + 3/4 rhythmic structures: the *tonada*, a song form, and the *cueca*, a non-embraced couple dance featuring twirling handkerchiefs.

By contrast, neofolklore favored minimal instrumentation, just a single guitar with the occasional inclusion of an Argentine *bombo legüero*. Instead, the emphasis was placed on a four-part vocal arrangement featuring a balanced homophonic texture interrupted by brief polyphonic passages, a wide vocal range extending from deep bass to high tenor and the use of onomatopoeia to evoke the sound of the guitar and the *bombo legüero*. Neofolklore groups performed in tuxedos, projecting a kind of relaxed, refined image. Performance contexts included radio studios, nightclubs, casinos and song festivals.

The development of choral singing in Chile in the 1950s for student and professional groups paved the way for the rise of young amateur vocal groups performing in several parts and drawing from folkloric as well as international repertoires. By the mid-1960s, such groups had become fixtures in the student festivals of song. The two main neofolklore groups were the male quintet Los Cuatro Cuartos (1963–66) and the female quartet Las Cuatro Brujas (1964–66). Other well-known groups were Los de Las Condes (1964–70), Los de Santiago (1964–67) and Los de la Escuela (1965–70). In addition, the main singer-songwriters of Chilean Nueva Canción – Patricio Manns, Rolando Alarcón, Víctor Jara and Violeta, Isabel and Ángel Parra – most of them in the early part of their careers, contributed to the heyday of neofolklore as solo artists with their arrangements of songs drawn from the Latin American repertoire, their own compositions, and appearances on radio and in folk clubs all over Chile. Other important figures were Luis 'Chino' Urquidi (1935–94) for his vocal arrangements, Guillermo Bascuñán (1942–) for his compositions and Camilo Fernández (1930–2011), the leading producer, who managed two independent labels, Demon and Arena, distributed by RCA.

The neofolklore repertoire was primarily drawn from obscure, antiquated or extinct genres that were disseminated in Chile due to the incorporation of *proyección folklórica*, a folk revival movement, into Odeon's Chilean catalogue. These genres proved amenable to the development of costumbristic and historical subject matter within folkloric song, evoking places, people, occupations, cookery and customs associated with tradition and making reference to historical events. Neofolkloric song cultivated in the popular imagination figures that were socially distinct from both the performer and the listener of folkloric music. The singer avoided references to him/herself or to the audience, instead focusing on an 'Other' that was at first just a figure with strange customs, but who, over time, acquired a social dimension that was extensively developed by Chilean *nueva canción*.

The collection and dissemination of folkloric music was laden with a regional and didactic agenda. Performances and LP releases painted a broad picture of Chilean folklore's newfound diversity, grouped into three distinct geographic and cultural areas: the north (Andean culture), the center (Hispanic and Creole culture) and the south (Mapuche and mestizo culture). Neofolklore, relying on this agenda without adopting it as its own, included at least one genre from each of these three areas, typically the north's *cachimbo*, the center's *refalosa* and the south's *sirilla*. These are all danceable musics in 6/8 with a major/minor tonality, characteristics that were familiar to regular listeners of folklore, but that also carried a note of novelty since the use of the minor key had been less common in the Chilean folklore that had been disseminated up to that point.

Not only did neofolklore adopt genres that had been disappearing in Chile, it also promoted a pan-Americanist outlook that was gaining ground in Latin America in the mid-1960s, drawing repertoire from other Latin American countries and employing and developing vocal arrangement techniques that had originated among Argentine groups.

Neofolklore reached its peak in 1965, which was characterized by the press as the year of 'folkloric effervescence.' In 1967 the genre began its decline. The music industry had inundated the public with dozens of songs of 'Andean sadness,' and following Los Cuatro Cuartos' success, the national artistic sphere, much reduced, was saturated with a host of new groups, most of which turned out to be short-lived.

Despite its brief duration, neofolklore made several important contributions to Chile's popular music in the 1960s. It provided new approaches to vocal arranging and increased the spectrum of genres used in folklore-based song, allowed composers of national importance to come to the fore and stimulated public interest in traditional folkloric music. In this way, the horizons of the folkloric music listener, previously restricted to the repertoire of Chile's central region which formed the basis of *música típica*, were broadened to include music from beyond that repertoire. Neofolklore also increased the harmonic, metric and expressive resources available in Chilean song. Finally, it fostered an interest in Chilean and Latin American folklore among the young, who by then were already under the influence of the development of rock 'n' roll and its local permutations.

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JUAN-PABLO GONZÁLEZ

Neofolklore (Venezuela)

In Venezuela, the term neofolklore indicates the use of traditional Venezuelan folk music by popular music artists or groups, in which the instruments and music procedures are different from those used in the original folk music, but in which the main formal, rhythmic, melodic and harmonic elements of the original are maintained or referred to strongly. Its intentions are to promote traditional Venezuelan folk music through professional live or recorded music productions – as well as to market the artist's or group's production, performance and arrangement abilities. Since 2005, however, the definition has shifted with the application of the term by disc jockeys on Venezuelan radio stations to designate a category in recorded popular music in which any type of appearance of folk music elements exists. This is a result of a new law sanctioned by the *Asamblea Nacional* (National Assembly) in December 2004, the *Ley de Responsabilidad Social de la Radio y Televisión* (Law of Social Responsibility of the Radio and Television). The law regulates the amount of hours that radio stations must reserve to transmit music derived from national productions which are defined by having at least 70 percent of Venezuelan staff, performers, investment capital, localities and Venezuelan cultural values (Gobierno 2006). Therefore, in order to obtain broadcasting space in radio stations without the 'payola,' or at least a fairer treatment, Venezuelan popular music productions of all genres began in 2005 to include folk elements in their music, providing at the same time the music needed by the stations to comply with this category, which was broadly named neofolklore. The term has also been lightly used to designate music that is more experimental and progressive in nature, although still using some aspects of the traditional folk music. This usage can be better understood within the term *fusión* (see separate entry).

Neofolklore in Venezuela may be distinguished from both *proyección* and *fusión,* keeping in mind that music groups or individual artists may change their production from one category to another as a natural development of their creative progress, or coexist in more than one at the same time. *Proyección* (see below) designates individual popular music artists and groups who aim to present the traditional folk music in a way that is as faithful as possible to the sound produced by the original folk musicians, but through professional live or recorded music productions. *Fusión* denotes new compositions, experimental in nature, that use elements of traditional Venezuelan music.

Characteristics of Neofolklore

In Venezuelan neofolklore the instruments are different from those employed in the original folk music. Nevertheless, a traditional folk instrument such as the *cuatro* or the maracas is usually included. Instrumental variations may include changes in performing practices, instrumental combinations, inclusion of symphonic instruments, arrangements for symphonic orchestra, for choir and for rock/jazz band, use of electronics, amplification and digital technology. Compositional procedures not found in the original folk music are used, including larger changes in formal structures in the way of introductions, interludes and endings, but conserving the original form of the folk music pieces in a considerable proportion. Neofolklore also employs tempo changes, extensive part counterpoint, extended harmonization, instrumental virtuosity and improvisation in jazz style, change of rhythm while maintaining the melodic and/or harmonic structure or the other way round, collage and fragmentation of original material, mixing of genres, among many other resources. It achieves a good balance in sounding different, appealing to a larger media audience, and at the same time still being recognized as belonging to Venezuelan traditional music. Some of the major characteristics of neofolklore are

- professional music productions (live and recorded) of traditional folk music
- adaptation of time scales for media formats
- may include new lyrics and music, in accordance with style
- independent of fixed calendar/place occurrences of the folk expression
- single artist or group may perform different folk genres
- popular music behavior: professional quality in recordings and in performance productions, staged concerts, sound amplification, artist-audience relationship, vinyl/CD making, tours, sales-oriented market-strategy development
- substitution of the original folk music as reference for identity and values at the national level.

All of the above are shared with the music of the *grupos de proyección*; in other respects, however, neofolklore is different:

- different instruments and instrumental combinations from the original version, but usually including at least one traditional instrument
- larger structural and formal changes, but conservation of a considerable part of the original form
- inclusion of different compositional procedures from the original music
- original function of folk expression changed to entertainment and money-making (as is the case with the *grupos proyección*), but without the pedagogical element that is present in many of the latter

The first neofolklore practices can be dated to the 300 plus transcriptions and arrangements of Venezuelan folk music to choir, piano or guitar by the composer and music-leader Vicente Emilio Sojo, which he began in 1937. Although intended for academic music disciplines because of its time context, the many different recordings of his arrangements have become popular music and influenced the whole development of neofolklore thereafter. One of the first major groups in this category was the Quinteto Contrapunto, a mixed-vocal ensemble from 1962, which set the trend not only for later choir contrapuntal arrangements of folk music, but also for the instrumental ensembles that flourished from the 1980s onward. The distinct voices of Jesús Sevillano and Morela Muñoz, a soprano with formal training, characterized this famous vocal quintet. They were followed in the

1970s with a similar formula by Serenata Guayanesa, an all-male voice quartet. Two of the main instrumental ensembles were El Cuarteto (1978) and Ensamble Gurrufío (1984), both having the concert flute as their main melodic instrument. The year 1975 saw the beginning of a large youth orchestral movement in Venezuela, reaching national proportions and international fame. By 2013 the total number of orchestras stood at 285. The prevalence of symphonic instruments in the country from the mid-1970s was a key factor in the development of neofolklore and of *fusión* groups of hybrid instrumental combinations (folk and symphonic instruments), especially with instruments such as the traverse flute, clarinet and oboe, which are absent from the traditional folk music instrumental. The use of symphonic instruments to perform traditional folk arrangements is one of the main lines of expansion in Venezuelan neofolklore, which incorporates a level of musicianship and instrumental virtuosity never heard before; this procedure was pioneered by the Quinteto Contrapunto.

The flute has gained a renowned position as the *flauta venezolana* (Venezuelan flute), through the success of the above-mentioned ensembles, based on a neofolklore repertoire with demanding virtuoso performing techniques. Other instruments are approaching the same direction, such as the violin in the case of Alexis Cárdenas, and the piano in the *joropo* productions of Claudia Calderón, performing on this instrument exact transcriptions of field recordings of music from *joropo central* and *joropo llanero* harp players. The jazz pianist Prisca Dávila includes some *joropo central* inspirations in her repertoire. The violin already existed in folk music from the Andean region, and the *piano joropo* had indistinctly survived in the ambience of hotel lounges. However, these new artists have introduced classically trained performance virtuosity into a popular music market. A trend present in many contemporary instrumental groups is to develop their neofolklore practices toward experimenting and creation, which would place them in the category of *fusión* music. Afro-Venezuelan groups who devoted themselves to *proyección* music have also started to follow the trend of elaborating their music and thus moving toward neofolklore and *fusión*; an example is Tambor Urbano from 1996 onward.

Proyección

In *proyección* priority is always given to the employment of the same instruments as in the original version. Performance may involve arrangements and adaptations of the original music to concert-stage presentation or to recorded track-time limits, in the way of introductions, solos, codas and small changes in the formal structure. Composing new lyrics within the traditional harmonic and rhythmic formats, as well as composing new songs maintaining a close relation to the traditional style, are all part of the objective of mass-media promotion of the traditional music. The musicians involved often refer to their activity as a '*rescate*-type' of amateur research, in other words they see themselves as 'rescuing' Venezuelan traditional music from oblivion, through their promotional activity. Performances of *música de proyección* can take place in any concert hall, at any time of the year, allowing the consumption of this folk-substitute to be removed from its cultural, time–place relationship. In a similar practical way, one single artist or group may include in a performance many different folk genres, although it is also common that a *grupo de proyección* specializes in only one folk genre, such as the Afro-Venezuelan music commonly known as *grupos de tambor* (drum groups).

One of the first *grupos de proyección* to make an impact on popular music in Venezuela was the Grupo Madera in 1978. Un Solo Pueblo, founded in 1976, headed a large list of groups that flourished in the mid-1970s and the 1980s, performing Afro-Venezuelan traditional folk music and becoming successful with the nation-wide insertion of the *parranda* music from the Barlovento region at Christmas time. Simón Díaz, a solo *llanero* (plainsman) singer, has been producing music extensively since 1961, and has become an identity figure of Venezuelan culture through his recordings of *tonadas, pasajes* (slow *joropo* music from the plains), and by achieving various well-known hits in this genre. Many such solo artists work around the representation of folk music as a niche in their popular music careers, especially *joropo* singers, and they fit perfectly in the category of *proyección*.

In *grupos de proyección* there is a marked difference between all-genre and single-genre groups. All-genre *proyección* groups have a more pedagogical orientation in their concerts, with the support of slides, verbal explanations and programs structured by regions or instrumental families. They were led by Convenezuela (founded in 1974), performing Venezuelan folk music of all kinds, and by the Orquesta de Instrumentos Latinoamericanos (Odila), which started in 1982. This large ensemble concentrated on performing music with the original instruments from the whole of Latin American and the Caribbean, based on the audiovisual information and the collection of instruments at the Instituto Interamericano de Etnomusicología y Folklore (INIDEF) in Caracas. Since 1990 the Vasallos del Sol have remained as one of the most important all-genre *grupos de proyección.* Financed by the Fundación Bigott, they are known for the high professional level of their performances and recordings. However, the polyphonic vocal arrangements and harmonization in their recordings from 1999 onward, such as *Tibio calor* (Warm Heat), went beyond the musical procedures of traditional folk music, and with these productions, the group stepped into the category of neofolklore.

The single-genre *grupos de proyección* devote themselves to certain musical regions of Venezuela, or to a specific music type or rhythm, becoming the specialists of the chosen genre. Most single-genre *proyección* groups are found in the Afro-Venezuelan folk tradition, with music from Barlovento, from the central coast states or from the south of the Maracaibo Lake. Another of the Bigott Foundation's group, Yuruari (founded in 2002), had a repertoire consisting only of traditional *calipsos de El Callao.* Caraota, Ñema y Tajá from the Lara state concentrates on the music of the *golpe larense*. Old *merengue* music from Caracas is performed by Los Antaños del Stadium and Cañón Contigo. Neither *joropo* music, whether *llanero*, central or *oriental*, nor the *calipso* groups from El Callao or other cities in the Bolívar state, can be considered as *proyección* music, although they share some characteristics of popular music behavior. Rather they are actual folk performers in a process of media conversion.

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EMILIO MENDOZA

Nortec

Nortec (also known as *Nor-tec*) is a type of electronic dance music (EDM) developed in Tijuana, Mexico, in 1999. Like the music, the word *nortec* is a hybrid that stands for *nor* (for northern or *norteño*) and tec (for technology). It refers to a music that combines traditional music elements from the north of Mexico with computer technology and innovative compositional techniques. Thus, *nortec* takes the sounds of the accordion, *bajo sexto* (a six double-course guitar-like instrument) and snare drum that characterize *música norteña*, as well as the tuba, clarinets, *charchetas* (saxhorns) and brassy harmonies typical of *banda sinaloense*, and organizes and transforms them through the technology of EDM: manipulation through computer software, filters, sequencers and synthesizers in order to make beats, rhythmic patterns, loops and harmonic progressions. However, *nortec* is not an attempt to reproduce the sound and repertoire of *conjunto norteño* or *banda sinaloense* groups technologically; instead, the *nortec* aesthetic seeks to decontextualize these sounds, transforming them into completely new sonic experiences where obvious local references often disappear.

Soon after the inception of *nortec*, a group of local video artists adopted the idea of transforming local elements through computer technology and began to translate the music into a visual experience. The result is a type of visual art that takes stereotypical images of Tijuana and transforms them into images that transcend their locality and exude an aura of cosmopolitanism. Music and video artists soon decided to pool their efforts by forming the Nortec Collective. This group included music acts like Bostich, Clorofila, Fussible, Hiperboreal, Panóptica, Plankton Man and Terrestre, and video artists like VJ CBrown, VJ Mashaka, VJ Sal, VJ TCR and VJ Wero Palma. As musicians and visual artists began to produce works outside the ambit of the Collective, the hyphenated version of the term (*nor-tec*) came to mean the hybrid aesthetic, while the non-hyphenated version (*nortec*) came to designate the efforts and activities of the Collective and its current members.

The first *nortec* recording was released independently by the Collective in 1999. After a process of underground, 'do-it-yourself' marketing and distribution that emphasized internet-based strategies, the Collective was signed by Palm Pictures, which distributed the musicians' first commercial recording, *The Tijuana Sessions, Vol. 1*. The commercial success of the album is difficult to measure due to an unorthodox marketing strategy that emphasized both the actual purchasing of the album and its internet distribution through file-sharing websites. Nevertheless, the international acceptance of the music attracted the interest of a number of local, national and international musicians and DJs who eventually worked in the genre and, in some cases, collaborated with the Collective; among them, Alan Parsons, Balboa, Beck, Calexico, DJ Matsuoka, David J, Julieta Venegas, the Kronos Quartet, Tampopo and Tovar. In 2005, after a four-year hiatus that allowed individual members of the Collective to produce a string of solo *nortec* recordings, the Collective released its second album, *Tijuana Sessions, Vol. 3* on Nacional Records (Volume 3 is actually Volume 2. The title is an inside joke among the members of the Collective, referring to the length of time it took to produce the second collective volume).

Between the Collective's first and second releases, the genre underwent a period of musical consolidation, the results of which can be seen by a comparison between the two albums. The tracks in *The Tijuana Sessions, Vol. 1* present a juxtaposition of a wide variety of individual styles united by the general *nortec* aesthetic of 'hybridity' (drawing from García Canclini 1990). The album contains a series of tracks that combine *norteña* and *banda* sounds alien to the EDM scene with Latin house, jazz house, minimal techno, intelligent dance music (IDM), neurofunk and other EDM genres according to the particular musical taste of each member of the Collective. This type of production also characterizes the solo *nortec* efforts of Fussible, Panóptica, Terrestre and Plankton Man produced in between the release of the two joint albums. *Tijuana Sessions, Vol. 3* presents a more unified approach and musical style, in which the music is characterized by an assertive foregrounding of *norteña* and *banda sinaloense* samples, a largely down-tempo dance style, and the almost exaggerated presence of elements from Tijuana's popular culture that might go unnoticed to a neophyte but that emphasize the project's reliance on resignifying local popular culture. So sounds from *norteña* and *banda* are sampled and taken out of their local context, before being resignified through their combination with electronic sounds and transformation through technological devices. These elements, combined with the musical and visual supervision of Pepe Mogt (Fussible) and Jorge Verdín (Clorofila), resulted in an overall homogeneity that eliminated the differences among individual styles that characterized early *nortec* productions.

Mostly consumed by middle- and upper-class young people, *nortec* should be understood within the larger phenomenon of underground dance music (UDM), since it is its alternative status that provides the project with an aura of uniqueness and independence. *Nortec*'s involvement with the commercial mainstream was short and restricted: Palm Pictures never really promoted the Collective's *Tijuana Sessions, Vol. 1* so they had to do it themselves through underground mechanisms, and their collaborations with Alan Parsons and Calexico were limited to the Collective remixing a few of their songs. Like most UDM, the production, distribution and consumption of *nortec* takes place in sites and through mechanisms that exist beyond mainstream commercial channels. Thus, *nortec* tracks are produced in home studios and distributed by independent labels and over the internet. Fans meet at local clubs and discotheques that often lack the glamour and sophistication of mainstream theaters and dance halls; they also travel to hear the music (people from San Diego, for example, sometimes attend *nortec* parties in Tijuana). But for the most part *nortec*'s appeal and fanbase is international. Ironically, it was *nortec*'s underground strategy, its condition as an independent project from an unlikely corner of Latin America, and its articulation of local traditions through global technologies that provided it with powerful cultural capital for EDM fans worldwide. The fact that the musicians were from Tijuana was also important for the initial development of the music in the 1980s, since the geographic location gave the musicians access to the latest music trends in the United States as well as equipment and technology well before they could reach central Mexico. Indeed, the birth of *nortec* in Tijuana challenges many of the center-periphery assumptions that characterize a centralized society such as Mexico's.

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ALEJANDRO L. MADRID

Norteño

Música norteña (northern music), or simply *norteño,* is a popular music genre originally from the north-east of Mexico. It shares many similarities with the Texas-based *conjunto* (ensemble), its counterpart across the US-Mexico border. Both *norteño* and *conjunto* have folk-based rural origins and feature a core instrumentation of button accordion and *bajo sexto* (a type of guitar with six double courses of strings). This duo has grown to include other instruments such as *tololoche* (double bass), which has largely been replaced by the electric bass since the mid-1950s, *tambora de rancho*, a homemade drum later replaced by the drum set, and saxophone, but the two core instruments still characterize the sound of the ensemble. The *norteño* and *conjunto* traditions have mutually influenced each other, both becoming favorite music styles in the area and strong markers of northeastern Mexican identity.

The exact origins of *norteño* music are impossible to reconstruct, because it was a specific expression of a common people, learned and passed down from generation to generation by ear. Moreover, Mexican music scholars have largely ignored the musical life in the provinces, either because of the scarcity of historical documents or because of the assumed irrelevance of regional expression to culture at large. In the nineteenth century the music of Mexico's then sparsely populated northern area was considered unrefined, rustic and raucous (if at all noticed) by the capital's genteel people, who were eager to emulate European, in particular Parisian, customs and practices. Although folk music did emerge as a major trend after the Mexican Revolution (1910–20) and with the rise of radio and the recording industries, *norteño* continued to be marginalized by the center: 'regional music' of the nation included only *marimba* from the Yucatán peninsula in the south, *mariachi* from Jalisco in the west, *jarocho* from the east coast and *huasteca huapango* from the northeast coast. Regional music styles such as *norteño* and *banda* from the vast northern and northwestern territories were largely disregarded. Northern-born entertainers who hoped to succeed in the national and international music market had to settle for local or regional fame or switch musical style. It was not until the 1990s that rural-rooted, regional music from Mexico's North turned into an attractive commodity.

Early History

Música norteña emerged as an intercultural practice when Spanish colonial, Mexican national and nineteenth-century immigrant traditions were blended to create a joyous musical style with new instrumental sounds and dance steps. The beginnings of *norteño* as a distinct genre can be traced to the arrival of the accordion in the US-Mexico border area in the 1860s and 1870s, where it was introduced by European settlers, notably of German and Czech origin. Mexican people not only adopted the loud, sturdy and inexpensive instrument but also the popular European dances of the time: polka, waltz, mazurka, quadrille and schottische. In the late 1800s the northeastern city of Monterrey, capital of Nuevo León, experienced an economic boom due to its flourishing steel industry. The growing city attracted large numbers of peasant migrants as well as European settlers, who had initially come to work on the railroad lines from central Texas to northern Mexico, but later stayed and invested in steelmaking and brewing businesses. The beer brewing industry in Monterrey was developed in part by German immigrants, and the distributors of German-made accordions aggressively marketed the little 'squeeze boxes' to the local population as far back as the late 1800s. As a result, musicians in Mexico and Texas remained loyal to the German-style button accordion (manufactured by the Hohner company). Local musicians, who came together to play at *tardeadas* (dancing events held in the afternoon and outdoors where large, wooden dance floors could be set up) and special occasions such as wedding and *quinceañera* (coming of age) celebrations, appreciated the qualities of the accordion because it was loud and durable and thus, like the popular brass instruments, ideal for outdoor performances. Although the accordion served well as a one-man band, the combination of accordion with the *bajo sexto*, and sometimes with the addition of a *tololoche* or a drum, eventually became the favorite music ensemble for the *cantina*, the working-class bar, ubiquitous in both rural and urban areas. Both Mexican *norteño* and Texas-Mexican *conjunto* musicians used diatonic two-row button accordions manufactured in central Europe. Their repertoire consisted of a combination of instrumental polkas, schottisches and redowas with the lyric-oriented *canciones mexicanas* (Mexican songs), huapangos (fast dance pieces in 6/8) and *corridos* (folk ballads). In the early 1900s, the latter became the main narrative expression of the *norteño* tradition. The traditional way of dancing to *norteño* music is a hybrid way strongly influenced by the basic steps of the paso doble, polka and schottische. It is danced by couples.

Like Texas-Mexican *conjunto*, whose historical development has been documented by Manuel Peña (1985), the early history of *norteño* (1860s–1920s) is rather diffuse. With the interest of the emerging recording industry in regional music expression, the history of these genres becomes more tangible. North of the border, recording companies such as Vocalion, Okeh, Decca and Bluebird (a subsidiary of RCA Victor) launched a major effort to record native Texas-Mexican/Mexican musicians and singers. The first accordion recordings were made in 1930 in San Antonio, Texas, by accordionist Bruno Villareal, from the Rio Grande Valley in southern Texas (Spottswood 1990, 2379). At the same time, increased migration of Mexicans into the US Southwest replenished and reinforced the local music market. The *conjunto* ensemble and its musical style began to consolidate with the first commercial recordings by artists such as Narcisco Martínez and Santiago Jiménez in the mid-1930s. By that time, *conjunto* had already become a preferred musical style among working-class Texas-Mexicans. South of the border, the industrial capital Monterrey became a leading force in the development of a potent media industry, which was not only decisive in the shaping of regional popular musics, but also furthered transregional expressions by disseminating regional musics to other parts of Mexico via powerful radio stations. By the 1940s the typical *norteño* ensemble had consolidated, featuring the three-row diatonic button accordion, *bajo sexto*, saxophone, contrabass and drum set. Vocal genres were performed in a characteristic Hispanic type of folk polyphony – two high-pitched voices singing in parallel 3rds and 6ths (usually the accordion and *bajo sexto* players), in a fast tempo, and with a strongly tonal harmonic support.

Modern History

The crystallization of a distinct northern music style was stimulated by musical interrelations between South Texas and northern Mexico. After World War II, large numbers of Mexican migrants seeking work in the United States continued to fuel the musical replenishment from the south. Texan recording companies owned by Mexican-origin entrepreneurs promoted musicians of Mexican origin residing on both sides of the Rio Grande. Mexican musicians such as Los Alegres de Terán, Antonio Tanguma and Lalo García gained popularity on both sides of the border. New popular dance rhythms such as the *bolero* and the *cumbia* were incorporated into the *norteña* repertory by Pedro Yerena and Juan Montoya in the 1940s and by Beto Villa and Ramón Ayala in the 1960s. Changes in the instrumentation consolidated the modern *conjunto* sound in the 1950s when most groups added a modern drum set, substituted an electric bass guitar for the contrabass, and introduced amplification for the accordion and the *bajo sexto* as well as microphones for the singers.

In the 1960s the modern *conjunto* and the older *norteño* ensemble grew closer. Leading figures in this development were the members of Los Relámpagos del Norte, a group led by accordionist Ramón Ayala and *bajo sexto* player Cornelio Reyna. By 1967 the band had risen to unparalleled fame on both sides of the border. After it disbanded in 1971, Ayala formed his own group, Los Bravos del Norte, which came to dominate the *norteño* market for the next decade. Like Ayala, the group Los Tigres del Norte have had over 30 years of success. The group's members originated from northern Sinaloa, a state on Mexico's Pacific coast, but moved to San Jose, California, in the late 1960s. After Los Tigres del Norte launched their first big hit, 'Contrabando y traición' in 1973, they went on to become one of the top-selling groups in the Latino market, and figure among the most influential binational bands. The maintenance of the *corrido* song form has enabled Los Tigres to tell compelling stories that are relevant to an audience accustomed to oral traditions. Their songs are particularly popular among recent immigrants to the United States and those who have not assimilated (usually due to their undocumented and low economic status) and who maintain strong connections to Mexico and their Mexican identity. Through their songs, Los Tigres have come to function as spokesmen for 'the people.' In 1988 the band was awarded a GRAMMY, but despite their remarkable career, Los Tigres del Norte have remained virtually unknown to US society at large.

Because of the music's strong connection with the working class, it had been a source of embarrassment to many Mexican Americans since the mid-twentieth century, especially to those in the emerging middle class eager to disassociate themselves from their Mexican roots and emulate American customs and culture. In the 1990s, however, Tejano music proliferated and gained international attention in the early 1990s as one of the fastest-growing types of Latin music in the United States. With young and dynamic artists such as Selena and Bobby Pulido, the music enjoyed a great increase in popularity beyond its regional audience. *Norteña* music for its part, while remaining marginalized by the US mainstream, has continued to play a significant role as a vehicle of expression of the migrant experience and cultural heritage of many Mexicans.

Subcultural *Norteño* Music

Alongside their bittersweet songs about immigration, which captured the imagination of hundreds of thousands of Mexicans north of the border, Los Tigres del Norte also sang about narcotics, and indeed their first major hit (noted above), 'Contrabando y traicion' (1973) was a *corrido* about cross-border drug smuggling. This song also established the band in Mexico. Since then, hundreds of *norteño* bands have emerged on both sides of the border taking up the theme of narcotrafficking. The flourishing business with *narcocorridos* (ballads that narrate the adventurous life of drug traffickers) in Los Angeles nightclubs and recording studios began around 1990. The Sinaloan singer and songwriter Chalino Sánchez (1960–92), who immortalized and embodied the narco-subculture that encompasses both the United States and Mexico, was largely responsible for this development. By the late 1990s *narcomúsica* (music related to drug trafficking or traffickers) had become popular among a predominantly young Spanish-speaking audience – not just in the regions where cultivation of marijuana is prevalent but also in the cities north of the border where traffickers make a fortune by selling the illegal goods. The most commercially successful bands that play the narco-repertory – Los Tigres del Norte, Los Tucanes de Tijuana and Banda El Recodo – all originate from Sinaloa, a state with a long history of cultivating and trading drugs.

By the beginning of the twenty-first century narco-music had become a fast-growing business, notably in the United States, where big music corporations sign promising narco-bands and where the GRAMMY Awards officially recognize and validate this type of popular music. In the early twenty-first century commercial narco-music brings in the sounds, images, values and language from a rural, premodern culture and mixes them with the technology and aesthetics of an urban, postmodern culture. This syncretic fusion of traditional elements and contemporary features is an expression of its creators' and listeners' own senses of identity. A decade after Sánchez's death, a handful of young, mostly USA-born singers from Los Angeles transcended his legacy and created a raw but urban sound that appeals to a young audience that derives its social conventions, fashions and aspirations from both the narco-world and US youth culture. Chief among them was Lupillo Rivera, whose CD *Despreciado* ('Despised') was listed by Billboard magazine as the fifth best-selling Latin music album in the United States in 2001.

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HELENA SIMONETT

Nueva Canción

The music and movement known as *nueva canción* (or 'new song') spans an active period of some 50 years, beginning in the early 1960s, when Latin American and Spanish singers and songwriters (often but not always called *cantautores*) created music in the context of activism in social and political struggles in their countries and across the continent as a whole. *Nueva canción* was for many an integral part of a larger cultural effort to bring about change on the continent, following the example of the 1959 Cuban revolution and other antecedents, embedded in several decades of struggle by liberal, radical and socialist parties. *Nueva canción* emerged as a genuine force in the mid-1960s, when various political parties on the continent were trying democratically to effect social change. The search for a Latin American cultural identity became a spontaneous part of this wider struggle for self-determination, and music was a part of the process.

As a movement, *nueva cancion* embraced a founding generation of creative musicians, both soloists and groups, in countries across the continent from Argentina to Cuba, Chile to Venezuela, Uruguay to Nicaragua, Mexico to Peru, Brazil to Bolivia, El Salvador to Paraguay. ‘*Nueva canción*’ is used here as an umbrella term to embrace other variants known as *nuevo cancionero*, *canciones de lucha y esperanza*, *nueva trova*, *volcanto*, *canto nuevo*, without diminishing the fact that there are subtle differences in what these terms mean, depending on either country or historical moment. A broad overview of *nueva cancion* must inevitably include Chile in its compass, as the genre was especially significant there, and Chilean musicians made many important contributions to its history, but for a more detailed account of *nueva canción* in Chile, readers are referred to the entry for *Nueva Canción Chilena*.

Background and Early History

The 1960s was a time of activism rooted in an idealistic vision that life could change for the better for all in South America. The continent’s obvious inequalities, its oligarchies, the iniquities of land ownership and inherited power, the concentration of wealth in the hands of small numbers, corrupt regimes, coupled with the denial of suffrage, literacy and education to much of the population, presented a stark challenge. It is within this context that *nueva canción* singers and composers can be understood. With voices and guitars, they performed songs of *lucha y esperanza* (struggle and hope), embedded in personal and collective experience, in places such as Chile’s Peña de los Parra, a popular folk-night club opened in June 1965 in the country’s capital, Santiago (see below).

Two key figures whose music bridged rural and urban life and culture in the 1940s and 1950s can be considered as antecedents for the *nueva canción* movement: Argentina’s Atahualpa Yupanqui (born Héctor Roberto Chavero, 1908–92) and Chile’s Violeta Parra (1917–67). Each had a passionate interest in their nation’s rural musical traditions which shared an Iberian and Amerindian sensibility; and each traveled and collected songs from rural musicians. Their work was paralleled in a very different vein in Cuba by *trovador* Carlos Puebla and his group Los Tradicionales, who composed key songs in homage to heroes such as Che Guevara and to moments such as when Fidel Castro and the *guerilleros* marched into Havana to end the regime of dictator Fulgencio Batista in January 1959.

Both Yupanqui and Parra followed a popular tradition of using medieval Spanish troubadour *coplas*, *versos* and the octasyllabic *décima* form. Yupanqui’s first song, ‘Caminito del indio’ (The Path of the Indian), was composed in 1926 (and first recorded in 1936), and during a long career, he introduced a new integrity and a distinguished guitar playing style to Argentine folk music. He also introduced an assertive outlook: his most famous song ‘Basta ya!’ (That’s Enough!) (1971), with its memorable lines ‘¡Basta ya, basta ya/que el yanqui mande!’ (‘That’s enough of the Yankee telling us what to do’), inspired the next generation, who learned his songs by heart. Yupanqui was forced into exile in 1932, 1949 and again in 1967, at which point he moved more or less permanently to Paris.

In the 1950s in Paris Yupanqui played in Left Bank clubs, where he met French singer Edith Piaf and shared stages with Violeta Parra, whose own career in Chile mirrored his own. Both were influenced indirectly by the French *chanson* tradition. In Chile, Parra had sung with and collected songs from rural popular poets called *payadores,* preserving and popularizing them through live performance, radio broadcasts and recordings. She composed her own material based on these rural traditions, creating a model and repertoire for what became *nueva canción*. Her legacy of potent songs includes ‘Que dirá el Santo Padre?’ (What Does the Sainted Pope Say?), which challenged the power of the Catholic Church, and the unparalleled ‘Gracias a la vida’(Thanks to Life), later covered by Joan Baez and other international artists. As Parra wrote in her *Décimas: autobiográfia en versos chilenos* (Autobiography in *décima* Form), written in the late 1950s and published posthumously:

..no tomo la guitarra	(I don’t take up the guitar
por conseguir un aplauso.	to win applause
Yo canto la diferiencia que hay de lo cierto a lo falso.	I sing of the difference there is between what is certain and what is false.
De lo contrario no canto	Otherwise I don’t sing)

The first acknowledged crystallization of a *nueva canción* ideal emerged in Argentina in 1963 at a meeting of the Círculo de Periodistas (Journalists’ Circle) in Mendoza, where singers and poets, among them Mercedes Sosa, her then husband Manuel Oscar Matus, composer Ariel Ramírez and poet Félix Luna, unveiled the *Manifiesto Fundacional del Movimiento del Nuevo Cancionero*, a musical manifesto which aimed to reevaluate and reinvigorate 'la música popular nativa' and to be the voice of poor and marginalized Argentinians. Though not a composer herself, Sosa became a key singer for the movement, her powerful interpretation of songs from across the continent, notably the songs of singers such as Violeta Parra (Chile), Silvio Rodriguez (Cuba) and Milton Nascimento (Brazil), bringing them huge audiences.

Much activity in Argentina emanated from the annual Cosquín Festivals, which had begun in 1961 with the idea of using folk music to entertain tourists during the summer. In the 1960s and early 1970s it grew to become the motor of what became Argentina's *boom folklorico*, boosted by the official 1962 government decision to make the last week of January National Folklore week. Broadcast on radio and recorded by major record companies, the music of Cosquín was heard all over the continent. In 1967 Yupanqui was honored with the first-ever festival prize and in 1972 the main stage was named after him. In later years the Cosquín festival went from strength to strength, its nine days (known as the 'nine moons') attracting vast audiences.

From the early 1960s many musicians began to wear the traditional woven poncho of the peasant and some played Andean instruments such as panpipes, bamboo flutes, the small *charango* lute, the indigenous *bombo* drum, and the maracas and shakers of the original peoples of the Americas and the Caribbean. Apart from their sound, these instruments were important as they had the added symbolism of being the instruments of the indigenous communities who had managed somehow to survive slavery and to resist colonialism and imperialism. The fact that students wore the poncho of the worker-peasant and played indigenous instruments and music rooted in the folklore of the continent was an expression of the relationships envisaged between student-intellectuals, workers and peasants of the left-wing political parties.

In Chile, Violeta Parra had herself been a pioneer in the use of the Amerindian Andean instruments. While Andean instruments were undoubtedly found in Andean festivals in the northern desert of Chile, Parra's example also gave impetus to university students, notably those who formed the groups Inti-illimani, Quilapayún and Los Curacas, all of whom also took indigenous names. In the 1950s she had been influenced by and had influenced Gilbert Favre, a Swiss-French flautist who was a founding member of influential Bolivian band, Los Jairas. Los Jairas were part of a cultural reevaluation of the indigenous peoples which emerged in the years following the 1952 Bolivian Revolution. Based at the Peña Naira in the capital, La Paz, they gained public fame through bringing together into one group instruments of hitherto separate Andean traditions – the armadillo-shelled *charango*, the *quena* (bamboo flute). This Andean sound and image was quintessential to the impact of *nueva canción* worldwide. Parra was also influential in her use of the small Venezuelan *cuatro* guitar.

A key event, and one which helped the new song movement to crystallize on a wide scale, was the *Encuentro de Canción Protesta,* held in Cuba between 29 July and 10 August 1967. Drawing 50 participants from 18 countries and 5 continents together, the event was part of a number of Cuban initiatives of the island known by the acronym OLAS (Organización Latino Americana de Solidaridad), designed to make waves (the word *olas* itself means waves). While the meeting's title betrays its English-language origins (OLAS stands more comfortably for 'Organization of Latin-American Solidarity'), the event in a sense reclaimed the word 'protest' as used by the US media and government to ghettoize and diminish first the 'freedom songs' of the Civil Rights Movement and the music associated with the anti-Vietnam War effort, as well as individual artists such as Bob Dylan, Peter, Paul and Mary, Pete Seeger and Joan Baez. Notably, in discussions during the event in Cuba, the actual term 'protesta' was rejected by the musicians who were there, as the songs that were the subject of the event were not protesting as such, even when they had overt social and political themes. With many songwriters acknowledging that they composed music and text simultaneously, any didactic function of such songs was seen as centering on their texts, the majority of which are poetic, often heavily metaphoric, with any sociopolitical message dependent on context and public.

The symbol of the Encuentro, a graphic drawing of a rose with two sharp, spike-like leaves, one shaded at the end, and two drops of blood falling from it, subsequently became a widely used image for committed song in Latin America. In Cuba it was used for activities at the cultural powerhouse Casa de las Americas, while in Chile it was taken as the symbol for the Peña de los Parra record label (part of the Dicap label).

A Pan-Latin-American Movement

The sense that there was a pan-Latin-American movement rather than a series of activities by individuals or groups acting independently in different countries, grew as those involved met one another at festivals in Cuba, Nicaragua, Peru, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil and elsewhere, discussed the viability of a formal organization (with the establishment for a time of an actual *nueva canción* movement office in Mexico, whose efforts were thwarted by difficulties of coordinating so many people in so many places), visited each other's countries and in notable instances sang each other's songs, thus bringing them to new audiences. The first *Festival de la Canción de Protesta*, for example, took place in 1972 in Agua Dulce, Peru, led by Peruvian singer/composer Chabuca Granda, with the participation of singers and composers including Alfredo Zitarrosa (Uruguay), Soledad Bravo (Venezuela), Guadalupe Trigo (México), Víctor Heredia (Argentina) and Patricio Manns (Chile) along with many others. As different musicians made it to different festivals, their attendance depending on a gamut of decisions including feasibility, availability, finances and other constraints, they identified with others who were 'like minded' and as such formed a significant supportive network. Certain later recordings bear testimony to this, notably *En Vivo en Argentina* (Live in Argentina), which captures the concert given in 1984, following the fall of the military dictatorship at the end of the Malvinas War. The concert marked the first ever visit of Cubans Silvio Rodríguez and Pablo Milanés to Buenos Aires, when they shared the stage with their Argentine 'guests,' following a favored format with musicians joining together in duos and small groups to sing each other's songs. The concert concludes with all those involved singing César Isella and Armando Tejada Gómez's 'Canción con todos' (Song for All), an unofficial hymn of the movement. Pablo Milanés's album *Querido Pablo* (Dear Pablo), recorded in Spain in 1985 with singers from Spain, Cuba and Brazil, sums up the creative nature of such friendships. Another later event that symbolized the mutual support that musicians gave to each other occurred in 1990, after the end of the Pinochet dictatorship, when Rodríguez was invited to return to Chile for the first time since 1972, to give the first major stadium concert in the name of his friend, the murdered Chilean singer Víctor Jara.

Nueva canción was (and indeed has remained) an expression of politics in its broadest sense. It cannot be encompassed by the limited designation 'protest song' as such: while it is true that some songs gained a function of protest (such as the 1972–73 *canciones contingentes* composed by Sergio Ortega with Quilapayún and Inti-illimani), such a categorization comes more from the media and those opposing such creativity than from those involved in it. The musicians involved were not card-carrying members of any international organization and were often independent of political parties, although in the 1960s many worked with various socialist, Communist and revolutionary parties of the continent, especially in Chile where the Juventud Comunista (JJCC) had cogent cultural objectives embracing education, trade union affiliation and human rights. Many musicians met up in the German Democratic Republic, in the international atmosphere of the annual Festivals of Political Song held in East Berlin.

In the 1970s, when the democracies in their countries were brutally overthrown by military dictatorships, many musicians suffered alongside their compatriots as a consequence of the impact of their songs and music making, the context of their performances and their involvement in activities beyond music. Some were forced into exile, while others were imprisoned, tortured or killed. This not only halted their activities and prohibited the sound of their music, but in the process also banished a generation of cultural activists from Latin America.

The most emblematic case is that of Chilean theater director and singer-songwriter and composer Víctor Jara, joint winner of the July 1969 *Primer Festival de la Nueva Canción Chilena* with his song 'Plegaría a un labrador,' a secular reworking of the Lord's Prayer. Before coming to the city with many other rural migrants, Jara had lived in the countryside where his mother, a *cantaora*, sang the popular *cantos a lo divino y a lo humano* (songs of the divine and the human) at rituals for infant deaths and at community events. Arrested after the *coup d'état* of 11 September 1973 along with other colleagues at Santiago's Technical University, Jara was taken to the downtown Chile Stadium, an arena usually used for basketball but which had been speedily turned into a make-shift prison camp. Here he was recognized, tortured and last seen alive. His body was later found with five others, machine-gunned up against a wall near the Metropolitan Cemetery, and identified by his wife Joan among piles of corpses in a Santiago mortuary after a phone call from a sympathetic official (Jara 1983).

Jara's dramatic and tragic death at the age of 35 highlights how the music of this generation not only had immense meaning for those who heard it, and the power to change their consciousness, but was recognized as dangerous by the authorities. Charismatic and fun-loving, Jara was nevertheless clear about his role as a singer: 'The authentic revolutionary should be behind the guitar, so that the guitar becomes an instrument of struggle, so that it can also shoot like a gun' (quoted in Taffet 1997, 97). As he sang in his song

‘Manifiesto,’ a tender serenade, released on record after his death, which with hindsight has been seen as his testimony:

Yo no canto por cantar	(I don’t sing for love of singing
ni por tener buena voz	Or to have a good voice
canto porque la guitarra	I sing because my guitar
tiene sentido y razón.	Has sense and reason.
Tiene corazón de tierra	It has a heart of earth,
y alas de palomita …	And the wings of a dove ...
… canto que a sido valiente	Song that has been brave
siempre será canción nueva.	Will always be a new song.)

After the *coup d’état* anything in Chile remotely associated with the previous government of President Salvador Allende and its values came under censorship, including books and records, which were burnt in the streets and their possession could be cause for arrest. The junta issued warnings that it would be unwise for anyone to play *nueva canción*, or indeed any of the Andean instruments associated with its sound. This did not hinder the group Barroco Andino who bravely, within months of the coup, started playing Baroque music on Andean instruments at concerts in churches.

Exile

At the time of the coup in Chile, both Inti-illimani and Quilapayun were traveling in Europe as the Popular Unity government’s Cultural Ambassadors, seeking support from governments in Europe at a time when Chile was besieged economically by a US blockade and undermined by CIA activity. Now in exile, these groups were pivotal in making the sound of *nueva canción* central to the ‘Solidarity with Chile’ movement. Their passionate and tireless performances all over the world brought the Andean sound into the homes of millions. It was so pervasive as to change European music library definitions of Latin American music, as well as inspire satirical tribute songs in Italy, where the music was particularly popular, reaching the pop music charts. The influence of the music of these two groups in Europe in the 1970s and 1980s – and in many other places worldwide, particularly where the solidarity movement was active and where Chilean exiles came to live – cannot be underestimated. For Inti-illimani, the 1972 tour turned into a 15-year and 54-day exile (‘the longest tour in history,’ as they jokingly described it at their concerts), one which successfully defined *nueva canción* and Amerindian music as Latin American music.

Many other Chilean musicians spent time in exile – including composer Sergio Ortega, *cantautores* Patricio Manns, Isabel and Angel Parra, Patricio Castillo, and later the group Illapu – but they were not alone. Notable musicians from other countries were exiled also, among them Uruguayan Daniel Viglietti, Argentina’s Mercedes Sosa and Brazilian MPB singers Chico Buarque, Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil. The lyrics of Viglietti’s seminal 1963 song ‘ Canción para mi America’ (Song for My America) had done much to set the tone for the *nueva canción* movement, with its lyrics beginning ‘Dale tu mano al indio/Dale que te hará bien’ (Give your hand to the Indian, it will do you good), and ending ‘La guitarra americana/Peleando aprendió a cantar’ (The American guitar/Fighting learned to sing). In 1969 Viglietti’s anti-*latifundista* song ‘A desalambrar!’ (Take Down the Fences), which called for the redistribution of land to those who worked it, had been banned by the authorities, and in 1972 he was imprisoned after the military authorities objected to one of his performances. Freed in 1973 following international protests (including that of Jean-Paul Sartre), he went into exile, first in Argentina and then in France.

In Spain, where the oppression and censorship of the Franco dictatorship was ongoing, the movement had a strong impact, with a number of significant musicians based in Madrid and a powerful movement in Catalonia in particular. Mercedes Sosa was exiled to Spain from Argentina in 1979 after the military arrested both her and much of her audience at a concert. In exile, her voice was a constant of political commitment, particularly during the state-sponsored violence of the so-called ‘Dirty War,’ and again during the Malvinas-Falklands war. Allowed to return in 1982, she began to include in her repertoire *rock nacional* songs, which challenged the regime during this period. Working with rock musician Charly Garcia, as well as folk-rock singers Victor Heredía and León Gieco and others, Sosa crossed over between different genres and publics in her inimitable way, bringing musics and peoples together: ‘An artist isn’t political in the party political sense – they have a constituency which is their public – it is the poetry which matters most of all’ (quoted in Meyer 2009). On 21 December 1984 Sosa, León Gieco and Milton Nascimento met up in Brazil for the emotional *Corazón Américano* concert. In the early twenty-first century, Sosa won Latin Grammy Awards for Best Folk Album in 2000 (*Misa Criolla*), 2003 (*Acústico*) and 2006 (*Corazón Libre*), became a UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador and sang the song 'Balderrama' in Steven Soderbergh's 2008 film *Che*. She died in 2009.

New Songs Movements and Revolution

In Cuba, a group of young musicians including Silvio Rodríguez and Pablo Milanés came together at the country's Cinematographic Institute (ICAIC) under the patronage of intellectual Alfredo Guevara to work together under the guidance of composer-guitarist Leo Brouwer. Their music-making hitherto had attracted the unsympathetic attention of cultural Stalinists, with Milanés imprisoned in an infamous UMAP work camp in the Cuban countryside in 1967 for 'bohemian activities.' An early champion was Haydée Santa María who had fought with Che Guevara and Fidel Castro in the Sierra Maestra mountains and had founded the Casa de las Americas, Cuba's intellectual powerhouse. At ICAIC the musicians became known as GESI (Grupo Experimental Sonora), composing music for films while also creating their own songs, thereby forging a new tradition of poetic song texts expressing inner reflections, desire, emotional experience, dreams, self-doubt, everyday hopes and beliefs (see Moore 2006). Over time these songs were given the name *nueva trova* (so contrasting them with the music of older black troubadours, known as *vieja trova*) and in 1972 became institutionalized within the politics of revolutionary culture by the young communist movement as an island-wide movement. The songs of both Rodríguez and Milanés so captured the zeitgeist of their times that despite the fact they had no media support, they became known throughout the Spanish-speaking world and beyond. Their songs became synonymous with the struggle for liberation in Nicaragua and El Salvador, and for freedom from military dictatorship in Spain, Chile, Argentina, influencing a new generation of songwriters.

In Nicaragua, before the Sandinistas' 1979 victory over the Somoza dictatorship, brothers Carlos and Luis Enrique Mejia Godoy's song 'Carabina – M1' (The M-1 Carbine) and other instructional songs were broadcast on clandestine guerrilla radio, cheerfully giving instructions to a scattered population, many of them illiterate, on how to clean and assemble their weapons and participate in the armed uprising. The Godoys' songs, captured on the record *Guitarra Armada: Music of the Sandinista Guerillas (*1979), were important as much for their stories and hymns for unity as for direct advice on how to make Molotov cocktails, and for the contact and solidarity they gave to isolated groups of fighters.

During the Sandinistas' period in power (1979–90), the *volcanto* (a fusion of 'volcano and song') movement was launched, symbolized by Luis Enrique's serenading song 'Yo soy de un pueblo sencillo' (I Am From a Small Country) and Carlos's 'Ay Nicaragua, Nicaraguita,' his love song to his newly liberated country. In Nicaragua, song was involved in much-needed literacy campaigns and educational projects, even in encouraging people to eat maize products when a US embargo caused a wheat shortage. In fact, the entire story of the Nicaraguan Revolution – from the guerrillas fighting behind the lines to the Sandinistas in power and their defeat at the ballot box – can be mapped in the work of the Mejia Godoys, who latterly turned their attention to indigenous Amerindian motifs. The April 1983 concert in the Nicaraguan capital entitled *Abríl en Managua: Concierto Para la Paz* (April in Managua: Peace Concert) brought together a host of key new song singers from ten countries, including Rodríguez and Sosa, who performed under a Sandino banner in a main square in Managua. The concert ends with Sosa first singing Leon Gieco's 'Solo la pidó a Díos': 'Solo le pido a Dios/ Que la guerra no me sea indiferente/Es un monstro grande y pisa fuerte/ Toda la pobre inocencia de la gente' ('I only ask God/Not to make me indifferent to war./ It is a great monster that tramples on/ All the poor innocence of the people'); and finally Daniel Toro and Ariel Petrocelli's 'Cuando tenga la tierra' (When You Have the Land), with her wild declamation of the lines 'Campesino, Cuando tenga la tierra/Le pondre la luna en el bolsillo' (Campesino, when you have the land /You will have the moon in your pocket).

In El Salvador, Yolocamba I-ta and Cutumay Camones composed lively revolutionary songs broadcast in favor of freedom fighters (e.g., Yolocamba I-ta's *Canto a la patria revolucionaria*). In Mexico, the work of Amparo Ochoa (*El cancionero popular*, 1975), Gabino Palomares and the group Los Folkloristas was influential (particularly Ochoa's interpretation of Palomares's song 'La maldición de Malinche'[The Curse of Malinche]), as were the new *corridos* of Judith Reyes. In Venezuela, new song was represented in the songs and voices of Soledad Bravo, Alí Primera and Gloria Martin. Primera became known as 'el cantor del pueblo' (the people's singer) with records such as *Vamos gente de mi tierra* (Let's Go, People of My Country), remaining popular until his untimely death in 1985. In the twenty-first century, Primera's songs have been used in various campaigns of President Hugo Chávez, and he was recognized posthumously as national heritage in 2005.

New Song and the Music Industry

New song found its home in live performance at concerts and festivals. The lack of involvement of major record companies in recording and distributing new song throughout Latin America and Spain meant that much of what was recorded was the result of other, often individual initiatives. Recordings made in national countries and by partner/supporters in Europe and North America capture many key events, with much of the funding coming from political sources or left-wing sympathizers. For example, Yolocamba I-ta's *Canto a la patria revolucionaria,* which was recorded in 1981 in Vancouver while they were on tour, was made possible by the Canadian Solidarity Movement and pressed and distributed in 1982 in the Netherlands with support from collective publisher Polypoepka and the El Salvador Komitee Nederland. Much music circulated privately on cassette recordings.

In Chile, the company Dicap (Discoteca del Cantar Popular) was set up by members of the Communist Party/JJCC Young Communists in the late 1960s, its beginnings coming from an initiative by the group Quilayapún, who wanted to press a record to take to an international youth festival, and who were lent money to finance the disc *Por Vietnam* (or *X Vietnam*), with distribution from Pathe Marconi EMI. Home sales were so positive that DICAP was established to record and promote the music of arts during the period of the Allende government. After the 1973 coup the Madrid-based company Movieplay and the French company Le Chant du Monde re-pressed music of the Allende period and new discs made by Chilean musicians. These were distributed throughout the world through the solidarity campaigns, with sales at festivals and concerts. In the later 1970s the small independent Alerce was established in Chile giving support to post-coup *canto nuevo* singers in the military period (for example, in the concerts it organized under the title 'La gran noche del folklore'). Alerce eventually became the recording company of Cuba's Silvio Rodríguez. In Cuba the state record company Egrem brought out key sets of discs by GESI and of Rodríguez and Milanés.

Legacy and Future

With democracy restored after dictatorships throughout most of the continent, the *nueva canción* movement, tied to an era of ideals and struggle and the years of survival under dictatorship, remains influential if less prominent. Among a new generation of musicians, Colombian superstar Juanes confesses to knowing Silvio Rodríguez' songs off by heart in his preteen years, seeing him as a formative influence in his own songwriting, which takes up issues of AIDS and landmines as well as migration, family, love and the concerns of everyday life.

The long-term integrity and commitment of those involved or related to the movement has not been in doubt. In the early 2000s, a number of musicians associated with the movement took up key cultural roles in their national governments. In Cuba, for example, Silvio Rodríguez has served three terms as a member of Cuba's People's Parliament, having in the difficult 1990s supported the island's music industry by helping finance and master-mind the building of the state-of-the-art Abdala recording studios. In Brazil, Gilberto Gil was Minister of Culture in the government of Luiz Inácio Lula (2003–08). In Panama, lawyer, film actor and consummate musician Rubén Blades, who brought new song concerns and values into New York *salsa*, notably through the disc *Buscando America* (Messidor LC 8393), stood for President in 1994 and was Minister of Tourism (2004–) in the government of Martín Torrijo. As Blades has said, 'It's easy to talk, it's another thing to take the risk and give up your comforts and try to do something. The point of Pablo Pueblo [one of his key early songs] was look how this man lives. The point of President Torrijo's government is to say, "Let's change the life of this man and his family: we've moved from protest to proposal"' (quoted in Gurza 2007).

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Nueva Canción Chilena

Nueva canción chilena (Chilean New Song) is a vocal and instrumental genre that emerged in Chile in the mid-1960s in the context of movements for social and political change within the country and beyond. Part of a widespread development which saw similar musical trends develop in Argentina, Uruguay and Cuba in the 1960s, *nueva canción chilena* (hereafter NCC) differentiated itself from those trends by integrating influences from other Latin American countries to a greater and wider extent. NCC articulated influences from the vast Andean territory, from Argentinian *nuevo cancionero*, Uruguayan *canto popular*, Cuban *nueva trova* and the folk music of Colombia, Venezuela and Mexico. In this way, NCC musicians not only manifested the ideal of Latin American integration that was widely present in the 1960s, but also reflected the need felt by Chilean musicians to compensate for the lack of African-derived elements in Chilean culture and the minimal presence of Amerindian influences in Chilean folk music, two elements highly appreciated by NCC musicians.

Another way in which NCC differed from many other popular music genres in Latin America was that instead of developing from a long, marginalized and anonymous historical process, its existence was predicated on the work of specific authors living in Santiago and had become recognized as such within a few years of its inception, ca. 1966. As such, it had to generate its own production system. Because of this, NCC may be seen not as a genre so much as a musical movement, in which an innovative trend in song-making developed and was disseminated alongside social and political trends that were also innovative and progressive. This was a folk-rooted musical practice based on a political and social platform that had more to with propagation or propaganda than with broadcasting songs and artists. It placed ideological intervention above market concerns.

NCC received its name in 1969 after the first of three annual festivals of the *nueva canción* organized by disc jockey Ricardo García in Santiago, but the Latin American musical blending that was one of its basic features had already been developed by Violeta Parra (1917–67), beginning in the early 1960s in her work in Paris, Santiago and Concepción. For example, Parra's famous song 'Gracias a la vida' (Thanks to Life) is based on the *sirilla*, a 6/8 genre of Hispanic origin from the south of Chile, but it was composed and performed on the Bolivian *charango* (a small guitar-type instrument prevalent among indigenous and mestizo musicians in the Andes) which became Violeta Parra's trademark instrument at the time.

A second fundamental characteristic of NCC present from its early stages was its engagement with social content, which was given a political impulse by the election of the left-wing government of Salvador Allende in 1970. NCC's political orientation developed in the early 1970s with the support of universities, political parties and the government. With the military coup of September 1973 and the advent of a right-wing dictatorship under General Augusto Pinochet, NCC musicians went into exile, developing careers in Europe supported by an international movement that sympathized with the Chilean cause. With the return of democracy to Chile in the late 1980s, the exiled musicians also returned, giving back to the country all the experience and recognition they achieved abroad, but also finding a country with different social priorities and a new generation with different musical interests, more oriented toward rock and pop.

Historical Background and Early Development

When folk music of Hispanic origin was absorbed by the incipient musical industry of the 1920s, a mainstream Chilean genre, later called *música típica* (typical music), was born. The upper classes supported *música típica* because it represented the Western, Catholic and white heritage that they wanted to impose in the country. As urban immigration in Chile increased by the mid-twentieth century, *música típica* came to evoke the 'lost paradise' of the countryside. Meanwhile a new trend in folk music was being developed in Chile and elsewhere, a revival of old genres and repertoire from folklore, called in Chile *proyección folklórica* (folk projection).

The incorporation of remote genres into urban music practices in the *proyección folklórica* of the late 1950s introduced figures from rural and marginalized areas of Chilean society who were previously distant from the concerns of performers and listeners. Performers began to favor references to these types of subjects rather than focusing on autobiographical narratives or references to the listener. Such subjects were also absorbed into mass culture in the early 1960s by neofolklore, a musical trend based on vocal arrangements developed by the recording industry to *modernize* folk music for a new youth audience. In presenting such figures, often characterized by quaint, even strange customs, neofolklore revealed a social dimension with which Chilean popular music had hitherto only rarely engaged. NCC songwriters elaborated upon this dimension in songs such as 'Yo canto la diferencia' (I Sing the Difference) (1960) and 'La carta' (The Letter) (1963) by Violeta Parra; 'El arado' (The Plow) (1966), the first of Víctor Jara's epic songs; and *Sueño Americano* (Latin American Dream) (1966), Patricio Manns's conceptual album.

The movement for the integration of the Latin American continent, influential throughout the century at political, economic and cultural levels, manifested itself strongly in the 1950s and 1960s. This heightened the dissemination and adoption in Chile of music from other parts of Latin America and increased exposure in Chile to songs from all over the continent, especially those of Argentinian, Uruguayan and Cuban *cantautores* (singer-songwriters), such as Atahualpa Yupanqui, Daniel Viglietti and Silvio Rodríguez, who were themselves engaged in the renewal of the popular repertoire and traditional song-making of their countries. Venezuelan songs were also in circulation, and the impact of the movement to update Brazilian song through *bossa nova* and the up-and-coming MPB (Brazilian Popular Music) also began to be felt.

Latin American songs had arrived in Paris at a time when the French capital was becoming the European center for Latin American music. When Violeta Parra and her children Ángel and Isabel were living in Paris from 1961 to 1965, they became familiar with this repertoire and took it back to Chile upon their return. Also, the recording, broadcasting and stardom industries of the Southern Cone, which had already been interconnected for two decades, placed at the disposal of the new mass-mediated folklore a network of business people, radio stations, labels and record distributors. These bolstered the circulation of repertoire and local practices throughout the region, but with some difficulties within Chile (see below).

The first NCC ensembles appeared in 1965, at a time when the interest in neofolklore among Chilean youth was at its peak and the music was receiving good press and music industry support. In this environment, the folklore boom served to foster the early development of NCC ensembles. However, as these groups developed more explicit political agendas, and as the political climate within Chile became more polarized, with the country divided in three thirds – right, center and left – the media and much of the music industry ignored them in the late 1960s, leaving NCC musicians to seek to base their continued development on an alternative to the mainstream industry. Meanwhile, by 1968 the folklore boom in Chile had passed its peak, and the *balada romántica* (romantic pop song) and songs in English had reached their apex of popularity, with Italian, French, Spanish and Argentinian singers touring the country.

Aware of the obstacles to mass-market penetration, members of NCC groups maintained their status as university students and in this way received support from their academic and political environment. Both the expansion of NCC and the university reform process were fed by the expectations of change aroused by the program of 'Revolución en Libertad' (Revolution in Freedom) of the Christian-Democrat government of Eduardo Frei (1964–70). These expectations were expressed by the defense of Latin American cultural independence against the cultural uniformity perceived to be encouraged by the United States during the Cold War.

NCC proved itself too radical for Chile's media and music industry, which at that time had settled into a pattern of loyalty to repertoires that had become entrenched, such as *música típica*, or to new phenomena that originated within the music industry, such as neofolklore and the rockabilly trend of *nueva ola* (new wave). For these reasons, NCC not only received low coverage in the specialized press of the 1960s, but also attracted little airplay on radio and television, despite having its own label, Dicap (*Discoteca del Cantar Popular),* which was created by the youth section of the Chilean Communist Party in the late 1960s, and being well represented by EMI Odeon and the local label Demon.

However, even the handful of stations sympathetic to NCC could not ignore the immense popularity of the *balada romántica* in Chile, another obstacle to the dissemination of NCC within the country. By 1971, around 100 of the 134 radio stations in Chile were keeping their distance from President Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular government, an ally of NCC. This further restricted the dissemination of NCC, which was compelled to find its own way. It did so by developing new performance spaces, such as the *peñas folklóricas* (folk clubs); continuing to establish record labels; organizing song festivals; and obtaining funding from government and universities. These accomplishments were achieved with the support of left-wing sectors of society, as well as that of the university environment, where NCC's most loyal artists, fans and promoters could be found. In the early 1970s the fan base widened to include the working classes; later, during Chile's period of political exile (1973–88), it was to extend to a broader audience across Latin America, in the United States and in Europe.

The *peña folklórica* provided an intimate space in which the distance between the performer and the audience was minimized, as in Parisian cabarets of old. *Peñas folklóricas* were managed by the musicians themselves, as were the Chilean *casas de canto* (song houses) of the early twentieth century. They also existed at the universities, which resulted in the institutionalization of the *guitarreo*, a common student activity of getting together around the guitar to sing and play. The informal nature of the *peña folklórica* meant that musicians could interact with their audiences and try out new songs that might later be recorded. Ensembles would also visit the *peñas* in search of new repertoire, approaching the composers directly to ask them for songs that may have been debuted that very night. Some important *peñas* included the *Peña de los Parra in Santiago* (1965), the *Peña de Valparaíso* (1965) and the *Peña de la Universidad Técnica del Estado* also in Santiago (1966).

As of 1969, Dicap was also selling its releases at performances of its artists at *peñas folklóricas*, universities and labor unions, thus setting up an alternative distribution system that had no intermediaries and functioned parallel to the established record industry. Two years later, the label IRT (the nationalized form of RCA) began following the same model. Judging by the accounts of people who remember the peak period of NCC and by media reports of the day (González, Ohlsen and Rolle 2009, 110–11), Dicap had built up a constant flow of production and a wide distribution network by the early 1970s. In this way, because NCC was primarily disseminated through live performance and in cultural and political circles (rather than through commercial means), enjoyed little radio and television airplay and eschewed the star system in favor of the songsmith, it did not fit well into the concept of popular music as it had been conceived in the twentieth century. Instead, it was more akin to folkloric and art music, which were similarly restricted at the level of distribution.

The catalyst for the consolidation of NCC as a movement was provided by disc jockey Ricardo García, who decided to quit hosting the *Festival de la Canción de Viña del Mar* (1960) because he was unhappy with its commercial nature and its poor engagement with folklore. In 1969 García obtained funding from the Department of Cultural Activities at the Universidad Católica de Chile to organize the first NCC festival. There were two programs on separate stages, one in the gymnasium of the Catholic University and one in the Chile Stadium. This festival, which took place on three occasions up to 1971, was not associated with the music industry or the press, was not sponsored by any radio station, label or publication, and did not have industry representatives to vouch for it. These factors enabled the festival to break with the prevailing idea that song festivals ought to be competitive and commercial. Instead, it created an alternative platform for the professionalization of this music, which helped consolidate it as a movement that was to prove of central importance in the subsequent history of popular music in Chile and Latin America.

Musical and Lyrical Characteristics

NCC's development included input from both solo artists and instrumental groups. The solo artists composed their own songs and later came to be known as *cantautores* (singer-songwriters). They also performed each other's as well as songs by additional Chilean and Latin American singer-songwriters and from folklore. Chilean *cantautoría* (singing-songwriting) of the 1960s had its roots in rural peasant song and poetry, drawing from the Argentine and Uruguayan *cantautoría* of the time but also developing its own characteristics based on many different influences, local as well as from a number of Latin American countries, as we have seen. Along with Violeta Parra, the most important artists were

Patricio Manns (1937), who was also well known as a writer; Víctor Jara (1932–73), who was also a theater director and artistic director of NCC groups; Rolando Alarcón (1929–73), a school teacher and a folk researcher; Isabel Parra (b. 1939) and Ángel Parra (b. 1943), children of Violeta Parra and active promoters of NCC; and from the port city of Valparaíso, Osvaldo 'Gitano' Rodríguez (1943–96) and Gonzalo 'Payo' Grondona (b. 1945).

Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara came from different creative spheres but shared a common interest in imbuing popular music with Chilean and Latin American folklore, experimenting with language and intertwining music with drama and dance. Violeta Parra took the first step in the late 1950s with her five 'Anticuecas' for solo guitar, which incorporated a modern harmonic language, and her 12-minute-long 'El gavilán' for guitar and voice. Víctor Jara took the second step with 'Doncella encantada' (1962), an innovative dance piece for two guitars.

In their songs, Chilean *cantautores* made little use of local folk genres, instead delving into wider Latin American repertoire to find new genres that they could blend with total freedom. Familiar with the hegemonic 6/8 + 3/4 pattern from Chilean folklore, they adopted genres that had a similar meter, such as the Argentine *zamba,* the Paraguayan *guarania* and the Mexican *huapango*. Another characteristic feature of their songs was the use of Dorian, Aeolian and Mixolydian modes, also present in folklore. In addition, the links between Chile and Cuba in the 1970s allowed the *cantautores* to learn about Cuban genres, such as the *son* and the *guaracha*, and incorporate these into their songs. Both the Chilean *cantautores* and the NCC groups also broadened their repertoire with songs from the Mexican Revolution and the Spanish Civil War.

While Chilean *cantautores* supported and collaborated with one another and, because they lived off their work, were able to establish NCC as a professional option, NCC ensembles by contrast were student groups who only turned their work into a profession after they went into exile. The main ensembles of NCC were Quilapayún (formed in 1965), Inti-illimani (formed in 1967 at the Universidad Técnica del Estado during the reform process), Aparcoa (1966), Amerindios (1969) and Illapu (1970) from Antofagasta. Most of their names are in indigenous languages as an expression of empathy with the native peoples of Latin America. All of them wore *ponchos*, a distinctive clothing of the native people of the Americas. These groups participated in a circuit of university folk clubs, university theaters and political meetings. For the first time, radio shows – still active in Chile in the late 1960s, but with a format related to the star system – were not an option for a Chilean band.

The histories of each of these groups were intertwined with that of the NCC and involved permanent dialogues with the *cantautores* in terms of aesthetics, ideology and production. NCC groups were supported by the professional *cantautores*, who served as their artistic directors and taught them to play Latin American instruments and songs, and by composers who wrote and arranged for them. Some of the groups' members were music students, placing an emphasis on the development of the instrumental side of the music and the arrangements and constantly pursuing innovation and diversity. Group members managed their own artistic careers, placing political and artistic interests above commercial ones.

The NCC groups injected new energy into folklore-based popular music in Chile, taking neofolklore's use of the guitar to new levels and adding many Latin American instruments to their ensemble, with a clear Andean primacy. They used cordophones such as the Bolivian *charango* (ten double-string lute), Colombian *tiple* (guitar with four triple strings), Venezuelan *cuatro* (small guitar with four single strings) and Mexican *guitarrón* (large guitar with six single strings used as double bass)*;* aerophones such as the Andean *quena* (end-notch flute) and *zampoña* (double panpipe) and Ecuadorean *rondador* (single panpipe); and membranophones and idiophones from all over Latin America.

Though the Andean region encompasses a wide variety of local cultures and languages, the Andean mountains themselves have served as a natural path to integrate that diversity. This first happened during the Inca Empire (1438–1533), which built roads to link its expansive territories; and then during the Spanish colonial era (1533–1810), whose rulers used the same Inca roads to administer their own empire. In time, these roads would also allow interaction among dominated Andean cultures. The Inca and the Spanish thus transformed the Andes into the dorsal spine of South America, through which both Quechua and Catholic influences spread. These influences come from the common threads of the music and culture of a vast region, which covers the north of Chile and Argentina, most of Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador, and the south of Colombia. As a consequence, throughout this whole area we find descending pentatonic scales, predominant binary rhythms, speeding cadential tempos, common indigenous, mestizo and Western instruments, the practice of Carnival, and the worship of the Virgin Mary and patron saints.

The features of Andean music running through NCC symbolized social and cultural unity in Latin America and the championing of indigenous expression. For international audiences, Andean music acted as a major signifier of Latin America in general and little by little it came to be adopted by the NCC groups. A *charango*, a *bombo* (Argentinian bass drum) and a *quena* were all that was needed to play a vast repertoire that drew nations together and demonstrated solidarity with those excluded from modernity. What is more, Andean music served as the central core of Latin American music as a whole in terms of its performance in Europe or the United States to a public interested in the traditions of the continent.

The vocal ensemble of NCC was more robust and had a more homophonic texture than that of neofolklore since it did away with the soloist, in this way creating a collective and cohesive sound that reflected the concept of unity of the people promoted by the NCC groups. Just as neofolklore groups such as Los Cuatro Cuartos and Las Cuatro Brujas from the early 1960s became known for their vocal arrangements, NCC groups became known for their instrumental arrangements. Their members not only played the many different Latin American instruments named above, they also used them in two ways: by following traditional practice and by exploring new uses and sonorities. In this way, the ensembles – following the lead of Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara – developed fusions of Latin American practices, genres and instruments to produce the distinctive sound that constituted an important aspect of NCC's legacy.

Jara's instrumental work 'La partida' (The Farewell) for instance, recorded by Inti-illimani in 1972, is scored for *quena*, *charango*, two *tiples*, two standard guitars, *bombo*, tambourine, maracas, claves and tubular bells, mainly instruments of Andean, Creole and Caribbean origins. Jara also uses this unusual blending of instruments from different cultural settings in a non-idiomatic fashion. In this work, we find harmonic pedals and chromatic harmony, and the use of harmony as instrumental color. This modernist impulse in the development of a popular music with folk roots is another central feature of NCC thoroughly developed by groups such as Quilapayún in the 1980s.

As early as 1966, Patricio Manns, in his position as writer and analyst of the Chilean musical scene in the press, took on the task of elucidating the principles that were NCC's main source of inspiration, and published a sort of manifesto in the youth magazine *Ritmo*. In his text, Manns proclaimed the importance of improving the quality of songs being written within the country and endorsed a new movement in Chilean music that would work toward this goal. Manns called for songs to exhibit greater depth and meaning, but without compromising the new opportunities created by the commercial success of neofolklore. Singers were admonished to turn their gaze to their surroundings in order to take up topics specific to Chile.

The emphasis on the poetic quality of the songs encouraged NCC musicians to set existing Chilean and Latin American poetry to music, but also to write lyrics of poetic content themselves. They continued the focus on rural and marginalized figures who had been a central feature of neofolklore, but placed greater emphasis on details of their marginalized condition. The setting of the song moved to the extremes of the country, a land of inclement weather, and into the outskirts of the city. In those extreme settings, a working-class or a mestizo subject was presented struggling for better living conditions. NCC musicians also wrote love songs, articulating love and social commitment, and songs engaging with the political issues of their time.

Relationships

The NCC movement was also involved in theater and the visual arts, developing its own progressive aesthetic within mass culture. Graphic design acquired new social meaning with the development of posters that became collectibles within youth culture, incorporating references to Californian hippie culture and Cuban political pamphlets. In Chile, one important graphic arts workshop was that of Vicente and Antonio Larrea, who, between 1967 and 1973 produced approximately 120 record covers for Dicap, 300 poster designs and numerous photographs of NCC artists, giving expression to their new style of design. This style incorporated elements of Pop Art, Psychedelic Art, Social Realism and high-contrast photography, as well as local influences including political muralism, primitive xylographic designs and historical photography.

As part of its mingling with the artistic world, a central element to understanding the NCC phenomenon was the relationship that it established between popular musicians and conservatory-trained composers, be it in the form of mutual learning opportunities or ideological commonalities. The focal point of this intersection was the Escuela Musical Vespertina (Vespers Music School) of the University of Chile (1966–73). People of all ages with no prior musical education could attend classes given by the main composers of the time. Material that normally took long years of study at the conservatory was taught intensively at the Escuela Musical Vespertina, in accordance with popular musicians' ability to learn quickly and with their status as mature students.

Eager to broaden their audiences and incorporate elements into their music that would link them with society in a more direct manner, three Chilean composers of the mid-twentieth-century generation – Gustavo Becerra (1925–2010), Luis Advis (1935–2004) and Sergio Ortega (1938–2003) – entered into productive relationships with NCC. In the late 1960s these composers began producing large-scale popular works, often in collaboration with NCC groups. The performance of these works allowed for new levels of interaction between the oral and the written and between the creative process and performance, establishing a new means of working that has continued to be used in Chile into the twenty-first century.

The preferred format for these works was the revived Italian secular cantata of the end of the seventeenth century – with its arias, duets, recitatives and choral textures – which had been brought back by Neoclassical composers of the 1920s. Thus, at the end of the 1960s, a process began that brought an antiquated musical form, already revived by concert music, closer to popular music, using it to relate historical events and pay tribute to well-known figures within the artistic and political worlds. The first of these works, and the most important because of its staying power and subsequent influence, was the cantata *Santa María del Iquique* (1970) by Luis Advis and the group Quilapayún. Other major works included *Canto general* (1970), a setting of Pablo Neruda texts by the group Aparcoa; *La fragua* (The Forge [1972]) by Sergio Ortega; and *Canto para una semilla* (Song for a Seed [1972]) by Luis Advis, based on texts by Violeta Parra, performed by Inti-illimani and Isabel Parra.

Within this climate of affiliation with art, popular musicians moved decisively toward the creation of instrumental music with high levels of sophistication. Three factors came together in the rise of instrumental music within the context of NCC: the existence of instrumental music in Andean culture, which fed strongly into the NCC movement, as we have seen, and appeared in the work of Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara; the use of instrumental music as incidental music for theater and dance; and the exploration of the possibilities of the guitar, NCC's central instrument.

Because of its receptiveness to songs from all over Latin America and its affinity with the world of art, NCC acquired cultural and learned overtones. This, along with its links with oppositional political ideologies of the 1960s, attracted the attention of intellectual circles, both within Chile and abroad. In this way, even though NCC did not achieve mass acceptance in the way *música típica* did, for example, with the passage of time it became the source of more written discourse and reflection than any other popular music of Chile.

Scholarship

From the book by Fernando Barraza (1972) to this Encyclopedia, several articles, dissertations, and autobiographic, journalistic and academic books have been published in Chile, France, Great Britain, United States, Spain, Italy and elsewhere on Chilean New Song and its artists. Musicology, history, sociology, cultural studies, literature and journalism have joined in an effort to elucidate the musical, literary, social, political, cultural and historical features of NCC. Figures such as Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara have been the most studied both in Chile and abroad during the exile and after the return of democracy.

A comprehensive study of the life and musical style of Víctor Jara was published in a collective book (Acevedo et al. 1996), while some articles published by *Revista Musical Chilena* since the 1990s include musical analytical approaches to the work of Violeta Parra. Books on the other NCC artists, such as Quilapayún (Carrasco 1988), Inti-illimani (Cifuentes 1989) and Isabel Parra (Parra 2003), are mostly autobiographical. A musical study of the features of NCC was published by Luis Advis (1998) and studies on its relation to art music, rock and folklore were published by Becerra (1985), Salas (2003) and González et al. (2009) respectively. Studies on the industry that supported NCC are found in Bravo et al. (2009), Castillo et al. (2006), González et al. (2009) and Larrea et al. (1997).

Later Developments

The military coup of 1973 led to the death of Víctor Jara as a prisoner in the Chile Stadium of Santiago (a gymnasium, since 2004 called Víctor Jara Stadium) and the exile of all other NCC artists. Until the late 1970s, these artists engaged in political activism abroad and fully expected to return home. New groups were created, but they did not last long. By the early 1980s, the exiled NCC artists, especially the Parra brothers and Quilapayún in France and Inti-illimani in Italy had begun to 'unpack their bags' and integrate into the European circuit. In this way, they continued to work on the project of developing and renewing folklore that they had begun in Chile, and in so doing reached high levels of artistic development.

During their exile in Europe (1973–89), Inti-illimani and Quilapayún continued the process of extending folk roots, begun in Chile in the early 1960s, by incorporating Mediterranean influences, especially from Italy and Spain, into the mix. This unexpected expansion of Latin American roots, emphasizing the search for universals of folklore (something that ethnomusicology had already tried to systematize in the 1970s), needed to be justified only to the musicians themselves and not to the far-away Chilean public. Both Inti-illimani and Quilapayun augmented their own repertoires, inviting classical and popular musicians to create, perform and record with them. These groups achieved full recognition in the European scene of the 1980s, doing so with the support of an international audience base that sympathized with the Chilean political cause, and to which the musicians offered their synthesis of Latin American music and highly professional performances. The theme of exile entered their repertoire in songs such as 'Vuelvo' (I'm Coming Back) by Inti-illimani, 'Ni toda la tierra entera' (Not Even the Whole Earth) by Isabel Parra, 'Cuando me acuerdo de mi país' (When I Remember My Country) by Patricio Manns and 'Vuelvo para vivir' (I'm Coming Back to Live Here), by Illapu.

With the end of Pinochet's dictatorship in 1988, most of these exiled artists returned to Chile, where they were warmly received by their home audience and reintegrated into Chile's cultural life. However, new social, cultural and political scenarios and the changed musical orientations of the new generation (more toward pop-rock) left NCC singer-songwriters and groups without the media coverage and the public attention that they deserved. The new century brought an unexpected situation for the two main NCC groups: a division due to internal conflicts. One part of Quilapayún remained in Paris and the other in Santiago. All Inti-illimani musicians remained in Chile, but they too were divided, in two groups: Inti-illimani and Inti-illimani histórico (Historical Inti-illimani).

A new way of understanding folk roots was to mark the renewal of the national music scene in the first decade of the twenty-first century, continuing the trend of Chilean musicians and public of incorporating world music into their practice and consumption. Those responsible were a third generation of Chilean singer-songwriters, who came on the scene in the 1990s, such as Francisco Villa (b. 1967), Manuel Garcia (b. 1970), Chinoy (b. 1983), Nano Stern (b. 1985) and Camila Moreno (b. 1985), among others. For these *cantautores*, folk roots do not need their own particular land or soil; rather they are *hydroponically* fed by a mediated and universal folklore. With this generation, roots began to be a personal choice rather than a collective heritage, generating social networks of personal choices that find in music its most effective medium to knit communities from margins and divergence.

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Nuevo Cancionero (Argentina)

The Movimiento del Nuevo Cancionero (New Songbook Movement) originated in Argentina in the early 1960s, leading to the creation of music that was widely disseminated in subsequent decades to the rest of Latin America and the Caribbean. The movement was initiated by a group of poets and musicians, joined later by singer-songwriters and folklore-oriented groups. Movements with similar characteristics appeared in Uruguay and Chile (*nueva canción chilena*); in Paraguay, Nicaragua and Mexico there emerged the so-called *canción testimonial* and in Cuba the *nueva trova*. All these movements shared an opposition to musical production that followed the logic of pure commercialism and expressed a left-wing ideological posture within the historical context of revolutionary movements in Latin America during the twentieth century.

In Argentina, the historical context in which the *nuevo cancionero* movement developed was marked by the ideological struggle between diverse social groups with opposing views about the country's economical and political future, a struggle which crossed over into the intellectual and cultural spheres. It was also a period in which, internationally, the effects of the Cold War had repercussions in Latin America. In the mid-1970s in Argentina, the political struggle resulted in a violent escalation, ending in a new *coup d'état* that brought to power a right-wing military dictatorship, which ruled from 1976 to 1983. During this period, the majority of the musicians who represented the *nuevo cancionero* movement and were involved in political activities suffered from systematic censorship and persecution, which led them to exile in various European countries.

The Goals of *Nuevo Cancionero*

In 1963 in the town of Mendoza, a group of Argentinian musicians, poets and composers wrote and published the *Manifiesto Fundacional del Movimiento del Nuevo Cancionero* (Manifesto for the Foundation of the *Nuevo Cancionero* Movement). In this document they articulated their position in favor of the defense of freedom of expression and formulated the basis for the renovation of popular music, exhorting artists and intellectuals to work together to find better means of aesthetic expression. The *Manifiesto* envisions 'la búsqueda de una música nacional de raíz popular, que exprese al país en su totalidad humana regional' ('the search for a national music with popular roots that expresses the country in its human and regional totality'). The search was to include subjects that reflected the sociocultural and political reality of the Latin American citizen of that time, with an emphasis on national and popular issues.

In the *Manifiesto*, the group criticized the so-called '*nueva ola*' (new wave) music that was currently being produced by the recording and television industry. From the perspective of the *nuevo cancionero* movement, *nueva ola*, which was strongly influenced by Western rock and pop, demonstrated a banal life style disconnected from the political militancy of young people that was characteristic of the 1960s and 1970s.

Members of the *nuevo cancionero* group included musicians Oscar Matus, Mercedes Sosa, Tito Francia and poets Armando Tejada Gómez, Pedro Tusoli and Eduardo Aragón among others. They were joined later by other poets and musicians, among them Hamlet Lima Quintana, Ariel Petrocelli, Antonio Nella Castro, Ramón Navarro, Daniel Toro, César Isella, Horacio Guarany, Chito Zeballos, Dúo Salteño, Gustavo Leguizamón and Manuel Castilla. During the years of the military dictatorship many of these artists, who were political activists and were deeply involved in and affiliated with the Communist party, disseminated the politically charged 'canción testimonial' (testimonial song), which was representative of the policies of the movement, in solidarity concerts in Bolivia, Peru, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Cuba, El Salvador, Russia, Germany, France, Holland, Sweden and Italy. Among the Argentinian singers and composers admired for their continued expression of the testimonial song genre are León Gieco and Víctor Heredia.

Stylistic Features

In terms of composition, *nuevo cancionero* musicians chose to break away from the inherited molds of traditional folkloric music, which, although respected as part of the people's culture, they considered outdated. The new movement provided the opportunity to explore new harmonies and instrumental ensembles in ways that demonstrated a convergence between traditional and modern elements.

In the subjects it explored *nuevo cancionero* turned its gaze upon those sectors of society that had been absent in the *tango* of Buenos Aires or in traditional folklore. The texts explicitly denounced child labor and the exploitation of *zafra* (sugar cane) workers, miners, lumberjacks, artisans and fishermen who represented the invisible majorities in the inland provinces of the country and who were ignored by state policies and isolated by the metropolis and the mass media. Songs about these issues included Tejada Gómez and Matus's 'La zafrera' (The [female] Harvester) and 'Los hombres del río'(The River Men) (both recorded by Mercedes Sosa in 1961, predating the *Manifiesto*), Antonio Nella Castro and Hilda Herrera's 'Zamba del Chaguanco' (also recorded by Sosa) and Aníbal Sampayo's 'Peoncito del mandiocal'(The Little Peon of the Cassava Plantation) (recorded by Jorge Cafrune and by Chilean musicians Víctor Jara and Quilapayún, among others).

Not only was it viewed as necessary to renovate poetic and musical aspects through the *nuevo cancionero*, but singing itself also became a strategy to defend the constitutional freedom and right to free expression that was silenced by the military dictatorships affecting the entire region, in Argentina and beyond. Composers who were close to the movement referenced the guerrillas and land reform or decried their enforced clandestinity. Examples include Atahualpa Yupanqui's 'Le tengo rabia al silencio' (I Am Angry at the Silence), Horacio Guarany's 'Si se calla el cantor' (If the Singer Falls Silent) and Daniel Viglietti's 'A desalambrar' (Take Down the Fences), 'Canción nueva,' 'Declaración de amor a Nicaragua' (Declaration of Love For Nicaragua) and 'Canto libre.' In addition, the poems from many countries that fitted the movement's ideals – by, for example, Pablo Neruda, José Martí, Miguel Hernández, Nicomedes Santa Cruz and Mario Benedetti – were set to music and spread all over the world. These artists shared their political activism in defense of the ideologies of Latin American liberation and most of them were members of the Communist Party.

Musically, the *nueva canción* genre, in its various local manifestations throughout Latin America, employed the characteristic rhythms of Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia, Peru (*zamba, milonga, chacarera, wayno, cuecas, candombe, tonada*) and the Caribbean (*son*, *guaracha* and *guajira*). In *nuevo cancionero,* for the first time, songs outside of the folk and indigenous traditions also included the aboriginal languages of the region (Toba, Guaraní, Quechua, Aymara and Mapuche). In addition, both Argentinian *nuevo cancionero* groups such as Huerque Mapu and *nueva canción chilena* groups such as Quilapayún and Inti-illimani 'rescued' the vernacular instruments of the indigenous and *criollo* populations of their countries, including, for example, *quena* and *pincullo* (both Andean flutes), *rondador* (panpipes from Ecuador), *moxeño* (Bolivian flute), *charango* (Andean lute), *guitarrón* (Mexican guitar), *cuatro venezolano* (Venezuelan guitar), along with other instruments including the Cuban *tiple*, the harmonica and the Paraguayan harp. Forms that allow for more extended narration, such as the cantata and the mass, also become fashionable. Examples from Argentina include Huerque Mapu's 'Cantata montonera' and Félix Luna and Ariel Ramírez' 'Cantata sudamericana' (1971, recorded by Mercedes Sosa in 1972).

Conclusion

The *nuevo cancionero* movement took on continental dimensions. For example, the *nueva canción chilena*, represented by Víctor Jara, Ángel and Isabel Parra, Luis Advis, and influenced by Violeta Parra, was closely linked to the Argentinian phenomenon. Festivals were held in those countries where the best exponents of Latin American popular song were found, resulting in recordings and mass media diffusion. In the 1980s and 1990s in Argentina, singer-songwriters Víctor Heredia and León Gieco, both of whom had been the victims of censorship and persecution, reemerged, continuing the composition of songs in the spirit of social commitment, also becoming strongly connected to Mercedes Sosa. The songs of these and others fill the repertoire created by the *nuevo cancionero* movement, which continues to be relevant in the twenty-first century, thanks to its ability to become an obligatory referent to express feelings against neoliberal capitalism and to show support for ideas of equal distribution of wealth. In addition, these are emblematic songs in mobilizations around social and cultural issues, as well as symbols of the memory of those who died or disappeared for their political militancy during the dictatorships that plagued South America in the 1970s.

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NANCY M. SÁNCHEZ (TRANSLATED BY
ZUZANA PICK WITH PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

Nuevo Cancionero (Paraguay)

Highly cultivated in the 1970s and 1980s and developed in stylistic parallel with the Argentine *nuevo cancionero* (new songbook) and Chilean *nueva canción* (new song) which inspired it, the Paraguayan *nuevo cancionero* movement denounced social injustice and oppression through texts set to the music of the various Paraguayan traditional musical genres – *guarania, polca canción, rasguido doble* – as well as other forms such as the ballad and the march. While some performers choose to explain the *nuevo cancionero* as a musical genre in and of itself, others view it as part of a larger Latin American movement propagating a voice of social protest.

From the mid-1970s to the late 1980s, texts by Paraguayan intellectuals and poets such as José Luis Appleyard (1927–98), Juan Manuel Marcos (b. 1950), Augusto Roa Bastos (1917–2005), Elvio Romero (1926–2004), Rudi Torga (1938–2002) and Carlos Villagra Marsal (b. 1932) were set to music by harpist César Cataldo (b. 1951), and singer-songwriters Rolando Chaparro (b. 1965), Félix Roberto ‘Maneco’ Galeano (1945–80), Jorge Garbett (b. 1954), Carlos Noguera (b. 1950), Guillermo Sequera (b. 1948) and others. Texts by Maneco Galeano and Carlos Noguera epitomized the essence of the Paraguayan *nuevo cancionero*. For calling out against the social injustice that characterized Paraguayan society during the dictatorship of President Alfredo Stroessner (1912–2006) and promoting change within the hearts of the people, two songs in particular, ‘Despertar’ (Awakening) by Galeano and ‘Canto de esperanza’ (Song of Hope) by Noguera, have become representative pieces of the repertoire. Galeano and Noguera also co-composed ‘Al caído en la víspera’ (To the Fallen [One] on this Eve), later known as ‘Víctor libre’ (Free Victor), a composition dedicated to Chilean *nueva canción* singer-songwriter Víctor Jara, who was murdered in 1973 during the *coup d'état* in Chile. In the midst of police control and government regulations, *nuevo cancionero* musicians performed at popular music festivals sponsored by university student organizations or young adult groups within the Catholic Church. Frequently, these popular festivals were canceled before or in the middle of performances.

Paying tribute to the figure of Maneco Galeano and his contribution to the Paraguayan repertoire, Juan Manuel Marcos published a study and an analysis of the singer-songwriter, which recognizes at least four major aspects of his literary output: lyricism, epic themes, satire and pictorial or descriptive subjects (Marcos 1995, 7). Although the chosen group of texts exemplifies the work of Galeano, they also reflect the approach and source of inspiration of other Paraguayan poets and composers working within the *nuevo cancionero* movement. Juglares, Sembrador, Vocal dos and other musical groups that embraced the movement employed traditional folk instruments from Paraguay and Latin America (accordion, *bandoneón*, *bombo leguero*, *charango*, guitar, panpipes and Paraguayan harp), as well as others such as violin, cello, electric guitar and bass, drums and synthesizers. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Paraguayan *nuevo cancionero* songs served as the voice of college students and young professionals who witnessed and wished to express concern over the social unrest and political distress of the times in Paraguay. The movement essentially dissolved after 1989, when a *coup d'état* ended the 35 years of military government, forcing President Stroessner into exile. In the early twenty-first century some groups, such as Vocal Dos, continue to participate in folk music festivals and give recitals benefiting social causes or paying tribute to popular musicians.

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ALFREDO COLMAN

Nyabinghi

Nyabinghi is primarily a drum and vocal music of the Jamaican Rastafarian religion that started in Jamaica in the 1930s. Nyabinghi music, which emerged in the 1940s, provided the Rastafarian religion with its own neo-African form of music for spiritual and religious functions, and it was also influential in the emergence and development of ska and reggae (see, for example, Clarke 1980, 36, 52–70; White 1984, 64–5). Jamaican Rastafarian drummer Oswald 'Count Ossie' Williams and other musicians created nyabinghi by combining elements from existing traditional and popular musics with a central role devoted to African-derived ensemble drumming. Nyabinghi drumming has been featured on some Jamaican recordings which achieved significant public prominence, notably the Folkes Brothers' 'Oh Carolina' (1960), the first recording to expose Rastafarian drumming to a mainstream audience. Since the 1990s, nyabinghi-influenced drumming has been featured in dancehall recordings by Anthony B (Keith Blair) and others, but nyabinghi itself has never become an internationally popular style in its own right.

Background and Origins

Rastafarianism is both a belief system and a social movement. It is rooted in Ethiopianism (an ideological movement based on biblical portrayals of Egypt and Ethiopia as the source of human civilization), the Pan-Africanist philosophy of the influential

Jamaica-born writer and orator Marcus Garvey, and many Christian elements (Barrett 1977a, 76–80). Its principle tenet is that Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie was God incarnate (see bibliography for analyses of Rastafarianism). In 1930, Ras Tafari was crowned emperor of Ethiopia, and took on the name 'Haile Selassie' (might of the Trinity) (Barrett 1977a, 80). Between 1930 and 1933, four of Garvey's followers (Leonard Howell, Joseph Hibbert, Archibald Dunkley and Robert Hinds) founded separate groups claiming to have received information that Haile Selassie was the Messiah of black people. They began to develop what became Rastafarianism, a blend of Garvey's ideology with Christian fundamentalist beliefs (Barrett 1977a, 81, 4).

When Rastafarianism began in the 1930s in the hills of St. Catherine Parish, east of the capital city of Kingston, Rastas (i.e., Rastafarians) had no unique music (Reckford 1977, 7). They sang Pukkumina/Revival hymns (a Jamaican syncretic mixture of Christian hymns with dominant neo-African performance practices) accompanied by hand-clapping, shakers and rhumba boxes, but many Rastas were uncomfortable with the European style of these hymns (Reckford 1977, 7). Most were Jamaican adaptations chosen from the mass of late nineteenth-century Protestant hymnody, some of it with roots back to the eighteenth-century British hymn writers such as Isaac Watts and Charles Wesley, others with origins in the plethora of US revival movements such as that led by Dwight Moody and Ira Sankey (Miller 1989, 406).

Rastafarian music emerged in the 1940s with Rasta drummer Count Ossie cited most frequently as the central inspiration for what became its musical and ideological features (Katz 2003). When first created, Rastafarian music had no name and was simply called 'Rasta music.'

The origins of the term 'nyabinghi' are obscure. According to Barrett (1977a, 121), it was the name of an East African religio-political cult (from an unidentified country) that resisted colonial domination between the late 1800s and the late 1920s, but there is no agreement about the true meaning of the term or its actual origins. Sometime between 1930 and 1950 the term was first used in Jamaica to name weekly or monthly Rastafarian meetings held to discuss and solve problems, usually beginning with prayers and chants. By the mid-1970s the term 'nyabinghi' had emerged to refer to a number of related Rastafarian ideas, including a religious gathering (similar to a convention, lasting from 1 to 7 days, also called a grounation). The word was also thought by some to mean 'death to the black and white oppressors.' Its application to the music and dance performed at grounations did not appear until sometime in the early 1980s. At this time, for no documented reason, 'nyabinghi' came to refer to both Rasta music and dance; 'grounation' became the preferred term to refer to Rasta meetings and large gatherings.

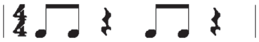
To create nyabinghi music, Count Ossie combined Buru (or Burru) drumming (a neo-African style practiced in St Catherine Parish) with Kumina music (a Jamaican adaptation of West African religion and ritual practices). He also added elements from jazz, mento and Jonkonnu – a Jamaican neo-African music and dance tradition that combines parading, miming, fife and drums, synthesizing elements from West African harvest festivals and British Mumming traditions practiced during the Christmas season (Ryman 1984a, 1984b; White 1984, 63–4; Wynter 1970). By the early 1950s, however, nyabinghi possessed both Kumina and Buru characteristics, but was more than simply the sum of these parts; it had become a new style of its own (Bilby 1995, 162–3).

In the 1950s and early 1960s Count Ossie and his drummers performed at grounations, community events and public venues, mostly in Kingston's Trenchtown area. These performances were attended by many musicians who became prominent in the emergence of ska, rocksteady and reggae. Musicians cite these performances – which often turned into late-night jam sessions – as seminal in the development of ska (see, for example, Foehr 2000, 88–91; Reckford 1977, 1998; Neely 2008, 11, 302; White 1982b, 39; 1984, 57–8, 62–4).

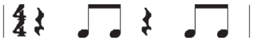
Musical Characteristics

Early nyabinghi music consisted primarily of singing accompanied by hand drums. In the 1950s guitar, wind instruments, bass and drum set were incorporated (Carbone 2007). Count Ossie's Trenchtown jam sessions often included saxophone, trumpet, trombone, guitars, harmonica, graters and other percussion (Reckford 1977, 3).

Nyabinghi hand drums were adapted from three Buru instruments. While there are few detailed accounts of Buru music in the literature, it is generally believed to be a Jamaican version of West African hand drumming. Musicologists note that Buru rhythmic patterns are often identical to those found in Revival drumming and nyabinghi, the drums themselves are virtually identical to nyabinghi drums, and the same names are used. Some commentators claim that Buru drums, themselves, are Jamaican versions of Ghanaian Ashanti talking drums: *atumpan* (high lead), *apentemma* (alto) and *petia* (bass) (White 1982a, 27; Foehr 2001, 44). The three corresponding nyabinghi drums are repeater (high-pitched), fundeh (mid-pitched) and bass drum (low-pitched). The fundeh plays a steady 'heartbeat' pattern, in two variations: (a) 'churchical' (see Example 1) for religious chants and (b) 'heartical' (see Example 2) – for secular songs.



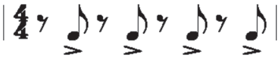
Example 1: Churchical pattern



Example 2: Heartical pattern

The bass drum plays fundeh *ostinato* patterns with rhythmic variations. The repeater has total rhythmic freedom, playing complex counter-rhythms with many timbral variations (Reckford 1977, 8).

Drum patterns and performance styles are interpreted symbolically. The bass drum represents the beating down of oppression. The repeater defies or protests against the rigid bass pattern, and the fundeh's regularity is a balance between these two – a rational 'head' that keeps the peace by playing figures influenced by the other two drums (Reckford 1977, 8–10; 1998, 244–5, 249). Offbeats, or 'afterbeats,' are generally played louder than onbeats, along with consistent accents. Jamaican musicologist Garth White and American musicologist and reggae bassist Luke Ehrlich suggest using 'afterbeat' instead of 'offbeat' for the consistently accented sounds that appear in-between beats in Jamaican folk, religious and popular music (White 1982c, 38; Ehrlich 1982, 55). Afterbeats range from single pitches to full chords, and they sustain the harmony of the preceding beat rather than anticipating the harmony of the following beat (see 'Reggae' entry for a detailed rationale for using 'afterbeat' instead of other terms). A notable characteristic of afterbeats is that they are consistently louder and heavier than sounds on the beats; see Example 3.



Example 3: Afterbeat accents

Nyabinghi afterbeat accents are displayed in dance and movement styles (discussed below) and are characterized by short, percussive sounds performed by instruments or voices.

Most nyabinghi songs are either based on Revival hymns or composed in a similar style employing neo-African rhythms, call-and-response refrains and open-ended, interactive structures (McCarthy 2007, 164). Most lyrics are adapted from, or similar to, the Christian hymns upon which most songs are derived, with an emphasis on Jamaican Creole linguistic expressions and Rastafarian imagery and metaphors. Adapted songs are often truncated and involve the repetition of short phrases along with the addition of improvisatory West African-styled ornamentation, asides and responses – a mixture of spontaneity and an underlying plan (Witmer 1995, 28). In terms of vocal style, the timbre, rhythmic and melodic approach is distinctly non-European, showing influences from West African, African-American and Jamaican folk practices, dominated by overlapping parts performed in a communal, participatory manner. Melodies utilize the major hexatonic scale (without the leading tone), major and minor pentatonic scales and the diatonic major scale (Rouse 2000, 234–8).

In the late 1950s and early 1960s some of the earliest Jamaican popular music recordings used the heartical groove and nyabinghi percussion (Barrow and Dalton 2001, 24; Hebdige 1990, 58–61; Katz 2003, 34; White 1984, 64–5). Also, the Folkes Brothers' 'Oh Carolina' (1960) – featuring Count Ossie performing Buru drumming – was popular at DJ dances. The success of these recordings paved the way for others to proclaim an African musical identity (Katz 2003, 34; see also Bradley 2000, 61–3).

The 1970s and 1980s saw releases by Count Ossie and the Mystical Revelation of Rastafari (*Grounation* – 1973), The Light of Saba (*The Light of Saba* – 1974) and Ras Michael and the Sons of Negus (*Peace and Love + Nyahbinghi* – 1974), although none of these recordings achieved mainstream exposure or significant commercial success. In the 1990s dancehall artists Anthony B (Keith Blair), Buju Banton (Mark Anthony Myrie), Capleton (Clifton George Bailey), Luciano (Jepther McClymont), Prezident Brown (Fitzroy Cotterell) and Sizzla (Manuel Collins) all released recordings that featured nyabinghi-influenced drumming and achieved strong mainstream exposure and commercial success (see Discographical References for representative recordings). One of the biggest international successes was a remake of 'Oh Carolina' by Shaggy (Orville Richard Burrell) in 1993.

Nyabinghi Dancing

Nyabinghi movements – exemplified by Bob Marley's performance style – include emphatic footwork; jerky, taut, arm movements; hopping, stamping and abrupt turns; shifting of weight from leg to leg; and sudden stops/starts, abrupt breaks and fierce mime (Wynter 1970, 47; Ryman 1979, 13).

Like drumming patterns, movements are symbolic. Dance ethnologist Thomas Pinnock, who specializes in West African and Caribbean practices, interprets the shifting of weight and leaping as the depiction of an African hunter stalking his prey or throwing a spear at his enemies, then signaling his victory by twirling on one foot while defying gravity – a representation of a Rasta warrior defending himself and his family against evil Rastafarian enemies (Pinnock 2002, 98, 100).

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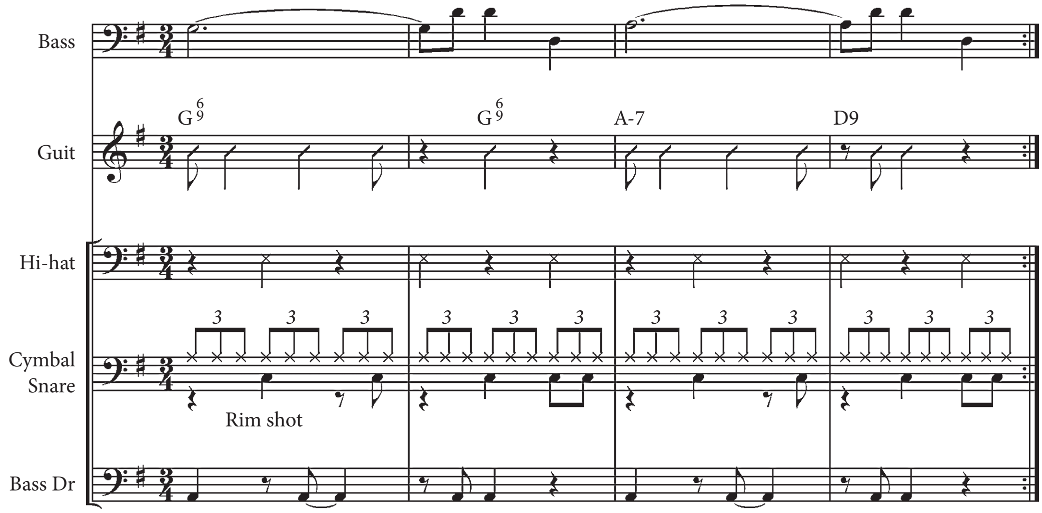
ROBERT WITMER AND LEN McCARTHY

Onda Nueva

Onda nueva ('New Wave') is a Venezuelan musical genre created in the early 1970s by noted composer and arranger Aldemaro Romero (1928–2007).

The appearance of *onda nueva* was circumstantial: during the recording of a commercial jingle that had similarities to the Venezuelan *joropo* 'Araguita,' Aldemaro Romero introduced a few important variations which yielded a new genre. His innovations included: the use of rhythms and harmonies from jazz and *bossa nova* on the piano that were supported by an agile, modern and syncopated bass line executed by Jorge



Example 1: Basic rhythmic pattern of *onda nueva*

Romero 'Romerito'; the creation of a peculiar rhythmic design in 3/4 by drummer Frank Hernández 'El pavo Frank'; and the incorporation of a vocal quartet led by Ali Agüero that offered original and modern harmonies using contrapuntal vocal lines. The final product was labeled 'onda nueva' by local radio host and producer Jacques Braunstein, and it represented a new genre of Venezuelan music that sought to give international recognition to the Venezuelan *joropo*. Hernández developed the basic rhythmic pattern of the *onda nueva* as a pedagogical exercise (see Example 1).

Romero composed a number of pieces in the new style using fresh, light and jovial lyrics. Among them are 'De repente' (Suddenly), 'Tonta, gafa, boba' (Dumb, Fool, Silly) and 'Doña Mentira' (Mrs Lie), as well as new versions in the style of *onda nueva* of popular songs from Venezuela and other countries.

The new genre was promoted through FIDOF (Federation Internationale des Organisations de Festivals), which helped organize international festivals of *onda nueva* in Venezuela for three consecutive years in 1971–73. At these festivals, performances by noted musicians such as Frank Pourcel, Ástor Piazzolla and Amelita Baltar, Esquivel, Juan Gabriel, Armando Manzanero, La Lupe, Tito Puente, Chico Navarro, Ray Coniff, Elmer Berstein, Dave Grustin, Augusto Algueró, Nino Bravo and Paul Mouriat gave international recognition to the genre. Musicians invited to these festivals were required to include at least one piece written in the style of *onda nueva*, a condition that generated many new works. Through these works, composers and performers offered their individual and personal interpretations of *onda nueva,* which gave the genre an international dimension.

A number of works in *onda nueva* consisted of old or popular songs that were rewritten in the style, which boosted the dissemination of music in this genre. Noted examples include Monna Bell's *onda nueva* version of Mexican composer Rubén Fuentes's 1964 song 'La Bikina,' and US songwriter Burt Bacharach's 'South American Getaway,' which was used in the Oscar-winning film *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969). The box office success and worldwide distribution of this movie introduced the song as well as the genre to a large international audience.

In the twenty-first century, the influence of *onda nueva* has continued to be felt and acknowledged, as for example in the 2006 compilation *Nueva Onda Nueva – Electronic Aldemaro,* which interprets *onda nueva* through contemporary electronic styles.

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NELSON BLANCO MANZO (TRANSLATED BY PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

Pachanga

The *pachanga* is a fast-paced Cuban dance music that first appeared in 1959 and soon after rode a brief wave of popularity in the dance halls of New York City's Latin music scene. The *pachanga* was principally performed by *charanga* ensembles, which typically include a flute, three violins, contrabass, piano, percussion (*timbales, güiro* and *congas*) and a chorus (of usually three male singers), though a violoncello is infrequently found in some ensembles (see Orovio 2004, s.v. '*charanga*'). Unlike the Cuban *son* tradition, the musical basis of most contemporary Cuban dance music and commercial salsa, the *charanga* ensemble does not typically foreground a lead vocalist. Though a lead voice may be featured from time to time, voices singing in unison with only passing moments of diatonic harmonization are the norm – it is the flute that most frequently takes on the principal melodic role in the ensemble.

In its broadest sense, the term *pachanga* denotes a party or boisterous gathering, though *pachanga*, the musical genre, should not be aligned with the *pachanga* gatherings of South Texas political life. The word *pachanga* took on its musical significance in 1959 when 'La Pachanga,' a composition penned by Cuban writer-composer Eduardo Davidson (1929–94), was first performed by the Orquesta Sublime in Havana's renowned ballroom, El Salón Rosado de La Tropical.

Davidson's real name was Claudio Cuza. He was born in Baracoa, Cuba, in the eastern province of Guantánamo. Arriving in Havana sometime around 1950, Davidson soon after began writing radio scripts and incidental music for variety shows and soap operas. In 1957 Davidson began working as a composer at Panart Records, Cuba's first domestic recording studio and record label, and it was there that he collaborated with the pianist-arranger-composer Rolando Fundora, who was an in-house musical director for the Panart label. From this partnership emerged the historic connection between Davidson and the Orquesta Sublime (also under contract with Panart Records at the time): Melquiades Fundora, Rolando's brother, was the flautist and musical director of the ensemble. Nonetheless, it was Richard Egües (1926–2006), the legendary flautist from Orquesta Aragón, who arranged Davidson's 'La Pachanga' at the request of Rolando Fundora, and the musical number quickly ascended the Cuban charts. The success of the new rhythm was also due, in no small part, to an attendant dance fad: in a period when musicians were not known for their movement in performance – in sharp contrast to contemporary Cuban dance bands – the novel steps and choreography of the Sublime spread throughout Havana's dance halls and sparked the *pachanga* dance craze, one in a line of many musical innovations that exemplified the creative fervor that took hold of post-revolutionary Cuba.

Pachanga in New York City

The brevity of the *pachanga* fad in Cuba was not indicative of its impact abroad. The success of the *pachanga* in New York was ushered in by the emerging success of the *charanga* ensemble itself. Being more economical than the big bands that had dominated the 1950s Latin dance scene in New York (such as those of Tito Rodríguez, Tito Puente or

Machito), the smaller, string-dominated *charanga*s offered a wider range of performing opportunities for Latin musicians and provided the public with a novel sound vis-à-vis the more clamorous punch of the Latin big bands. In 1959 New York pianist Charlie Palmieri formed the influential *charanga*, La Duboney, featuring four violins and flautist Johnny Pacheco – the latter went on to become a cofounder of the renowned record label Fania (Manuel 1991). With the release of *Pachanga at the Caravana Club* (Alegre 1961), La Duboney achieved near-instant popularity in New York's Latin community, both for their *charanga* ensemble and for the new *pachanga* rhythm, which dominated the LP.

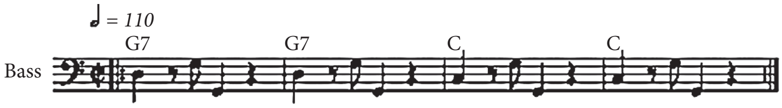
By 1960, *pachanga* and *charanga* fever had taken hold of New York's Latin youth and various musical ambassadors contributed to the cause, including the leading Cuban *charanga*s of the day such as the Orquesta Aragón, which included the flautist Egües, and Fajardo y sus Estrellas, led by the other renowned Cuban flautist José Fajardo (1919–91). Fajardo, in particular, took advantage of the new musical trend, covering Davidson's 'La Pachanga' with Panart (1961), and then recording with Columbia the following year (*Mister Pachanga*, 1962). Nonetheless, it was La Duboney and various other homegrown ensembles that sustained the *pachanga* in New York City, and in the hands of these groups the *pachanga* also began to take on the distinct musical characteristics that set it apart from its Cuban predecessor. It was the formulation of the *pachanga* arising out of New York that ultimately had the lasting impact on the dance music scene in Cali (Colombia) and other transnational sites (Waxer 2002).

The *Pachanga* Style

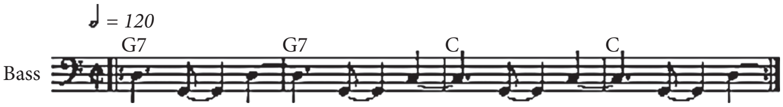
Although it has become almost axiomatic to make mention of the syncopated quality of Cuban-derived music – as though this, in and of itself, is unambiguous proof of an African presence in Cuba's musical heritage – the *pachanga* is in fact one of the more downbeat-oriented Cuban styles (Waxer 2001, 26), not wholly unlike the *chachachá* and *mambo* in this regard. Distinct from the musical lineage of Cuban *son*, the *charanga* orchestra and its more gentrified salon repertoires necessitate a more measured evaluation of the European musical antecedents against the backdrop of ubiquitous and vague musical qualifiers such as 'Afro-Cuban' and 'syncopated,' which are often applied rather casually to Cuban music.

The ensemble types in New York circa 1960 varied greatly, both in their composition and in the repertoires that they played. After Cuban singer Rolando La Serie recorded a rather *merengue*-esque version of Davidson's 'La Pachanga' on his album *Sabor a mi* (1960), it became apparent that the *pachanga* was no longer the exclusive domain of the *charanga* – Bebo Valdés's big band accompanied La Serie on this recording, just before the two great talents left Cuba. Soon after, Latin stars of the 1950s such as Tito Rodríguez (*Charanga Pachanga*, 1961) and Tito Puente (*Pachanga con Puente*, 1961) put forward *pachanga* recordings with their large ensembles. And singer Joe Quijano's group, Conjunto Cachana, created one of the most popular *pachanga* sounds of early 1960s New York by substituting the strings of the *charanga* with two trumpets.

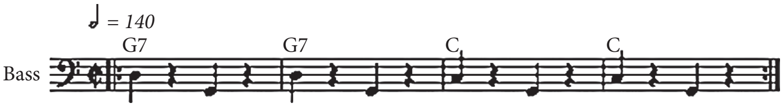
The *pachanga* sound of New York tended to favor the anticipated bass of *son*-derived dance musics, as



Example 1a: Model *pachanga* bass line



Example 1b: Model 'anticipated' *son* bass line



Example 1c: Model *merengue* bass line

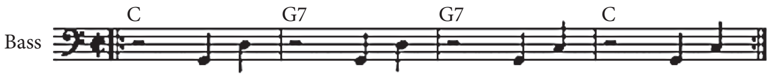
opposed to the one-and-three-oriented bass line of Sublime's original *pachanga* (cf., *Cuba Morning*, 1996). Earliest examples of the *pachanga* in Cuba had a bass isorhythm that stressed beats one and three (Example 1a above), unlike the anticipated bass of Cuba's popular *son*-derived dance musics (Example 1b above). The more symmetric bass pattern of the Cuban *pachanga*, in addition to its up-tempo pace, likely contributed to opinions that this musical genre borrowed from the Dominican *merengue*. Certainly the string *ostinati* of Sublime's first version of the 'La Pachanga' (*Cuba Morning*, 1996) bolster this downbeat emphasis found in the *merengue* bass line (Example 1c above) and also sound remarkably similar to the accordion or saxophone *ostinati* typical of *merengue*. Interestingly, more recent recordings by Orquesta Sublime of 'La Pachanga' in fact sound more like *merengues* than *pachangas* (2000, 2006).

By comparison, listening to iconic *pachanga* recordings from New York City, such as Duboney's 'Pacheco's Descarga' (Pacheco's Band) or 'La Pachanga Se Baila Así' (Pachanga Is Danced Like This) (Palmieri 1961), one can hear a greater affinity for bass lines that stressed beat four of the measure, modeled on the *son* bass line that 'anticipates' the harmony of the coming measure (Examples 2a–c below; Manuel 1985).

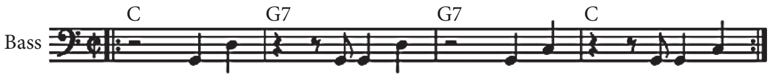
Ultimately, however, the iconic sonic marker of the New York *pachanga* sound, and the one that has been sustained by the transnational movement of LPs to Latin American locales such as Cali, was the driving 'ta-tum' rhythm (Example 3 below). This downbeat-oriented pattern was played by the timbale player, either on a mounted cowbell or on the shell of the drums (*cáscara*), and is remarkably assonant of the early *pachanga* bass lines in Cuba (cf., Example 1a).

Conclusion

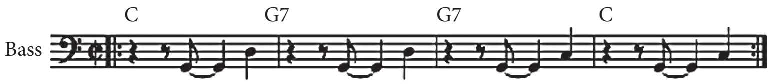
The *pachanga* has rightly been called an ephemeral genre (Manuel 1988, ii, 31). By 1963–64 the *pachanga*'s popularity had faded in favor of other musical innovations, such as the *mozambique* in Cuba and the boogaloo (*bugalú*) in the United States. Particularly in the Unites States, the *pachanga*s of the early 1960s exhibited little stylistic homogeneity, being a musical genre that was performed by a variety of ensemble types and with an even greater variety of musical elements distilled from the different Cuban genres at play in New York City at the time. It is perhaps more advantageous to understand the *pachanga* as both a heterogeneous style and one of the earliest forms of 'salsa' (Waxer 2001, 26), the particular mix of Cuban-derived dance musics that coalesced within New York City's diverse Latin community beginning in the 1960s under the prevalent mediation of Puerto Rican musicians. The *pachanga* was the last Cuban musical genre to enter the United States before its trade embargo with Cuba, which effectively came to stifle an exuberant flow of musical interaction between the two countries; however, the heterogeneity of the genre in 1960s New York seems to be a hopeful indicator of the enduring, accommodating nature of this transnational musical community *vis-à-vis* the unwavering political positions of the respective nations. In the light of this, it should come as no surprise that the *pachanga* also had a profound influence on the production of popular music in West Africa (particularly Senegal), a continuation of the longstanding influence of Cuban recorded musics in the popular music of Africa after 1920 (see Duran 1989; Kubik 1985, 52; Roberts 1990; Shain 2002; Waterman 1990).



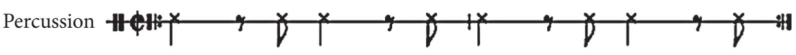
Example 2a: Sample bass line



Example 2b: Sample bass line



Example 2c: Sample bass line



Example 3: Timbale ostinato

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MICHAEL MARCUZZI

Pagode

Pagode usually refers to a movement of *samba* artists in Brazil that began in the 1980s and was very influential on later *samba* developments.

Early Usage

In Brazil, the term *pagode* has long been associated with musical gatherings, feasts, fun and mirthmaking in general. From at least the second half of the nineteenth century, the term was used to designate private parties, where fashionable styles of music such as polkas, waltzes and the Brazilian popular genres *lundus* and *modinhas* were common. However, the groups involved in the initial phases of *samba* also used the term to describe their gatherings; hence, *pagode* ended up referring to the feasts, to the practices involved and to the music itself.

'Grassroots' *Pagode* Movement

In 1986 a musical movement consisting of mostly unknown artists burst into mainstream radio broadcasting, TV music shows, the press and sales charts. The *pagode* movement stated clearly and strongly that it was possible to make a profit in the music business by directly addressing the lower strata of society. Indeed, during the 1980s, the music industry was shifting its focus toward marketing music to the poorer sections of Brazilian society. Up to that time *samba*, as well as other styles closely linked to lower-income groups, had served as fertile sources of profit for the industry, but their potential as commodities required that they be diluted or transformed so as to please the tastes of middle and higher classes.

Pagode appeared in the 1980s as a reinvention of the *samba* tradition, and its success cannot be separated from the history of *samba* itself. *Samba* originated around 1900 in Rio de Janeiro, in communities of ex-slave descendants and migrants. By the end of the 1920s, the 'paradigmatic' form of *samba* had become established. This form was associated with the appearance of *samba* schools, which by the 1960s had become major tourist events and provided most of the music related to the *samba* tradition. Yet the growth of *samba* schools had a counter-effect: the space for informal meetings around *samba* performances diminished.

Starting in 1977, the carnival association Cacique de Ramos (from the neighborhood of Ramos in Rio) sponsored large parties, which attracted increasingly large numbers of people. Cacique's *pagodes* soon became notorious musical events and their fame spread far beyond the local group. Other similar 'backyard parties' were also successful as meeting places for *samba* practitioners, and their number grew steadily. These settings were defined by their informality, and *samba* musicians preferred *pagodes* because there they were more at liberty to show their talents than in most other settings, notably the *samba* schools. Besides, as *pagodes* spread, radio stations started to air more *samba* tunes – a more direct barometer of public taste than LPs.

In 1978 singer Beth Carvalho used musicians from Cacique de Ramos on her album *De pé no chão* (Bare Feet on the Ground), a move that inaugurated the integration of *pagode* into the music business environment. The success of Carvalho's LP boosted the careers of musicians and composers from Cacique. Soon they were hired to perform with other musicians, thus spreading *pagode* sounds into ever more diverse settings. In 1979 the group Fundo de Quintal ('Backyard'), around which most of those musicians gathered, released their own LP (*Samba é no Fundo de Quintal, Vol. 1)*, while also providing songs and accompaniment for other artists. Fundo de Quintal's ensemble became a standard for other *pagode* groups, with a combination of instruments new to *samba*. It included three single-headed percussion instruments (membranophones) played with the hands – *pandeiro* (tambourine), *repique de mão* and *tantã* – and three stringed instruments – guitar, *cavaquinho* (four-string small guitar) and banjo. The *repique* was already used in *samba* schools, but Fundo de Quintal started to play it with the hands rather than with sticks. One hand beats on the skin, while the other completes the rhythm by beating on the body. The *tantã* replaced the *surdo* as a bass drum, played in a similar way to the *repique*. The banjo, which used to be part of *samba* gatherings in its early phases, was reintroduced. The other instruments were common in *samba* in general. The ensemble adapted well to small performance settings, and it could easily be imitated by other groups.

Pagode music was variegated, but the style known as *partido alto*, based on the improvisation of verses and competition, was the most distinguished version. New songs by composers from the local communities and carnival music were included, as well as hits by well-known *samba* artists and ancient *samba* songs.

It was not until 1985 that the music industry felt confident enough to make more investments in *pagode*. Indeed, in that year the breakthrough anthology *Raça Brasileira* appeared. It was the first *pagode* album as such to enjoy really successful sales. Virtually unknown artists Zeca Pagodinho, Jovelina Pérola Negra, Elaine Machado, Pedrinho da Flor and Mauro Diniz succeeded in reaching a large consumer audience, mostly from Rio de Janeiro and surrounding towns. The songs in this album have most of the typical features of the *pagode* movement, which contrasted sharply with the average standards of the music commodities sold as albums or played at FM radio stations and TV shows until then. The album included *pagode* anthems such as 'Feirinha da Pavuna' ('Pavuna Street Market'), describing a quarrel among vegetables sold in a suburb street market, and 'Avaca' ('The Cow'), a song about a negotiation to buy a cow, in the traditional form of *partido alto*.

In 1986 and 1987 the main *pagode* artists reached the top of the Brazilian music charts and became nationally known. Icons of *pagode* – Fundo de Quintal, Zeca Pagodinho, Almir Guineto, Jovelina Pérola Negra, Jorge Aragão and Arlindo Cruz, among others – made appearances in many places and have continued to be well known. In fact, the entire Brazilian music industry enjoyed a marked growth in that period. Low-income groups could afford to buy recordings (especially LPs) in great quantities for the first time in the history of the Brazilian music business. *Pagode* thus found an attractive economic environment at that time.

'New' *Pagode*

After two years of great success, in 1988 *pagode* started to face a decline. At the same time, a more romantic vein of *pagode* emerged, along with other styles aimed at the poorer classes, as preferred music commodities in the Brazilian market.

Perhaps the most symptomatic index of this situation was the group Raça Negra ('Black Race') and its model of *samba* performances. Raça Negra appeared around 1990, displaying a romantic style that incorporated hybrid patterns: harmonic devices taken from international pop ballads and *música sertaneja,* in addition to synthesizers, electric guitars and bass with saxophones in the foreground. Yet Raça Negra continued to use a few *samba* instruments, such as *tantã*, *cavaquinho* and *surdo*, and to rely on rhythmic structures redolent of the *samba* tradition. These rhythms were not, however, combined polyphonically – perhaps the most distinctive trait of *samba* – but appeared in a synthetic, more monorhythmic and stylized form. The effect of all this was to gain an audience even larger than that of the former *pagode*, since the newer style made room for groups of aficionados not closely attached to *samba* also to enjoy the music.

'New' *pagode* also differed from earlier *pagode* in terms of its lyrics, which moved from concrete situations in daily life to overly romantic themes. Furthermore, the split from the *samba* tradition derived from regional displacements, because 'new' *pagode* groups were often from São Paulo rather than from Rio de Janeiro.

Groups similar to Raça Negra soon appeared, and the success of 'new' *pagode* affected various realms of the Brazilian music business. Unlike former *samba* practitioners, who were often present in the media but who were seldom assimilated as part of its structure, 'new' *pagode* stars attained the status of 'top-stars' in its broadest sense. 'New' *pagode* musicians achieved fame and money to an extent beyond that ever reached by *samba* artists.

By the mid-1990s it was clear that 'grassroots' *samba* was not keeping up with the 'new' *pagode*. The artists of the first *pagode* boom continued to perform and record, but sales of their music tapered off and after the mid-1990s the term *pagode* usually refers to 'new' *pagode* renditions. A reaction ensued, bringing 'true' *samba* once more into the foreground.

This reaction came from many quarters, but the catalyst came in the form of singer/composer Zeca Pagodinho's 1995 album *Samba pras moças* ('Samba for the Girls'). Pagodinho had been at the forefront of the 1986–7 *pagode* boom, and until 1995 his recordings followed the aesthetics of his earlier releases, but the new trends brought by Raça Negra and its followers pushed him into the background. In 1995 Zeca Pagodinho became associated with arranger/producer Rildo Hora, retaining most 'grassroots' *pagode* traits while combining them with fine arrangements in a 'clean' design. *Samba pras moças* heralded a compromise, according to which early *pagode* artists (now referred to as *pagode raiz* – 'grassroots') would have to 'modernize' their productions in order to survive in the newly competitive environment. In the long run, Zeca Pagodinho became the strongest reference point for 'authentic' *samba* that could also be commercially profitable.

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LUIZ FERNANDO NASCIMENTO DE LIMA

Palo de Mayo

Palo de mayo (which means May Pole) is the modern reworking of the principal Nicaraguan Creole acoustic folk song form known generically as 'song,' but also called 'mento.' The clear similarities between Nicaraguan song/mento and Jamaican mento and Trinidadian calypso testify to the continued strong connections between English Afro-Caribbean and Atlantic Coast Creole culture. A major part of Nicaragua's Creole population migrated to the country from the West Indies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The western half of the country, where around 90 percent of the national population resides, is mestizo with small indigenous enclaves (the small amount of African ancestry from the colonial era is so mixed that any Afro-based group is no longer recognizable). *Palo de mayo* retains fundamental characteristics of Creole song/mento: major tonality; 4/4 meter in a moderate to slow tempo with a syncopated rhythmic accompaniment similar to Trinidadian calypso; singing in an open vocal style, and structured around single lines by the lead singer immediately repeated by the chorus in a basic call-and-response fashion. The instrumentation also reflects the Creoles' common cultural links with other parts of the English-speaking Caribbean: banjo, ass's jaw, washpan (wash tub) bass, scraper, guitar and, in the 1970s, accordion. On the heels of the success of electrified *palo de mayo*, the acoustic group Zinica toured outside of the Atlantic Coast and in 1983 made the only recordings of the earlier style.

The modern version of this music essentially reworks the Creole song/mento repertoire with key elements of Trinidadian soca: stylistic features of traditional songs, such as lyrics, basic melodies, chordal patterns and other musical elements, are retained but the tempo is increased and the banjo, wash tub bass and accordion are replaced with a popular music instrumentation of trap drums, horn sections and electric instruments, including electric bass, guitar and inexpensive organ. Last, but not least, the music's popularity was tied to the notoriety of the accompanying dance, denounced by many (usually older) Creoles as too overtly sexual and lascivious. Harold Hodgson, a native of Bluefields, the main city of Nicaragua's Atlantic coast, is most often credited with transforming dance movements from the annual May Pole traditional dancing with acoustic songs into a sensual couple dance that emphasized pelvic movements and close body contact, a sensuality that became increasingly pronounced as electrified *palo de mayo* developed.

In the early 1970s, *palo de mayo* was introduced to the Pacific Coast via informal networks and the first bands ventured from Bluefields westward to the nation's sprawling capital of Managua. The acclaim that greeted the music and dance prompted Managua producer Luis Felipe Andino in 1976 to record a full-length album of one of the best-known groups at the time, Los Bárbaros del Ritmo (literally, The Fantastic Rhythm Masters; also a reference to the nickname of the immensely popular Cuban singer Benny Moré). The goal of crossing over the east-west geo-cultural divide and target urban mestizo youth in Managua and other major cities is evident in the group's Spanish name and the album's title, *Palo de Mayo*. The limited success of *palo de mayo* with Managua youth in the first half of the 1970s was derailed by the breakout of the military insurrections against the Somoza dictatorship throughout the Pacific Coast. With the triumph of the Sandinista Popular Revolution in 1979 a strong, second wave of popularity of electrically amplified *palo de mayo* reached most of the country's population for the first time. *Palo de mayo* exploded in popularity to replace the *cumbia* as the dance music of choice on the Pacific Coast in the 1980s; even traditional small *marimba de arco* trios integrated it into their repertoire. The sensual dance served as an emblem of the newly liberated Nicaragua: for much of the young population, excited by the possibilities the new social order might offer them, *palo de mayo* represented a breaking with a past, restrictive morality, especially freeing the sexuality of women. In addition, young mestizos were curious to learn about the eastern part of the country, which they were 'discovering' for the first time. Even though practically no one understood the Creole English lyrics, Pacific Coast residents were proud to embrace a potent music and dance whose origin was Afro-Nicaraguan and for once not imported from outside the country. The popularity of Atlantic Coast *palo de mayo* on the western

Pacific Coast played a significant role in bringing about a new stage in the development of a Nicaraguan national consciousness that embraced both coasts.

The most popular band in the nation in the 1980s was Dimensión Costeña (Coastal Dimension), one of several Creole groups that formed to satisfy the growing mestizo audience, and the only one to survive intact into the 1990s. *Palo de mayo* bands typically centered around Creole players, especially the lead singer, but included a handful of mestizo musicians as well. *Palo de mayo* groups reworked the acoustic traditional Creole songs to the point of exhausting the small repertoire; Grupo Gamma, several of whose members went on to form Dimensión Costeña, were the first to further an awareness of Atlantic Coast peoples and culture when they adapted a song from the Atlantic Coast Miskitu people. Indigenous Miskitus, heavily mixed with Afro-Creoles over many generations, live mostly along northeastern waterways but some reside in Bluefields. The historical-cultural interchange between Miskitus, Creoles and mestizos is shown in the familiarity of Grupo Gamma's musicians with their music, and the song 'Sirpiki Mayram' (Miskitu: 'Dear Woman') became a national hit in the early 1980s, despite neither Creoles nor mestizos understanding the lyrics. This song and others in Miskitu demonstrate how music, particularly *palo de mayo*, became the principal point of contact and cultural reference between these three ethnic groups, one that left an indelible social imprint that carried into future decades.

Palo de mayo remains popular in twenty-first-century Nicaragua, though it has lost ground to hip-hop and other cosmopolitan styles. The most popular band in Nicaragua in the 1990s, Macolla, featured several songs in *palo de mayo* style on its best-selling album *Bailarlo contigo* that show its continued creative development: an original composition, and a remake of a *palo de mayo* song but with the chorus now half in English and a short Spanish rap section added in the middle. The popularity of a Caribbean Coast African-Central American music among the majority mestizo population also occurred later in Honduras, and to a lesser extent in Costa Rica and Guatemala. *Punta*, the music of the African-indigenous Garifuna people in Honduras, enjoyed promotion that brought it to international audiences, an extra-national economic success that Nicaraguan musicians such as the collective Bluefields Sound System still hope to achieve for *palo de mayo*.

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T. M. SCRUGGS

Palos

Since the late eighteenth century, *palos* long drumming has been associated with black religious brotherhoods (*cofradías*) in the Dominican Republic, especially their funeral rites and *velaciones,* or annual patron saint festivities. While songs accompanied by *palos* often have religious significance (especially in reference to the dead and ancestral lineages of a brotherhood), they do not traditionally serve the functions of altar devotional music as do *salves.* Except in the slow-tempo *palos de los muertos* (palos of the dead) style, many *palos* songs serve festive interests, including accompanying the *baile de palos,* a couples dance symbolizing ritual pursuit. *Palos* are most frequently played in an outdoor *enramada* which serves as a place of social gathering and dancing during popular religious events, or may be played at the portal of a church, religious shrine or private residence. Though its roots are rural and concentrated most strongly in the island's southern half, *palos* has diffused in a variety of styles to most regions of the country and many urban centers. Since the 1970s, *palos* performance has also extended to religious pilgrimages, celebrations of neo-African spirits (Dominican *Vodú*), personally sponsored *velaciones*, folklore concerts – and since the 1990s – discos and street-corner bars in small towns and urban sectors dominated by Dominican blacks.

Palos music is more nationally homogeneous in instrumentation and style than *salves,* but is still quite varied from one region to the next, especially between the more traditional varieties. The word *palo* means simply 'tree' or 'piece of wood,' and among Dominicans is the colloquial term applied to any type of wooden drum as well as drumming music in general. Given this colloquial expression and variety of music which might be called '*palos*,' folklore groups and researchers have emphasized instrumentation as the most distinguishing feature of *palos:* two or three long-drums (also called *atabales*) and idiophone(s), either one or more shakers (*maracas*), one to three metal scrapers (*güiros* or *guayos*) and/or a stick struck on the drum body (*catá*). The *atabales* are played by the hands, with the largest and lowest-sounding as the lead drum or *palo mayor.* The other smaller *palo* or pair of *palos* of equal size is called *alcahuete.* When there are three different sizes with different musical functions, the middle *palo* may be called *chivita, brincador* or *palo segundo* depending on location.

The repertoire of *palos* is sung in Spanish, frequently using colloquial expressions, occasionally African-derived words, and in some styles, chorus melodies elaborated without text. To improvise verses, soloists draw for inspiration upon fragments of the refrain, religious themes, their immediate surroundings and daily social events. *Palos* melodies are typically short (between one to four phrases), and are either identical for verse and refrain or divided between them antiphonally. In successive repetitions, the refrain is maintained while the soloist continues to improvise verses, all the time varying melodic delivery. Usually there is a gradual surge in intensity as *atabales* drummers increase the rhythmic density of their variations, frequently exploiting ternary beat accents over an established duple meter (or *vice versa*), and initiating rapid conversational dialogue between the parts. This increased intensity may also be supported by a shift to a truncated refrain and a cyclic structure one-half or one-quarter the length of the first, in some cases accompanied by a similar truncation or variation of drum rhythms. Beyond these generalities of style, a number of distinctions exist from region to region, and even between localities, in *palos* instrument design, core drum patterns, technique of singing, melodic type, repertoire and contexts of use.

Since the 1970s, massive rural to urban migration increased visibility of Dominican *Vodú*, leftist movements promoting popular culture and Afro-Dominican traditions, and a youthful generation of *palos* musicians have led to the emergence of some new trends. New song repertoires, faster and more varied rhythms and rehearsed ensemble arrangements have been developed and popularized for *palos,* and many organized *palos* ensembles have become available for hire, traveling regionally and sometimes nationally to working the 'circuit' of *velaciones* and *Vodú* ceremonies. While closely associated with Dominican *Vodú* and spirit possession, the accentuated dance and party orientation of the newer style parallels an accelerated secularization of *palos*: in the early twenty-first century *palos* fills the stages of Dominican folklore festivals, has stimulated several commercial recordings and appears in dancing establishments and street-corner liquor stores (*colmados*). This newer up-tempo style of *palos* includes two repertoires distinct from earlier *palos* music – '*salves con palos*' and 'contemporary *palos* songs.' In the first type, *salves* songs derived from devotional singing for Vodú spirits (*misterios/luases*) and Catholic saints are arranged with *palos* accompaniment. Contemporary *palos* songs emerged since the late 1990s and are sufficiently distinct in musical style and/or function from both *salves* and the varieties of traditional danced *palos.* While the rapid diffusion and professionalization of *palos* is promoting greater stylistic homogenization and secularization, competition and creative interest has generated musical innovations, especially through the synthesis of elements from various regional styles and the adaptation of rhythms, ensemble breaks and other techniques from commercial *merengue*. Also, the innovations in *palos,* coupled with leftist movements and folklore festivals stimulating urban popular interest in Afro-Dominican music, have attracted the attention of some Dominican popular music artists, inspiring their fusions of *palos* rhythms, instruments and songs with *merengue,* Dominican jazz, rock and reggae.

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DANIEL C. PIPER

Panalivio

The *panalivio* is a sung Afro-Peruvian lament genre that was banned by church ordinance in 1722 and revived in the twentieth century. The name may originally have been 'penalivio' (alleviation of pain), and the songs are believed to have originated in the rural Peruvian *haciendas* where slaves worked the fields (Tompkins 1981, 344). *Panalivios* normally contain rhythmic accompaniment, rural themes and lyrics protesting against or lamenting exploitation (especially racial discrimination) (Santa Cruz 1975, 23). The Church banned the genre (along with another genre called *serini*) because of the 'scandalous' nature of both its lyrical couplets and its movements (Estenssoro Fuchs 1988, 166; Romero 1939), but little is known today about the precise nature of the early *panalivio* and its objectionable content. Ethnomusicologist William Tompkins suggests that the *panalivio* may once have contained a sexually provocative dance (1981, 343). However, by the twentieth century, the *panalivio* did not include dancing or sexually suggestive lyrics. It is also possible that the 'scandalous' content of the lyrics referred to their function as political protest against slavery (ibid., 344).

There is disagreement regarding the classification of certain songs as *panalivios*, depending on whether the thematic content or the rhythmic accompaniment is viewed as the defining factor. According to Tompkins, because the *panalivio* has been associated with lyrics denouncing mistreatment of blacks, several songs that should be classified as *danza* or *canción* (a Peruvian sung genre using the Cuban *habanera* rhythm) are mistakenly designated as *panalivios*. A prime example is the song 'A La Molina,' compiled and recreated by Samuel Márquez and Francisco Ballesteros (ibid., 347–8). For Afro-Peruvian revival leader Nicomedes Santa Cruz, however, the poetic content of 'A La Molina,' with lyrics protesting against the physical abuse of slaves, classifies the song as an authentic *panalivio* (1969, 121–2).

Tompkins notes that two forms of *panalivio* exist in Peru (1981, 344–7). In the department of Lima, *panalivios* are strophic ballads sung with a good deal of rubato, accompanied by guitar and *cajón* along with optional additional percussion instruments. Lima-style *panalivios* are often performed by a soloist in alternation with a chorus, and may begin with a brief, rhythmically and melodically free introduction by the soloist (Santa Cruz 1975, 23). Although a recorded example of a Lima-style *panalivio*, 'Ahí viene mi caporal' (There Comes My Foreman), is provided on Nicomedes Santa Cruz's album *Cumanana* (1994 [1964]), Tompkins suggests that the guitar accompaniment is greatly simplified (1981, 344–5). The text 'Ahí viene mi caporal' celebrates Lima's black bullfighters (Santa Cruz 1970, 44). Since the late twentieth century, *panalivio* song texts have frequently been *pregones*, emulating or describing the street cries of the vendors who populated the streets in the colonial era.

In the department of Ica, 'Panalivio' is one of the songs performed by the *hatajos de negritos*, groups of boys and men who sing and dance in adoration of baby Jesus and the Virgin Mary at Christmas time. The song is performed chorally to solo violin accompaniment, with *zapateo* dancing between strophes. The dancing and costumes refer to the Magi kings as well as to black slaves, and lyrics describe the hardships endured by slaves. A version of this song recorded in the 1990s by rock musician Miki González with members of the Ballumbrosio family from El Carmen's *hatajo de negritos* revises the lyrics to emphasize the happier times since abolition (see Feldman 2006; León Quirós 1998). Another stylized version was recorded by Afro-Peruvian singer Susana Baca in 2000.

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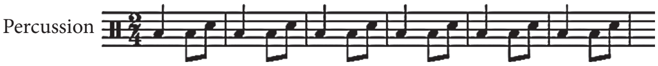
HEIDI CAROLYN FELDMAN

Paranda

Paranda (Spanish for 'binge' or 'carousal') is the popular Latin-American-influenced, male, social-commentary song form of the Garifuna of Central America. *Parandas* are accompanied on the acoustic guitar and are usually moderate in tempo. They are serious in nature and are performed in the style of a serenade by individuals called *paranderos* (men who perform *parandas*). The Garifuna (collectively known as the Garinagu) are a people of West African and Native American descent who share a common language and system of beliefs and customs. They live along the Caribbean coast of Belize, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua and in urban centers in the United States. The Garifuna maintain a series of ancestor rituals and annual processions as well as a body of musical repertoires that include dance-song genres (secular and semisacred), women's work songs and men's social commentary songs. Of the estimated 400,000 Garifuna, more than 300,000 live in Central America with the majority residing in Honduras.

Although performances of *parandas* occasionally feature Garifuna *garawoun* (drums), specifically the *segunda* (bass drum) and *primero* (lead drum), the guitar and the solo voice are the only musical components necessary. When drums accompany *paranda* songs, *segunda* drummers perform the characteristic duple meter ostinato that accompanies *parandas* while *primero* drummers add variety by improvising rhythmic motives. The *paranda* ostinato is very similar to that of *punta*, the popular women's social commentary dance-song genre. The rhythmic pattern features a quarter note and an eighth note played in the center of the drum followed by an



Example 1: The characteristic ostinato rhythm of *paranda*

eighth note played near the rim of the drum head to produce a higher pitch (see Example 1).

Older Garifuna state that performances of *parandas* were particularly popular during the Christmas season. *Parandas* entered the repertoire of Garifuna music in the nineteenth century after the Garifuna arrived in Honduras, where they encountered the acoustic guitar and incorporated elements of Latin American and Spanish rhythms into their music (Rosenburg 1999). The existence of string bands and drum-accompanied, regional Christmas songs performed in door-to-door processions known as *parandas* (or a derivative thereof) support the existence of Spanish-derived song forms in the Circum-Caribbean. These include the *parranda* of the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico and Venezuela and the *parang* in Trinidad & Tobago and Grenada (a corruption of the word 'parranda' and a derivative of the Venezuelan genre). The texts of Garifuna *parandas* may be proverbial or instructional or address issues such as unrequited love, the desire for a wife, the loss of a loved one, slander or improper behavior. Therefore, they are performed year-round unlike the previously discussed, non-Garifuna song forms that bear the same or a similar name and usually comment on the birth of Christ or other Christmastide themes.

During the past decade Garifuna musicians and advocates of traditional music have helped re-establish *paranda* as the genre of choice for male recording artists, especially men in their mid-to-late thirties and older. This can be attributed to the commercial success of three internationally acclaimed recordings of *parandas* or *paranda*-influenced songs: the compilation *Paranda: Africa in Central America* (1999), *Garifuna Soul* (2004) by Aurelio Martinez and *Watina* (2007) by the late Andy Palacio and the Garifuna Collective, an ensemble of Garifuna and non-Garifuna musicians. The popularity of the first recording established *paranda* as a blues and folk-like style of Garifuna music with noted regional and global appeal. It was the first recording of acoustic Garifuna music to surpass *punta rock* in sales. (*Punta rock*, a derivative of *punta* and *paranda* songs, continues to be the most popular style of music among younger Garifuna.) *Paranda: Africa in Central America*, features *paranderos* from Belize, Guatemala and Honduras ranging in age from 27 to 94 years. The success of 'Nuguya Nei' ('I am ill'), the most popular of the songs on the disc, launched the career of 88-year-old Paul Nabor of Belize, perhaps the oldest active Garifuna *parandero* in Central America. *Watina*, winner of the 2007 WOMEX (World Music Expo) award, is a compilation of Afro-Caribbean and Latin-American-influenced Garifuna songs, many of which are based on the *paranda*.

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OLIVER N. GREENE

Parang

In Trinidad and Tobago, *parang* denotes an array of several kinds of music related to the Christmas period that display special musical characteristics common in the Hispanic Caribbean. The vital instruments are the *cuatro* (small Renaissance four-string guitar), rattles, the *toc toc* (wood block), mandolin, acoustic guitar, scraper and box bass. In the early 2000s, other instruments, such as the electric guitar and bass, are also used. Lyrics are in Spanish, English or both and tend to be about the birth of the Baby Jesus, although topics may also include other themes ranging from social protest to December's frivolities.

In the mid-nineteenth century, members of the cocoa-panyol ethnic group of Venezuela arrived in the south of Trinidad, where they developed a social life over a period of long isolation. They retained the custom of the Christmas *parang*, and groups of musicians performed from house to house. By the 1950s this musical practice was integrated into Trinidadian society. When *parang* music was presented on the radio, it developed a wide audience and there was a surge of new *parang* groups, especially among urban middle-class Venezuelan immigrants and other social groups in Trinidad. In the 1970s the two most important *parang* associations, though opposite in certain respects, were formed: the National Parang Association of Trinidad and Tobago (N.P.A.T.T.) and the Trinidad and Tobago Parang Association (T.T.P.A.). These groups organized the competition festivals and prescribed procedures for the events. Beginning in the 1970s, the presence of *parang* in the media, along with competition among groups and the embrace of other Latin genres, led to commercialization, secularization and changes in aesthetics, language, repertoire, context and other musical elements.

Traditional and modern *parang* groups coexist, and by the 2000s performance venues include open streets along with restaurants and bars with dance floors, where *parang* groups present live performances before Christmas. By comparison, in Venezuela the Christmas *parranda* is not used for social dance. The Trinidad *parang* is also used in TV jingles, which are always linked to the image of the *cuatro*, a typical Venezuelan instrument, and to the *pastelle*, the typical Trinidadian Christmas food associated with the Venezuelan *hallaca* a corn-based dish stuffed with meat and spices and cooked in tied banana leaves.

While in the Venezuelan *parranda* the lyrics are more important than the music because of their religious meaning and the improvisations honoring the hosts, in the modern street *parang* of Trinidad the music predominates. There are still lyrics with Catholic messages but a considerable number of *parangs* have secular lyrics, along with a growing number of solely instrumental creations. The songs are sung in English as well as in Spanish. Spanish lyrics can have quite peculiar syntax, grammar and pronunciation that adhere to the formal Spanish spoken in Venezuela or in Spain.

Musically, like many other Latin Caribbean expressions, *parangs* are typically perceived as rhythmically complex, happy and animated. Still present from its origins is the *aguinaldo* or Christmas song from eastern Venezuela, interpreted by a soloist and choral group, which tends to be in major mode with a characteristic 6/8 measure using three primary triads and two musical phrases. At the same time, the European waltz, the Venezuelan *gaita*, the Dominican *merengue*, the Cuban *bolero* and other Latin American genres have been infused in the mainstream repertoire of parang. *Soca parang* was introduced in the 1990s and has grown in popularity. A danced genre, *soca parang* combines *calypso*, *soca* and other Latin music styles, accompanied by more continuous and prevalent percussion as compared with previous forms as parang. Whereas the *cuatro* dominates in traditional parang, the drum overshadows other instruments in *soca parang*.

By the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, *parang* diversified to appeal to many different classes and tastes. Comparing *parang* groups and compositions, Allard (2000) distinguishes different tendencies after 1975 such as 'very *parang*' (The Lara Brothers [1995, 2007], La Familia de Rio Claro), 'quite *parang*' (Dinamicos 1996), 'a little *parang*' (Crazy, Scrunter in Montano, et al. 2005) and 'no sign of *parang*' (Christmas calypsos: Big B).

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KATRIN LENGWINAT AND CARLOS TORREALBA

Parranda

The *parranda* is a lively Venezuelan musical ensemble and genre. Its participants take to the streets and other public places to celebrate, primarily at Christmas time, but also on other occasions, with a basic ensemble of *cuatro* (a small Renaissance four-string guitar), drum and rattles. *The parranda* is sung in couplets by a soloist, sometimes in alternation with a chorus, and it can also be danced.

One typical version of *parranda* is found in Christmas traditions in the Venezuelan countryside, where groups with instruments travel from house to house, performing *aguinaldos* with devotional lyrics. When the themes treat secular topics, they are considered *parranda-aguinaldos*. While the *aguinaldo* is circumscribed only to Christmas, the *parranda* can be performed the whole year. The *parranda* inherited its instrumentation partly from the *aguinaldo*: *cuatro*, drums played with sticks, *furruco* (a friction and/or struck drum), rattles and scraper. But a melodic instrument such as a mandolin or violin may be added, and, since the 1970s, congas and electric bass are also heard. The *parranda* songs are usually couplets with improvised verses of eight syllables per line, frequently rhyming in ABBA manner, sung by a chorus and a soloist or sometimes by successive soloists.

The *parranda*'s repertory is perceived as happy in mood and lively in nature. Different regional styles produce both slower and more accelerated tempos. As a danced genre, the *parranda* takes its choreographic inspiration from the Venezuelan *merengue* (*merengue venezolano*), which is danced by couples with sensual hip movements. The rhythmic design of the *parranda* is very similar to that of both the *merengue* and the *aguinaldo*, combining binary and ternary pulses in one rhythmical unit. The resulting pattern is difficult to notate due to its sense of 'swing,' perhaps most closely approximating 5/8 meter while in some places giving way to a 6/8 feel.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the urban form of *parranda* developed, and groups began to give public performances in which they were presented as uniformed ensembles. Many of these groups, such as Los Turpiales de Aragua (founded 1944), have long histories and sometimes were associated with big companies, such as La Verde Clarita (founded 1941), which is related to a sugar company. These ensembles, devoted exclusively to the performance of *parrandas*, have between 12 and 14 members, all of whom sing and play an instrument, so that some instruments are doubled both in timbre and in rhythmic function. Every *parranda* group stands out by performing its own compositions. The groups with sufficient financial support produce records, but the majority work to self-promote their music through the informal market.

The *parranda* was boosted by the Venezuelan media beginning in the 1970s, through Venezuelan urban folklore groups such as Un Solo Pueblo and Grupo Vera. Recordings by these groups received vast dissemination in the mass media, especially at Christmas time. During Christmas, these groups used the traditional *parranda* instrumentation. Other groups, however, employed larger musical arrangements, especially vocally orientated groups such as Serenata Guayanesa and Quinteto Contrapunto, along with more recent groups such as Vasallos del Sol. Another musical innovation showcased a soloist, whose voice stood out above the choir and instrumental background.

Beginning in the 1940s, fundamental changes were implemented. The *parranda* groups began to present staged performances with a homogeneous group appearance. Also, the original solo voice began to be treated in a polyphonic manner or changed to an opera timbre. Voices sounded clearer, diction became more precise and there was no more improvisation. Finally, the melodic instrument tended to be used like a soloist producing a counterpart, while in the rural *parranda* it simply doubled the voice. Features that did not change include the complex rhythm and the festive and cheerful mood.

Since the 1980s the Venezuelan *gaita* genre has increasingly competed with the *parranda* as the nation's favored Christmas music. Nevertheless, *parranda* retains its place as a music genre that is linked with Venezuelan national identity, especially at Christmas time.

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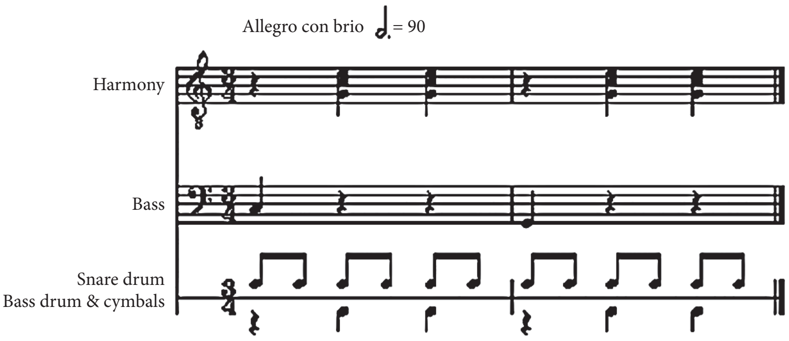
KATRIN LENGWINAT

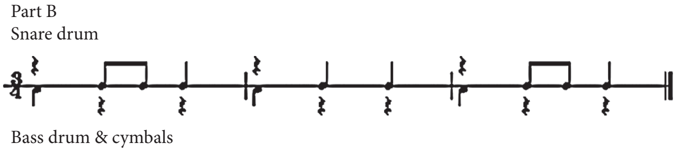
Parrandera

The parrandera is considered the most important and representative musical genre of Guanacaste, the northwestern region of Costa Rica. It is a joyful and festive dance in 3/4 or 6/8 meter with either binary or ternary structure. It is usually interpreted by *filarmonías* (groups of 15–20 players of wind and percussion instruments) or by a marimba (one to five players). Its name derives from the Spanish word *parranda* (meaning 'noisy party'). Sometimes it is also called *callejera* (meaning 'played in the street').

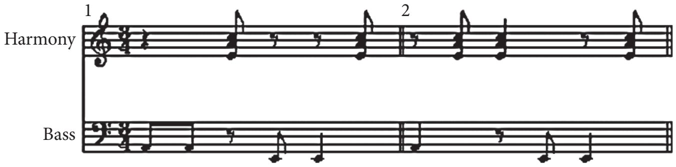
There are two types of 3/4 *parranderas*. The first one has a simple binary form and its typical rhythmic accompaniment on percussion remains constant throughout the entire piece (see Example 1).



Example 1: Typical Binary Form for 3/4 *Parrandera*



Example 2: Typical Ternary Form for 3/4 *Parrandera*



Example 3: Typical Rhythmic Cells in 3/4 *Parrandera*

The second type of *parrandera* in 3/4 has ternary form. In this case, part B, which is often presented in the subdominant, adopts a more *cantabile* nature and the rhythmic pattern of the accompaniment varies in relation to part A, but keeps the same tempo (see Example 2).

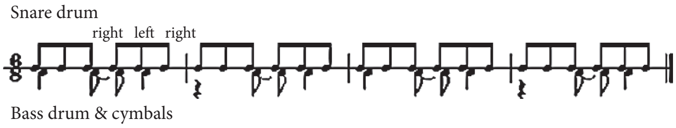
The other major type of *parrandera* has 6/8 meter and several variants. The first variant is in simple binary form, has a unique character and is interpreted without changes in tempo. The second and most frequent variant displays ternary form. There are several types of the second variant. The three most common types have the following structure:

Type 1: Dance – counter dance – dance
Type 2: *Allegro* – dance - *allegro*
Type 3: *Allegro* in 2/4 – *allegro* in 6/8 – *Allegro* in 2/4

An important element present in Types 1 and 2 is the adoption of a variant of the *habanera* rhythmic pattern that alternates the characteristic rhythmic cell (dotted eighth note – sixteenth note – eighth note – eighth note) with another rhythmic cell (eighth note – eighth rest – eighth note – eighth rest). In Type 1, called dance and counter dance, the *habanera* is present in section A (dance), followed by a B section (counter dance) in *tempo allegro* in 6/8. In Type 2, the *habanera* is found in the central section and is slower in nature. Type 3 does not include the *habanera* rhythm. Type 3 is an *allegro* in 6/8 preceded by a section in 2/4 and is usually played *da capo*. There are other more complex cases of *parranderas* in 6/8, in which the above-mentioned sections mix either with each other or with a *pasillo.* Their rhythmic cells are presented in Example 3 above.

One of the basic features of the accompaniment pattern for the *parrandera* in 6/8 is *hemiola*, found in the percussion (drums and cymbals) when played by *filarmonías*, or in the harmony when played on a marimba (see Example 4 below). *Hemiola* is used at the end of each phrase or period, also functioning as a link to the following phrase or period. The player decides how frequently to use this resource.

Even though documents that date back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (see Thiel 1927; von Seebach 1922) mention noisy and joyful music played during a variety of activities in the province of Guanacaste, the word *parrandera* does not appear in the literature until the early twentieth century. At



Example 4: *Hemiola* in 6/8 *Parrandera*

that time *parranderas* were played on the marimba in country fairs, and couples danced to *parranderas* both in 3/4 and in 6/8. In the twenty-first century they are mainly played by *filarmonías* at activities such as bullfights and traditional fairs in the province of Guanacaste (e.g., the Fiestas del Cristo de Esquipulas in Santa Cruz, Fiesta de la Yegüita in Nicoya, and religious gatherings and festivities in honor of the patron saint, among others).

Until the early twentieth century this genre was transmitted primarily by oral tradition. The oldest manuscripts of *particellas* date back to the first decades of the twentieth century. Even in the early twenty-first century some of the voices are improvised, with a few exceptions (such as secondary voices and the ornamentation). The percussion accompaniment, never notated, requires highly skilful and experienced musicians who are familiar with the tradition.

Some of the most renowned traditional composers of the region who wrote *parranderas* were Mario Cañas (early twentieth century), Benito Saizar (1900–?), Jesús Bonilla (1911–99), Medardo Guido (1912–2007), Sacramento Villegas (1920–97), Ulpiano Duarte (b. 1929), Isidoro Guadamuz (b. 1935), Teodoro Guadamuz (b. 1936), Arnoldo Sandoval (1937–2006) and Tomás Guadamuz (1949).

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GERARDO DUARTE RODRÍGUEZ

Partido Alto

Partido alto is a *samba* subgenre which first developed in the urban context of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, at around the beginning of the twentieth century. Its name literally means 'high party' and alludes, many argue, to the high respect devoted to the practitioners of this type of *samba* as a group. In its most typical form, it is composed of a chorus sung by all the participants and of verses improvised in turns by solo singers. This style of *samba* has its roots in different traditions – both Afro-Brazilian and of Iberian origin – brought to the city of Rio de Janeiro by immigrant workers coming from different regions. As in various rural forms of *samba* (*samba de roda*, *coco*, etc.), *partido alto* is performed in a circle (*roda*) in which center dancers take turns in solo performances. In one of its most appreciated forms, *partido alto* is sung as an improvised dispute between two or more singers.

As shown by Nei Lopes (2005) in his study on this musical practice, besides their ability to create verses on the spot, *partideiros* (*partido alto* singers) used to develop their verses using a wide repertory of poetic formulas borrowed from a great variety of Brazilian musical traditions (*calango*, *lundu*, *samba de roda*, *cantoria*, etc.).

Performed mainly within the context of informal and relaxed gatherings, *partido alto* was first popularized in the recording industry by Martinho da Vila in the late 1960s. The great success of this style of *samba*, however, came in the 1980s with the sudden boom of what came to be called the *pagode* movement. A group of *samba* singers and musicians (among them Zeca Pagodinho, Arlindo Cruz, Jovelina Perola Negra, Almir Guineto and the Fundo de Quintal group), who met regularly at 'Cacique de Ramos,' a lower-middle-class carnival group of a suburban area of the city, was 'discovered' by the famous *samba* singer Beth Carvalho and diffused the *partido alto* style of *samba*, transforming it into a profitable commodity. The Fundo de Quintal group also dictated a new standard for the instrumentation used by *pagode* ensembles, introducing new percussion instruments – such as the *tan-tan* bass drum and the *repique de mão* – and adding a banjo to the string section formed by guitar and *cavaquinho* (ukulele-like, four-string guitar).

With commercial recording, one of the main features of *partido alto* was significantly affected: the verses of *partido alto* songs began increasingly to be pre-composed and repeated in every subsequent performance. For this reason, this genre in the twenty-first century is frequently regarded more as a particular *samba* style (with a distinctive rhythmic construction) than as an improvisatory singing practice.

Partido alto lyrics deal with different experiences of the urban lower-middle-class daily life and are usually humorous in character. The improvised verses commonly (but not necessarily) develop the theme suggested by the chorus.

Famous *partideiros* of the past include Aniceto do Imperio, Geraldo Babão, Padeirinho and Candeia. Some of its most appreciated current exponents are Xangô da Mangueira, Grupo Fundo de Quintal, Tantinho da Mangueira, Arlindo Cruz and Zeca Pagodinho.

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VINCENZO CAMBRIA

Pasacalle

Popular in the coastal and highland regions of Ecuador, the *pasacalle* emerged in the 1940s as a song-dance genre of mestizo (mixing of Spanish and Amerindian cultures) origin. Almost every city in Ecuador has a *pasacalle* dedicated to it, which is usually more popular than the official city anthem. Some examples include 'El Chulla quiteño' (The Man from Quito), 'Chola cuencana' (Woman from Cuenca), 'Guayaquileño, madera de guerrero' (Man from Guayaquil, Warrior Spirit), 'Ambato tierra de flores' (Ambato Land of Flowers) and 'Soy del Carchi' (I Am from Carchi Province). These *pasacalles* are part of the national music anthology, which are usually sung in medleys of Ecuadorian popular music. Historian Jorge Núñez (1998, 23, 41) defines the *pasacalle* as a 'hymn of the small homeland' ('himno de la patria chica') and 'song of roots' ('canción de arraigo') because the lyrical content emphasizes love and pride for one's place of birth.

The *pasacalle* is an embraced dance with a simple choreography consisting of short walking steps. It shows the influence of the Spanish *pasodoble*, the

European polka and the Mexican *corrido*. It is characterized by a binary meter, lively tempo and rhythmic accompaniment based on four eighth notes. *Pasacalles* are usually in the minor mode, with harmonic progressions based on simple sequences of I-IV-V-I. People sing to the accompaniment of a guitar, although performances by brass bands, piano and other instrumental ensembles are also popular.

Well-known *pasacalle* composers are Jorge Araújo Chiriboga (1892–1970), Alfredo Carpio Flores (1909–56) and Carlos Rubira Infante (1921). The latter, one of the most prolific Ecuadorian composers and songwriters, has composed a *pasacalle* for almost every city in Ecuador. In his songs, Rubira describes the beauty of the landscapes and people of a particular city or region. His *pasacalles* are well known, and at concerts, audiences often sing along to them. Discos Granja, FEDISCOS and IFESA were the main recording companies for traditional *pasacalles* in the 1950s and 1960s.

Since the 1990s the lower classes have appropriated and transformed the *pasacalle* into a modern dance music pejoratively known as *música chicha.* Some traditional *pasacalles* have been arranged in this style of music, which includes synthesizers, electric guitars and percussion instruments. These versions are often scorned by upper-middle-class people, who associate this music with drunkenness and lower-class social contexts.

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KETTY WONG

Pasillo

The *pasillo* is an urban musical genre derived from the European waltz and characterized by sentimental lyrics and guitar accompaniment. It is popular in Ecuador, Colombia and Costa Rica. In Ecuador, the *pasillo* is considered the musical symbol of national identity. In Colombia, it acquired national overtones and was considered one of the musical genres representing the Andean elites, until the mid-twentieth century, when the *cumbia* displaced it and came to represent 'Colombianness' at national and international levels (Wade 2000). In Costa Rica, *marimba* (an African-derived xylophone) renditions of *pasillos* are considered a regional expression of the Guanacaste province.

In the late nineteenth century, the Colombian and Ecuadorian *pasillos* were similar in character; however, at the turn of the twentieth century they began to be differentiated in terms of function, instrumentation and lyrical content. Ecuadorian music researchers suggest that military bands from Colombia introduced the *pasillo* to current Ecuadorian territories during the independence wars in the early 1820s. At first, the *pasillo* was an instrumental music. It developed into a salon-music genre, composed by musicians with conservatory training such as Aparicio Córdova (ca. 1840–1934), Carlos Amable Ortiz (1859–1937) and Sixto María Durán (1875–1947) in Ecuador, and Emilio Murillo (1880–1942) and Pedro Morales Pinto (1863–1926) in Colombia. Known as *vals del país* (waltz of the country), the *pasillo* became a popular dance in both countries. The term 'pasillo' is a diminutive form of the word *paso* (step), a reference to the dance's characteristic short steps. In the early twentieth century, the *pasillo* was sung in serenades and performed in *retretas* (concerts at open air venues) by military bands and *estudiantinas* (ensemble of guitar-like instruments). *Pasillos* were first recorded in the early 1910s by Columbia and Victor Records in studios located in Spain and Italy. These were instrumental versions performed by studio orchestras and aimed at the Ecuadorian and Colombian markets.

In Ecuador, early vocal *pasillos* were known as 'songs of damnation' because their lyrics usually dealt with themes related to unfaithful women, the breakup of relationships, revenge and death as a way of coping with heartbreak. In the 1920s upper-middle-class Ecuadorians transformed these lyrics into a poetic expression of love which idealizes the woman. Other lyrics sing of Ecuador's beautiful landscapes and the bravery of its people. Upper-middle-class Ecuadorians usually define the *pasillo* as a 'poem set to music' because the lyrics are actually poems nourished by Latin American *modernismo*, a literary stream that sought an aesthetic of personal lyricism through the rhymes and consonance of the verses. In the mid-twentieth century the *pasillo* lost its dance function when performers from the highland region began singing it in a slow tempo, and since the 1970s there has been a generalized perception among Ecuadorians that it is synonymous with sadness.

The *pasillo* has been central to the construction of elite images of the Ecuadorian nationhood. Discourses about its origin reflect Ecuadorians' desire to find the roots of their identity, be they in European or indigenous cultures. Most discourses lack historical and musicological evidence. Historians and upper-middle-class writers tend to regard the *pasillo* as a local version of the German *Lied*, the Portuguese *fado*, the Basque *zortzico* or the French *passepied* (Guerrero 1996). The *pasillo* is also said to bear a resemblance to the Spanish *bolero* and the Austrian waltz due to the common triple meter of these genres (ibid.). Nationalist writers and musicologists on the other hand seek the origin of the *pasillo* in the *sanjuanito*, the *yaraví* and the *pase del niño*, three musical genres associated with the indigenous population. From a diffusionist point of view, most researchers have agreed that the *pasillo* is derived from the European waltz and came to Ecuador from Colombia. During the colonial period, Ecuador belonged to the Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada, which also included present-day Colombia and Venezuela. It is logical to assume that people from these countries shared the *pasillo* genre, though each national population gave the music a regional flavor. The Colombian *pasillo* was influenced by the *bambuco*, the Venezuelan *pasillo* by the *joropo*, and the Ecuadorian *pasillo* by the *sanjuanito* and the *yaraví* (Portaccio 1994, v. 2, 136).

Musically, the *pasillo* is distinguished by a basic rhythmic pattern formed by a quarter note, an eighth rest, an eighth note and a quarter note. The accompaniment is characterized by simple European-derived combinations of harmonic patterns (I-V-I, I-IV-V-I), often enriched with brief modulations to the secondary dominant. Piano transcriptions of late nineteenth-century *pasillos* show a variety of rhythms in triple meter that notate various guitar strumming patterns rather than changes in the *pasillo*'s rhythmic structure *per se*. It took several decades for the *pasillo* to acquire the standardized musical form and instrumentation it has today. Following the structure of the poems, many traditional *pasillos* from the 1920s and 1930s were organized into three–four sections, each of which developed new melodic and tonal material. Since the mid-twentieth century a binary form and a minor key in all sections have been prevalent features. While an alternation of duple and triple meters (*sesquiáltera*) was characteristic of early vocal *pasillos,* a regular triple meter became the norm in the 1950s. *Pasillos* have traditionally been sung by duos and in parallel thirds.

In the first half of the twentieth century Ecuadorian *pasillos* were performed by military bands and diverse ensembles made up of piano, violin, guitar or any other available instruments. Influenced by the Mexican group Trio Los Panchos, popular all over Latin America in the 1950s for their arrangements of *boleros*, the Ecuadorian *pasillo* adopted a similar instrumentation: guitar, which provides the rhythmic base and an embellished bass line, and *requinto* (a small high-pitched guitar), which plays melodic counterpoints to the vocal part. In Colombia, *pasillos* were performed by *estudiantinas*, large string ensembles also known as *liras*, *rondallas* or *tunas*. These ensembles included the guitar, the *tiple* (a 12-stringed flat-backed lute) and the *bandola* (a teardrop-shaped lute with 16 strings).

In Ecuador, there is an anthology of favorite Ecuadorian *pasillos* known as *música nacional* (national music). The most prolific and best-known Ecuadorian composers include Francisco Paredes Herrera (1891–1952), Nicasio Safadi (1897–1968) and Carlos Rubira Infante (b. 1921). Renowned performers include Carlota Jaramillo (known as 'The Queen of the *Pasillo*'), Julio Jaramillo, Dúo Benítez-Valencia, Trio Los Brillantes and Hermanos Miño-Naranjo. In Colombia, Pedro Morales Pino (1863–1926), Emilio Murillo (1880–1942) and Fulgencio García (1880–1945) were among the best-known composers of instrumental *pasillos*. The Dúo Garzón y Collazos were nationally known performers of Colombian *pasillos.*

The Colombian *pasillo* is classified into two subcategories which point to distinctions based on character, function and performance tempo: *pasillo lento* (slow *pasillo*) and *pasillo de baile* (*pasillo* for dance). In Ecuador, *pasillos* are distinguished by their geographical region: *pasillo costeño* (*pasillo* from the coast) and *pasillo serrano* (*pasillo* from the highlands). The former tends to be cheerful and in fast tempo; the latter is generally slow, sad and sentimental.

Since the 1960s, the Ecuadorian working classes have appropriated and transformed the *pasillo* into *música rocolera,* a style of music associated with the *rocola* (the jukebox), the *cantina* (the bar, and getting drunk). The new *pasillos* lack the poetic language characteristic of traditional *pasillos*. Singers perform *pasillos rocoleros* with exacerbated sentiments and usually high-pitched nasal voices. Upper-middle-class Ecuadorians stigmatize this type of *pasillo* as vulgar and assume that the traditional *pasillo* is disappearing because it does not have commercial visibility. They fail to recognize the dynamic changes affecting the *pasillo* and engage in lengthy discussions over the standing of the *pasillo* as the symbol of 'Ecuadorianness.' Young Ecuadorians do not normally listen to traditional *pasillos* because they consider them to be old-fashioned. In the 1990s intellectuals and musicians advocated the need to innovate and modernize the *pasillo* with new instruments and jazz and rock harmonies. Despite its low visibility in the music market, the traditional *pasillo* continues to be perceived as a dominant national expression. With the massive exodus of Ecuadorians abroad in the aftermath of the economic crisis of the late 1990s, the *pasillo* is experiencing a renaissance among young expatriate Ecuadorians who are nostalgic for the homeland.

In honor of Julio Jaramillo, the most internationally known Ecuadorian singer, the Ecuadorian government declared his day of birth, 1 October, the Day of the Ecuadorian Pasillo. In Colombia, the Festival of the Colombian Pasillo takes place every year in the month of August in the city of Aguadas, Department of Caldas.

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KETTY WONG

Payada (Décima)

Payada is a practice of improvised solo song, traditional and to some extent current in Argentina, Uruguay and Chile, typically taking place as a contest between two singers (*payadores*) who accompany themselves on the guitar. *Décima* is the preferred poetical form, and the term is occasionally used as a synonym. The stanzas are composed of ten octosyllabic lines, rhyming ABBAACCDDC. Earlier verse forms such as couplets or quatrains have fallen out of use.

Following this norm of versification, the contenders pose questions to each other and answer them. Each participation occupies a full stanza, except for *media payada*, in which the second singer is obliged to answer in the second half of a stanza (thus respecting the rhymes chosen by his adversary). The subjects treated vary greatly: love, philosophy of life, politics, current affairs, riddles, etc. Although traditionally the musical setting was that of *cifra* or *estilo*, to which in the early twentieth century was added the waltz or *valseado*, the practice since the second half of the century has relied overwhelmingly on the *milonga*. Each one of the singers chooses his own melody from a stock of formulas, according to his preferences and vocal range; he then repeats it as many times as he intervenes. The *payada* used to go on until one of the contenders declared himself beaten, but nowadays more cooperative arrangements are made beforehand.

In contrast to the prevalence of females in the *copleras* improvisational practice in the mountainous Argentinian Northwest, the *payada* of the pampas is a strictly male affair. The roving *payador* (*gaucho*-style minstrel) of the nineteenth century, who exercised his art in the thinly scattered *pulperias* (general stores and pubs) of the pampas in return for food and drink, has been highly idealized as the quintessential *gaucho* figure. In that vein, but with a strong autobiographical nucleus, the figure of the *payador* has been the subject of a highly celebrated, forty-minute-long narration with *milonga* music by Atahualpa Yupanqui, *El payador perseguido* (The Hunted Payador), first recorded in 1963 and published in book form in 1972. *Payadores* are still active on some circuits, mainly *peñas* (pubs), where occasional *payada* sessions are heard, but the improvisatory nature of the art does not lend itself to mass production and circulation. Recordings of *payada* sessions are few, and they tend to take the form of anthologies. One famous Uruguayan-born improviser is Gustavo Guichón, who every year performs for hours at a time during the *folclore* and rodeo festival at Jesús María (Córdoba, Argentina) commenting in *payada* style, through the loudspeakers of a large stadium, the triumphs and misfortunes of the riders.

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LEONARDO WAISMAN

Pindín

Pindín is one of several sobriquets used to describe Panamanian *música típica*. Throughout Latin America, *música típica* is used to describe a country's particular compendium of traditional musical styles, whether it is rural, folkloric or indigenous in origin. Panamanians interpret *música típica* in a similar respect, sometimes using the term interchangeably with *música folklorica*. However, Panama also attaches the *música típica* label to a particular genre of violin and accordion-based dance music that emerged during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Due to Panama's polysemous usage of the *música típica* label, terms such as *pindín*, *música típica popular* and, to a lesser extent, *ritmo guarare,* are used informally to describe the country's primary popular music genre.

Historically, *música típica* comes from an area of Panama's interior stretching from the Western province of Chiriqui to the Azuero Peninsula, a large peninsula in southern Panama that is divided into three provinces: Herrera, Los Santos and Veraguas. The inhabitants of these regions are primarily of Spanish descent, and despite Panama's considerable cultural and ethnic diversity, the people, culture and musical traditions of these particular provinces are often taken by the Panamanian government to symbolize the national essence of Panama.

Pindín is the name of a popular rural dance event that was organized in cantinas, bars, open-air plazas or private homes. These dances were often accompanied by a violin-led *música típica* ensemble. The violin, serving as the principal melodic instrument, was supported by a Spanish guitar, triangle, one or more *tambores* (hand percussion instruments) and a *caja* (a double-headed drum played with hand and stick). Eventually, the repertoire of instrumental music performed at these dances came to be known as *música de píndin*, or simply, *píndin*. Although the repertoire of this period did not contain song lyrics, this did not preclude the inclusion of a female vocalist who performed vocal ululations in a strained and high-pitched voice known as a *saloma.*

The dance rhythms executed by these ensembles derive from Panama's musical folklore such as the *mejorana*, *tamborito* and *cumbia*. It was also a common practice, especially in Chiriquí, to incorporate the *waltz*, *mazurka*, *polka* and other European dances into the repertoire, resulting in musical blends such as the *mazurka de píndin* and *vals de píndin*.

Throughout the twentieth century, *pindín* acquired pejorative connotations, becoming a term used disparagingly by urban, middle and upper-class Panamanians to describe the rural peasants (*campesinos*) who patronize the disreputable bars and cantinas that frequently held these particular social dances. It is perhaps this unfavorable connotation that has prevented the widespread acceptance of *pindín* as an official genre label.

Starting in the 1930s and 1940s, Panama's increasing exposure to transnational popular music genres – facilitated by the rise of radio and a growing demand for sound recordings and touring musicians from the USA and Latin America – sparked musical experimentation and innovations within the *música típica* genre. The most significant change to occur during the first half of the twentieth century was the supplanting of the violin in favor of the diatonic button accordion as the principal melodic instrument. Esteemed violinists such as Gelo Cordoba, Dorindo Cardenas and Ceferino Nieto abandoned the violin in favor of the more sonically powerful accordion. In the late 1960s, *música típica* composers and musicians, deeply influenced by Afro-Cuban music, experimented with different musical forms and instrumentation. Changes to the percussion section were significant, replacing the Panamanian *tambores* (*repicador* and *pujador*) with Cuban-derived instruments such as the *timbales* and *conga* drums (also known as *tumbadores* in Panama). During the same period, Ceferino Nieto and Roberto 'Papi' Brandao were the first to incorporate the electric bass and stand-up bass, respectively.

In the 1970s acclaimed accordionist Osvaldo Ayala, influenced by Colombian *vallenato* music, was the first *música típica* artist to record songs with greater narrative lyricism, tackling issues such as love and estrangement with keen emotional breadth and depth. Ayala is also cited as being the first to experiment with the latest advances in music technology, most notably incorporating the electronic keyboard and percussion into his ensemble in the early 1980s.

Early twenty-first-century *música típica* uses the standard ensemble of a diatonic button accordion, one or two vocalists, timbales, congas, the *churucca* (metallic guiro), drum synthesizers, an electric bass and an electric guitar. The role of the *salomadora*, though absent in an increasing number of *música típica conjuntos* in recent years, persists for the time being.

Música típica underwent a commercial boom in the 1990s, thanks in part to the stylistic experimentation of artists such as Victorio Vergara, Osvaldo Ayala and Samy and Sandra Sandoval, who all aspired to appeal to an ethnically diverse Panamanian population. The brother-sister duo Samy y Sandra Sandoval have continued to make significant stylistic contributions to the *música típica* genre, incorporating musical elements from salsa, reggae, *merengue* and hip-hop into their repertoire. Their experimentation continues to attract younger generations of Panamanians as well as a broader global music market. They have performed throughout the Americas and Europe and have made numerous television and film appearances such as a cameo in the motion picture *The Tailor of Panama* (2001). Most importantly, vocalist Sandra Sandoval, with the backing of her brother Samy on the accordion, is one of the first women to sing lead vocals in a *música típica* ensemble. Although no other female artist has been able to follow suit with equal success, Sandra Sandoval's entrance into an otherwise male-dominated musical role and scene is noteworthy. The boom also increased the national exposure of long-established *música típica* artists such as Dorindo Cardenas, Ulpiano Vergara and Alfredo Escudero, all of whom have been commemorated by the Panamanian government for their artistic contributions to Panamanian folkloric and popular culture. Most notably, Osvaldo Ayala has served as Panama's Cultural Ambassador since 1995 and has performed and recorded on several occasions with the country's National Symphony Orchestra.

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MELISSA GONZALEZ

Plena

Plena is a primarily Afro-Puerto Rican musical genre that connects the histories of Puerto Rican workers with the broader struggles of the Afro-Caribbean working classes as heirs of the repressive experiences of slavery. Emerging in Ponce, a coastal urban enclave in the south of the island, *plena* is a product of the period that followed the US invasion of Puerto Rico in 1898. Since its beginnings, *plena* has been a means to comment upon both ordinary and historical events. It has long been practiced in the interstices of the recording industry, the lettered spheres of society and the street corners of Puerto Rican neighborhoods. It has played a central role in the discussions about Puerto Rican identity and culture since at least the 1930s. *Plena* is a hybrid musical expression in which performers sing in a call-and-response format of mostly four-line repetitive verses. The vocals are accompanied by the *pandero* or *pandereta*, a hand held portable drum of African and Arabic origins, which is *plena*'s central instrument. The genre has experienced diverse periods of commercial success through its century-old history. Despite its current decrease in commercial popularity, *plena* remains a vital cultural expression and a mark of national pride among Puerto Ricans both on the island and throughout the diaspora.

Plena is often described as a derivative of *bomba*, a distinct Afro-Puerto Rican musical genre that dates back to the eighteenth century. They are so closely related that people often refer to them as if they were a single genre called '*bomba y plena*.' Furthermore, some musicians even speak of *plena* as the little sister of *bomba*. Although they have indeed shared performance and practice spaces since early in the twentieth century, *plena* and *bomba* are genres with different instrumentations, dance steps, rhythms and structures.

Historical Overview

It is a fundamental understanding among musicians, folklorists and scholars that *plena* developed in the southern part of Puerto Rico, more specifically in the city of Ponce. After the military invasion of the island by the United States in 1898, sugar cane haciendas owned by Puerto Rican Creoles were consolidated into huge plantations and mill towns, many of which were established in the south. Puerto Rico saw an increment of migrants from English-speaking Caribbean countries such as St Kitts, St Thomas and Barbados in the early decades of the century. Most of them settled in working-class communities in the south and west of the island. A strong labor force composed mostly of black Puerto Ricans, Creole Puerto Rican peasants and Caribbean immigrants was formed in the midst of the social and economic changes brought by the new capitalist system implanted by the United States (López 2008; Flores 1993; Echevarría-Alvarado 1984). The genre spread quickly as laborers traveled throughout the island and began migrating to the United States.

Plena first emerged in La Joya del Castillo, an urban shantytown in Ponce. John Clark and Catherine George, a Barbadian couple remembered as 'Los Ingleses' (the English), used to play a guitar and a *pandereta* throughout the streets of the city musicalizing the everyday lives of the community and singing jingles for local commercial stores (Echevarría-Alvarado 1984). Their daughter Carola Clark was the first well-known *plena* percussionist during the 1910s before she migrated to New York. By the early 1920s Joselino 'Bunbún' Oppenheimer, also from La Joya del Castillo, became known as the first 'King of Plena' (López 2008; Flores 1993; Echevarría-Alvarado 1984). Even though he died in 1929, many of Bunbún's compositions became foundational in the history of *plena* as the genre was recorded for the first time.

Plena was first recorded in the late 1920s in New York by Manuel 'Canario' Jiménez, a dock worker, merchant marine and popular music singer who is remembered as the man who made *plena* internationally famous. Canario popularized the genre under a contract with the RCA-Victor record label. He recorded mostly sanitized versions of streetwise compositions written by Bunbún and other *pleneros* (plena musicians). The three-minute format of the 78-rpm discs imposed a rigid structure to a music that was about spontaneity. Also, the instrumentation of Canario's group responded to the demands of the entertainment industry in which the Cuban *conjunto* was the sound of the day. The *pandero* was excluded from recordings or used in a minor role compared to that of accordion, *güiro*, guitar and trumpet. Although *plena* was not the main genre in Canario's repertoire, he became its iconic figure among Puerto Ricans both in the island and in New York, and he is responsible for the first, albeit brief, *plena* commercial fever.

Following the commercial boom of Canario's recordings, small ensembles recorded *plenas* for labels such as Columbia and Brunswick. Preeminent Puerto Rican popular musicians such as Pedro Flores, Rafael Hernández and Plácido Acevedo also recorded *plenas*. The genre remained a central musical expression among the working-class communities even when it was experiencing commercial success. According to historian Edwin Albino, the legendary *plenero* Ramón Rivera Alers, 'El Viejo Mon,' worked the streets of Mayagüez, a coastal town in the West of Puerto Rico, during the early 1930s singing *plena* commercial jingles on a daily basis, and more prominently during the Tree Kings festivities (Personal communication, Mayagüez 2010). By the late 1930s the commercial popularity of *plena* had vanished as the recording industry favored other genres.

Plena's commercial popularity arose once again during the late 1940s when the upper levels of society in Puerto Rico embraced the genre. César Concepción, a well-known ballroom bandleader whose big band performed mainly European and Cuban dance music, created *plena de salón* or ballroom *plena*. He adapted the genre to the Latin popular music orchestra of the time that included trumpet, saxophone, *congas*, *timbales*, *güiro*, bass and piano. *Panderos* were excluded from Concepción's orchestra. Perhaps his main contribution to the history of *plena* was the *plena-mambo*, which responded to the *mambo* fever of the time.

During the 1950s and 1960s *plena* was recorded by preeminent Puerto Rican popular music figures such as Myrta Silva and Daniel Santos. The genre was also embraced and folklorized by the Institute for Puerto Rican Culture which edited an anthology of Canario's old *plenas*. Flor 'Ramito' Morales Ramos, an iconic figure in the *jíbaro* music (songs from the country-side of Puerto Rico), composed and recorded one of the most beloved *plenas* of all time: 'Qué bonita bandera' (What a Beautiful Flag). In Mayagüez, Cheo Pérez became a foundational figure of the streetwise *plena*. Meanwhile in New York, two migrant *pleneros* from Mayagüez became two of the most popular figures of the genre: Ángel Torruellas and Mon Rivera. The former was crowned the new 'King of Plena' due to his *plenas jíbaras* influenced by *merengue* and *cumbia*. The latter marked the sound of Puerto Rican music in New York for decades to come with his trombone-laden urban *plenas*. Rivera was also crucial in bringing back the laborer struggles to the center of *plena* with one of his preeminent songs 'Aló ¿quién ñama?' (Hello, Who's Calling?). Composed by his father 'El Viejo Mon,' this tune narrates the struggles endured a couple of decades earlier by a group of female workers in the textile industry in Mayagüez.

In the midst of this surge of *plena*, Rafael Cortijo and Ismael Rivera became arguably the two most important figures of the genre. In the mid-1950s, Cortijo y su Combo, an all-black group of musicians with no formal musical training, occupied the Puerto Rican media, toured Latin America and the Caribbean, and challenged the hegemony of big bands in the Palladium in New York. Their first mayor hit was 'El bombón de Elena,' composed by the late Rafael Cepeda, the patriarch of *bomba* and *plena*. They popularized the musical traditions from Santurce, a working-class neighborhood in San Juan known for its rich *bomba* and *plena* practices. Even though Cortijo y su Combo did not use *panderos*, the group is beloved and respected by *pleneros* because they orchestrated the street-corner flavor of these genres into a *conjunto* format always performing with great strength and freedom.

In the 1970s, salsa became a major force in the recording industry led by the hegemonic New York-based enterprise of Fania Records. The marks of *plena* were sparked throughout the work of many Puerto Rican *salseros* whose repertoires and musical practices were influenced by Mon Rivera and Cortijo y su Combo (López 2008; Berríos 1999). Also, traditional *pleneros* such as Ángel Torruellas and Víctor Montañez made recordings in New York and maestros such as Sammy Tanco maintained the community-based traditions of *plena* in the city. Willie Colón produced two albums for Mon Rivera, *There Goes the Neighborhood* (1975) and *Forever* (1978), that relocated *plena* on the charts and brought the genre to the younger generation. Nonetheless, *plena* was marginalized during this period and it became a minor commercial force.

In 1976 a group of streetwise *pleneros* lead by José Manuel 'Chema' Soto founded El Rincón Criollo (The Creole Corner), a cultural institution in the South Bronx that has become the most important place for the practice of *plena* in New York during the last 30 years. Also known as La Casita de Chema (Chema's Little House), El Rincón has served as the place for legendary maestros such as Marcial Reyes, El Viejo Tivo and Benny Ayala to practise the traditional *plena* on a daily basis. Los Pleneros de la 21, arguably the most important *bomba* and *plena* ensemble in the United States, was founded by Juan Gutiérrez at La Casita in 1983.

In Puerto Rico, *pleneros* from a younger generation posed a conscious response to the hegemony of salsa by enhancing the orchestration of *plena* ensembles. Los Pleneros del Quinto Olivo, a band from Santurce, is responsible for the development of a new commercial *plena* that emulated the sound and orchestration of most salsa bands in the mid-1970s (López 2008). The characteristic features of Los Pleneros del Quinto Olivo were a reinforced line of trumpets and trombones, an expanded chorus, an increment in the number of *panderos*, and a new way of playing the drums (López 2008). Also, Los Pleneros de la 23 Abajo, directed by Roberto Cipriani, presented a distinct *plena* ensemble with a less commercial style that reaffirmed the political significance of the genre as the voice of the working class.

In 1980, and right before his death in 1982, Rafael Cortijo brought *plena* back to the radio with his version of the classic song 'Elena, Elena.' In 1985 the well-known salsa singer Lalo Rodríguez recorded the album *El niño, el hombre, el soñador y el loco* (The Child, the Man, the Dreamer and the Mad Man). Originally conceptualized by Rafael Cortijo, this was the first album in which *plena* and *bomba* were recorded with violins and classical-type sound. According to the well-known *plenero* Héctor 'Tito' Matos, a group of foundational figures of the genre such as Tomasito Flores, Emilio Escobar, Ismael 'Cocolai' Rivera, Paquito Cerniéra, Baltazár Carrero, Ramón Pedraza, Héctor Rodríguez and Toñín Romero remained active both recording and on the community-based *plena* scenes (Personal communication, June 2012). A surge of *plena* groups in the 1980s and 1990s saw the emergence, among others, of Atabal, Los Pleneros del Truco, Los Pleneros del Pueblo, Los Sapos del Caño, Son del Manglar, Los Guayacanes de San Antón and Tipikón. Also, *pleneros* such as Luis Daniel 'Chichito' Cepeda, Joe Medina, Gallego, Víctor Toro, Félix Díaz, Héctor 'Tito' Matos, Richard Martínez, Luis 'Lagarto' Figueroa, Erik Noel Rosado and Llonsi Martínez, among many others, participated prominently in these and other ensembles.

A gap developed between the new *plena* styles that flourished in the island during the 1970s and 1980s and the traditional *plena* practices that were mostly nourished in New York. According to Juan Gutiérrez director of Los Pleneros de la 21, new bridges between these traditions were established by Tito Matos and Pedro 'Único' Noguet, two young but experimental *pleneros* who moved to New York separately in the early 1990s (Personal communication, New York 2012). Meanwhile, Plena Libre became the new face of commercial *plena* in the mid-1990s. Directed by Gary Nuñez, the group had several international hits and toured the United States, Europe and Latin America. Plenéalo, a band with a very similar sound, also experienced commercial popularity in the late 1990s. Truco y Zaperoko (a joint venture of Los Pleneros del Truco, a traditional *plena* group, and Zaperoko, a more Cuban sound-oriented band directed by Edwin Feliciano) was also founded in the late 1990s. Between 1999 and 2009 they recorded three albums that merge the Afro-Puerto Rican and Afro-Cuban traditions. Also in the late 1990s, the iconic salsa singer Andy Montañez recorded 'Quién no se siente patriota' (Who Does Not Feel Like a Patriot) one of the most popular *plenas* of recent times.

Beginning in the 1990s, Tito Matos became an influential figure in the development of the genre both in New York and in Puerto Rico. He founded Viento de Agua in 1997 alongside Ricardo Pons, Alberto Toro and other New York-based musicians. Their first album *De Puerto Rico al mundo* (1998) located *plena* within the most important jazz and Latin sounds of the day. Their second album *Viento de Agua Unplugged: Materia prima* (2004) became a crucial influence in the contemporary practices of *plena*. When Matos moved back to Puerto Rico, he and his fellow *plenero* Richard Martínez organized the Plenazos Callejeros, monthly community-based gatherings of *pleneros* that for seven years afforded a generational dialogue between professional and streetwise musicians.

In the early twenty-first century, *plena* has been recorded by salsa orchestras in France, Ukraine, Colombia and Spain. There is also a well-established tradition of *plena* orchestras in Uruguay influenced by the music of Rafael Cortijo and Ismael Rivera, among others. Grupo Esencia, Terraplén, Billy Van y Los Pleneros del Chékere, Tato Torres & Yerbabuena, and composer Jerry Ferrao have also marked the recent history of the genre. Meanwhile, Ricky Martin brought *plena* back to the charts in 2006 with the song 'Pégate,' which he recorded accompanied by *Viento de Agua Unplugged* for his album *Ricky Martin MTV Unplugged*. In 2009, the well-known Puerto Rican jazz saxophonist Miguel Zenón recorded the album *Esta plena* also in collaboration with Tito Matos.

Plena: Social Significance

Soon after *plena* emerged in the streets of Ponce, it became entangled in the discussions about Puerto Rican culture and identity. The genre has developed in the midst of the tensions and negotiations between its community-based practices, the recording industry and the lettered spheres of society. The economic, racial and gender tensions that have long existed among Puerto Ricans have played out in *plena* since at least the 1930s. *Plena* was viewed by the educated intelligentsia with diverse degrees of suspicion and acceptance (Miller 2004). Already in 1935 Tomás Blanco published the essay *Elogio de la plena* that presented the genre as part of the national discourse but only by neglecting its Afro-Caribbean marks. An opposition was created between plena and *danza,* a genre that is said to be a descendant of English and European country dance. *Danza* has long been portrayed as a 'white lady,' as the music of the elites. *Plena*, on the other hand, has long been described as a 'sensual mulatta,' the tri-ethnic music of the working class (Aparicio 1998).

Plena is commonly known as 'the people's newspaper,' understanding this musical genre as the people's means to communicate the news of the neighborhoods. This is one of the most beloved metaphors among *pleneros* and Puerto Ricans in general. Anthropologist Ramón López (2008, 21–55) thoroughly deconstructs the notion of *plena* as a newspaper. He argues that even though it narrates the everyday events of the neighborhoods, *plena*'s structure and storytelling have nothing to do with the rigid language of journalism. López also asserts that the image of *plena* as a newspaper is part of a conscious effort to control a genre that has always been too chaotic and too black for the elites of Puerto Rico. However, the idea of 'the people's newspaper' has become a key component of the *plena* vernacular.

Plena as Music

In *plena*, a soloist and a chorus sing call-and-response patterns that mostly consist of four-line repetitive verses. *Plena* has long served its creators as a means to narrate the ordinary experiences of their communities and to comment upon the historically significant events of the day. Hence, *plenas* can be satirical, iconoclastic, joyful, humorous, religious, ordinary or philosophical. Also, they are often strongly political as the genre has been since its beginnings the voice of the Puerto Rican workers.

Instrumentation

Plena is a flexible musical genre that has changed greatly over the years, often absorbing different instrumentations into its basic ensemble. Nonetheless, the *pandero* has always been nourished as 'the soul of plena' (Echevarría-Alvarado 1984, 31). *Panderos* are handheld circular drums with a low-depth echo chamber that have a goatskin attached to the frame through a screw-and-lug tuning system. Historically, p*leneros* have manufactured them by recycling ordinary objects such as cheese boxes, kitchen cauldrons, pieces of metal and PVC. Since the 1990s there has been a surge of crafted professionalized *panderos* of bigger sizes and new styles that follow the influence in sound and style developed by Pepe Olivo (López 2008).

The basic instrumentation of *plena* has long been standardized as an ensemble of tree *panderos* whose syncopated and polyrhythmic beats are held tightly together by a *güiro* (scraped gourd), the other quintessential instrument of traditional *plena*. The ensemble consists of two supporting drums called *seguidor* and *punteador*, and a lead drum called *requinto*. The *seguidor* is a low-tuned and usually bigger drum, which provides a constant beat that is the basic rhythm of *plena.* The *punteador* is a middle-tuned and usually middle-sized drum that plays a beat that serves as a bridge between the *seguidor* and the *requinto*. This is the smallest and higher-tuned *pandero* and is used to improvise over the other drums. Other instruments commonly used in *plena* are the harmonica, the accordion, the guitar, the trumpet, the trombone and the clarinet. Ultimately, *pleneros* often say that they play *plena* with whatever instruments they have to hand (Singer 1994, 214).

Dance

Dance does not play such a preeminent role in the practice of *plena* as it does in *bomba*. *Plena* percussionists do not necessarily converse directly with dancers. Traditionally, *plena* was danced in couples but the genre has long been danced individually or in spontaneous group choreographies.

Historiography of *Plena*

The formal scholarly work on *plena* began in the 1970s and 1980s both in Puerto Rico and New York. In the 1970s, the Center for Puerto Rican Studies at Hunter College in New York documented the practices of *plena* in the city. The book *La plena: origen, sentido y desarrollo en el folkore puertorriqueño* (Plena: Its Origins, Sense and Evolution in Puerto Rican Folklore), written by the late folklorist Félix Echevarría-Alvarado in 1984, is the keystone work for the study of the origins of *plena* in Ponce. Juan Flores, a Puerto Rican studies scholar who is the most prolific *plena* writer in English, has written historical and ethnographic articles about the genre. In 1993 he published the article 'Bumbún and the Beginnings of La Plena.' In 1994 ethnomusicologist Roberta Singer published a foundational essay entitled 'The Power of Plena,' and ethnomusicologist José Emanuel Dufrasne published *Puerto Rico también tiene tambó* (Puerto Rico Also Has the Drum). In 1997 Ruth Glasser published a thorough study of Manuel 'Canario' Jiménez that was included in her book *My Music Is My Flag*. Meanwhile, in 1998 Frances Aparicio published a gender study of *plena* as part of her book *Listening to Salsa: Gender, Latin Popular Music, and Puerto Rican Culture*. In 2004 Marilyn Miller published 'Plena and the Negotiation of "National" Identity in Puerto Rico,' an essay that situates *plena* within the lettered discussions about national identity. Ultimately, Puerto Rican anthropologist and *plenero* Ramón López is the most prolific and accomplished *plena* scholar. His 2008 book *Los bembeteos de la plena puertorriqueña* was the most comprehensive and critical study of the genre published up to that date.

Conclusion

Plena is a latent cultural manifestation in the everyday lives and a symbol of national pride among Puerto Ricans both on the island and throughout the diaspora. For decades, hundreds of *pleneros* have gathered in the streets of Old San Juan during a weekend in January to celebrate *Las Fiestas de la Calle San Sebastián*, the equivalent to a Puerto Rican carnival. In New York, El Rincón Criollo remains a central place for the practice of *plena* on a daily basis. Since 2003 the Hostos Community College in the South Bronx has celebrated the *Bomplenazos*, a biannual reunion of *bomba* and *plena* musicians from New York and Puerto Rico. Also, several *bomba* and *plena* festivals have flourished throughout the island and other cities in the United States. *Los Pleneros de la 21* has been a consistent institution in the performance, preservation and education of the genre. They actively engage in the United States and international folk and world music festivals, and have been recognized by national endowments and foundations. Meanwhile, the *Plenazos Callejeros* have inspired a surge of similar *plena* gatherings around Puerto Rico. In sum, despite its current decline in commercial success, *plena* is practiced by many more people and in many more spaces than ever in its century-old history.

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CÉSAR COLÓN-MONTIJO

Polca Paraguaya

Perhaps the best known and most cultivated of all Paraguayan musical forms, the *polca paraguaya,* or simply *polca*, is a song and dance genre in compound duple (6/8) meter characterized by its lively, rhythmic drive derived from sesquialtera or hemiola rhythmic elements. Sharing its history and some general musical traits with other Latin American musical genres in 6/8, the history of the Paraguayan *polca* could be traced back to colonial times, when the region was heavily influenced by social and cultural Iberian practices. From the early to the mid-twentieth century, helped by live radio broadcasts and the newly established recording industry, Paraguayan popular music composers and performers disseminated new compositions based on the musical characteristics of the Paraguayan *polca*, thus affirming its own local identity. The genre has continued to be a favorite among all social groups in Paraguay. Although the sound and structure of the traditional Paraguayan *polca* have remained essentially unchanged, the early twenty-first century has witnessed a search for experimentations between the genre and other popular counterparts, such as jazz, rock and world music.

The name *polca* derives from the transplanted Bohemian polka that became very popular in Paraguay during the second half of the nineteenth century; however, apart from sharing its name, the Paraguayan *polca*'s melodic, harmonic and rhythmic features do not correspond to the dance of European origin. The short melodic phrases of the Paraguayan *polca* are highly syncopated, usually connecting the last beat of a measure with the first beat of the following one. This singular characteristic of the Paraguayan *polca*, known as *sincopado paraguayo* (Paraguayan syncopation), has the aural effect of a playful anticipation of the beat (Boettner 1997, 205). In general, tonal harmonies in parallel thirds or sixths, frequently following a I-V-I-IV-I-V-I harmonic sequence, accompany the melodic line. Bolstering the *polca*'s characteristic steady rhythmic propulsion is a typical accompaniment pattern consisting of broken chords punctuation and systematic strumming usually performed on the guitar and/or the Paraguayan harp.

One of the first documented Paraguayan references to the name *polca* appears in *El Semanario*, the main newspaper published during the presidency of Carlos Antonio López (1790–1862), first president of Paraguay. An excerpt from an article published on 27 November 1858 recounts the details of a celebration in honor of the opening of Vice-President Venancio López’s new house. According to the article, a band was hired to play *polcas* and *mazurcas* as entertainment for the crowd at the event (Boettner 1997, 199). Despite the article’s mention of the *polca* in its adapted spelling, no conclusive evidence exists to link the *polcas* played at the López residency to the Bohemian polka or to the 6/8 Paraguayan *polca* as it is known today. Surviving anonymous *polcas* from the late nineteenth century such as ‘Campamento Cerro León’ (León Hill Campground), ‘Guaimí pysapẽ’ (The Old Lady’s Toenail), ‘Mamá kumandá’ (Mother’s Beans), ‘[El] Solito’ (Alone), ‘Ndarekói la culpa’ (It Is not My Fault) and ‘Polca ka’ú’ (The Drunkard’s *Polca*) exhibit compound duple meter with syncopated melodies. Boettner (ibid.) links the inception of the Paraguayan *polca* to a particular dance of Iberian origin that reached the continent around 1750. He associates the Paraguayan *polca* with the *gato* dance, supporting his inference by quoting musicologist Carlos Vega, who indicated that the Spanish *Gato Mis-Mis* dance, later referred to as *gato* in Argentina, was already known in Peru in 1780. Boettner reinforces this view by citing Italian traveler Giovanni Pelleschi, who visited Humaitá (in southern Paraguay) in 1880 and recorded names of dances in his diary, among them the *gato*.

Having studied the rhythmic characteristics of the Paraguayan *polca*, Cardozo Ocampo (2005, 69–71) classifies at least four distinctive subcategories within the genre: *polca syryry* (dragging *polca*), characterized by a more relaxed pace than the average fast *polca*; *polca kyre’ỹ* (lively *polca*); *polca popó* (jumping *polca*) or *jeroky popó* (dancing and jumping *polka*); and *polca galopa*, a *polca* accompanied by a *banda típica* (folk band) using the rhythmic form of the *galopa*. Szarán (1997, 392) mentions two further subcategories: the *polca sarakí* (playful *polca*), a fast-paced instrumental *polca*, and the *polca jekutú* (plunging *polca*). Ruiz Domínguez (2000, 163) adds the *polca corrida* (running *polca*), perhaps a Spanish designation and rendition of the term *polca syryry*, and the *polca valseada* (waltz *polca*), danced with a waltz-like motion.

Opinions on this complex subject are far from unanimous. Composer Florentín Giménez (1997, 117) fundamentally disagrees with the classifications proposed by Cardozo Ocampo and Szarán, maintaining that the Paraguayan *polca* and the *purahéi* ([Paraguayan] song), are *géneros intermedios* (in-between genres), stages in the development of two main forms of musical expression: the *guarania* and the *kyre’ỹ*. He labels the *polca* as a subgenre with a slower rhythm than the *kyre’ỹ* which for Giménez was the appropriate term to describe the lively rhythmic compositions in 6/8, commonly referred to as the *polca*, found in Paraguayan traditional music. Nevertheless, in a study on the Argentine *chamamé*, a traditional genre from the northern Province of Corrientes closely connected in style and history to the Paraguayan *polca*, Rubén Pérez Bugallo (1996, 198) indicates that the *chamamé*, the Argentine *zamba* and the Paraguayan *polca* all seem to share a common origin in the practices of the Iberian-Peruvian musical traditions, highly influenced by the Spanish *fandango* (ibid., 19, 178).

When Paraguayan *polcas* are presented as vocal music, compositions are usually, though not exclusively, performed at a slower pace and referred to as *polca-canción* (sung *polca*) or simply, *polca*. Various initiatives to replace the name *polca* with a Guaraní or Spanish term have been unsuccessful, as the present denomination is deeply embedded in the popular tradition. While composers Remberto Giménez (1898–1977) and José Asunción Flores (1908–72) have endorsed the Guaraní word *kyre’ỹ* (lively, playful, witty), composer and band conductor Luis Cavedagni (1858–1916) and guitarist Agustín Pío Barrios (1885–1944) used the term *danza paraguaya* (Paraguayan dance) to refer to the [*polca*] instrumental and dance form. In regard to the song form, composer Juan Carlos Moreno González (1916–83) has assigned the Guaraní word *techagaú* (nostalgia) in reference to the *polca-canción* compositions, while others prefer *canción paraguaya* (Paraguayan song) and *purahéi* ([Paraguayan] song) (Boettner 1997, 198). In 2007 Florentín Giménez proposed the Guaraní term *pupyasy* (*pupy* means ‘world of sound’; *asy* means ‘sentiment’), which for the composer indicates a more accurate description of the musical characteristics of the genre known as Paraguayan *polca* (2007, 265–70).

Major themes found in Paraguayan *polca* texts may include descriptive onomatopoeic titles, romance, nature, name and description of towns, nostalgia for home and mother, and epic subjects, as well as compositions celebrating the main political parties and *clubes de fútbol* (football – soccer – clubs). Some of these themes are also common to other Latin American musical genres, and although the language and poetry construction might appear similar, Paraguayan lyricists, besides describing local traditions, views and ideas, may also include words and phrases in Guaraní. Tracing back the Paraguayan *polca* to colonial times and its affirmation as a local musical genre in the early to the mid-twentieth century, one could see that in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century its continuous popularity has been the result of numerous musical and social agents. Among them, the private and official establishment of numerous music festivals celebrating popular Paraguayan culture, and the influence of the media and the recording industry have been the main factors supporting the cultivation and dissemination of Paraguay's most representative musical form.

Polca Paraguaya *in Brazil*

The importance of Paraguayan *polca* to cultural identity extends beyond the borders of Paraguay into the northern regions of Argentina and to the central southern Brazilian region of Mato Grosso do Sul. In Brazil, the assimilation of '*polca paraguia*' is an ongoing process.

The *polca paraguaia* is the main musical representation of cultural identity in Mato Grosso do Sul, and is linked with the fact that the entire region was occupied by the Guaraní Indians during the colonial period and was the scene of intensive migration on the part of Paraguayan people during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

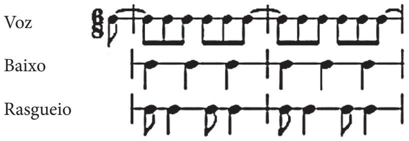
After the war involving Paraguay, Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay (1864–70), the resulting redrawing of Paraguay's borders was treated as an invisible obstacle by the country's population, who migrated in considerable numbers to the south of the state of Mato Grosso. In the twentieth century, extreme poverty combined with other political events, such as the Chaco war (1932–5) and the civilian war of 1947 in Paraguay, resulted in continued migration, which the porous state of these frontiers enabled to continue.

Once established in the south of Mato Grosso, Paraguayan immigrants went to work at the *erva-mate* harvest and in cattle breeding, bringing their cultural legacies as the Guaraní language, parties, creeds, myths, culinary art, customs and music. The *erva-mate* harvest was the main factor responsible for the foundation of numerous villages in Mato Grosso do Sul, such as Porto Murtinho, Bela Vista, Amambai, Itaporã, Ponta Porã and many others. Here, Paraguayan music, particularly *polca paraguaia*, naturally became the dominant form of music.

During the first half of the twentieth century, the repertory became linked with the country music of Brazil (*música caipira*), engendering a local Paraguayan *polca*, with its characteristic transformation in the rhythmic configuration and in the formal structure that is usually designated by the name *rasqueado*. This usage became extensive in Brazil during the 1930s when composers and singers such as Raul Torres, Mário Zan, Nhô Pai and Capitão Furtado returned from travels in Paraguay to introduce the *guarânia* and the *polca paraguaia* into the field of Brazilian country music. Among the best-known Brazilian *rasqueados* are 'Morena Linda' by Raul Torres, 'Paraguayita, Pepita de Oro' by Capitão Furtado, 'Flor Matogrossense' by Zacharias Mourão, 'Pé de Cedro' by Zacharias Mourão and Goiá, 'Cidades de Mato Grosso' and 'Seriema do Mato Grosso' by Mário Zan and Nhô Pai and the very popular 'Chalana' by Mário Zan and Arlindo Pinto. Famous contemporary composers and interpreters of *rasqueado* in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul include Helena Meirelles, Almir Sater, Paulo Simões, Guilherme Rondon, Marcelo Loureiro and Lígia Mourão, Délio and Delinha, and Beth and Betinha.

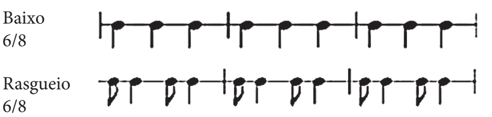
One of the most evident transformations to be seen in *rasqueados* is in the rhythmic configuration of the melodic line, which can neutralize the melodic syncopation characteristic of *polca paraguaia* or change the original 6/8 time of the melody into one in 3/4 or 2/4, while the guitar accompaniment and the bass line keep the 6/8 time.

The original rhythmic configuration of *polca paraguaia* in 6/8 time is as follows:



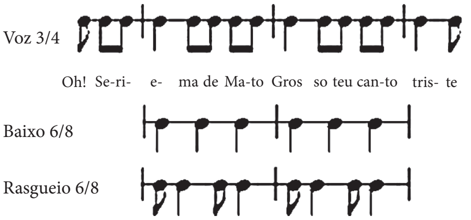
Example 1: Rhythmic configuration of *polca paraguaia* in 6/8 time

The same rhythmic structure appears in the Brazilian *rasqueado* but without the syncopation, called *sincopado paraguaio,* at the end of each bar and the beginning of the next one, as can be seen in Example 2 below (a fragment of 'À matogrossense,' composed by Zacarias Mourão and Flor da Serra).


Voz
6/8
Fui co-nhe- cer o be-lo Mato Gros-so láen-com-trei o meu pri-mei-ro (a)-mor
Baixo
6/8
Rasgueio
6/8

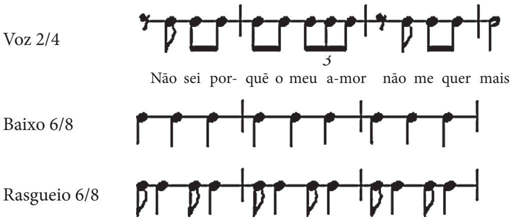
Example 2: *Rasqueado* 'A matogrossense' showing lack of syncopation of *polca paraguaia*

Another example shows us the transformation of the melody line in 6/8 to one in 3/4. This is a fragment of 'Seriema de Mato Grosso,' composed by Mario Zan and Nhô Pai:



Example 3: *Rasqueado* 'Seriema de Mato Grosso' showing transformation of melody line in 6/8 to one in 3/4

The final example is of a melody in 2/4 time as it appears in the song 'Uma saudade,' composed by Rodrigo and Rodriguinho:



Example 4: *Rasqueado* 'Uma saudade' in 2/4 time

The lyrics of the songs can be sung in Portuguese (both original songs and Brazilian versions of original Paraguayan *polcas*), in Spanish, in the Guaraní language or in *yopará* (a mixture of Spanish and the Guaraní language). The formal structure of Brazilian *rasqueados* does not always follow the conventional AB form found in the original *polcas*. It is common to have songs with an A section only. Instruments such as the Paraguayan harp can be found in some musical groups, but it is more common to replace the harp by the accordion, and groups that play in early twenty-first century dances have introduced percussion and the pop drum set into their performances.

Alongside *rasqueado*, it is possible to find musicians in Mato Grosso do Sul whose songs conform more closely to the original configurations of Paraguayan polka. The reason is partly geographical contiguity, but it also reflects the common history and systems of symbols and cultural signs that permeate the daily life of the people of Mato Grosso do Sul.

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ALFREDO COLMAN (PARAGUAY) AND
EVANDRO HIGA (BRAZIL)

Pop en Español, *see* Pop en Español (Volume XII, International)

Porro

Porro originated in the Caribbean coastal region of Colombia. Although it is identified by folklorists as a variant of *cumbia*, played by the same small ensembles based on drums, rattles and cane flutes, it is commonly spoken of as emerging from local wind bands in the mid-nineteenth century, drawing on a variety of local and translocal influences and typically played in village and town festivities by lineups including trumpets, tubas, clarinets, and bass and snare drums, but without vocals. In the middle decades of the twentieth century, *porro* was adapted by local 'jazz bands,' similar in makeup to popular big-band orchestras all over the Americas. *Porro* became a commercial and international product, and one of Colombia's best-known genres, more popular for a time than *cumbia*. Wind-band traditions have continued into the twenty-first century as an expression of regional 'folklore,' and there are local competitive festivals of *porro*. The big-band style of *porro* was adapted to slightly smaller ensembles from about the 1960s and these had a less polished style, with more of the feel of the wind-band renditions. By the 1990s in Colombia, *porro* was a genre associated mainly with the past, with the Caribbean coastal region and with folklore; its international profile had almost vanished, outshone by *cumbia* and *vallenato*, although a few innovators experimented with rock-*porro* fusions, often as part of attempts to 'rescue' and reinvigorate regional traditions.

Styles of *Porro*

Traditional wind-band *porro* is often divided into subgenres of *porro palitiao* (where the rim of the round double-headed *bombo* bass drum is hit with the drumstick) and the *porro tapao* (where one of the membranes of the *bombo* is muffled with the hand). This distinction is lost in jazz-band and subsequent orchestrations from the 1940s. The two varieties differ in arrangement but a typical wind-band *porro* has an eight-bar introduction, called the *danza* and said to sound like a Cuban *danzón* (there were Cuban music teachers in the Caribbean coastal area in the mid to late nineteenth century), followed by a section in which trumpets alternate with clarinets and *bombardinos* (small tubas), with a 4/4 beat carried by the *bombo* and cymbals. In the *porro palitiao*, there is then a section called the *bozá* in which the *bombo* player beats the rim of his drum and only the clarinets (and perhaps the *bombardinos*) interweave. The *porro* may finish with another *danza* section. As played by a jazz band like that of Lucho Bermúdez (see below), the *porro* retains a medium tempo (around 180 bpm), a steady 2/4 rhythm held principally by the *maracas*, which play a rhythmic ostinato like that of the *cumbia* (crochet, two quavers, crochet, two quavers), overlain by the characteristic interweaving of brass motifs played by trumpets and saxes, alternating with clarinets.

History

Porro is said to have ancient roots in the intercultural exchanges in the hinterland areas of the Caribbean coastal region of Colombia, where African slaves and their descendants mixed, culturally and sexually, with indigenous and Spanish peoples. *Porro* is identified as a genre originally performed by the four- or five-man *conjuntos* (ensembles), which, today in folkloric contexts, use transverse or vertical cane flutes, two conical drums (one *conga*-sized, the *tambor mayor*, the other bongo-sized, the *llamador*) and maracas or shakers to perform traditional *cumbia* (Abadía Morales 1983, 206; Fortich Díaz 1994; List 1980, 573). The origin of the name is unknown. Fortich (1994, 12–15) links it speculatively to the West African secret society *poro*; Abadía Morales (1983, 206) says the name may refer to a *conga*-like conical drum and/or to the blow (Spanish: *porrazo*) that is given to a drum. However, the name does not appear in the historical record before the late nineteenth century: terms such as *fandango*, *currulao*, *mapalé* and *bunde* are used to describe peasant and working-class urban music prior to this time. An early appearance of the name is in the 1877 poem 'El boga charlatán' (The Charlatan Boatman) by local poet Candelario Obeso (Obeso 1977 [1877]). It is uncertain if *porro* was danced in early peasant contexts, but it seems likely that it formed part of the musical repertoire for the dances, often labeled as *cumbia*, which involved wheels of male/female pairs moving slowly in circles, often around a hub of musicians.

The narratives that trace the emergence of the wind-band *porro* focus on the period around 1850 to 1880 (Alzate 1980; Fals Borda 1981; Fortich Díaz 1994; González Henríquez 1987; Lotero Botero 1989; Wade 2000, 55–9). Wind bands were spreading all over Colombia and Latin America from the early to mid-nineteenth century, often linked to military bands. One account of *porro* (Fals Borda 1981; see also González Henríquez 1987) focuses on the town of El Carmen de Bolívar between 1850 and 1875, when it was the center of a tobacco boom and thus a hub of movement and migration. Wind bands were employed by local farming and merchant elites for town and religious festivities and, although made up of local men, often had a musically trained director, in some cases from abroad. The story tells how the local wind band, made up of players from various parts of the Caribbean coastal region and accustomed to playing waltzes, *pasillos* (a Latin American waltz), *danzas*, *contradanzas* and marches, began to adapt local peasant styles, based on cane flutes, drums and shakers, to the wind-band ensemble.

A similar story (Fortich Díaz 1994) focuses on the late 1890s in the town of San Pelayo, often reputed to be the 'cradle' of *porro*. A key part of this story is the *fiestas de corraleja* (bull-running festivals), arranged by local landowners and a venue for wind bands. Again, local musicians – although in this case the key figures are well-educated and musically trained men who had traveled the region and merchants who obtained instruments from the United States – adapted local peasant music to the wind band lineup. What remains unclear in these stories is how much the local music influenced the musical innovations of these musicians, versed in other traditions. It is also unclear how dance styles changed: it is very possible that couple dancing was associated with these wind-band forms.

In the early decades of the twentieth century, jazz bands began to spring up in Colombia and, in the Caribbean coastal region, they made efforts to adopt and adapt local styles such as *porro*, *cumbia*, *fandango* and *gaita* (Nieves Oviedo 2008). Jazz bands such as the Orquesta A Número Uno and the Orquesta Caribe (directed by Lucho Bermúdez) played in elite social clubs, despite some initial resistance to genres associated with rural plebeians. Couple dancing was a staple element of the club scene at this time. Radio stations were established in Barranquilla and Cartagena in the 1930s and recordings were made first abroad, then in Colombia. In 1929 recordings made by Ángel Camacho y Cano for Brunswick included a *porro*, as well as *cumbia* and *mapalé*. The first Colombian record company, Discos Fuentes, based in Cartagena, began a catalogue in the early 1940s in which *porro* was soon the dominant genre. Traditionally an instrumental genre, the jazz bands began to use vocal accompaniment in their *porros*, alongside purely instrumental renditions. Lucho Bermúdez made inroads into the cities of the interior of the country, with hits such as 'Tolú,' 'Salsipuedes' and 'Carmen de Bolívar,' with his then wife, Matilde Díaz, on vocals. Other important band leaders included Francisco 'Pacho' Galán, Edmundo Arias and, from the 1950s, Pedro Laza (with Clímaco Sarmiento and Rufo Garrido).

In the press, there was initially some critical reception of *porro*: it was too sexually explicit, vulgar and 'black' (although Bermúdez's orchestra became a good deal 'whiter' during the 1940s, as his Cartagena-based players were replaced by musicians from the cities of the Andean interior). The way young adults danced to the music was often criticized as vulgar. The lyrics and song titles often referred to rural themes, provincial places, partying and dancing in small-town *fiestas* rather than urban clubs. But *porro* was also associated with fashionable modernity, as these jazz bands played a variety of internationally popular styles. Lucho Bermúdez raised the international profile of *porro* (and related genres such as *cumbia*) as he toured and recorded in Argentina, Cuba, Central America, Mexico and the United States. From the 1940s to the 1960s, *porro* was a central genre of Colombian music at home and abroad. Artists in Venezuela (Billo's Caracas Boys), Cuba (La Sonora Matancera), Mexico (Pérez Prado) and Argentina (Eduardo Armani) all recorded *porros*.

In the 1960s, the importance of the polished jazz-band performances in the elite social clubs of the cities continued, but orchestras such as Pedro Laza y Sus Pelayeros produced a slightly rougher sound, with more strident brass and more unabashedly plebeian appeal in the overall presentation. By the late 1960s the larger orchestras were being displaced by smaller *conjuntos* which made more use of electric instruments, such as bass and Hammond organ, and had just a couple of horns. At the same time, *cumbia* began to displace *porro* as the main sound of Colombian *música tropical*, an umbrella term that included *porro*, *cumbia* and a variety of related genres (*gaita*, *mapalé*, *fandango*), often hard for the casual consumer to distinguish from one another. Laza's orchestra was disbanded in 1973, Matilde Díaz left the Lucho Bermúdez orchestra in 1965 (although Bermúdez continued performing through the 1980s) and in 1977 the Festival del Porro was established in San Pelayo in view of the genre's perceived neglect and degeneration. In the 1990s *porro* was still easily available in Colombian record stores, mainly in compilations of older material. There were also some efforts at a revival, such as an album of 'modernized' Lucho Bermúdez covers, performed by a young *salsa* singer, Juan Carlos Coronel (*Un maestro, una voz*, 1994), and experiments in rock-funk-pop-*porro* fusion (Moisés Angulo, *Fusión*, 1994; Andrés Cabas, *Cabas*, 2002). Efforts at revival were linked both to a regional movement of cultural activism, which sought to reinvigorate the cultural identity of the Caribbean coastal region, especially vis-à-vis the perceived dominance of the Andean interior, and to record industry interest in commoditizing 'nostalgia.' By then, however, *porro* was a music already associated with the past, or with folklore, outshone by *cumbia* and *vallenato* and other non-Colombian genres such as *salsa* and *merengue*.

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PETER WADE

Pukkumina

Pukkumina (also known as Pocomania, Poco, Pukkumina and Pukumina) is a Jamaican neo-African religion that emerged in the mid-1800s concurrent with the wave of fundamental Christianity that spread across the United States in the late 1850s (known as the Great Revival movement). Pukkumina combined elements from Christianity and African religions, and by the 1950s it was the main religion of the country's poor. Its practices employ music, body movements and rituals. Between 1950 and 1970 Pukkumina was a major influence upon ska and reggae. Since the 1990s many dancehall hits have employed Pukkumina rhythms.

Etymology and Emergence

Pukkumina was first called 'Pocomania,' a possible European corruption of 'Poco-Kumina,' the name used by Jamaican Maroons and their descendants for Kumina services held by slaves on plantations (Barrett 1976: 27). Kumina is a Central African-derived religion that first emerged between 1841 and 1865 when it was practiced by West and Central Africans who worked in Jamaica as indentured laborers (Bilby 1995, 16; Carty 1988, 20–1; Warner Lewis 2002, 90). 'Kumina' comes from two West African Twi words: 'Akom' – 'to be possessed,' and 'Ana' – by an ancestor (Barrett 1977, 17). In 1956 folklorist Edward Seaga introduced the spelling 'Pukkumina' to correspond to practitioners' pronunciation (Seaga 1956, 2; 1969, 4), but many Jamaicans have continued to use 'Pocomania' and incorrectly think it is Spanish for 'a little madness' or 'a little crazy.'

Kumina is strongly intertwined with Myal (Mayal, Mayaal), a religious complex derived from religions of West and Central Africa, particularly from regions presently known as Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo (Alleyne 1988, 98; Barrett 1976, 27; Burton 1997, 37, 14; Ryman 1983; Warner-Lewis 2002, 2003, 2004). Myal beliefs and practices figured prominently in Maroon communities, and are similar to those of secret cult societies in West Africa, Nigeria and Zaire and reminiscent of religious practices influenced by Central African ones (Alleyne 1988, 85; Warner-Lewis 2003, 193; 2004, 26). Myal's primary function is to communicate with God and one's ancestor-spirits. These spirits (called duppies – from the Twi word 'dopi,' meaning 'spirit of the dead') contact the living in dreams or during religious trance states (Warner-Lewis 2003, 145). Herbs are used for spiritual and physical healing (Murray 1971, 121–5; Ryman 1984a, 19).

In the late 1700s American Christian missionaries arrived in Jamaica. Among these missionaries were former African-American slaves (including George Lewis, an African-born Native Baptist minister) who attracted large followings by syncretizing Myal with Christian practices. The emphasis in this syncretism was upon spirit possession and ecstatic ritual dancing rather than on written Scripture. Lewis was persecuted by authorities, driving this practice underground (Alleyne 1988, 89–100). In the early 1840s, however, Lewis's syncretic religion experienced a revival and became the dominant Jamaican religious practice for the poor (Beckwith 1969 [1929], 158). This period also saw an influx of Central African indentured laborers who brought their religion (Kumina), which was then added to the Myal-Baptist syncretism (Ryman 1984a, 13; Warner-Lewis 2003, 190–5).

At the same time that this new level of syncretism was emerging, the first wave of American missionaries stemming from the Great Revival arrived in Jamaica in the early 1860s. Although the subsequent attempts to fully Christianize Jamaicans have often been described as the start of what became known as the Jamaican Revival tradition exemplifying predominantly Christian traits, many scholars (for example, Alleyne 1988; Barrett 1976, 1977; Maynard-Reid 2000 and Warner-Lewis 2002, 2003, 2004) consider the resulting belief system and practices to be dominated by Myal rather than Christian ideology. Thus, in the Jamaican context, 'Revival' and 'Revivalism' became labels for a primarily African-rooted religious movement dedicated to Myal under the guise of Christianity.

Revival developed into two forms: Revival Zion (aka 'Zion'), dominated by Christian beliefs/practices, and Pukkumina, dominated by West African beliefs/practices (Bilby 1995, 162; Carty 1988, 20–1, 66; Ryman 1984b, 51). By the early 1950s, however, the two were basically indistinguishable, although Pukkumina practitioners often exhibited stronger neo-Africanisms, such as multiunit dancing (i.e., polyrhythmic isolation of different body parts and flexible torso with flailing arms), hand drumming and an emphasis on ancestor possession and ritual dancing (Simpson and Moore 1980 [1957], 190; Carty 1988, 66).

Revival rituals were based on Myal ones, and because Revival ceremonies were often outdoors, they influenced both practitioners and onlookers (Lewin 2000, 196; Seaga 1969, 6). Many of the musicians who participated in the birth of ska and reggae were involved in Zion or Pukkumina either as participants or as observers (Katz 2003).

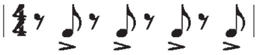
In the late 1950s Jamaican musicians made recordings that synthesized traits from Revival (hand drumming and consistent offbeat accents, called 'afterbeats' – explained below), mento (bass and percussion patterns, banjo/guitar strumming techniques), American R&B (small combo instrumentation, repertoire, melodic and harmonic vocabulary) and other Caribbean styles (such as calypso rhythmic patterns). The late 1960s and early 1970s saw a resurgence of traditional Jamaican folk musics, including Pukkumina, which was a factor in the emergence of reggae in the late 1960s.

In 1989 and 1990 Lloyd Lovindeer – a popular Jamaican dancehall DJ – released 'Pocomania Day,' 'Poco Party,' 'Find Your Way' and *One Day Christian*, influential singles and an album that employed Revival rhythms and Pukkumina drumming, with consistently accented afterbeats and heavy backbeats in combination with polyrhythmic hand drumming that emphasizes virtuosic accents and irregular patterns. In 1990 Steely (Wycliff Johnson) and Clevie (Cleveland Browne) produced 'Poco Man Jam,' a massive dancehall hit for Gregory Peck (Gregory Williams), and two albums (under the artist title 'Stevie & Clevie') – *Poco in the East* and *More Poco* – that featured toasting over electronic Pukkumina and dancehall rhythms. In 1993 another DJ named Mad Cobra (Ewart Everton Brown) had a hit with 'Poco Jump.' These releases were major influences upon raggamuffin or ragga, a 1990s Jamaican dancehall style (Bilby 1995, 176–9).

Musical Characteristics

Most Revival songs as practiced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries utilized European Christian hymns in services derived from two-part West African rituals (Pitts 1988, 1989). Part One featured slow, sustained *a cappella* unison singing employing simple rhythms (Pitts 1989, 288). In Part Two, hymns were repeated with polyrhythmic hand-clapping, foot-stomping and percussion – usually tambourines and two drums: *tumba* (bass), and *rakkeling* ('rattling') drum (Pitts 1989, 285, 288–90). Sometime in the mid-twentieth century, guitar, bass, piano and drum set were introduced. These songs are dominated by Protestant hymns, some dating to the eighteenth century, by British hymnwriters such as Isaac Watts and Charles Wesley, and others to the US revivalist movement of the second half of the nineteenth century, such as those by Dwight Moody and Ira Sankey. Jamaicans learned these hymns from Baptist, Methodist and Anglican hymnals published in the late 1800s (Miller 1989, 406). European aspects of Revival hymns were significantly altered by Myal performance practices (Alleyne 1988; Barrett 1976; Burton 1997; Ryman 1984a, 1984b; Wynter 1970). Singers and instrumentalists flattened third, fifth and seventh scale degrees, improvised harmony parts and added vocables or interjections to fill in gaps (for example, see 'He Brought Me Out,' from *The Pentecostal Hymnal*, transcribed in Hopkin 1978, 37–8 and McCarthy 2007, 153). Although sung in English, Jamaican Creole pronunciation altered accents and word groupings, often substituting West or Central African words and/or syntax (Roberts 1989, 412). Simple rhythms were syncopated and accompanied by polyrhythmic clapping and percussion patterns that emphasized accented offbeats, or 'afterbeats' (see Example 1) which is the preferred term (Hopkin 1978, 30; White 1982a, 53).

Jamaican musicologist Garth White and American musicologist and reggae bassist Luke Ehrlich suggest using 'afterbeat' instead of 'offbeat' for the consistently accented sounds that appear in-between beats in Jamaican folk, religious and popular music (White 1982b, 38; Ehrlich 1982, 55). A notable characteristic of afterbeats is that they are consistently louder and heavier than sounds on the beats (see Example 1). Jamaican afterbeats sustain the harmony of the previous beat, rather than anticipate the harmony of the subsequent beat. They are accented and performed in a variety of ways, from single notes to full chords, and frequently with percussive instruments or sounds, and are usually accompanied with vigorous body movements that travel upward (on the afterbeat). (See the 'Reggae' entry for a detailed rationale for using 'afterbeat' instead of other terms).



Example 1: Afterbeat accents

In the late 1950s Jamaican musicians added heavily accented afterbeats – similar to those employed in Revival practices – and nyabinghi polyrhythms to American R&B-style songs, and ska was born. The meter (primarily simple duple and quadruple meters) and symmetrical phrasing of Christian hymns (two- and four-bar phrases, in four-phrase sections) were unaltered in Revival hymns (Rouse 2000, 229–34; Hopkin 1978, 36) and also prominent in ska, rocksteady and reggae.

Bodily Orientations

Physical movements in Revival services are best described as bodily orientations rather than as 'dance steps.' Jamaican dance scholars (such as Carty and Ryman) note that Revival movements are not predetermined sequences of choreographed steps and body shapes; rather, they are ways of moving the body in a free, often individualistic multiunit style. These movements are designed to induce emotional and physical states leading to possession. In a state of possession, it is believed that the spirit of an ancestor takes control of one's body, which involves losing control of speech and faculties, actually *becoming* the ancestor temporarily. Movements are derived from Kumina, Myal, Buru and Dinki Mini (a Jamaican funeral rite) rituals (see Carty 1988, 23–9 and Ryman 1979). Participants step counterclockwise in a circle – a formation and movement style also common in West African rituals. Each beat is stamped forcefully; participants move their torsos forward and downward on downbeats, with the pelvis thrust back, pushing extended arms down while exhaling loudly with a grunt. On afterbeats, both torso and arms are raised suddenly while inhaling loudly and groaning. This set of movements is called 'trumping' (also trooping, tramping and tromping; see Carty 1988, 81, 85 for illustrations). Both sonic and corporeal afterbeats are stronger than onbeat sounds and movements (Nettleford 1969, 23). This experience of strong, corporeally articulated beats with sonically louder and heavier afterbeat sounds (paired with jerking upward and groaning) is the foundational rhythmic orientation of all Jamaican popular music and dance, including ska, rocksteady and reggae.

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Note: The majority of the recordings listed below are reissues. For comments on the availability and accuracy of historical discographical information for Pukkumina, see the Note under 'Discographical References' in the entry for Reggae.

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Pocomania: A Little Madness, dir. Michael Tuchner. 1968. Britain. USA. 31 mins. Documentary.

Portrait of Jamaican Music, dir. Pierre Simonin. 1998. USA. 52 mins. Documentary.

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ROBERT WITMER AND LEN McCARTHY

Pumpin

Pumpin (pronounced 'poom-peen') is a distinctive subgenre of Carnival music originating in the Fajardo Province of Ayacucho, Peru, located in the southcentral Andean highlands. According to oral tradition, *pumpin* developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the wake of seasonal labor migration to the coast, when young men returned to the highlands bearing guitars and fragments of song traditions learned on their overland journey. These varied influences coalesced into the contemporary *pumpin* genre, featuring twelve-string guitar and female vocals, widely recognized today as the representative folk music of the central Fajardo region.

Musically, *pumpin*'s distinctive traits include paired melodic phrases (usually AABB), a heavy rhythmic emphasis on the downbeat, anchoring syncopated melodies, an extremely high vocal tessitura and use of a twelve-string guitar. The guitar is tuned to F#-A-D-F#-B-E, also referred to as 'harp tuning,' and a capo is used to transpose the guitar up a fifth or more to produce the genre's high-pitched characteristic sound. Guitarists, almost exclusively men, perform a repetitive bass line with the thumb, plucking the lower series of strings steadily on the downbeat, while the melody is played on the upper strings with a plectrum tied to the forefinger. Other string instruments are also played occasionally in a *pumpin* ensemble, most notably a four- or eight-string, flat-backed version of the Andean *charango*. Vocalists, generally small groups of two to six women, sing in the high, strident style typical of most indigenous music in Quechua-speaking communities. Song texts, derived from oral tradition as well as newly composed and/or improvised verses, address themes ranging from love and betrayal to agricultural activities and local politics.

Until the 1970s, *pumpin* was only played in the rural communities of the Fajardo Province during the growing season to accompany a round dance known as the *qachwa*, culminating in several days of festivities during the annual celebration of carnival in February or March. Beginning in 1976, this practice was formalized with the founding of the first *concurso*, or music and dance contest, held on the high Waswantu Plateau in the Fajardo Province, on the Sunday prior to Ash Wednesday. This contest played an important role in standardizing the genre's song form and ensemble instrumentation, as well as in reorienting its topical focus toward themes of social and political commentary. *Pumpin* was adopted by Shining Path guerrillas in the late 1970s and early 1980s as a vehicle for revolutionary propaganda at song contests, and reinvented later that decade again among people from Fajardo as a testimonial genre for protesting the ensuing political violence that enveloped the region (Ritter 2002). The first commercial cassette recordings of *pumpin* appeared in the 1980s, cementing and expanding the genre's popularity, especially in the highland migrant community living in Lima.

Pumpin continues today as a popular form of ritual music and dance in the rural Fajardo province, and also as a vehicle for social commentary in the annual contests held in Fajardo, Ayacucho and Lima. As a form of mass-mediated popular music, recordings and videos of the contests and individual groups circulate in Ayacuchan communities throughout the country, produced and distributed by numerous micro-recording labels or self-produced by the groups themselves; these recordings are increasingly available online as video clips. Since 2005, young musicians from the Fajardo migrant community in Ayacucho and Lima have also experimented with new fusions of *pumpin* and rock instrumentation, including electric bass and drumset (e.g., Punpho, Naranjitas de San Jose). Sometimes referred to as '*techno-pumpin*,' this new music has significant appeal among Fajardo's youth, and points to the genre's continued popularity.

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JONATHAN RITTER

Punta

Punta is the most celebrated of the secular dance-song genres of the Garifuna of Central America. The name *punta* is also used to describe the duple-meter rhythmic motive, the women's social commentary song form and the characteristic dance of procreation that form the basis for this musical genre. *Puntas* are typically performed at secular social gatherings and community events such as parties, birth and anniversary celebrations and annual Settlement Day festivities including the Miss Garifuna Pageant. They also function as cathartic activity when performed during festive drum and dance sessions that follow community rituals such as *belurias* (nine-night wakes for deceased family members) and *dügüs* (ancestor veneration rituals). Garifuna men and women dance *punta* from childhood to elder stages of life.

The Garifuna (collectively known as the Garinagu) are a people of West African and Native American descent who live along the Caribbean coasts of Belize, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua and in US urban centers. They share a common language, system of beliefs and customs, series of ancestor rituals and seasonal processionals, and repertoire of secular and semisacred dance-song genres. Of the estimated 400,000 Garifuna, more than 300,000 live in Central America, the vast majority residing in Honduras.

Punta songs are performed in a call-and-response manner by a male or female soloist and a *gayusa* (a chorus, primarily made of women) and are traditionally accompanied by an ensemble of men playing indigenous acoustic instruments. These small ensembles include lead and bass drums, rattles and occasionally a conch shell trumpet.

The Garifuna employ only two types of *garawoun* (drums). Both are single-headed membranophones made of mayflower, or another hard wood, and animal skin, and both are identical in construction. The *segunda* (bass drum) is approximately 90 centimeters in height and ranges from 60 to 90 centimeters in diameter and provides the characteristic rhythmic ostinato that is the basis for each Garifuna dance-song genre, including *punta*. The *primero* (tenor or lead drum), a single-headed treble drum about 30–45 centimeters in diameter and approximately 60 centimeters high, provides rhythmic variety with syncopated and rapid improvised motives.

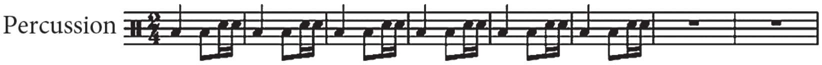
Shakkas (calabash container rattles) and struck turtle shells are the two indigenous idiophones used by the Garifuna. Similar rattles are found among Africans and Native Americans. *Shakkas* are always played in pairs and are made of a medium-sized, round calabash into which seeds or pebbles have been placed, with a wooden handle attached. The use of turtle shells in acoustic secular music such as *punta* began in the late 1970s and early 1980s with the creation of *punta rock* (a style characterized by arrangements of traditional and newly composed songs that employ the ostinato rhythms of indigenous Garifuna song forms, most often *punta*, and faster-paced tempos to appeal to youth) by Pen Cayetano, a visual artist in Dangriga, Belize, who made the first recordings of *punta rock* with his Turtle Shell Band. To fashion shells into instruments players attach the hollow shells to one another using heavy cotton rope. The rope is placed around the performer's neck with the belly portion of the shells facing outward. Handmade wooden mallets allow performers to play a variety of rhythmic patterns during *punta* songs. Turtle shells of different sizes produce variations of high and low indefinite pitched sounds. Because of the immediate and broad popularity of *punta rock* in the early 1980s and the unique timbre of the turtle shell, the latter was frequently added to drum and rattle ensembles when accompanying traditional *puntas*. Though turtle shells were synonymous with early *punta rock*, they are seldom heard in recordings of *punta rock* today.

The only aerophone (wind instrument) used by the Garifuna in *punta* and other genres is the indefinite pitched conch shell trumpet. A conch shell is made into a wind instrument when the pointed spiral top is cut off and air is blown through the aperture using the same closed, buzzing-lip embouchure employed when playing orchestral brass instruments. A single tone is played on each shell and the relative highness or lowness of the pitch is determined by the size of the shell. Smaller shells produce higher pitches and larger shells produce lower pitches. Three- to four-note repetitive patterns are blown during extended interludes of drumming, before and after groups of songs and between song verses.

Punta songs are topical and are usually composed by women who comment on issues ranging from male infidelity, love relationships and the loss of loved ones to employment and social matters. *Punta* songs are performed in succession without pause, as are all indigenous Garifuna dance-song genres, that is, in groups of songs of the same genre to create extended periods for dancing. After participants sing several verses and choruses of a song, the song leader simply begins the first verse of a new *punta* song. Each song contains distinct lyrics and melodic material for the verses and refrain. However, because the rhythmic accompaniment remains the same for all Garifuna songs of the same dance-song genre, the transition between songs can be difficult to detect for individuals who are not familiar with the Garifuna language or the repertoire of a particular genre of songs.

The characteristic duple meter ostinato of *punta* features a quarter note and an eighth note played in the center of the drum followed by two sixteenth notes played near the rim of the drum head to produce a higher pitch (see Example 1).

The *punta* ostinato is very similar to the ostinato of *paranda*, the duple-meter, social-commentary song genre traditionally composed and performed by men who accompany themselves on the guitar. The characteristic ostinato of *paranda* is a quarter note and an eighth note played in the center of the drum followed by an eighth note played near the rim of the drum head. Because the repetitive rhythms of *punta* and *paranda* are almost identical, songs composed as *parandas* may also be accompanied with the *punta* ostinato. Since the advent of *punta rock*, popular *puntas* and *parandas* have been arranged or recast by solo artists and groups as lively dance tunes in the Garifuna language accompanied by bands featuring a *primero*, *shakkas,* turtle shell rattles, electric lead and bass guitars, a synthesized keyboard and a drum machine when a s*egunda* is not employed (Lovell 2009). Popular *puntas* that have been recorded by numerous Garifuna artists or bands and that have been arranged as *punta rock* songs include: 'Bungiu Baba' (Father God), 'Gumagurugu' (a river in Dangriga, Belize), 'Luguchu Deo' (His Mother) and 'One, Two, Three.' Celebrated



Example 1: The characteristic ostinato rhythm of *punta*

parandas that have been performed and recorded by solo Garifuna artist or bands as *puntas* or *punta rock* songs include 'Fiura' (a woman's name) and 'Malate isien' (Love That Is Bought Is Worthless).

The *punta* dance is a reenactment of the cock and hen mating ritual, similar to the Cuban *rumba* and other dance forms of the circum-Caribbean. It features rapid movement of the hips and buttocks caused by a shuffling of the feet. As dancers hold their arms slightly extended to either side of their bodies, they keep their upper torsos upright and motionless. During this form of sexual dialogue, men often move around women: dancing in front, to the side and sometimes behind them.

Punta is the most salient musical symbol of Garifuna identity because of its position within the culture as the most frequently performed and popular of the indigenous social-commentary and dance-song genres. *Punta* has remained among the most popular of the traditional dances for Garifuna and non-Garifuna in Belize, Guatemala and Honduras for the past three decades. Non-Garifuna in Central America, the circum-Caribbean and North America who are familiar with Garifuna music recognize *punta* and its derivative *punta rock* as the most influential of the Garifuna styles of music. The success of the *soca* tune 'Leh we Punta' (1987), composed by the Trinidadian artist Calypso Rose following a visit to Belize, attests to the popularity and regional appeal of *punta*. Although recordings of *punta rock* and *parranda* have long eclipsed studio and field recordings of traditional Garifuna music, *punta* remains the music of choice among Garifuna of all ages because of its rhythmic drive, the sexual interplay of the dance movements, and the proverbial messages implied in the song texts.

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OLIVER N. GREENE

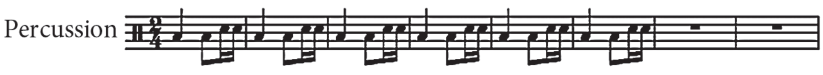
Punta Rock

Punta rock, a popular genre of contemporary Garifuna music created in the early 1980s, is based on arrangements of traditional songs and newly composed songs that employ the ostinato rhythm of the older Garifuna genre *punta*, a dance of procreation and its associated social commentary song form composed by women. *Punta rock* is most commonly performed by ensembles (usually composed of men) that combine indigenous Garifuna instruments – specifically, drums, rattles and occasionally struck turtle shells – and instruments typically found in rock and rhythm and blues bands – electric guitars, synthesized keyboards and drum machines. *Punta rock* songs are often based on popular, previously composed *puntas* and *parandas*, the Garifuna guitar-accompanied male social commentary song form. The characteristic rhythm of *paranda* is very similar to that of *punta* and the ostinato rhythmic patterns of both are played at a faster tempo in *punta rock*. By the mid-1980s, *punta rock* appealed to Central and North American Garifuna audiences, and the growing commercial market for it was seen as an avenue for potential financial success.

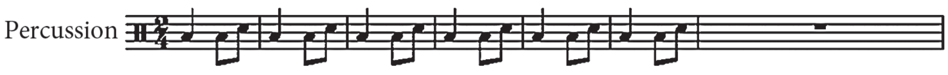
The Garifuna (collectively known as the Garinagu) are a people of West African and Native American descent who live along the Caribbean coast of Belize, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua and in US urban centers. They share a common language, system of beliefs and customs, series of ancestor veneration rituals and seasonal processionals, and repertoire of secular and semisacred dance-song genres. In the 1950s Garifuna, in search of better employment and education opportunities, began migrating in large numbers to US urban centers, primarily New York, Los Angeles and Chicago. This population shift resulted in tens of thousands of Garifuna living in the United States and it had a direct impact on the production of *punta rock* music in the region. Of the estimated 500,000 Garifuna worldwide, approximately 15,000 reside in Belize, 4,000 in Guatemala and 300,000 in the Honduras. Forty-five Garifuna communities are located in Honduras, six in Belize, two in Guatemala and two in Nicaragua. Sizeable populations of Garifuna also reside in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago and New Orleans (National Garifuna Council of Belize, 2010).

Musical Characteristics: *Punta, Paranda* and *Punta Rock*

Because the Garifuna *punta* and *paranda* genres are foundations of *punta rock*, it is useful to outline the musical characteristics of all three styles. *Punta* is fast in tempo and features a repetitive pattern of a quarter note and an eighth note played in the center of the *segunda* (bass) drumhead followed by two sixteenth notes played near the rim of the drumhead to produce a higher pitch (Example 1 below). The *primero* (tenor or lead) drummer improvises rhythmic motives based



Example 1: The characteristic ostinato rhythm of *punta*



Example 2: The characteristic ostinato rhythm of *paranda*

on a repertoire of potential patterns. *Puntas*, like most Garifuna song forms, are sung in a call-and-response manner and are accompanied by drumming and the playing of *shakkas* (calabash rattles). The most popular of the secular Garifuna dance forms, *punta* is the symbolic re-enactment of the cock and hen mating dance and is characterized by a motionless upper torso and rapid movement of the buttock and hips attributed to the continuous shuffling of the feet (Greene, 'Punta'). Popular *puntas* are arranged or recast as *punta rock* songs by new and well-known solo artists as well as *punta rock* bands (Lovell 2009).

The Garifuna *paranda* evolved as a genre in the nineteenth century after the Garifuna arrived in Honduras, where they encountered the acoustic guitar and Latin and Spanish rhythms (Rosenburg 1999) and created their own genre of guitar-accompanied topical songs. *Parandas* that frequently have been arranged into *punta rock* songs include 'Fiura,' a song about a man's love for his wife, and 'Malate isien,' a warning that love cannot be bought.

Parandas are performed at moderate tempos and are sung by men who accompany themselves on the guitar. When drums accompany the singing of *parandas*, the accompaniment features a repetitive pattern of a quarter note and an eighth note played in the center of the *segunda* drum head followed by a single eighth note played near the rim of the drum head to produce a higher pitch (Example 2 above). The *primero* drum improvises rhythmic patterns when accompanying *parandas*, as in performances of *punta*, but plays at a lower dynamic level so as not to distract from the sound of the guitar and voice, the principal instruments.

Until the advent of *punta rock* in the early 1980s, *parandas* were performed primarily during the Christmas season, much like the various forms of *paranda* found in other locations in the region. The existence of string and occasionally drum-accompanied Christmas song forms such as *parranda* in Venezuela and its derivative *parang* in Trinidad and Tobago, and *parranda* in Puerto Rico, along with the pre-Christmas festival in Cuba named *parranda* support the existence of a Spanish-derived song form from the region. In the twenty-first century, *parandas* and *paranda*-based songs of the Garifuna are performed year-round because the lyrics typically make no reference to Advent or Christmas as do many *parrandas* in other regions of the circum-Caribbean.

Punta rock songs are typically faster in tempo than the traditional Garifuna songs from which they are derived, and dance movements performed to *punta rock* are more provocative than those performed to *punta*. Compact discs released as *punta rock* often include selections in other traditional Garifuna song forms as well as newly composed songs. The latter are considered *punta rock* songs if they (1) are fast in tempo – most *punta rock* songs have a metronome marking of 120 to 160 for the quarter note, (2) employ the characteristic *punta* motive on the *segunda* and (3) feature the typical fusion of indigenous Garifuna and Western pop music instruments (Lovell 2009). *Punta rock* usually employs standard tonic, subdominant and dominant harmonic progressions and maintains the alternating verse-chorus, responsorial format characteristic of most traditional genres of Garifuna music. Musicians usually preserve the unique melodic contour and structure of the song on which the contemporary arrangement is based. Although Garifuna traditionally perform melodies and refrains of *punta* and *paranda* songs in unison in communal and social settings, *punta rock* musicians occasionally perform melodies and refrains in harmonic intervals of thirds and sixths.

Some Garifuna songs have been recast in non-Garifuna song forms such as reggae and dub-poetry, as demonstrated on the disc *Rhodee* (2002), by the Belizean Garifuna Rhodel Castillo, who lives in Chicago. *Punta rock* recordings by Los Angeles-based Belizean vocalist and producer Aziatic such as *The Rebirth* (1999) often contain elements of rhythm and blues, soca, rap and hip-hop, and traditional love ballads. Recordings by Guatemalan and Honduran musicians often contain ballads in Spanish and Garifuna and display the influence of Latin American musical styles such as salsa, *merengue* and *bolero*. Multinational New York-based bands such as Garifuna Legacy produce recordings that employ elements of a wide range of Caribbean, Latin American and North American urban music styles. Some artists release remakes of songs originally composed as *punta rock* songs. For example, 'Huya' (It's Raining) by Aziatic y Los Nuevos Conceptos (1999) is distinctly different from 'Huya Belice' (It's Raining in Belize) (1982) by Pen Cayetano and the Original Turtle Shell Band.

Origin of *Punta Rock*

Views concerning the origin and development of *punta rock* differ in Honduras and Belize, the two leading commercial exponents of the music for many years. Aurelio Martinez, the most popular Honduran Garifuna recording artist and former elected Congressman (2005 to 2009), credits Gobana, an ensemble of young black Hondurans, with starting *punta rock* in the 1980s (Martinez 2003). Hector Vera, a noted Honduran promoter, believes *punta rock* began almost simultaneously in Belize and Honduras. Vera states that soca and other styles of Caribbean music from English-speaking countries in the region directly influenced Garifuna popular music in Belize just as salsa and various forms of Latin-American music from Spanish-speaking countries influenced Garifuna music in Honduras (2000).

Belizeans attribute the creation and early development of the genre to Delvin Rudoph 'Pen' Cayetano, a highly celebrated, self-taught musician and Garifuna painter from Dangriga, the largest Garifuna settlement in Belize (R. Cayetano 1982). Cayetano, with the assistance of several local musicians, is credited with forming the Turtle Shell Band, the first *punta rock* band, in the late 1970s. This was a period when popular US rhythm and blues and Anglo-Caribbean music, played on Belizean radio stations, attracted the attention of Garifuna youth. The ongoing emigration of Garifuna to the United States that had begun in the 1950s resulted in a generation gap in many Garifuna villages, primarily composed of youth and their grandparents. This phenomenon contributed to the separation Garifuna youth felt from their indigenous music and language, expressions of identity they associated with elders.

Pen Cayetano maintains that an incident in which Garifuna youth disrespected their elders at the 1978 Settlement Day festivities was the primary catalyst for the creation of *punta rock*.

> I knew that the Garinagu culture had reached the time for a change. I studied the old songs and played the Garifuna drums and also discovered how to use different sizes of turtle shells as percussion instruments. ... I finally got the idea of quickening the traditional Punta rhythm, adding the electric guitar and the turtle shell to it and called the music Punta Rock and named the group 'The Turtle Shell Band' (P. Cayetano n.d.).

The original members of the band included 'Pen' (guitar, lead vocals and background vocals), Horace 'Mohobob' Flores (lead turtle shells, lead vocals and background vocals), Conrad 'Faltas' Nolberto ('cricket-snare,' an original drum made of scraps of truck metal, other percussion instruments and background vocals), Egbert 'Myme' Martinez (double drums, a pair of single-headed membranophones played by one person, and background vocals), Peter 'Jeep' Lewis (MC, shakkas, whistle and background vocals) and Bernard 'Higgins' Higinio (small turtle shells and background vocals) (P. Cayetano 2007; E. R. Cayetano 1982). In October 2010 Pen Cayetano and the Turtle Shell Band reunited for a series of concerts in Chicago after 29 years. Pen and Mohobob Flores remain the most active members of the original band as solo performers, and Myme Martinez lives and performs primarily in Los Angeles.

The immediate success of the Turtle Shell Band in the early 1980s resulted in Friday evening roadblock performances and engagements at house parties. In July 1982 the band traveled to Belize City, the largest city in the country, where it performed at a local club, a park and ultimately on Radio Belize. Most of the songs were in the Garifuna language and emphasized themes such as history, cultural identity and pride, and love. By 1983 the band had performed at the New Orleans Jazz Festival and in several locations in the Caribbean and Mexico (Greene 2002, 199).

Punta rock bands, from their inception in the 1970s, featured an amalgam of indigenous and electric instruments. Through experimentation, Pen Cayetano discovered that combinations of turtle shells of different sizes produced variations of high and low indefinite pitched sounds and that a unique instrumental balance could be achieved when played with the Garifuna *garawouns*, drums (E. R. Cayetano 1982). By the mid-1980s the bass guitar had been added to the ensemble, and by the early to mid-1990s recordings featured synthesized keyboards playing countermelodies and drum machines. Bands found it financially advantageous to perform without *segunda* players because the drum machine could reproduce the *ostinato* pattern played on the *segunda*. The *primero* remained the primary percussion instrument because *primero* drummers added rhythmic variety to the music and because of their highly valued ability to interpret rhythmically the movement of dancers.

Turtle shells, the characteristic instrument of early *punta rock*, were seldom heard on recordings in the last decades of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first century. First-generation *punta rock* performers such as Pen Cayetano and his contemporaries, Chico Ramos, the late Andy Palacio, Aurelio Martinez and Rhodel Castillo, were generally successful in their efforts to encourage younger musicians to reinstate the *segunda* as a staple instrument of *punta rock*. These older musicians and Garifuna elders continue to advocate the correct grammatical use of the Garifuna language among younger *punta rock* artists, many of whom have included English, Belizean Creole or words that are a fusion of these languages with Garifuna in their songs.

With the birth and early development of *punta rock* in the late 1970s and early 1980s, a musical medium was created to promote Garifuna identity through the maintenance of the Garifuna language and song forms rooted in a common history and social and cultural ideals (Greene 2002, 190). By the mid-1980s *punta rock* had become the genre of choice for many Garifuna musicians for several reasons. First, recordings could include *punta rock* arrangement of songs based on *puntas* and *parandas* as well as acoustic versions of these songs and other traditional song forms familiar to most Garifuna. Second, most songs were in the Garifuna language and therefore accessible to Garifuna from either English- or Spanish-speaking countries. Third, the characteristic rhythm of *punta* and the instrumentation and typical sound associated with *punta rock* provided a stylistic framework for new compositions. Finally, because *punta rock* music was popular among youth and young adults, the potential for sales of this new style of music was seen as far greater than those other forms of Garifuna music.

Stages of Development

From the mid-1980s though the late 1990s *punta rock* reigned as the focal point and principal medium through which record labels, music producers, popular music advocates and musicians promoted Garifuna cultural identity. Because *punta rock* is often a recasting of preexisting songs and therefore intimately linked to language and social commentary, it has remained a vital link to the past and to the expression of identity. However, neither *punta rock* nor its predecessor, *punta*, is responsible for the meteoric rise of Garifuna music on the world music market. This rise can be attributed to the broad success of acoustic genres of Garifuna music such as *paranda* and songs composed by women other than *punta*. Acoustic and derived forms of Garifuna music are now classified as world music because they communicate the groove and cultural allure of traditional Garifuna musical identity (Stone 2006, 68). The advent of Garifuna music as world music can be attributed primarily to the international success of three acoustic-based recordings: *Paranda: Africa in Central America* (1999), *Watina* (Palacio 2007), which contains hints of Afro-Caribbean music but no punta, and *Umalali*: *The Garifuna Women's Project* (2008), arrangements of songs by female vocalists from Belize, Honduras and Guatemala that also contain elements of Afro-Caribbean music. The popularity of *Paranda: Africa in Central America* paved the way for *Watina* and *Umalali,* collaborative recordings between Stonetree and Cumbancha Records, the later of which has an established market for global distribution. Each of these influential and commercially successful recordings was produced by Ivan Duran, the Cuban-trained musician who founded Stonetree Records in Belize. The late Andy Palacio, *punta rock* musician and former Cultural Ambassador for Belize, and Ivan Duran were cowinners of the 2007 WOMEX (World Music Expo) award for their work on *Watina*, the highest-selling recording of Garifuna music to date.

Conclusion

Although no songs in the style of *punta rock* are featured on *Watina*, the global popularity of this compact disk sparked renewed interest in indigenous music among Garifuna youth and young adults, collectively, the largest consumer group of Garifuna popular music. According to Isani Cayetano, host of radio and TV shows in Belize City, Belize, many Garifuna youth had begun to develop a preference for American hip-hop and rap, reggaeton, reggae and other forms of contemporary regional music before the advent of *Watina* (Cayetano 2005). However, *punta rock* remains the preferred genre of musical expression among Garifuna youth and young adults for three primary reasons. First, *punta rock* promotes the use of the indigenous language. Second, it continues to be based primarily on preexisting social commentary songs, many of which have been familiar to most Garifuna since childhood. Finally, because dance is arguably the most important use for popular music, *punta rock* assures the survival of the *punta* dance, the most celebrated of the traditional dance forms. Young *punta rock* artists and bands who have begun to establish themselves as the second generation of Garifuna popular musicians include Super G (Lensford Martinez) and Aziatic (Vincent Lewis) of Belize, Eddie GNG (Eddie Alvarez and the Garifuna New Generation band) and Socié Style (Carlos Bonia) from Guatemala; and Young Gari (Frank Ruiz) and Lil June (La Punta Chow) from Honduras. Although groundbreaking recordings such as *Watina* may become more frequent in the near future, *punta rock* will likely remain the most celebrated expression of popular music identity because its value lies in its role as a medium for reinterpreting and recasting traditional Garifuna rhythms, melodies and social-commentary themes in new ways.

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Punta Soul! dir. Nyasha Laing. 2008. USA. 39 mins. Documentary.

OLIVER N. GREENE

Punto Cubano

Punto cubano is a musical genre of the Cuban people that appeared for the first time, according to historical bibliographies, in the middle of the eighteenth century. Comparison and analysis of similar genres that emerged in Spain shows that the *punto cubano* shared characteristics related to musical tempo and formal, timbre, modal and textual structures. The following overview is based on María Teresa Linares's comparative analysis (published in part in Linares 1999) of the work of Spanish musicologists who studied the period from the fifteenth century on, including the elements that settlers, most of whom came from Spain, introduced in Cuba. The songs brought by the immigrants, through constant group regulation, had an impact on the creation of habits and the use or manipulation of formative elements. Over time, changes, incorporations and appropriations led to the collective formation of a new cultural product that enables us to acknowledge its nationality 500 years later: the *punto cubano.*

The *punto cubano* has been performed by farmers across the island for nearly five centuries. Some Spanish elements have remained unchanged during this time. The song, called *tonada,* employs the *décima espinela* form for its lyrics. The *décima espinela* is a type of poetic verse known since the sixteenth century and named after the Spanish poet Espinel. In the early years, *punto* was sung without accompaniment due to the lack of instruments. Eventually, instruments were incorporated and the choice of singing with or without accompaniment was maintained. The vocal part was first accompanied by a *tiple* (treble guitar) and later by the *bandurria* (mandola) and the Cuban *laud* (lute), all stringed instruments of Spanish origin. The guitar was soon incorporated along with the *güiro* or *guayo* and the *claves*, Cuban percussion instruments of African origin.

Despite enduring changes and innovations, those features that designated *punto* as the oldest folk genre of Cuban music have remained. Thus, *punto cubano* is described as 'people's product and patrimony … it has a non-academic assimilation, but through oral transmission or imitation, and though it can be found in books … it is not commonly written. The transmission of the folklore is spontaneous action, there is not any systematization or organization for its learning, apart from the compiling work of researchers ….' (Linares 1974, author's translation). In the early twenty-first century the oral transmission of *punto cubano* among children and youth is stimulated and encouraged through the creation of workshops in improvisation and instrument methods such as *tres*, guitar and *laud*. These workshops are offered in the Casas de Cultura of each province.

History

The first European settlers after Cuban colonization were primarily immigrants from Andalucia, Estremadura and Castille who were farmers and growers looking for economic progress, most of them single men. They mixed with the female natives and African slaves, and from these unions the first generations of Creoles were born. Jesús Guanche notes that the European population was augmented by waves of immigrants from the Canary Islands who began to arrive in Cuba in the sixteenth century, with particularly massive emigration in the second half of that century, due to the Canary Islands' location as a stopover in the transatlantic trade between Spain and America (Guanche 1992, 36–7).

These European settlers took up residence on lands that were used for massive cultivation near towns in homesteaded areas. Farming diversification with tobacco, fruits and other products played an important role in the development of villages. As farmers were later replaced by urban development, they brought with them a number of cultural elements that went through transformations as a consequence of the cultural encounter among different groups of Spaniards who emigrated to Cuba in several periods. For this reason, according to Argeliers León, '... there was a process of assimilation by the Cuban peasants of (those) cultural Spanish elements coming from an urban environment: the *décima*, the guitar, the *bandurria*, the way of plucking these instruments and some Spanish tap dances of the time, and the most important element: the assimilation involved an isolated process of evolution that determined certain traditionalism and a regional differentiation' (1974, 93–4; author's translation). Farmers and peasants of both European and African descent were called *guajiros*. The stylistic elements that would constitute their identifying music and dance genres, the *punto* and the *zapateo*, emerged from their way of life and habits, dances, songs and poetic manifestations after being imported by the Spanish immigrants.

The exact date of the emergence of the *décima* in the Americas and of its incorporation in the formal structure of the *tonada* is imprecise. In 1591 Vicente Espinel created and perfected a type of stanza commonly known as decima because each stanza contains ten lines. The *décima* is made up of two *redondillas* (stanza of four octosyllabic lines with a rhyme scheme of ABBA and CDDC, respectively) with two lines of verse (with a rhyme scheme of AC) in between. Spanish playwrights Calderón de la Barca and Lope de Vega used it extensively in their works. Lope called it *Espinela* after its author. The *décima* is present in *Espejo de Paciencia*, the first Cuban epic poem, written in 1630 by Spanish poet Silvestre de Balboa. A *motete* (religious vocal part) with *décimas* forming a repetitive refrain appears in this poem. Likewise, a poem in *décima espinela* and other stanzas called *Llanto de Panamá* was written in Panama in 1642. The *décima* was taught and recommended as a poetic cultivated form in ecclesiastic schools, especially the Jesuit, since the 1620s (Serrano de Haro 1984, 76).

Historically, the *décima* is known to have included lyrics with social relevance. For example, both cultured poets and the people at large sang *décimas* to the defenders of the city during the English capture of Havana in 1762. It is also known that the *décima* has been used in the form of *controversia* (controversy, or sung duel). In 1839 Spanish traveler José Jacinto Salas Quiroga visited the then rural area of Havana and described the *décimas* he heard as 'a strange conversation in verse' sung as 'a continuous and monotonous cry: it began with impetuosity and concluded with a cadence which imitated listlessness and softness ... it sounded like a prolonged sigh' (Salas Quiroga 1964, 151–2; author's translation).

Perhaps due to the style of singing, the *sung décima* in Cuba has been known as *punto guajiro*, *ay*, *ay-el-ay* or *llanto.* Esteban Pichardo has defined it as a 'common favorite chant of farmers whose lyrics (generally *décimas*) mostly begin with this interjection. The singers enthusiastically compete by blaring, accompanied by the *tiple*, the guitar or the harp. Some people call it the cry. It is quite sentimental in the major mode and in 3/8 time' (Pichardo 1976, 68).

Other authors such as Manuel García de Arboleya, Vicente Díaz de Comas and Ildefonso Estrada agree with Pichardo that the *punto cubano* contained danceable sections that alternate with the vocal sections, as do some Mexican dances which have the same origin. However, in Cuba both styles of performing *punto* – danced and sung – have been executed independently since the end of the nineteenth century.

It is possible that the combination of the poetic and the musical elements emerged from the use of song genres with repeating verses imported from Spain and already incipient in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries such as the *soleares*, *rondeñas* and other styles of the *cante flamenco*. The similarity between *punto cubano* and *fandango* elements suggests that, as the latter emerged in several regions of Spain, the *punto* may have been created with similar elements in Cuba, and that it may have been named after the plectrum used to pluck the strings of certain musical instruments, such as the guitar or the lute. As there are no records of written pieces with these popular elements, Linares compared them with scores of a *fandango* by Domenico Scarlatti, who lived in Spain and Portugal for many years, and 'Fandango' by Scarlatti's pupil, Father Antonio Soler (1729–83). The relationship between Scarlatti's *fandango* and Cuban peasant music is very close and confirms not only the origins of Cuban music, but also the valuable structural elements of Spanish descent – especially from Andalucia – that are still preserved from the time they appeared and were adopted (Linares 1999, 29).

With colonization and settlement, new musical and literary elements emerged in Cuba derived from a process of transculturation that was taking place in Spain. This contributed to the appearance in Cuba of literary genres, songs and dances that were closely related to their origins until a process of fusion took place among the cultural components of the different groups that coexisted in the island over several years, reinforcing the Cuban identity with new cultural elements. The stylistic elements related to the *fandango* arrived in Cuba during the same period that it reached other Spanish colonies, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Thus, they functioned to create a song and dance genre, as it was at the beginning, that was later called *punto cubano* and that shared the same structures as other Spanish *fandangos*. A fact that supports this hypothesis is the early return of the new genre to Spain, where it could not be yet discerned from its origins. For this reason, it is said in Spain that the *fandango* comes from America.

Musical and Poetic Form

During the evolution of song elements that occurred in the fifteenth century, an adoption of the *décima espinela* with three parts may have occurred: a first quatrain with a rigid structure rhyming in the pattern a-b-b-a, whose musical phrases coincide with each line of verse, and in which the verse suggests a topic; then a link or bridge with two lines of verse a-c, separated by a short instrumental interlude with the musical phrases of the lines of verse a-b, and the content of the text prepares the resolution. Another quatrain follows with the different rhyme pattern c-d-d-c, having the same musical structure as the first one – similar to the *vuelta* of many other previous songs – and in which the *décima* develops and concludes the poetic idea. This is the structure of the *tonada de punto*, whatever the lyrics and corresponding melodic structure may be (Example 1).

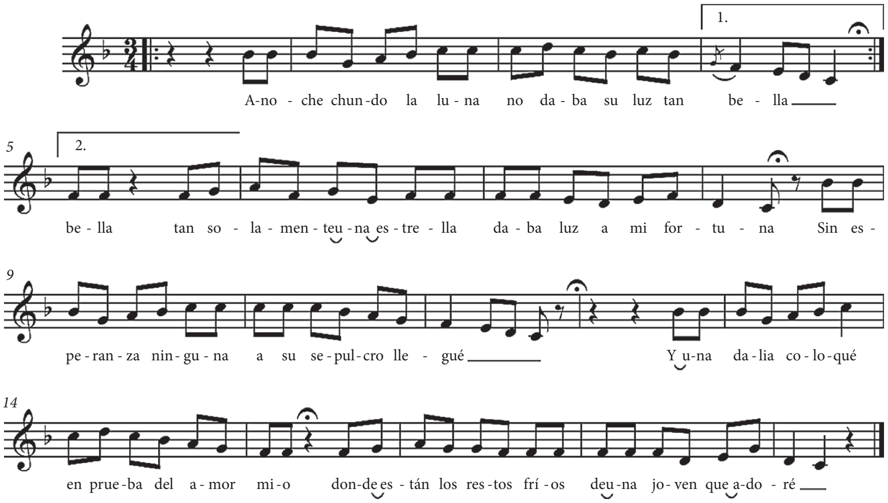
There are also songs with fixed refrains that repeat in each of the intermediate or final sections of the two repeating quatrains. These songs with refrains display a great variety and, with the repetition of the refrains, a pattern that may also have been common in some old *romances* (Example 2).

Similarly, the *décima espinela* follows the *tonada* structure. The first quatrain employs a musical phrase which coincides with a final cadence. In the bridge, the first musical semi-phrase is repeated and then the first phrase is repeated with the second quatrain. Navarro Tomas writes: 'The *décima* has more symmetrical proportions [than other strophic forms] and can be used with more freedom; it can be equally used as an independent unit and as a serial stanza' (1998, 251).

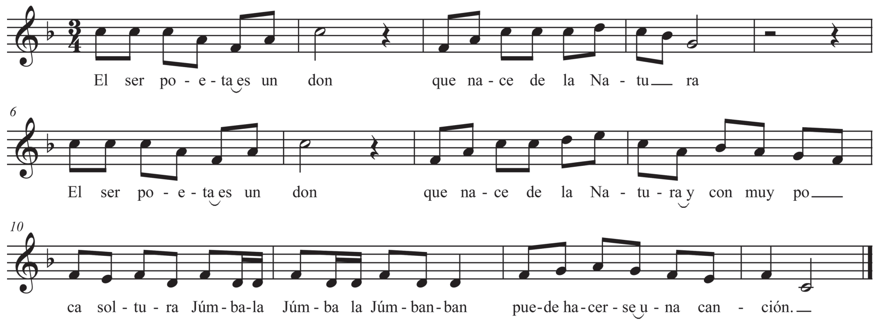
Thus, a very important relationship is established: the cadential nature of the *tonada de punto* leads to a cyclic continuity. There is harmony between the written text and the musical text. When a rural singer sings a story, he or she represents the cyclic continuity by singing several *décimas* related to the theme, linked by musical interludes and expressed with a single tune that completes its two-part form with an imperfect cadence over the fifth-scale degree. In addition, the performer can choose to intercalate a refrain between the stanzas, a technique that is frequent in some *romances*.

In the *romance* and the *villancico*, Spanish songs from the sixteenth century, as well as in the Cuban *punto guajiro*, the relationship between the syllable and the musical note is strict: one musical note per syllable of text. This is one of the most stable elements of the Hispanic heritage.

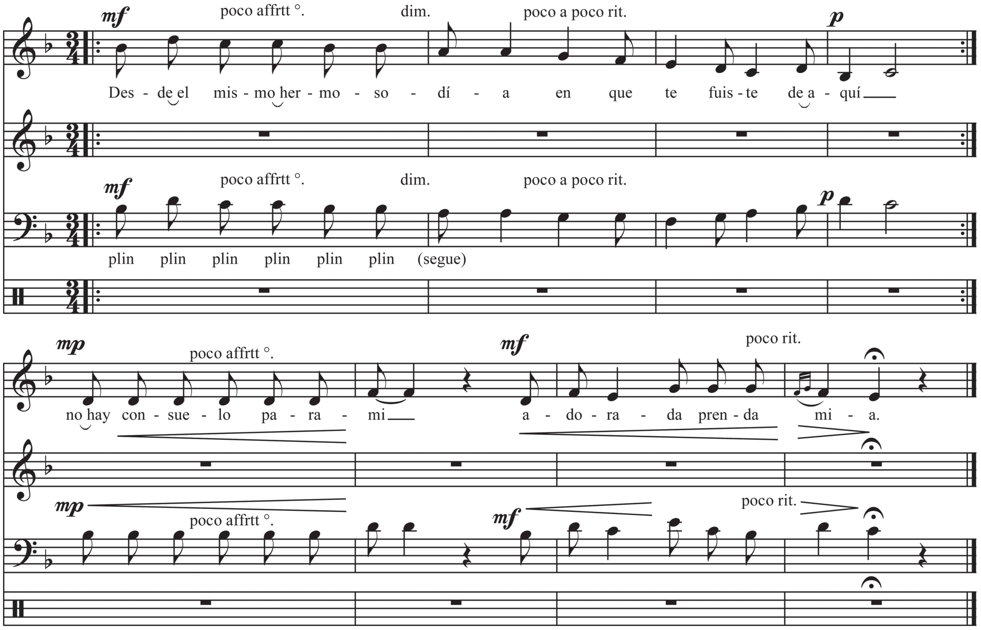
Another relationship between the poetic *décima* form and sung music is established by prosodic accents of the texts and melodic accents. The accent in songs with a more common text structure is metric and rhythmic, while the sung *décima* conforms to the mensural and dynamic accent that must adapt to the text. This happens in most song genres of narrative nature. Nicómaco de Gerasa explained, in his *Enchiridion, Manual of Harmonica*: 'If somebody while speaking or reading reveals the magnitude between the sounds, by spacing


1.
A-no - che chun-do la lu - na no da - ba su luz tan be - lla
5
2.
be - lla tan so - la - men - teu - na es - tre - lla da - ba luz a mi for - tu - na Sin es -
9
pe - ran - za nin - gu - na a su se - pul - cro lle - gué Y u-na da - lia co - lo - qué
14
en prue - ba del a - mor mi - o don - de es - tán los res - tos frí - os deu - na jo - ven que a - do - ré

Example 1: *Tonada de punto*: 'Anoche, cuando la luna'


6
10
El ser po - e - ta es un don que na - ce de la Na - tu — ra
El ser po - e - ta es un don que na - ce de la Na - tu - ra y con muy po —
ca sol - tu - ra Júm - ba - la Júm - ba la Júm - ban - ban pue-de ha - cer - se u - na can - ción. —

Example 2: *Tonada* with refrain: 'Júmbala'


mf
poco affrtt °.
dim.
poco a poco rit.
p
Des - de el mis - mo her - mo - so - dí - a en que te fuis - te de a - quí —
plin plin plin plin plin plin (segue)
mp
mf
poco rit.
no hay con - sue - lo pa - ra - mi — a - do - ra - da pren - da mi - a.

Example 3: *Punto libre*. Song by Juan Pagés, with musical arrangement for voices

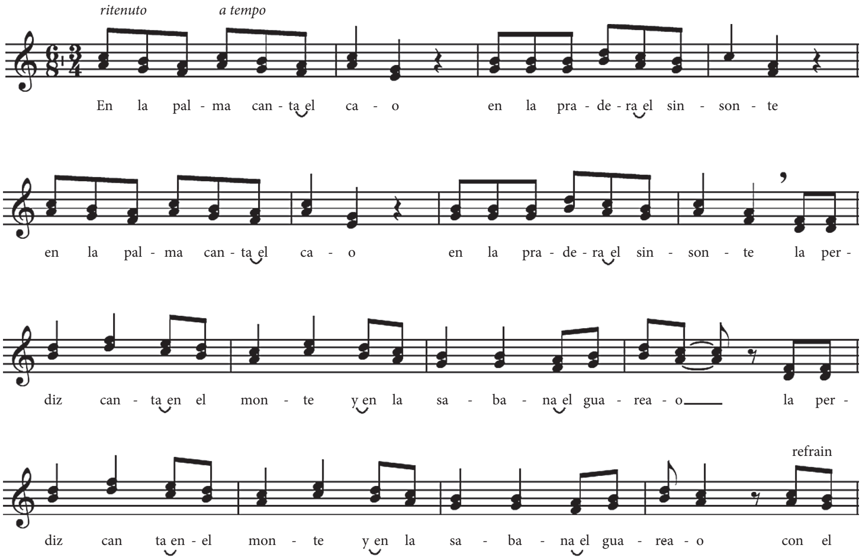
the voice out and linking a sound with another one as he talks, one says we are neither talking nor reading but singing' (cited in Salazar 1958, 44). In this way, the Cuban rural improviser sings with *portamento*, linking a sound with another one (Example 3).

Examples 1 through 3, transcribed from field recordings by María Teresa Linares of farmers throughout Cuba, represent models of everyday tunes that are sung in Cuba and which are considered the oldest examples of the genre according to chroniclers' descriptions. The sung expression is subjected to the demands of accentuations of the text, taking into account the song chosen by the singer, so that the message is clearly received. Songs expressed freely with no musical metrics are called *punto libre* or *a placer* by the rural people, since they are performed in *tempo rubato*, played *a piacere*. This performance style is appropriate for improvisation, since it allows the singer to follow his or her poetic impulse. It is widely used in the western region of the island, although internal migrations and the radio have contributed to its spreading throughout the country. It was also called *punto pinareño* or *veltabajero* since it was very prevalent in the rural zones and tobacco plantations of Vueltabajo and the western provinces of Pinar del Rio, Havana and Matanzas. The *punto libre* has a 3/4 time signature, which corresponds to the accentuations of the octosyllable verse.

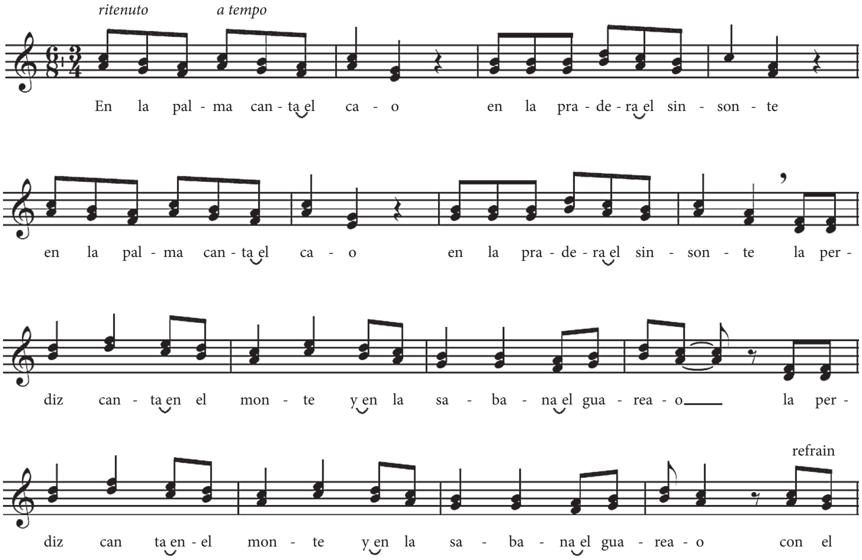
The Punto Fijo

Punto fijo tunes possibly have their origin in songs that Garcia Matos (1960) called *metrados* (metered). There is a music–text relation differentiated by the strength of the accompanying rhythm, in which the instruments perform a continuous basso ostinato to which the singer is subordinate, alternating the prosodic accentuation of the verse and producing separation between the words imposed by the music. In this case, the sung *décima* conforms to the mensural and dynamic accents of the accompaniment. As a consequence, the semantic content of the text is modified. In order to make this alteration obvious, the singing style is usually modified with regard to the accompaniment, producing syncopation as rhythmic values move from one measure to another, or from one part of the measure to another. Rural singers have described this phenomenon as *punto cruzado*, since the rhythm of the melody runs across the fixed accompaniment.

In *punto fijo* songs, notations in 6/8 and in 3/4 are commonly used. The metric accentuation in the accompaniment makes demands upon the singer,


ritenuto
a tempo
En la pal - ma can - ta el ca - o en la pra - de - ra el sin - son - te
en la pal - ma can - ta el ca - o en la pra - de - ra el sin - son - te la per -
diz can - ta en el mon - te y en la sa - ba - na el gua - rea - o la per -
refrain
diz can ta en - el mon - te y en la sa - ba - na el gua - rea - o con el

Example 4: *Punto fijo* in Mixolydian mode. *Parranda* for a duet


ritenuto
a tempo
En la pal - ma can - ta el ca - o en la pra - de - ra el sin - son - te
en la pal - ma can - ta el ca - o en la pra - de - ra el sin - son - te la per -
diz can - ta en el mon - te y en la sa - ba - na el gua - rea - o la per -
refrain
diz can ta en - el mon - te y en la sa - ba - na el gua - rea - o con el

Example 5: *Tonada libre* from Spain. ‘La esposa se da en amor’ either to emphasize the metric accent of the instrumental rhythm if it coincides with an atonic syllable, or to displace the metric accent through syncopation or a pause that sometimes breaks the word into two parts. These *tonadas de punto fijo* are generally sung with memorized *décimas* since it is difficult to improvise *a tempo giusto* and make the accentuation of the *décima* coincide with that of the song. The *tonadas de punto fijo* are traditionally located in the central and eastern regions of the island and are known as *Camagüeyanas, Trinitarias* or *Cienfuegueras* depending on the territory from which they originate.

Modal Characteristics

The oldest surviving feature that still distinguishes the *punto cubano* is its modal characteristics. The Mixolydian mode is used to attain a greater sonority (based on C major) with the scale GABCDEFG. The absence of the leading tone (*sensible* or *sottotonica)* forces the cadence to be performed on the fifth scale degree, becoming the Andalusian cadence CBAG (Example 4 above).

The Phrygian mode is used in the C major scale with the notes EFGABCDE in an ascending sequence. In the descending sequence, the sixth-scale degree is used: EDCBAG#FE, concluding with the Andalusian cadence AG#FE.

Songs in minor key are *tonadas tristes* or *tonadas españolas*; in some places they are known as *tonadas Carvajal* after a singer who composed and popularized many of them (Example 5 above).

Evolution of the Genre

Punto cubano has been mentioned in novels and in short stories published by travelers. Its first printed appearance was in *Álbum Regio* (Regal Album) by Vicente Díaz de Comas, a Spanish composer living in Cuba. Díaz published a *zapateo* with *tonadas* that were interpolated as it was customary during the nineteenth century. Although the *décima* was published in hundreds of loose sheets and in novelettes that were distributed in villages, it was and still is essentially a genre of oral transmission that continues to gain popularity among various sectors of the Cuban population.

At the end of the nineteenth century *punto* was already incorporated as a theater piece in Cuban *zarzuelas* but with a structure which differed from those used in *cuartetas* (quatrains), a major mode that modulated to the relative minor to preserve some similarity to the original modal sonority. In addition, *punto* was sung accompanied by a small orchestra. Authors such as Jorge Anckermann and José Marín Varona, among others, composed *guajiras*, thus establishing the stylized form of the *punto cubano*. Later on, with the emergence of *son* as an urban dance, the *guajira-son* incorporated the danceable rhythm of *son* and also used bucolic descriptions in its texts, although in some *sones* of rural origins *décimas espinelas* are used in the final section, known as *montuno*.

In the discography of early Cuban recordings, there are some *puntos cubanos* that, starting in the nineteenth century, were recorded on cylinders and LPs until the appearance of the radio in the 1920s; *punto* was later disseminated through radio shows and, beginning in the 1950s, through television. Folk music artists and ensembles have recoded many albums, which have been well received in Spain, the Canary Islands, Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico and other Latin American countries.

Radio shows, in particular, played a pivotal role in the dissemination of the genre and its acceptance in the country's capital in the 1940s. These programs established virtuoso competitions and in leisure areas such as the Jardines de La Tropical there were Festivales de los Bandos competitions, in which competing teams, identified by color (with team names Red, Blue, Purple and Tricolor) were represented by poet or improviser. In the 1940s and 1950s almost all radio stations in the country had one or two shows dedicated exclusively to *punto cubano*. These shows also introduced and featured poets, among them Adolfo Alfonso, Inocente Iznaga, Gustavo Tacoronte, Pablo León, Justo Lamas, José Sánchez León, Ángel Valiente, el Indio Naborí, Francisco Riberón Hernández, as well as Vitalia Figueroa, Mercedita Sosa, Radeunda Lima and Celina González, the author and interpreter who formed a famous duo with husband Reutilio Domínguez. Thanks to the rise of figures in *punto* between 1940 and 1945, this stage became known as the 'golden age of *punto cubano*.'

Since the 1959 revolution, the number of competitions and festivals that promote and develop *punto* has increased. The Jornada Cucalambeana has become the most representative festivity of Cuban peasant culture. Founded in 1964 by Jesús Orta Ruiz, José Ramírez Cruz, Ramón Veloz and Manuel Fernández, the festival adopted poet Juan Cristóbal Nápoles Fajardo 'El Cucalambé' as its patron figure; thus, the festival is celebrated in El Cornito (Las Tunas province) where Nápoles was born in the nineteenth century. One of the most anticipated moments in the festivities is the election of the 'Flor de Birama' (Flower of Birama), an honor bestowed upon the most beautiful woman in the province.

In 1968 the 'Concurso Nacional El Cucalambé en Décima' (National Competition of the Cucalambé in Décima) was founded. For more than 20 years these festivities have been expanding to other regions of the country and to eight municipalities in the province through the 'Cucalambeanas de Base,' a celebration organized in two bands or teams (red and blue), which each have a group of youths to represent and defend them. Other activities include exhibitions of farming products such as viands, fruits and vegetables, animals, and equipment that facilitates field labor (i.e., yokes, plows, spurs, clubs saddles, etc.) set up by the farmers and members of cooperatives. The mural of the Salón Nacional de Paisaje y Décima represents the expression of Cuban contemporary artistic talent. There are also spaces for traditional children's and adult games, which attract a large number of participants and spectators. A space is also dedicated to the spreading of traditional Cuban dances such as *zapateo*, *son*, *caringa*, *baile del gavilán*, *papalote*, *chivo*, *papelón* and *nengón* among others, which are performed by youths and adults alike.

In addition to the Jornada Cucambelana, each area of the country hosts competitions in improvisation of and in written *décima*, which rely on the support of a number of government institutions such as the Centro Iberoamericano de la Décima y el Verso Improvisado (CIDVI).

In the 1990s, a generation of improvisers emerged who 'valued, perhaps for the first time, the performance character of improvised poetry, and see the improvised oeuvre as a "mise-en-scène" above the text, recognizing that the latter is one part, not necessarily the principal' (Díaz-Pimienta N.d.) Some of the characteristics of this generation of poets are the speed of the *controversias*, the equilibrium between the theatrical and the textual, and the interpretive-musical aspect underlying the textual parts (ibid.). Among the latest generation of poets cultivating the genre we find Irán Caballeros, Juan Antonio Díaz Pérez, Héctor Gutiérrez, Yosvani León, Luis Paz Esquivel, Noel Sánchez, Tomasita Quiala, Luis Quintana, Emiliano Sardiñas and Alexis Díaz-Pimienta.

The natural stage for the practice of *punto cubano* is the *canturía*, a traditional rural festivity that is held in rural homes to commemorate birthdays, anniversaries and other important dates, or for no reason at all. Another social gathering and performance opportunity is the *guateque*, a celebration very similar to the *canturía* with the addition of dancing accompanied by a popular music band. Although *canturías* and *guateques* have been systematically performed in rural communities, recently their practice has increased in urban sectors in tandem with a phenomenon known as 'repentismo' (the art of improvising poetry in song with musical accompaniment); in fact, the number of people learning and practicing *punto cubano* in cities continues to increase.

The CIDVI was founded in 2000 by the Cuban government with the purpose of contributing to the promotion, fostering and investigation of the *décima* and the improvised verse, and to acknowledge their principal representatives in Cuba and the rest of Latin America. For over a decade, CIDVI has carried out an intense education and dissemination program for *repentismo* and *punto cubano* through the creation of Casas de la Décima (Houses of the Décima) and of Talleres Especializados de Repentismo Infantil (Specialized Workshops in Repentismo for Children) and Talleres de Acompañamiento del Punto Cubano (Punto Cubano Accompaniment Workshops) in almost all Cuban provinces. The idea for these workshops first appeared in 2000 with the creation of the Cátedra Experimental de Poesía Improvisada (Experimental Masterclass on Improvised Poetry) at the music school of the Instituto Superior de Arte (ISA). The masterclass was intended to grow and spread across the country, and to provide all children interested in the *décima* or in *repentismo* with an instructor and a learning space to channel their curiosity; the affiliated classes created throughout the country eventually became the Talleres Especializados de Repentismo Infantil, which prioritize the teaching of techniques for the improvisation of poetry and of mechanisms for improvised creation. Other measures taken by CIDVI in favor of *repentismo* and *punto cubano* are methodological seminars for the teaching of *repentismo* (2001), the National Seminar for Child Improvisers (2001) and the Youth Meeting of Repentismo (2002).

The 2010 Cubadisco International Fair was entirely dedicated to peasant and rural music, especially *punto cubano*. Since then, collaborative projects between poets and institutions from Cuba and from the rest of Latin America have continued to emerge. The Fair also encouraged the Instituto Cubano de la Música to implement a program for the development of the *décima* and *punto cubano*. In the early twenty-first century, thanks to the synergy between institutions such as CIDVI, Casas de la Décima, Casas de Cultura (Culture Houses) and the Instituto Cubano de la Música, *punto cubano* has been greatly revitalized.

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MARÍA TERESA LINARES SAVIO WITH
AMAYA CARRICABURU COLLANTES (ADDITIONAL
TRANSLATION BY PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

Quebradata, *see* Quebradata and Technobanda (Volume VIII, North America)

Quelbe

The Virgin Islands, though divided politically into British and United States territories, share many common threads of history and culture. The folksong invention known as *quelbe* (also, *quelbey*) and the ensemble that plays it, called scratch band (also, fungi band), are two such threads. The *quelbe* emerged before the globalizing spread of pop culture via television, radio, recordings and internet, when social and cultural connections were strongly local and *quelbe* songs that have endured express the intrigues, humor, moral codes and eccentricities of local people. On St Croix, for example, 'Queen Mary' commemorates a young girl who helped lead the 1878 revolt of desperate plantation workers, and 'Father Malloy' recounts the many promises of a local priest to marry a woman with whom he already had several children. The general attitude, content and style of these songs suggest longstanding musical ties to the broader Anglophone Antilles. In contrast to the minor mode and freer rhythmic flow favored in the other culturally iconic Virgin Islands song form, *cariso*, major mode and a calypso-like duple meter mark *quelbe*.

As popular music vogues from the United States and calypso music from larger West Indies islands came to dominate Virgin Islands musical life in the second half of the twentieth century, *quelbe* was first marginalized, then privileged as a marker of local identity. Its history and fate parallels that of the scratch band. The cane flute-led historical version of this ensemble reflects similarities with other older Anglo circum-Caribbean groups, including a steel (triangle), squash (serrated gourd rasp scraped with a metal-pronged comb) and banjo ukulele. Popular opinion points to the scraping of the squash as the origin of the term 'scratch band.' Its alternative, 'fungi band,' apparently takes its name from the African-derived, local cornmeal-based dish called fungi. Elders recall the 'asspipe' bass, a section of car exhaust pipe played with the lips in the fashion of a trumpet, as part of the group. By the end of the twentieth century, the saxophone (alto, especially) surpassed the flute as the scratch band's lead melody instrument, enabling it to compete more successfully in the musical marketplace. A typical group might include alto sax, steel, squash, banjo uke, electric bass, electric guitar, *conga* drums and perhaps washboard and electronic keyboard. *Quelbe* songs are central to the scratch band repertoire, taking their place alongside jigs, *merengues*, *boleros*, calypsos and other popular music genres.

While scratch bands and their *quelbe* songs enliven musical life in both British and American territories, the more populous islands, St Croix in particular, are home to most groups. Blinky and the Roadmasters, Stanley and the Sleepless Knights, and Bully and the Kafooners are prominent groups that carry forward older *quelbe* repertoire, as well as music to accompany local traditions of quadrille dancing. James 'Jamesie' Brewster and Joe Parris are among the most honored of their predecessors. Occasions for performance include nightclubs, weddings, fairs, hotels, tourist cruise ships, cultural festivals and other celebrations.

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DANIEL E. SHEEHY

Racin

In the 1970s and 1980, a wave of '*racin*' (roots) music arose in Haiti. *Racin* combined traditional melodies and rhythms borrowed from the *Vodou* religion with instrumentation and other elements of rock and progressive jazz. Alive to pan-Africanism and political engagement, the movement gained momentum as young urban musicians brought the spiritual and political messages of the *Vodou* religion into the sphere of urban, globalizing, mass-mediated culture. The *racin* music movement developed in the aftermath of early and mid-twentieth-century invocations of African-based culture by the Haitian middle and upper classes that had played a significant role in the development of the arts, including a vibrant musical genre known as *Vodou-jazz*. But while *Vodou-jazz* expressed romanticized notions of peasant culture and invoked *Vodou* in order to promote a national identity, *racin* music celebrated African-based Haitian traditions for their intrinsic merit (Averill 1997, 132–3).

In 1977, a group of urban Haitian musicians began studying rural music and experimenting by fusing it with rock. In 1982 drummer Ronald 'Aboudja' Derencourt, guitarist Wilfred 'Tido' Laveaud, bassist Yves 'Chiko' Boyer and others formed a roots music band called Group Sa, which performed its first concert at the Rex Theater in the summer of 1982. Aboudja later explained that Group Sa's members never thought of themselves as creators of a movement, instead viewing their rehearsals at his house as 'get-togethers,' where musicians without prior mastery of roots music and drumming learned to play together (Averill 1997, 135).

When Group Sa broke up in 1984, several former members founded Foula, which continued the legacy of 1940s *Vodou-jazz* by blending Haitian rhythms with jazz. Foula was influenced by Miles Davis's jazz-rock rather than the swing-era jazz that had influenced earlier generations of Haitian musicians. In 1985 Aboudja left Foula to form Sanba-yo with drummer Gaston 'Bonga' Jean-Baptiste; the new band moved away from Foula's progressive jazz, fusing *Vodou* drumming with rock and funk. A third band, named Boukman Eksperyans, was founded in the same year.

Racin proponents seriously studied and embraced not only *Vodou* music, but the religion itself; musicians visited famous rural *Vodou* temples, learning traditional drumming styles from peasant musicians who had preserved traditions of the various African ethnic influences such as Ibo, Kongo, Dahome and Nago (Yoruba), which are still alive and well in Haiti. Members of the *racin* movement considered their music a form of '*Vodou adjae*,' the music and dance performed at *Vodou* temples after the conclusions of formal rituals. *Racin* bands even occasionally played at major rural ceremonies. Of course, bands also performed in urban contexts, but even there, audience members sometimes entered into trances, a phenomenon that musicians saw as an affirmation of authenticity. Many *racin* musicians were initiated in *Vodou*, and some, such as Aboudja, became prominent *Vodou* priests.

The *racin* movement's ideology called upon the *Vodou* concept of *Ginen* – the African homeland and a virtual spiritual space – in the same way that Jamaican Rastafarians call for a return to Africa as a concept as much as a place. And while the *racin* movement was certainly inspired by Bob Marley's adoption of Rastafarianism, it was in no way an imitation of Jamaican currents. For example, while young Haitian musicians who grew dreadlocks were partly influenced by Rasta style, they also were also calling upon the *Vodou lwa* (or spirit) Simbi, who wears dreads. The *racin* musicians' clothing was countercultural, featuring peasant hats and jeans in the style of Kouzen Zaka, the 'country cousin' *lwa* of agriculture and hard work. The invocation of these rural *lwa* was a defiant gesture in the face of conventional bourgeois norms; dressing in this way meant ostracism from polite society. And whereas the reigning Haitian government had risen to power in 1957 as a manifestation of the black power movement known as *noirisme*, Jean-Claude 'Baby Doc' Duvalier's dictatorship focus was on its *own* power, and the *racin* musicians' countercultural defiance was a threat to the established order (Averill 1997, 131–9).

Featuring vocalist Theodore 'Lolo' Beaubrum, Boukman Eksperyans became the most successful exponent of *racin* music. Named for Boukman Jetty, who, at a *Vodou* ceremony at Bwa Kayman (Cayman Woods) in 1791, launched a slave rebellion that led to the Haitian Revolution, the group called upon both the revolutionary spirit of *Vodou* and its musical style. The group was also influenced by reggae and Jimi Hendrix, taking the second part of its name from the Jimi Hendrix Experience. Its style featured rock guitar and bass with synthesizers and drum set (sometimes augmented by electronic percussion) and *Vodou* drums. Boukman's song 'Se kreyol nou ye' (We Are Creoles) attacked the Eurocentric world-view espoused by the middle class, stating that bourgeois Haitians should drop the pretense of speaking French and instead adopt the local Creole (Averill 1997, 138). *Racin* groups initially received practically no media attention, partly because they were not perceived to be commercially viable, but also because their open embrace of *Vodou* challenged bourgeois norms and their political stance was controversial in the repressive political climate of the Duvalier dictatorship.

The period following Jean-Claude Duvalier's fall in 1986 was marked by political instability, and music played a role in political struggles. Some felt that, as an escapist popular dance music closely identified with Duvalier, *konpa* should be deposed along with the dictator. *Angaje* ('engaged,' or activist) musicians coming from backgrounds in guitar-based *twoubadou* music mounted vibrant critiques of social injustice. Boukman Eksperyans, Sanba-yo and Foula began to obtain more work in nightclubs, and Boukman gained respect from the established Haitian music community in 1989 when it won the 3ème Konkou Mizik (Third Music Contest) for its song 'Prann chenn, wet chenn' (Get Angry, Remove the Chains), which incorporated traditional *Rara*, a musical style associated with traditional processional celebrations performed during Lent in Haiti (re-released on Boukman Ekperyans, *Vodou adjae*). The international 'world music' scene recognized *racin* as being more countercultural than *konpa* and Boukman gained press attention in the USA. Foula toured in Louisiana and Mexico and *racin* bands were founded in the diaspora: Rara Machine in New York, Kazak in Miami (Averill 1997, 179–80). Bands such as Boukan-Ginen and RAM also gained prominence in the growing *racin* soundscape. Significantly, a few New York-based groups playing *mini-djaz konpa* (an offshoot of *konpa*), such as System Band, Skah-Shah and Ti-Manno, began to incorporate *Rara* rhythms occasionally (Averill 1997, 131).

The year 1990 saw the election of Jean-Bertrande Aristide, a Catholic priest active in the Liberation Theology movement, to the Haitian presidency with support from the peasantry, urban underclass and progressive bourgeoisie. The Haitian oligarchy, however, was unenthusiastic about this wave of popular power, and the following year saw a *coup d'état*. Aristide was exiled, mass arrests ensued and an embargo was imposed by the Organization of American States and the United States. Because of his commitment to the Haitian masses (and in spite of his affiliation with the Catholic Church, which traditionally has had an antagonistic relationship with *Vodou*), Aristide received support from *racin* musicians during this period. Many *racin* musicians went into exile, participating in an active pro-Aristide movement that developed in the Haitian diaspora and playing at political events. Foula played at pro-Aristide events and Rara Machine released an anti-coup song entitled 'Pan-n se pa-n' (What's Ours Is Ours) (Averill 1997, 196–200). The Mango Records re-release of Boukman's first album, retitled *Vodou adjae*, was nominated for a Grammy (Averill 1997, 198). While they were intimidated by the government, Boukman members were not arrested, possibly because of their broad international profile. A group of soldiers bearing machine guns, however, came to a

1992 Boukman performance to prevent the group from singing 'Nwèl inosan' (Innocent Christmas), with lyrics that lamented the use of weapons and the loss of freedom in Haiti (Boukman Eksperyans, *Nwèl inosan*, quoted in Averill 1997, 198). Refused airplay on the national television station, Boukman's 'Kalfou danjere' (Dangerous Crossroads) was a huge hit, invoking the *Vodou* trope of the crossroads as a locus of change and judgment: 'Liars, you'll be in deep trouble / At the crossroads of the Congo people' (translated in Averill 1997, 198).

With Aristide's temporary return to power in 1994, *racin* musicians began to blend into the Haitian soundscape, and by the twenty-first century they took a back seat to the new generation's musical agenda, vibrantly addressed through hip-hop. Nevertheless, contemporary *racin* groups such as that led by singer and *Vodou* priest Erol Josué, the all-percussion group dubbed Chay Namn, and Badji, a roots-jazz band led by Foula veteran Thurgot Theodat, retain their position at the auspicious crossroads of tradition, modernity, spirituality and the struggle for social justice.

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PAUL AUSTERLITZ

Ragga Soca

Ragga soca is a style of popular music that emerged in Trinidad and Tobago in the 1990s and has since become an established subgenre of Trinidadian soca music. Ragga soca has its roots in the overwhelming popularity of dancehall reggae among Trinidadian youth in the 1980s and 1990s. In Trinidad, dancehall has usually been referred to as dub, which is not to be confused with the different genre of that name in Jamaica. In due course, Trinidadians cleared up the confusion by calling the style 'ragga' and later 'ragga soca,' as musicians started fusing dancehall with aspects of soca music.

The Development of Ragga Soca

A factor that Trinidadian 'dub' or 'ragga' does share with Jamaican dub is that both began with the work of DJs. In the case of Trinidad, it was DJs such as Dr Hyde and Chinese Laundry (Tony Chow Lin On), who played Jamaican dancehall at fêtes and block parties in Trinidad in the early 1990s. They also created mix cassettes that were distributed among fans or via pirate cassette vendors. Dr Hyde Sounds produced Trinidad's first dancehall star, Curtis 'General' Grant, who along with other artists participated in the widely successful Kisskidee Caravan concert series. By the end of the decade, artists had made a move toward a sound that incorporated more aspects of Trinidadian soca, while still maintaining the Jamaican sound that audiences enjoyed.

The term 'ragga soca' is attributed to bandleader Byron Lee, who released a song of that name in 1996. Machel Montano and his band Xtatik featured a contrasting ragga section in their 1997 song 'Big Truck,' and it is thought they won the Trinidad Carnival road march because of this. In 1998 Montano recorded 'Toro Toro' with dancehall artist Shaggy, the first ragga soca hit featuring both Trinidadian and Jamaican artists. However, the interest of Byron Lee and Machel Montano in the style was somewhat peripheral. Among the primary proponents of ragga soca have been Ghetto Flex (Hilton Dalzell), Maximus Dan (Edghill Thomas), Bunji Garlin (Ian Alvarez) and KMC (Ken Marlon Charles).

In 1999 Caribbean Prestige Promotions held the first Ragga Soca Monarch competition, in which Iwer George placed first with 'Iwer and Half,' a controversial decision as his song was not considered ragga soca by most fans of the genre. There were two further competitions in 2000 and 2001, both won by Bunji Garlin with 'Chant Down Babylon' and 'Licks' respectively. No separate Ragga Soca Monarch competition has been held since 2001, due to lack of interest, sponsorship and financial resources. Artists such as Bunji Garlin have responded by performing more command-style soca songs (so-called power soca and 'jump and wave' songs) to compete with established soca artists at the International Soca Monarch competition.

Stylistic Features

In the early twenty-first century there has been some debate within Trinidad and Tobago as to what distinguishes ragga soca from 'regular' soca. As noted above, many soca artists have recorded ragga soca tunes, without converting entirely to the style. Newspaper clippings suggest that some individuals, such as producer/engineer Kenny Phillips, argue that ragga soca is simply 'soca with a Jamaican accent,' while others, such as ragga soca artist Bunji Garlin, have discerned particular features that set ragga soca apart from other subgenres of calypso and soca, though again it resists easy classification. What truly sets ragga soca apart from other styles of soca is the speech-song delivery typical of Jamaican dancehall. This in turn can cause confusion (or crossover) with rapso, which is also a form of speech-song, but ragga soca artists use a more rapid-fire delivery than is typical in rapso, and they emphasize creative use of language rather than the direct and political messages of rapso poetry.

Ragga soca songs from the late 1990s were moderate in tempo (120 beats per minute), but by 2004 they had become noticeably faster (130–160 beats per minute). Contemporary artists such as Bunji Garlin alternate between fast and moderate tempos, particularly in live performances. Electronic music is the primary accompaniment to ragga soca songs, with the snare and cymbals mixed higher than the other percussive sounds. Since the beginning of the twenty-first century there has been a movement toward creating 'riddims' in the manner of Jamaican music, with compilations of a number of different singers accompanied by the same backing track. This is not universal and seems reserved to certain labels and producers such as Machel Montano's arranger Kernal Roberts and DJ/producer Chinese Laundry (Tony Chow Lin On).

Swagger, bravado and aggressiveness of delivery are all hallmarks of the genre, and this is the main reason why ragga soca is dominated by male performers. Among the few women in ragga soca is Denise Belfon, who has recorded and performed a number of duets with Ghetto Flex, including 'Rock Yuh Body' and 'Wine and Bend Over.' Ragga soca has been very successful in competitions – Bunji Garlin has been a frequent winner of the 'power soca' category of the International Soca Monarch competition. There have been a few chutney ragga soca songs, including a remix of Sonny Mann's 'Lootala' featuring General Grant and Denise Belfon. Ragga soca came to international attention when 'Fighter' by Maximus Dan became one of the anthems of the Soca Warriors during the 2006 World Cup Competition. Thus, despite the fact that ragga soca artists are in the minority, their influence is far-reaching in the contemporary Caribbean music scene.

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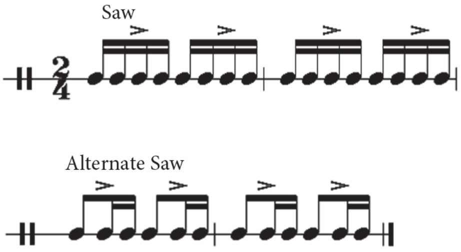
HOPE MUNRO SMITH

Rake-n-Scrape

The musical style called rake-n-scrape originally accompanied social dancing such as quadrilles and jumping dances in the Bahamas. Rake-n-scrape, however, has not always been known by that name. In fact, from the time of its emergence within the Bahamas in the nineteenth century until well into the 1960s, it was commonly called goombay music (Ed Moxey, personal communication, 2007). The moment at which rake-n-scrape replaced goombay is significant, however, for the label took hold in a period of tremendous political and social change. Goombay became rake-n-scrape in the years during which the Bahamas was pushing toward national independence (1967–73). This was right around the time that the 'Out Islands' (a name that highlighted the center/periphery dynamics at play in the Bahamas and which applied to every inhabited island excepting New Providence) became the Family Islands (still peripheral but now also rethought as sources of Bahamian heritage) in the national imagination (1971). It was also at a time when goombay music was not only rapidly losing its close ties to social dancing but also, and importantly, simultaneously being mobilized as a useful cultural marker within the growing nation building project. Rake-n-scrape music has occupied and continues to inhabit at least three spaces within the Bahamian musical landscape. These spaces find rake-n-scrape deployed as (1) peripheral, traditional music; (2) popular, urban soundtrack; and (3) roots music.

Rake-n-Scrape as Traditional Music

Though the instrumentation of the ensemble has, in recent decades, come to be standardized around accordion, carpenter's saw and goat skin drum, the ensembles that were used on the occasion of accompanying social dances such as quadrille and jumping dance were generally highly flexible throughout most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, typically consisting of whatever instruments happened to be at hand (Bethel 1983). The central rhythm that carries across dance genres and drumming styles finds its modern expression on the saw and consists of a continuous sixteenth-note pattern with accents on the off beats of one and two in 2/4 meter (see Example 1). The repertory is characterized by melodies that play out over the course of only two or three short phrases and lend themselves to repetition. A good example of this is the tune called 'Times Table,' which is comprised of three, eight-measure phrases (in 2/4), arranged in ABA' form. The song is repeated as many times as the performers wish.



Example 1: Characteristic saw rhythm in rake-n-scrape

Traditional systems of tutelage and the context within which social dancing was a central activity were both significantly disrupted, however, by increased out-migration from the Family Islands to Nassau and the United States in pursuit of employment, and by the 1960s goombay music (as it was then still called) was perforce gradually acquiring a new function in Bahamian life. The process of separating the music from its primary social context – that is, of re-situating it as entertainment for its own sake, separate from social dancing – continued throughout the 1970s, eventually causing traditional rake-n-scrape music to stand out in sharp relief as a traditional practice in its own right. Groups such as Bo Hog and the Rooters, Thomas Cartwright and the Boys, Ophie and the Websites and Ed Moxey's Rake-n-scrape thus found themselves playing music increasingly understood as folkloric within the national imagination. Although this shift toward the folkloric and the traditional cleared space for rake-n-scrape as a musical practice, it also reinforced the center/periphery dynamics at play within the Bahamas, resulting in an atmosphere within which traditional rake-n-scrape bands continued generally to be maligned among Bahamians. This remained the case even as late as the 1980s, especially in places like Freeport and Nassau, spaces considered too cosmopolitan for such provincial musical fare. Ophie Webb, for example, remembers vividly how, when he first arrived on Grand Bahama in the mid-1980s, Freeport audiences booed him every time he played rake-n-scrape (Ophie Webb, personal communication, 2007).

Beginning in the late 1990s, however, the sounds of traditional rake-n-scrape met with something of a revival among Bahamians. There are multiple sources for this renaissance, including the inauguration in 1997 of an annual, heritage-oriented, rake-n-scrape festival on Cat Island during the early summer, and a new version of Charles Carter's *Young Bahamians* radio program (which also began in 1997), renamed *Bahamians* and broadcast on Island FM102.9, through which rake-n-scrape has been featured and promoted. A third source came in the form of the roots-oriented rake-n-scrape artists who, since 2002, have been incorporating the sounds of traditional rake-n-scrape bands into their popular music creations.

Rake-n-Scrape as Popular Music

Although the sounds and instruments of traditional rake-n-scrape did not readily translate into the urban nightclub scene in the Bahamas, the goombay artists of the 1950s and 1960s managed to incorporate some allusions to the rhythms of rake-n-scrape into their repertories. These, more often than not, took the form of playing the characteristic saw rhythms on maracas and approximating goat skin drumming on congas. One artist in particular – Ronnie Butler – experimented with and arrived at an ensemble approach that went significantly beyond his contemporaries' musical nods to rake-n-scrape. His approach to rake-n-scrape privileged the instrumental roles of the saw and goat skin drum while systematically embedding these dynamics within the context of a typical electric band (drum kit, two guitars, bass and, later on, keyboard).

The main mechanisms by which Butler accomplished this include (1) moving the saw rhythm to the hi-hat, (2) reinforcing that line in the rhythm guitar through a strumming pattern that mirrors the hi-hat and takes advantage of the sonic difference between damped strings and sounding chords in order to accomplish the appropriate accents in each bar – a technique called the 'yuk,' (3) assigning the kick drum to play beats one and two of each measure, thereby translating into this context the foot stomping that generally accompanies traditional rake-n-scrape, (4) assigning the lead guitar the melodic role ordinarily filled by the accordion and (5) standardizing a bass line that consistently performs on 'two-and' of each measure. Through these means, Butler created a sound that has clear parallels within traditional rake-n-scrape, and he went on to record a series of extremely influential songs, including 'Burma Road,' 'Crow Calypso' and 'Native Woman,' in this style (all released on an LP entitled *Burma Road* in 1969), establishing a new set of possibilities for Bahamian popular music in the process. Importantly, however, the popular rake-n-scrape sound he introduced in the mid-1960s did not include any of the instruments or symbolic associations, for these were considered too provincial for the nightclub scene in Nassau.

Rake-n-Scrape as Roots Music

In the succeeding years, Bahamian musicians continued to draw inspiration from Ronnie Butler's approach and many followed his lead. By the first years of the twenty-first century, this thread of influence was being combined with a growing desire to explore more thoroughly the sounds of traditional rake-n-scrape. In the music of artists such as Ancient Man, Elon Moxey, The Lassido Boys and Da Energizers, to name but a few, the traditional instruments previously left out of the popular music scene were being reintroduced to their electric ensembles. The use of goat skin drums and saw within an ensemble context, where electric guitars (both rhythm and lead) and electric bass are reinforcing the Ronnie Butler approach to popular rake-n-scrape, was providing a distinctly roots feel to these performers' sound. Some reincorporated the accordion in order to make these connections more explicit. The saw, in particular, had become a much more audible marker in popular rake-n-scrape recordings, and in collections like the *Best of the Best, Volume 6* and *Island Jams 2* (both 2006), numerous rake-n-scrape songs were included alongside the junkanoo songs that had been so prevalent throughout the 1990s. The ideological return to the Family Islands, figured as both a temporal and a symbolic journey, was at the core of this roots-oriented rake-n-scrape music.

In the early twenty-first century, traditional rake-n-scrape is staged alongside both popular and roots-oriented rake-n-scrape, and all of these instantiations of rake-n-scrape receive radio play and are recorded locally. That said, the social dancing that the music initially accompanied is no longer central to its function or meaning within Bahamian life and it seems likely that rake-n-scrape will continue to move within this relatively new space of musical entertainment/heritage until such time as a renaissance in social dancing moves Bahamians to a roots movement revolving around quadrilles and jumping dances.

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TIMOTHY ROMMEN

Ranchera (Southern Cone)

In the Southern Cone, the term *ranchera* refers to a couple dance in 3/4 meter that originated in Argentina in the 1920s. This genre is unrelated to the Mexican style of the same name (also known as *canción ranchera*). The *ranchera* of the Southern Cone derives from the mazurka, which spread from Europe to South America in the mid-nineteenth century.

The mazurka came into vogue in the salons and ballrooms of the Rio de la Plata area along with the polka and the schottische (*chotis* in Spanish) in the early 1850s, after being taken up in Paris around 1845. Within a few years of their introduction in Buenos Aires and Montevideo, these dances spread to rural areas of Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay, and were adapted for accordion and guitar.

By the early twentieth century the mazurka was no longer fashionable in urban salons and was falling out of favor in the countryside. In the 1920s Buenos Aires-based sheet music publishers began printing music that conformed to the musical parameters of the mazurka under the genre name '*ranchera*.' According to Vega (1944, 1956) and Ayestarán (1953, 1994), publishers changed the genre's name in order to increase sales. *Ranchera* texts embraced rural themes, and the genre experienced a vogue from the mid-1920s through the late 1940s.

At its zenith, the *ranchera* enjoyed tremendous popularity throughout the Southern Cone and musicians from Argentina, Chile and Uruguay composed and recorded in the genre. The first *ranchera* recordings, produced during the mid-1920s, featured small ensembles (usually duos and trios on accordion, guitar and voice), but Argentine *orquestas típicas*, ensembles principally dedicated to the performance of *tangos*, soon began incorporating the genre into their repertoires. In the early twenty-first century, the *ranchera* is played primarily by traditional and folkloric groups in Argentina, Uruguay and Chile.

The *ranchera* is distinguished from other Argentine dance genres by the rhythmic, metric and melodic factors that influence the nature of the dance. Pieces are in 3/4 meter and can have up to four or five sections, usually of eight measures each. Melodies tend to emphasize either successive eighth notes or dotted-eighth, sixteenth patterns. Ayestarán (1994) observes that melodic lines in *rancheras* often end on the second beat of the measure. In most contemporary interpretations, accordion and guitar predominate and the *ranchera* is danced by couples in a waltz hold.

There is some discrepancy throughout the Southern Cone as to whether the *ranchera* is folk or popular music. Most of the historians of Argentine and Uruguayan music cited here see the mazurka as having been 'folklorized' through its adoption in rural settings. Thus Assunção (1968) speaks of the genre gaining its 'citizenship' in Uruguay, Ayestarán (1994) calls it a 'folklorized form of expression' and Vega (1944) includes the genre among a group of 'folkloric Argentine dances.' These historians are relatively silent on the genre position of the *ranchera*, possibly because of its emergence as a commercially oriented urban popular music several decades before their monographs were published. Today, the *ranchera* seems to be regarded as old-fashioned popular music in areas of Argentina where it is still in practice. One exception to this concept of *ranchera* as popular music is found in the Region of Aisén in southern Chile. Aisén has a long history of Argentine influence and locals have come to consider the *ranchera* to be one of the most important genres of regional traditional music.

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GREGORY ROBINSON

Rancho

In the context of the modernization of Rio de Janeiro in the first decade of the twentieth century, music-and-dance groups called *ranchos* were given enthusiastic attention in local newspapers as a form of synthesis between the orderly, European, modeled pageants and lower-class spontaneous manifestations, thus offering a counter-model to the previously popular and socially tense *entrudo*, the typical, free carnival form of the late nineteenth century. Their distinctive music generally consisted of the unison choral singing of a theme song over an accompaniment provided by an *ad hoc* ensemble of marching-band wind instruments, guitars and light percussion. When the first *ranchos* appeared among Rio de Janeiro's lower middle classes in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, they recreated the countryside Christmas pageants of that name that were still found in certain areas of the north-east of Brazil. Once in the city, recreated by small neighborhood-based groups of migrants from the state of Bahia, the *ranchos* grew in terms both of their social constituency and of their influence. They reached their apex during the first three decades of the twentieth century as popular and relatively organized Carnival associations and, as musical dance dramas, interacting in many ways with contemporary stage practices from the musical theater to the opera, while simultaneously maintaining close relationships with other street Carnival forms (such as *cucumbis*, *blocos* and *cordões*).

The arrival of the Portuguese Royal family and its court in Rio de Janeiro in 1808 transformed the city into the new Ultramarine Capital of the Portuguese Empire, producing an intensification of commercial activities and the consequent expansion and greater political influence of a local bourgeoisie, who demonstrated an increasing desire to adopt symbols of European modernity and consequently to abandon 'old' Portuguese practices. The latter objective found one of its more easily identifiable forms in the so-called '*entrudo* problem.' Disparaged by the ruling elites as disorder, *entrudo* basically consisted of all kinds of mockery directed by unorganized groups of slaves and free people of all social ranks toward passing individuals, including soaking them with large, handmade syringes and water jars, often filled with dirty water obtained from the precarious sewage system (Eneida 1987, 21).

The news found in a newspaper such as *Jornal do Brasil (JB),* which may be considered a mirror of elite aspirations toward modernity and bourgeois civilization after the French model, targeted the persistence of *entrudo*, as a reason for domesticating the threat posed by the poor by organizing new models for behavior. *Entrudo* and other types of 'unruly' behavior were written about in the news as related to remnants of slavery and as signs of the uncivilized state of the urban masses.

In this context, the relative refinement and organization of the *ranchos*, apparent in their pageants as well as in the other social activities held in their economically modest headquarters, were praised by *Jornal do Brasil*, highlighting in particular their orchestral rehearsals. As noted by newspaper chroniclers of the day, *ranchos* included directors of singing and harmony (the latter term applying not to musical chord formation but to the equilibrium among the various aspects of the pageant), a considerable set of wind and (plucked rather than bowed) string instruments. The first news item about Ameno Resedá, the foremost organization model in the perception of the elite, appeared on 4 February 1909, announcing a rehearsal organized in homage to *JB* (a common practice that indicates the direct relationships between the *ranchos*' news coverage and the newspapers' personal interests). In recognition, the newspaper would allow their preferred *ranchos* to display their flags and emblems in the newspaper headquarters.

Carnival news of the period provides evidence that journalists participated directly in the popular manifestations they reported, in spite of belonging to a socially privileged, literate minority. These individuals may be considered as true mediators (Bakhtin 1984) in processes of cultural circularity, alongside the mid-lower-class musicians who alternated between playing in the *ranchos*, the opera and the musical theater. The latter, however, had come from the lower social strati, some being born to slave parents, and had ascended to higher levels through music. One example is found in a news item in *JB* on 2 February 1911, concerning the *rancho* Filhas da Jardineira and its wind-and-string orchestra:

> The orchestra was thus constituted: Irineu de Almeida, 1st harmony director, opheclyd [sic]; Manuel Theodoro, 2nd director, flute; Henrique Vianna, Arnaldo Peçanha, Martiniano Cruz and Aventino Silva, guitars; Alfredo Vianna Júnior [Pixinguinha], flute; Adalberto de Azevedo, mandolin; Napoleão Teixeira and Francisco Torres, trumpets; Manuel Xavier Couto, clarinet; Pedro dias, bass [i.e., tuba]; Júlio Campos, bombardino; Victor de Ramos and Antônio, tambourines.

This short document contains the names of at least two distinguished musicians: Alfredo Vianna Júnior, known by his nickname, Pixinguinha, and Irineu de Almeida. Pixinguinha, widely recognized as one of the greatest ever Brazilian musicians, had been a pupil of Almeida, an ophicleid player and harmony director (in the sense outlined above) of the *rancho* Filhas da Jardineira. Almeida was also the leader of the legendary Choro Carioca ensemble, which made several recordings featuring the young Pixinguinha on flute. Alexandre Goncalves Pinto, an early twentieth-century *choro* musician and author of a unique book (1936) documenting this musical milieu from the inside, wrote of Almeida that he 'played trombone in the opera house, bombardino in the musical theater and ophicleid in choros' (103; author's translation).

The aim of the music in *ranchos* was to produce coherence with the scenic ideals of the plot development. The experiences of a few *rancho* musicians in other upper-class settings, playing arrangements of operatic arias or Italian *canzones*, provided valuable models for the kind of melodic-harmonic refinement that was sought. A good example is a recording by Ameno Resedá (see Discographical References below), made sometime between 1911 and 1914, of a march called 'Viúva alegre' (The Merry Widow), a parody of the famous 1905 operetta overture by Austrian military band musician and composer Franz Lehar. In addition to the predominance of wind instruments, derived from military bands, another consistent characteristic in the extant *rancho* sound recordings is the use of a mixed choir. The typical arrangement is one in which male and female choral passages alternate with each other, each sung in unison. Eventually, an individual voice sings in counterpoint, usually adding a parallel melody in thirds or sixths to the choral song.

A further aspect to be highlighted is that the music of the *ranchos* exhibits several of the signs that are present in genres perceived as products of the Luso-African diaspora, such as well-defined syncopation and displacement of dynamic stresses observed in the contemporary *lundu* and *samba*, as well as quatrain poetical structures and sectional musical forms.

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SAMUEL ARAÚJO

Rapso

Rapso is a style of speech-song that emerged in Trinidad and Tobago in the 1970s and went on to become an important platform for social commentary in addition to older forms of calypso. Although widely considered to be simply a blending of American rap with calypso or soca (hence rapso), rapso developed independently of North American hip-hop culture. Its roots are in Trinidad's Black Power movement of 1970, which saw widespread sociopolitical protests and a growing pro-African sentiment among the nation's young people. One of the primary goals of this social movement was to promote African and Afro-Trinidadian expressive forms. Young people showed a growing interest in African drumming and in learning long-neglected Afro-Trinidadian folk genres such as the *bongo* and *bele*, at the same time as college-educated Afro-Trinidadians were renewing interest in the Orisha religion and the Spiritual Baptist faith. Rapso shares features with Jamaican dub poetry, which emerged at the same time and under similar political circumstances in Jamaica.

The Development of Rapso

The precursors of rapso were the speech-songs and street poetry that were performed at trade union meetings and on picket lines in the 1960s and 1970s as a form of consciousness-raising, accompanied by Afro-Trinidadian drumming. Like the street poetry of North American groups such as the Last Poets, these artists intended to capture the everyday experiences of ordinary people. This has always been one of the functions of Trinidadian calypso, and thus this new style re-emphasized the political nature of Trinidadian music. 'Blow Away' by Lancelot Layne (1971) is acknowledged as the first rapso recording, although the term *rapso* would not be attached to the style for another decade (Rohlehr 2004, 224). Layne was also a key promoter of African culture, making a number of visits to West Africa and collaborating with highlife musician Koo Nimo. Unfortunately, many of Layne's songs were never recorded. The first rapso poet to perform in a calypso tent was Cheryl Byron, a visual artist and dancer who later went on to form several performing arts companies dedicated to the performance of the art and culture of the African Diaspora.

In 1980 Brother Resistance (Lutalo Masimba) and his Network Riddim Band released their debut album *Busting Out*, and coined the term *rapso* to describe their style. Brother Resistance, in his book *Rapso Explosion*, further defined rapso as 'the power of the word and the rhythm of the word, the living experience of the voice' (1986, viii). He draws a direct relationship between rapso poets and the griots of West Africa as 'the vessel of speech, the storehouse of knowledge and history, the teacher and communicator for this new generation' (ibid.). He compares the poetry of rapso to that of the speech and street theater of the old-time chantwells of calypso as well as Carnival characters such as Pierrot Grenade and the Midnight Robber.

In the 1990s a new generation of rapso artists emerged who sought to merge the positive message of this street poetry with upbeat dance rhythms. The most popular artists of this period include Homefront, Kindred, Black Lyrics and 3canal. More female rapso artists also appeared during this time, most notably Gillian Moor of Homefront. While many of these groups later disbanded, 3canal and Brother Resistance have remained the best known and most prolific of early twenty-first-century rapso musicians. Various soca artists have experimented with the rapso style, most notably David Rudder and Andre Tanker, and rapso artists have been more prevalent in the casts of the calypso tents. Since 1991 there has been an annual RapsoFest during the months of April and May to showcase the art form separately from Carnival and to offer workshops to aspiring rapso artists.

Musical Style and Lyrics

As with calypso and soca, rapso is performed in a variety of styles with varying musical accompaniment. Early rapso artists were clearly celebrating pride in their African heritage, and their arrangements feature more use of African percussion and the steel pan than other styles of Trinidadian music. The horn-heavy musical arrangements accompanying Brother Resistance's songs, along with the intense call-and-response between the lead vocalist and chorus, have been compared to those of Afro-Beat pioneer Fela Anikulapo Kuti. Slower tempos and short melodic phrases made rapso clearly distinguishable from other styles of calypso.

Contemporary artists have created more dance-oriented musical arrangements, while maintaining the positive social message of rapso lyrics. Their lyrics also celebrate aspects of Trinidadian cultural history, including traditional Carnival characters such as the Midnight Robber. Since the late 1990s, 3canal have organized and provided musical accompaniment for their own Jouvay band and mounted an annual stage production called the 3canal Show that runs during the Carnival Season. In songs such as 'Mud Madness' and 'Blue,' 3canal celebrate the renewal of Jouvay and Carnival with catchy, mid-tempo soca arrangements that prominently feature the instruments of the steelband 'engine room.'

Unlike calypso, which tends to target the specific political leaders responsible for social problems, rapso artists express their messages in universal terms. Brother Resistance in particular connects his music to an international consciousness of Black Power and social progress. Younger artists have moved away from the Black Power ideology of rapso pioneers, yet still express messages that address social injustice and liberation from oppression, as in 'Talk Yuh Talk' and 'Revolution' by 3canal. Most of the early twenty-first-century practitioners of rapso, and thus also the primary audience, remain educated, middle-class Afro-Trinidadians. The social and political consciousness evident in its poetry is obviously relevant to lower-class youth, but rapso faces stiff competition from Jamaican dancehall and American rap, as well as from local forms such as ragga soca that are based on these foreign musical styles. However, despite its limited audience, rapso remains an important forum for social commentary in contemporary Trinidad and Tobago.

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HOPE MUNRO SMITH

Rara

Rara is a parading musical festival originating in Haiti, also practiced in Haitian diasporic communities in the USA and Canada. (In the Dominican Republic the festival is known as *Gagá*, and is practiced by Dominican groups in New York City.) The term *Rara* refers to the festival, the type of parading band and the genre of music. The festival takes place during the 6 weeks of Lent and culminates on Easter Week.

Most *Rara* bands in Haiti consider their activities to be a form of religious obligation to the Afro-Haitian deities called *lwa* (McAlister 2002). Neighborhood-based bands begin playing and conduct rituals in *ounfò* (Vodou temple); they then move into the streets where they attract followers with music and dance. After visiting key religious spots such as crossroads, trees and cemeteries, they move from house to house playing and dancing for contributions. *Rara* bands sing both traditional religious songs and songs composed by specific bands with original lyrics. Historically, the bands have been a means for the rural (and more recently urban) poor to express popular opinion in the context of their general economic and political disenfranchisement (McAlister 2002).

The *Rara* festival almost certainly developed during the period of colonial slavery, when enslaved Africans and Afro-Creoles in the colony of Saint-Domingue were said to parade with drums and instruments on Easter Sunday. There is also some evidence that troupes of Maroons marched with drummers, horns and singers, not unlike the way *Rara* bands parade. In the rural areas *Rara* bands from the twentieth century to the early twenty-first have been infused with a sense of militarism, and members consider themselves to be small army regiments. *Rara* members hold political and military ranks such as General, President, Colonel, Major, Minister of State, King and Queen. Bands compete with other bands in the local area for followers, contributions, reputation and prestige. These competitions are usually aesthetic but occasionally bands engage in low-level conflict. They set 'magical traps' designed to *kraze* (crash) a neighboring band and stop it from performing. In rare but much-remembered instances, bands will physically fight one another (McAlister 2002).

A *Rara* leader with the title of Colonel leads the band and its followers. He brandishes a whip and blows a whistle to control the crowds and also to activate spiritual forces along the roads or streets. *Rara* band musicians play handmade musical instruments, the most distinctive of which are hollowed lengths of bamboo called *vaksin*. Sometimes the *vaksin* are made of plastic PVC tubing. The vaksin are played in the technique called hocketing, in which each player plays a single note (or its octave) while tapping a rhythm on the side of the bamboo with a stick. Multiple players rhythmically create a short, catchy melody. Each *Rara* band works to develop its own 'signature' melody by which it is known throughout the neighborhood. The melody usually also corresponds to a lyrical phrase, often a cryptic slogan that can be humorous or send a political message.

In addition to the *vaksin*, which are distinct to *Rara* music, musicians also play *kongo* or *petro* drums called *tanbou a lign* (drum on a cord) carried by a rope across the shoulder, *kès* (double-headed and stick-beaten drums, often with a snare-like device), *konè* (tin trumpet), *twompet* (trumpet), *tcha-tcha* (cha-cha), *graj* (metal scraper), *ogan* (garden hoe blade played with a metal striker), cowbells, bamboo flutes and various kinds of shakers made from tin such as the *tchancy,* a can filled with seeds. In the town of Leogâne, which has developed an elaborate *Rara* tradition, bands also feature brass marching band instruments such as trumpets, trombones and saxophones. In Leogâne during Easter weekend, bands compete before judges and are awarded official prizes.

Composers called *sanba* create lyrics (in Haitian Creole) for *Rara* songs and bands are proud to sing their own songs each year. Often a *sanba* weaves a cryptic message known as *pwen* (point) into song lyrics as a way to send a veiled message to local or national leaders without fear of direct retribution. Because of this political element, and because many people from the disenfranchised classes take over public space during *Rara* season, the elite urban classes have long disdained *Rara* and even been fearful of the bands when large numbers of singing followers are dancing along. *Rara* is also used in rural funerals, as well as in popular street protests, political rallies and demonstrations. Haitians from Leogâne (and elsewhere) who live abroad often return for *Rara* week, much like Carnival. *Rasin* (roots) bands and some hip-hop artists (such as Wyclef Jean) have incorporated refrains of *Rara* music in songs, where the singular sound of the bamboo *vaksin* becomes a sonic marker of Haitianness.

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ELIZABETH MCALISTER

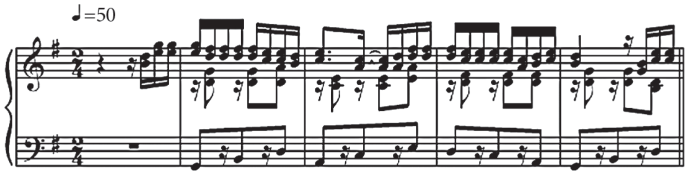
Rasguido Doble

In Paraguay, where *rasguido doble* originated in the early twentieth century, the term refers to a song genre. When it spread to Argentina and Uruguay, it became known principally as a music (instrumental or vocal/instrumental) for dancing.

The duple meter Paraguayan *rasguido doble* (literally, double strumming) bases its rhythmic foundation on an adaptation of the *candombe* and *habanera* patterns. The term *rasguido doble* derives from the type of strumming pattern performed by the guitar, which emphasizes two *golpes* of sixteenth notes (or one sixteenth note followed by an eighth note) on the first half of beat one. As in the case of the Paraguayan *polca* and other traditional genres, parallel thirds or sixths may accompany the melodic line, musical phrases are short and syncopated, and harmonies are tonal in nature (Example 1 below).

While Cardozo Ocampo (2005, 72) and Szarán (1997, 406–7) trace the origin of the *rasguido doble* to the habanera, Giménez (1997, 128–30) emphasizes that it must be considered a distinctive genre that during the first quarter of the twentieth century was adapted and incorporated into the local musical language with unique rhythmic characteristics. Generally speaking, the Paraguayan *rasguido doble* shares rhythmic similarities with other Latin American genres such as the Argentine *milonga* and the Uruguayan *candombe*.

Although the *rasguido doble* is not as popular in the early twenty-first century as the Paraguayan *polca* or the *guarania*, its performance practice at local music festivals and its inclusion in musical recordings bring change and fresh air into the Paraguayan musical vocabulary. A few of the most frequently performed *rasguido doble* compositions are 'Despierta mi Angelina' (Awake, My Angelina) (ca. 1930) with music and lyrics by Emiliano R. Fernández (see, for example, recordings by Ñamandu and Juan Carlos Oviedo con Los Hermanos Acuña); 'Pancha Garmendia' (ca. 1925), a *compuesto* text by Narciso R. Colmán – known as Rosicrán – with music by anonymous composer (see, for example, the recording by Los Compuesteros de Carapeguá); 'Rojas Silva rekávo' (Searching for [Captain] Rojas Silva) (ca. 1930), with lyrics by Emiliano R. Fernández and music by Julio Sánchez (see, for example, the recordings by Anibal Lovera y su Conjunto Folklorico Paraguayo and Efrén Echeverría); and 'Un cielo de ñandutíes' (literally, 'a sky of ñanduties,' a reference to the web-like patterns of Paraguayan ñandutí lace) (ca. 1980), with lyrics by Rolando Niella and music by Oscar Cardozo Ocampo (see, for example, the recording by Delia Picaguá Bordón). The genre has also been adapted and incorporated by composers of academic music, among them Juan Carlos Moreno



Example 1: *Rasguido doble* pattern from 'Soliloquio' by Florentín Giménez and Domingo Galeano (© Florentín Giménez. Used with permission)

González (1916–83) and Manuel Frutos Pane (1906–90) for their 1956 two-act Paraguayan *zarzuela*, *La tejedora de ñandutí* (The Ñanduti Weaver).

Rasguido Doble in Argentina and Uruguay

In Argentina and Uruguay, *rasguido doble* is a dance of interlocked couples that first became well known in Argentina in the 1940s and has remained popular in the Mesopotamic regions of the coastal provinces of Argentina, mainly in the province of Corrientes. It can be exclusively instrumental or alternatively can be sung by one or two voices in parallel thirds, accompanied by the characteristic instrumental ensembles of the coastal regions, groups that perform at popular dances or 'bailantas' with accordions and/or *bandoneóns*, guitars and sometimes the double-bass. The 1950s signaled the emergence of *rasguidos dobles* that were widely circulated and popularly accepted, such as 'Puente Pexoa' by Armando Neri and Tránsito Cocomarola and 'El rancho e' la Cambicha' by Mario Millán Medina. A 78-rpm recording of the latter, performed by singer Antonio Tormo, sold more than 4 million copies throughout Argentina in the 1950s.

In Uruguay it is important to highlight Aníbal Sampayo, who created several 'sobrepasos,' among which is 'Peoncito del mandiocal.' Since the turn of the twenty-first century, some composers and interpreters have incorporated percussion instruments, notably the Argentine accordionist Raúl Barboza in his *rasguidos dobles* 'Bailanta en la frontera,' 'Nostalgia del Negro Juan,' 'Bienvenido' and 'Candombera.'

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ALFREDO COLMAN (PARAGUAY) AND
HÉCTOR LUÍS GOYENA (ARGENTINA AND
URUGUAY; TRANSLATED BY ZUZANA PICK)

Reggae

Reggae is a music and dance style that emerged in Jamaica between late 1967 and mid-1968, ultimately attracting widespread global audiences to Jamaican music and dance culture. Reggae music's main characteristics include a slow tempo (60 to 85 beats per minute), complex beat subdivisions and polyrhythms, consistent afterbeats accents (a preferred term for 'offbeats' used in Jamaican music, explained below), frequent use of minor keys and modes, static harmonic progressions, call-and-response techniques, circular song structures, rough timbres, songs frequently constructed over one- to two-bar ostinato bass riffs, rock and R&B instrumentation and techniques, neo-African hand percussion and lyrics dominated by spiritual and social justice issues. Reggae dancing is a synthesis of Jamaican and African American movement styles.

Beginning in the early 1970s, the term 'reggae' has also been used by Jamaican and international musicians, producers, journalists and scholars to label all Jamaican popular music created since the 1960s, including ska, rocksteady, reggae, dub, toasting, dancehall and ragga. This article confines itself to examining the actual reggae style; to avoid confusion, the terms 'Jamaican popular music' and 'JPM' are used below to refer to the broader categorization.

Precursors

Reggae developed from rocksteady, a Jamaican style popular between 1966 and 1968 that was in turn derived from ska, another Jamaican style that was popular between the late 1950s and the mid-1960s. Ska is an uptempo Jamaican dance music that synthesized US R&B with Jamaican folk and religious musics. Rocksteady was a synthesis of ska – at a slower tempo – with contemporary African-American soul and R&B elements, along with a heightening of the uniquely Jamaican traits that characterized ska and were also retained in reggae. These Jamaican traits include strong consistent accents on afterbeats (discussed below), and a metric organization in which backbeats (i.e., second and fourth beats) are the heaviest and loudest beats in a 4/4 measure, often with weak sounds or silences on first and third beats.

Most of the musicians (and several producers) responsible for the emergence of reggae were Rastafarians who used neo-African music as the primary vehicle to express their feelings, beliefs and identities. Rastafarian religious music is called nyabinghi. Jamaican popular, folk and religious musics share an aesthetic approach that scholars call 'neo-African' because of its roots in West African religion, music and dance practices that were retained by Jamaican Maroons (slaves who escaped to the forested, mountainous interior of the island between the sixteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries) and eventually appeared in all Jamaican folk and religious music/dance forms (Carty 1988; Ryman 1983). Rastafarian philosophy and music inspired a return to the musical elements of traditional Jamaican work songs and neo-African and/or Creole Jamaican styles including mento, Jonkonnu, Kumina, Jamaican Pukkimina/Revival and Buru. The result was reggae, a new, secular, popular style in which neo-African elements were more prominent than they had been in ska or rocksteady (Grass 1982, 47).

The Term 'Reggae'

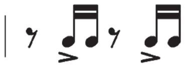
There are many different and often contradictory accounts concerning the origin and meaning of the term 'reggae' and of the actual style itself. The absence of documentation, along with the lack of agreement among practitioners, journalists and scholars, has thus far made it impossible to determine which account is accurate or even most likely.

In the literature on Jamaican popular music, the first appearance of 'reggae' as a name for a particular music and dance is usually cited as being the Maytals' recording 'Do The Reggay' (1968), written by lead vocalist Frederick 'Toots' Hibbert and produced by Leslie Kong. In the early 1970s, for no documented reason, the spelling became 'reggae' and it also became a term used by artists, journalists and some scholars to label all Jamaican Popular Music (JPM). When Hibbert first used 'reggay,' apparently neither he nor anyone else at the time knew the origins of the word (Ward 1980, 447), but according to the *Jamaican Dictionary of Jamaican English* (1967), the term 'reggae' had been used before this song. Defined as a recently established spelling for the word 'rege' – meaning 'ragged' – the *Dictionary* noted that it referred to African-American ragtime music, and to new musical innovations emanating from the Kingston slums – that is, reggae music (Cassidy and LePage 1980, 504).

Another similar word, 'rags,' was used in the late 1950s to refer to music of the lower classes, which at this time was dominated by Jamaican recordings that synthesized African-American R&B (especially boogie woogie shuffle rhythms) with traditional Jamaican music and dance practices such as mento and Pukkumina/Revival music (Clarke 1980, 67).

After 1967 Hibbert provided no fewer than three other explanations for the meaning of 'reggae.' In 1977 he said that it referred to something that came from 'ordinary people,' that is, from the Kingston ghetto where Rastafarians were the majority. In this context, 'reggae' was synonymous with the 'regular,' everyday Rastafarian lifestyle, including their religious beliefs, experiences of poverty and suffering, as well as their music (Davis and Simon 1977, 91–2). In 1982 Hibbert defined 'reggae' as meaning 'raggedy, everyday stuff' (Grass 1982, 45); then in 2001, he said that it was a word derived from 'streggae' – a woman of low morals or someone to be avoided (Salewicz and Boot 2001, 64). Since 2003, Hibbert has consistently claimed that he actually invented the term (Katz 2003, 98).

Producer Edward 'Bunny' Lee remembers hearing studio musicians use 'reggae' in 1968 to describe organ rhythms, which sounded like 'Reggae! Reggae! Reggae!' (Johnson and Pines 1982, 61). Guitarist-producer Ernest Ranglin says that he also first heard it around this time, but to describe guitar rhythms which sounded like 'reggae-reggae' (Chang and Chen 1998, 43) (see Example 1).



Example 1: The most common guitar reggae rhythm – a double-afterbeat pattern

Clarke provides yet another explanation, based on nonmusical origins. He says that 'reggae' has a meaning similar to that of the African-American term 'funk,' which first referred to a state of sexiness or earthiness and was later applied to the highly polyrhythmic and syncopated R&B music developed in the late 1960s by James Brown and Sly and the Family Stone. Clarke argues that reggae's polyrhythmic similarities to funk – discussed below – resulted in the term 'reggae's application to the new Jamaican style (Clarke 1980, 96).

Many other theories about the origins of the term 'reggae' appear in the Jamaican popular music literature. In Jamaica in the early 1970s, 'reggae' was a common middle-class insult for lower-class music – 'raggamuffin music' or 'ragga' – which uptown people pronounced 'reggae' (Thomas 1973, 328). Others attribute it to the Nigerian phrase *e rega*, which is said to mean 'royal music' (Chang and Chen 1998, 42). Bob Marley believed that it was Spanish for 'the king's music' (which he linked to Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie) – although there are no Spanish words with this meaning that sound like 'reggae' (White 1983, 16). Bunny 'Wailer' Livingstone thinks it was derived from 'regal' (Stolzoff 2000, 258). Lastly, some people think that it comes from the name of a Tanzanian Bantu-speaking tribe (White 1983, 16).

Jamaica in the Mid-1960s and Early 1970s

During the 1960s Jamaicans explored and asserted their African roots, producing a climate of social change in which Jamaican musicians synthesized modernization and Westernization with an inward-turning celebration of their Jamaican culture and 'blackness.' Witmer labels this synthesis an 'ideologically motivated control of musical styles.' Jamaican Popular Music (JPM) reflected the Jamaican societal emphasis on the revitalization of Jamaican culture (primarily a result of the government's promotion of traditional music via festivals and competitions created after Jamaican independence in 1962) in which Africanization was a strong component (Witmer 1981, 113).

In the 1960s Jamaicans were also strongly influenced by American politics, especially the viewpoints of African-American leaders Dr Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X and Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver, and in particular their criticisms of institutional racial injustices (Masouri 2008, 97–8, 162). These leaders demanded, and gradually achieved, improvements in African-American economic and political equity, and they promoted black dignity, cultural pride and Black Nationalism – ideas which were actually rooted in Jamaican Marcus Garvey's pan-Africanist philosophy and also central to Rastafarianism. The Jamaican government, on the other hand, was less receptive to public criticism and was not respectful toward Rastafarianism. In 1967 newly appointed Prime Minister Hugh Shearer was particularly aggressive in responding to what he considered to be 'fringe political groups' that might be viewed as attempting to overthrow Jamaican society. During his first year in office there were 52 shootouts between the police and poor people, resulting in many victims who were killed, maimed or imprisoned (Clarke 1980, 85).

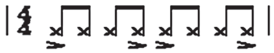
In 1968 Guyanese scholar Walter Rodney, a lecturer at the University of the West Indies in Kingston, promoted Black Nationalism and Black Power and criticized government persecution of Rastafarians (Edwards 1999, 1593). After Rodney attended a conference in Canada (in 1968), the Jamaican government classified him as 'dangerous,' refused his reentry to Jamaica and used military vehicles to disperse public protests concerning this decision (Bradley 2000, 196). In this climate, only a few reggae artists addressed politics or social injustices in their music. By the 1970s, however, after a government sympathetic to Rastafarians was elected, songs expressing social and political criticism were to flourish.

Two events in the 1960s boosted Rastafarianism's popularity with the lower class, especially among musicians. On 12 April 1966 the Jamaican government invited Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie to Jamaica in order to acknowledge the growing numbers and influence of Rastafarians, and with the hope of winning their support. The subsequent reaction of Rastas to the trip was not what the government had anticipated, however. Selassie's visit was viewed as verification of his divinity – Rastafarians believed that he was God incarnate – which bolstered Rastafarians' opposition to the current government as well as generating many new converts, including musician Bob Marley, his wife Rita and the other members of Marley's group the Wailers (Peter Tosh and Bunny Livingstone) (Bradley 2000, 192–3).

On 12 July 1966 the police bulldozed Back o' Wall, a Rasta camp in Kingston, to make way for a housing project. Rastas dispersed all over Kingston, especially to Trenchtown, a West Kingston slum where many Jamaican artists lived, including Ken Boothe, Alton Ellis, Bob Marley and the Wailers, Sylvan Morris (engineer), Johnny Osbourne and the Pioneers. Mortimer 'Mortimo' Planno (aka 'Planner') – a Rasta elder – became a major influence upon Bob Marley, Ken Boothe, the Wailing Souls and the Abyssinians (Foehr 2000, 17; Davison 2006).

In 1971 Michael Manley – the People's National Party leader – ran for election and promised better education, jobs and higher wages for the poor. Many Rastafarian musicians – including Delroy Wilson (whose 1971 roots reggae song 'Better Must Come' was chosen by Manley as the PNP campaign song), Clancy Eccles, Alton Ellis, the Inner Circle, Bob and Rita Marley and Judy Mowatt – supported him with performances at rallies. Once elected in 1972, Manley started delivering his election promises and soon the outlook of the country was transformed. Rather than looking toward American and traditional European allies, Manley forged alliances with Cuba and embraced Afrocentricity, Black Consciousness, Rastafarian theology and a general anti-imperialist perspective (Chang and Chen 1998, 53). In this new environment, African rhythms were now allowed to become the main element of the reggae songs, bringing to the surface what had always been submerged (Grass 1982, 47). This shift ushered in the 'roots reggae' period – which went unnamed until the mid-1970s.

Another important factor behind the emergence of reggae was government promotion of traditional Jamaican musics. In 1963 and 1966 Minister of Culture Edward Seaga instituted the Jamaica Festival of Arts and the Independence Festival Song Competition (later renamed the Popular Song Competition) to promote and preserve Jamaica's African heritage (Thomas 2004, 66; see also Bradley 2000, 206–7 and Lewin 2000, 50). The first Festival Song Competition winner in 1966, the Maytals' song 'Bam, Bam,' cited by Chang and Chen as foreshadowing the 'roots reggae' style (Chang and Chen 1998, 102), synthesized a pentatonic folk-style melody with digging songs, Jamaican revival hymns, nyabinghi-style bongo drums, electric organ, R&B bass, tenor sax, steel drum and mento-inflected guitar playing a circular I-V chord progression with a rhythmic ostinato that combined onbeat and afterbeat accents at 110 beats per minute (bpm) (see Example 2).



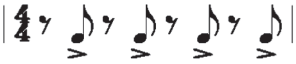
Example 2: 'Bam, Bam' ostinato pattern

Early Reggae Characteristics (1968–72)

Between late 1967 and mid-1968 11 recordings appeared, each of which is often cited as 'the first reggae record.' Poor documentation has made it impossible to determine the actual recording or release dates of these recordings, however, and participants' memories are often contradictory (Katz 2003, 97–161). In alphabetical order by artist (with the producer in brackets), they are: 'No More Heartaches' by the Beltones (Harry Johnson); 'Pop A Top' by Andy Capp (aka Lynford Anderson); 'Bangarang' by Wilburn 'Stranger' Cole and Lester Sterling (Bunny Lee); 'Dulcemania' by Drumbago and the Dynamites (Clancy Eccles); 'Feel the Rhythm' by Clancy Eccles (Clancy Eccles); 'Nanny Goat' by Larry (Marshall) and Alvin (Perkins) (Coxsone Dodd); 'Do the Reggay' by the Maytals (Leslie Kong); 'Say What You're Saying' by Eric 'Monty' Morris (Clancy Eccles); 'People Funny Boy' by Lee Perry (Lee Perry); 'Long Shot' by the Pioneers (Lee Perry) and 'Everybody Needs Love' by Slim Smith (Bunny Lee). For additional information about these songs see Barrow and Dalton (2001, 93–146), Bradley (2000, 198–201) and Katz (2000, 58–88, 2003, 97–133).

The study of the first reggae records is complicated by the fact that in terms of their essential style traits, mature rocksteady and early reggae songs are basically a single kind of music, with differences often being a matter of degree rather than the result of two clearly delineated styles or approaches (Witmer 1981, 107). Reggae musicians synthesized Jamaican musics with jazz, R&B, soul, gospel, rock, Tin Pan Alley, country, Christian hymns, Anglo-Celtic folksongs, Brazilian *bossa nova*, Trinidadian calypso and Cuban *son* (White 1982a, 41). The results were usually much more than simply collage, however. The most creative artists added something personal to satisfy their needs and those of their audiences (Alleyne 1984, 1988, 4; Nettleford 1979, 78). Jamaican scholars (for example, Alleyne 1984, 1988; Brathwaite 1971, 1978; Lewin 2000; Nettleford 1979; Ryman 1979, 1983; White 1982a, 1984) call this process 'creolization.' These scholars believe that this process involves a deep African structure and a surface structure that is influenced by other cultures experienced by Jamaicans (Alleyne 1988, 149; Brathwaite 1971, 26).

Many of the most noticeable characteristics of early reggae are in the areas of rhythm, meter and tempo. In some cases, features are retained from earlier Jamaican music. For example, reggae's accented afterbeats are also found in Pukkumina/Revival, nyabinghi, mento, ska and rocksteady. A notable characteristic of afterbeats is that they are consistently louder and heavier than sounds on the beats; see Example 3.

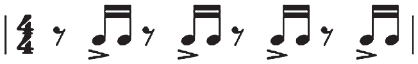


Example 3: Afterbeat accents

Jamaican musicologist Garth White and American musicologist and reggae bassist Luke Ehrlich prefer to call these offbeats 'afterbeats' because of the frequent conflation of offbeats with 'upbeats' and 'backbeats.' The rationale for this preference is based upon the characteristic of Jamaican offbeats – often chordal combinations of notes – which consist of the harmony of the preceding beats, rather than anticipating the harmony of the following beat (White 1982c, 38; Ehrlich 1982, 55). See McCarthy (2007, 64–7) regarding different terminology for sounds in-between beats.

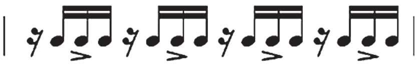
Afterbeats are also accented in Jamaican folk and religious music and dances, such as mento and Revival hymns (and Revival dance movements, called 'trumping,' which involve deep downward movements on beats – accompanied by a grunted exhalation – followed by strong accents with an upward flinging of the arms on afterbeats – accompanied by forceful, quick inhalation) and Rastafarian nyabinghi music/dance. Accented afterbeats are also prominent in traditional West African music, and in the earliest Jamaican music (by the Maroons), although they are more prominent and consistently accented in Jamaican folk, religious and popular music than in West African music. Some analysts have misperceived afterbeats as occurring on the beat, and state that reggae tempo is twice as fast as rocksteady, even though most Jamaican musicians perceive reggae as slower than rocksteady (Grass 1982, White 1982b, 1984, 1998). This misperception results in the problematic claim that afterbeats are backbeats (i.e., occurring on the second and fourth beats of a 4/4 measure), and that the placement of one-drop bass drum accents occur on beat three of 4/4 measures. This interpretation of 'afterbeat' and 'one-drop' is inconsistent with their placements in ska, rocksteady, mento and Jamaican folk musics. Interpreting the placement of afterbeats as occurring on the beat becomes even more problematic when they are played with a swing groove, since it implies that beats two and four can somehow be delayed.

Reggae afterbeats are usually played by guitar and keyboard; some of the early recordings have a double afterbeat (usually notated as two sixteenth notes); see Example 4. For recordings with double afterbeats, see Wilburn 'Stranger' Cole and Lester Sterling's 'Bangarang' and Larry (Marshall) and Alvin (Perkin)'s 'Nanny Goat.'



Example 4: Double sixteenth-note reggae afterbeat pattern

Recording engineer Sylvan Morris (at Coxsone Dodd's Studio One) first created this pattern by feeding guitarist Eric Frater's single eighth-note afterbeats (in 'Nanny Goat,' by Larry and Alvin) through a delay unit (called 'Echoplex Sound Dimension') which produced a rapid single echo (Soul Jazz Records 2002, 22, 47–50). Other guitarists and keyboard players copied this rhythm by playing two (or more) sixteenth-note afterbeats. Combined guitar and keyboard afterbeats are similar to the sound of banjo 'bubble' rhythms (Bradley 2000, 204–5; Grass 1982, 55; Neely 2008, 287); see Example 5.



Example 5: Mento-influenced guitar and afterbeat bubble rhythm

The metric feel of ska and rocksteady is also retained. This involves the combination of accented afterbeats with heavy backbeats (the second and fourth beats in a 4/4 measure) and weak or silent first and third beats. Bass drum backbeat accents are frequently synchronized with rim-shot snare shots and often reinforce bass parts (along with extra bass drum pickup notes and afterbeat accents). Downbeats are weakly sounded, often silent and synchronized with strong corporeal onbeat accents. If the bass drum does appear on beats one and three, it is usually played more lightly and softly than when it appears on backbeats.

Tempos are much slower than those in rocksteady, however: between 60 and 85 bpm. Early reggae tempos are in the upper tempo range – from 72 to 85 bpm. Beat subdivisions are increased, rhythms are faster and polyrhythms and syncopations are more complex than in rocksteady. Beats are most frequently subdivided into four parts – usually written as sixteenth notes with a strong underlying eighth note pulse – which can create an 8/8 feel. In most of the recordings, sixteenth notes are often swung in a shuffle style; the only early reggae recording with straight sixteenths is 'Pop a Top,' by Andy Capp.

Most reggae arrangements feature collaborative improvisation, call and response in instrumental and vocal parts, and hocketing techniques. Hocketing – usually arranged collectively by ear – involves the division of phrases or rhythms into short segments performed sequentially by drums, bass, guitars, piano and/or organ, often with overlapping call and response.

In the reggae style, each instrument (except for those playing melodic lines) functions as if it is part of a drum ensemble and most instrumental parts are extremely percussive. Ehrlich calls this reggae's African aspect (Ehrlich 1982, 52). Witmer notes that the attack of chordal instruments such as guitar and organ is often so sharp and short that they function more as percussion instruments than as harmonic ones (Witmer 1981, 109). Bradley (2000), Ehrlich (1982) and Witmer (1981) consider percussiveness to be one of reggae's most prominent traits, if not its most distinguishing feature.

The way in which some instruments are used also differentiates early reggae from ska and rocksteady. Horns (saxophones, trumpets and trombones) are used less often and differently than in the earlier genres. Horn phrases and riffs usually function as introductory melodic material or filler, sometimes in hocketed patterns with the rhythm section, versus their predominant role in ska (and occasionally in rocksteady) of playing afterbeats.

Reggae bass parts usually consist of ostinati (one to four bars in length) played on electric bass, with rhythms that subdivide the beats in two (commonly notated in eighth notes, with occasional sixteenths), and beginning or ending on afterbeats. Reggae bass is also usually louder and fuller than in rocksteady. See Ehrlich (1982, 54) for examples of typical reggae bass patterns – short, rhythmically animated tunes. Stutter guitar – playing rapid reiterations of single notes – often doubles bass an octave higher, with a muted, trebly timbre. Rocksteady-style guitar fills and tremolos usually appear between bass phrases; for example, in 'No More Heartaches,' by the Beltones, 'Feel the Rhythm,' by Clancy Eccles and 'Long Shot,' by the Pioneers.

Electric organ (usually a Hammond-style instrument with two keyboard manuals) appears in most reggae arrangements, often employing two keyboards on one instrument – with the possibility of different timbres, overtones and attack for each manual. Fast rhythms – usually swung sixteenth notes – are played with alternating hands voicing the same chord on each of the manuals, which usually have different timbral settings. Winston Wright and Glen Adams were the main exponents of this style – called 'shuffle organ' (Bradley 2000, 201–2; Ehrlich 1982, 54–5). Producers Bunny Lee, Harry J (Johnson) and guitarist Ernest Ranglin consider shuffle organ to be early reggae's defining feature (Bradley 2000, 201–3). See Ehrlich (1982, 55) for examples of typical shuffle organ patterns – highly percussive one-bar figures.

In terms of melodic and harmonic traits, reggae melodies frequently use diatonic major, minor or modal scales with blues inflections. Vocalists often employ sighs, sobs, falsetto, melisma, speech, chants and shouts with ambiguous pitches. Melodic phrases are often two or four bars long. Chord progressions often consist of one chord for long stretches, or repeat two or three chords (usually tonic [I], subdominant [IV] and/or dominant [V] triads). For example, the I–IV progression occurs repeatedly in extended sections in several songs, including 'Dulcemania,' by Drumbago and the Dynamites, 'Do the Reggay,' by the Maytals, and 'Say What You're Saying,' by Eric 'Monty' Morris.

The lyrical themes of reggae songs are similar to those of rocksteady – romance, entertainment, escapism – with an overall increase in socially conscious, Rastafarian and philosophical themes. In the 1970s the emphasis on social issues and spirituality became dominant; songs with these characteristics (as well as some additional musical traits, discussed below) exemplify the 'roots reggae' style.

In terms of timbre and song structures, reggae music is similar to African-American popular music of the period. Most instruments and vocal parts employ buzzy timbres. This neo-African aesthetic is often more pronounced than those that appear in ska or rocksteady, however. Most reggae songs are in verse-chorus form, with distinctions between sections blurred by improvisation, call-and-response and hocketing. The verse-chorus form is influenced by its prominence in European folksongs, hymns, Tin Pan Alley songs and the majority of popular song structures of the late 1960s and early 1970s. In live performances, some artists, notably Bob Marley and the Wailers, Toots and the Maytals, Burning Spear and Black Uhuru, employ a jazz-like flexibility and freedom with many spontaneous changes of melodic and harmonic material, as well as alterations of the ordering and length of sections, in combination with the inclusion of new or freshly adapted introductions, transitory sections and endings.

Overall, the most idiosyncratic features of early reggae are afterbeat accents (usually played with a quick, double rhythm – see Example 1), heavy backbeats (along with light and sometimes silent first and third beats), swung subdivision of the beat into four parts (usually notated as sixteenth notes), a percussive tendency of instrumental parts, ostinato bass riffs, stutter guitar and electric organ (played in the two-handed shuffle style). In the roots reggae style, other traits emerge – discussed below.

The Influence of US and British Popular Music

Reggae musicians were strongly influenced by late-1960s US R&B artists, especially James Brown, the Chambers Brothers, Aretha Franklin and the Sweet Inspirations, Marvin Gaye, Jimi Hendrix, Curtis Mayfield and the Impressions, Otis Redding, Sly and the Family Stone, Edwin Starr and Stevie Wonder (Masouri 2008, 98–101, 485). Witmer notes that although most neo-African reggae traits also appear in US R&B and were the conscious result of imitation of R&B by many Jamaican musicians and producers, Jamaican popular music is nevertheless distinct from R&B, primarily due to the Jamaican folk and religious music which also exerted a profound influence upon these musicians (Witmer 1981, 106, 113). Neo-African reggae traits therefore usually differ from those in R&B counterparts because Jamaican creolization produced local variations, while the synchronicity and proximity of R&B and reggae problematizes the claim that frequently appears in the Jamaican Popular Music (JPM) literature that Jamaican neo-African traits came directly from West Africa (ibid., 106, 113).

About two-thirds of the early reggae traits described above also appeared in late 1960s US R&B – that is, slower tempo, increased beat subdivision, collaborative improvisation, use of call-and-response techniques in instrumental and vocal parts, percussive approach of instrumental parts, static harmonic progressions, blues-inflected melodies and preference for buzzy timbres (especially in solo singing styles).

McCarthy's studies (2001 and 2007) of late 1960s British and US popular music indicate many similar shifts in tempo demonstrated by both this repertoire and JPM throughout the 1960s, specifically that slower tempos and increased beat subdivisions occurred synchronously between US R&B and JPM throughout the 1960s. (Note: the percentages that follow are all *approximate*.) In 1963, when most ska song tempos were between 120 and 130 bpm, British and US hit songs were also generally quick, dominated by tempos above 120 bpm. Forty percent of British/US songs were between 141 and 170 bpm ('fast'), 45 percent were between 81 and 140 bpm ('medium') and 15 percent were between 40 and 80 bpm ('slow'). In 1966, when rocksteady emerged at a slower tempo than ska (averaging between 85 and 120 bpm), there was a similar tempo shift in British and US music. Thirty-eight percent of British and US songs were fast, 52 percent were at medium tempos and 10 percent were slow. When funk became the dominant British and US style in the late 1960s and early 1970s – the same period when early reggae emerged, averaging between 72 and 85 bpm – British and US releases were also slower overall. In 1971 only 15 percent of hit songs were fast, 61 percent were medium tempo and 24 percent were slow (McCarthy 2001, 219–26).

Regarding increased beat subdivisions (usually notated as sixteenth notes), McCarthy's (2001) study indicates that slower tempos in Jamaican, British and US popular music resulted in increased beat subdivision, polyrhythmic activity and syncopation. In 1963 ska was dominated by eighth-note subdivisions, which were often swung. Eighth note-subdivisions also dominated 50 percent of British and US hit songs, and less than 10 percent employed sixteenths. In 1971 only 30 percent of British and US songs were dominated by eighth-note subdivisions and 50 percent employed sixteenth-note subdivisions (McCarthy 2001, 220–7). Early reggae was also dominated by sixteenth-note subdivisions, which were often swung.

Given the popularity of British and US music in Jamaica throughout the 1960s, it seems likely that the similarity between these overall tempo preferences and changes in beat subdivision indicates the influence of British and US popular music upon Jamaican aesthetic preferences, but it might also be argued that these similarities are due to other sociocultural factors indigenous to Jamaica.

Of the remaining early reggae traits, four also appeared in late 1960s and early 1970s US R&B but with notable differences in reggae: swung sixteenth notes, ostinato bass guitar parts, doubling of bass guitar with electric guitar (which is transformed into stutter guitar) and the prominence of electric organ.

Swung sixteenth notes dominated early reggae repertoire, but were rare in British/US popular music – in only 1 percent of 1966 hit songs and in 5 percent of 1971 songs (McCarthy 2001, 226), which demonstrates the uniqueness of this particular Jamaican trait.

In the United States in the late 1960s and early 1970s funk and R&B ostinato bass guitar parts were commonplace, but Jamaican reggae bass players' ostinati parts emphasized afterbeat accents and phrasing, and their patterns were characterized by an overall Jamaican metric organization. In the 1960s US R&B bass parts were also sometimes doubled at the octave by electric guitar in 1960s R&B recordings (especially on recordings on the Stax label which employed the house band Booker T & the MGs and on the Motown label which employed the house band the Funk Brothers). Jamaican guitarists often did the same, but sometimes their parts veered away from the bass line into what became known as the stutter guitar style – a technique developed by Lynn Taitt, as an imitation of steel drums (Katz 2003, 71). This produced an ornamented variation of the bass line. Regarding the prominence of electric organ, although electric organs appeared frequently in 1960s R&B recordings (especially those on the Stax and Motown labels), the Jamaican shuffle organ style (discussed earlier) is a uniquely Jamaican one.

The above differences provide evidence that although Jamaican musicians were strongly influenced by British/US popular music, their creative endeavors were not entirely guided by the desire to emulate these influences. The emergence of roots reggae – in which Jamaican folkloric elements are highlighted – provides further evidence of this.

Significant Early Reggae Musicians and Producers

It was characteristic of early reggae that many of the same studio musicians and studio house bands could be found on the records, accompanying vocalists or supplementing existing bands. Many studio groups were active in the 1970s, a testament to the popularity of reggae at the time. The most prominent were the Aggrovators (led by Roland Alphonso), the Hippy Boys (Carlton and Aston Barrett), Lynn Tait and the Jets, the Soul Vendors/Sound Dimension (led by Jackie Mittoo), the Supersonics (led by Tommy McCook) and the Upsetters (used in many of Lee Perry's productions). Among the influential members of these (and other) studio groups were guitarists such as Hux Brown, Eric Frater, Ernest Ranglin and Lynn Taitt; keyboardists such as Glen Adams, Ansel Collins, Jackie Mittoo and Winston Wright; saxophonists Roland Alphonso, Cedric Brooks, Glen DaCosta, Lester Sterling and Tommy McCook; trombonists Vin Gordon and Rico Rodriguez; trumpeters Bobby Ellis, Dave Madden and Johnny 'Dizzy' Moore and percussionists Ansel Collins, Lowell 'Sly' Dunbar, Winston Grennan, Arkland 'Drumbago' Park, Zoot 'Skully' Sims and Leroy 'Horsemouth' Wallace. For a fuller list, see the liner notes to Mango records' 1993 compilation *Tougher Than Tough: The Story of Jamaican Music*. The most significant early reggae producers include Lynford Anderson, Clement 'Coxsone' Dodd, Clancy Eccles, Leslie Kong, Bunny 'Striker' Lee, Lee 'Scratch' Perry, Jack Ruby (Lawrence Lindo), Sonia Pottinger and Arthur 'Duke' Reid.

Many early reggae records featured the same studio musicians or studio house bands accompanying vocalists or supplementing existing bands. The most influential early reggae artists and producers include bassists Aston 'Family Man' Barrett (who also played in the Hippy Boys and the Wailers), Lloyd Brevett, Lloyd Parkes and Robbie Shakespeare (who also played in Black Uhuru); percussionists Carlton Barrett (who also played in the Hippy Boys and the Wailers), Ansel Collins, Lowell 'Sly' Dunbar (who also played in Black Uhuru), Winston Grennan, Arkland 'Drumbago' Park, Zoot 'Skully' Sims and Leroy 'Horsemouth' Wallace; guitarists Hux Brown, Eric Frater, Ernest Ranglin and Lynn Taitt; keyboardists (piano/organ) Glen Adams, Ansel Collins, Jackie Mittoo and Winston Wright; saxophonists Roland Alphonso, Cedric Brooks, Glen DaCosta, Lester Sterling and Tommy McCook; trombonists Vin Gordon and Rico Rodriguez; and trumpeters Bobby Ellis, Dave Madden and Johnny 'Dizzy' Moore. These musicians performed as members of one or more of the studio groups that were active in the 1970s; leaders' names appear in brackets: the Aggrovators (Roland Alphonso), Beverley's All Stars, the Crystalites (Derrick Harriott), the Dynamites (Clancy Eccles), the Fabulous Five, the Hippy Boys (Carlton and Aston Barrett), Lynn Taitt and the Jets, Soul Vendors/Sound Dimension (Jackie Mittoo), the Supersonics (Tommy McCook) and the Upsetters (Lee Perry). The most significant early reggae producers include Lynford Anderson, Clement 'Coxsone' Dodd, Clancy Eccles, Leslie Kong, Bunny 'Striker' Lee, Lee 'Scratch' Perry, Jack Ruby (Lawrence Lindo), Sonia Pottinger and Arthur 'Duke' Reid.

Significant Early Reggae Artists

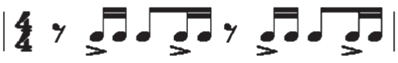
In addition to the artists noted above, many others released recordings in the late 1960s and early 1970s that were huge local hits and are frequently cited by musicians and writers as establishing the early reggae style. Examples of these recordings include the Uniques' 1968 'My Conversation,' the Ethiopians' 'Reggae Hit the Town' (1969), Slim Smith and the Uniques' 'Watch This Sound' (1969) (based upon Buffalo Springfield's 1967 hit 'For What It's Worth'), the Heptones' 'Message From a Black Man' (1970) which espoused Jamaican Black Power, the Melodians' 'Rivers of Babylon' (1969), a reggae version of a Rastafarian hymn featured on the 1973 soundtrack album of *The Harder They Come* that was converted into a massive international disco hit in 1978 by Bony M (whose four original members were all Jamaicans).

A number of Jamaican reggae releases in the early 1970s were big hits in the United Kingdom. As a group, these songs were highly melodic and often featured orchestrated backings which resulted in a smoother sound that was more in keeping with non-Jamaican pop records of the period. Examples include Bob (Andy) and Marcia (Griffiths) – 'Young, Gifted and Black' (1970) – a reggae-style cover of US R&B singer Nina Simone's song; Dennis Brown – 'Money in My Pocket' (1972); Dave and Ansel Collins – 'Double Barrell' (1971) – a number one hit featured on BBC TV's *Top Of The Pops*; Boris Gardiner and the Love People – 'Elizabethan Reggae' (1970) – a number one UK reggae hit adaptation of 'Elizabethan Serenade,' a 1951 hit by the Mantovani Orchestra; and the Upsetters – 'Return of Django' – produced by Lee Perry, featuring the Hippy Boys under a different name.

Roots Reggae

Roots reggae, which integrated Rastafarian beliefs and music, emerged in the early 1970s, when a greater emphasis was placed upon African roots and culture by many Jamaicans than ever before. The term 'roots' referred equally to the Kingston ghetto experience and to the African sources of Jamaican culture, but was not widely used to refer to the musical changes of what has since been labeled as 'roots reggae' until the mid-1970s. This greater emphasis upon African roots and culture generated musical changes that resulted in syntheses between reggae and traditional Jamaican forms (such as Pukkumina, Revival hymns and Rasta nyabinghi drumming and chanting), in which neo-African elements overshadowed the US R&B and rock traits that were prominent in ska and rocksteady (Bilby 1995, 165; see also Jones 1988, 27). By the mid-1970s the roots reggae genre, spearheaded and exemplified by Bob Marley and the Wailers, along with Burning Spear (Winston Rodney), the Abyssinians and Niney 'The Observer' (George Boswell aka Winston Holness), fueled international interest in Rastafarian ideas, spiritual beliefs and music (Salewicz and Boot 2001, 108). Masouri notes the irony that the more Jamaican musicians moved away from the American R&B influence and emphasized a more overtly Jamaican sound, the more popular JPM became outside of Jamaica (Masouri 2008, 277).

Between 1975 and 1984 roots reggae was also the most popular music in Jamaica itself. The earliest roots reggae releases sometimes succeeded in spite of little airplay. Burning Spear's first single, 'Door Peeper' (1969), was unlike most previous reggae records (that featured tuneful pop melodies with light-hearted lyrics). This song called listeners to 'Chant Down Babylon' with a melody that owed more to religious folk music than any previous Jamaican recording (Barrow and Dalton 2004, 132), but it had an immediate impact upon and success with the lower classes (Katz 2003, 155). Its melody is highly idiosyncratic and ominous, with shifts from major to minor keys, combined with its use of Creole lyrics, electric organ, sax, trumpet, nyabinghi-style hand drums, one-drop drumming and an afterbeat-accented bass ostinato, at a tempo of 60 bpm (see Example 6).

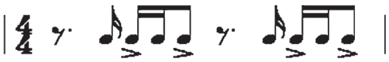


Example 6: Bass ostinato in Burning Spear's 'Door Peeper'

Although 'Door Peeper' (and followup singles) received little airplay in either Jamaica or the United Kingdom (Masouri 2008, 270), Burning Spear's artistic impact and influence was second only to that of Bob Marley in the 1970s, inspiring many other performers to adopt the 'roots' style (Chang and Chen 1998, 54). Burning Spear's 1975 and 1976 albums (*Marcus Garvey* and *Man in the Hills*) were significant local and foreign hits (Bradley 2000, 269–76).

The Abyssinians were another highly influential group that foreshadowed the roots reggae period of the mid-1970s. Their first single, 'Satta Massa Ganna' (meaning 'give thanks and praise' [1969]), was sung mostly in Amharic, an ancient Ethiopian language. Ethiopia – an ancient, highly developed African civilization, cited frequently in the Old Testament – holds deep significance for Rastafarians as a symbol of both 'The Mother Country' and of their spiritual beliefs. The Abyssinians' combination of Amharic with a more pronounced foregrounding of Jamaican folkloric elements thus resonated strongly with the

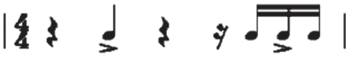
Rastafarian community. It employed modal minor chords, shuffle organ, piano, double-afterbeat guitar lines, stutter guitar, hand percussion (shaker and Rasta drums), saxes, trumpets, one-drop drumming and an afterbeat-accented bass pattern at a tempo of 74 bpm (see Example 7).



Example 7: Bass ostinato in the Abyssinians' 'Satta Massa Ganna'

The Abyssinians' second single, 'Yim Mas Gan' ('Give Thanks to God'), was also in Amharic, and the third, 'Declaration of Rights,' called for social justice. These singles initially achieved little airplay and poor sales, but were major influences on other artists, and fared well when re-released on the group's 1976 album *Satta Massagana*.

Roots reggae records that were more commercially arranged with memorable, singable melodies and harmonies, and repetitive instrumental parts reached mainstream audiences. Niney The Observer's 'Blood and Fire' won Jamaican Record of the Year in 1970 with lyrics about social unrest, cleansing fire and smoking ganja sung to a catchy, major-key pentatonic melody, with smooth harmonies and a distinctively Jamaican-style sparse bass part, at a tempo of 82 bpm (see Example 8).



Example 8: Bass ostinato in Niney The Observer's 'Blood and Fire'

Niney produced many mainstream hits for other roots reggae artists, some of which also became internationally successful, including Horace Andy's 'Nice and Easy' (1975), Black Uhuru's 'Guess Who's Coming to Dinner' (1980), Junior Byles's 'King of Babylon' (1972), Gregory Isaacs's 'Rock Away' (1975) and Dillinger's (Lester Bullock's) 'Flat Foot Hustling' (1977) (Thompson 2002, 194–5).

Between 1964 and 1966 Bob Marley and the Wailers had many hits with producer Coxsone Dodd (compiled on *One Love at Studio One 1964–1966)*, but airplay and sales plummeted when they left him in 1966. In 1968 Rasta elder Mortimo Planno introduced Marley to Rastafarianism. He motivated Marley to be more than an entertainer and use his music to promote Rastafarianism (Foehr 2001, 20–2, 53). By 1970 Marley's Rastafarian beliefs influenced everything that he did. He saw himself as an evangelist, which affected how he handled his business affairs, how he spoke, ate and presented himself (Masouri 2008, 462), and now the only purpose of his songs was to carry the message of Rastafari (Masouri 2008, 470). In mid-1970 the Wailers recorded three dozen songs with Rastafarian producer Lee Perry, who experimented with a slower, different beat that he described as 'waxy,' 'like stepping in glue,' resulting in a different style of bass playing that he called a 'rebel' bass (Perry in Davis 1990, 81). This style refers to the approach of Wailers' bassist Aston 'Family Man' Barrett, which consisted of short, powerful, melodic riffs that often were equal in prominence to the songs' vocal parts. Marley's lyrics combined biblical verses, traditional Jamaican proverbs and Rastafarian imagery with descriptions of everyday life and love. Perry suggested a slower, heavier, Jamaican sound to complement Marley's serious, philosophical songs. Using brothers Carlton and Aston 'Family Man' Barrett (from his Upsetters studio group) on drums and dark and stark bass (Davis 1990, 81) to build a rugged foundation, Perry added percussive, trebly guitars, funky keyboards, folk percussion (hand drums, shakers, cowbells and scrapers) and occasional horns. He also showed Marley how to sing in a looser, jazzy style that was more urgent and raw (Davis 1990, 81), and suggested neo-African descants and overlapping responses instead of the more conventional R&B-style background vocals employed on their previous records. Finally, he used new dub mixing techniques that he called his 'dread' sound: voices or instruments suddenly changed tone or balance, and disappeared (or reappeared) in swirling echoes and mysterious sound effects. In 1971 the Wailers charted 12 singles in Jamaica and England, including 'Duppy Conqueror,' 'Kaya,' 'Mr. Brown,' 'Small Axe,' 'Sun Is Shining' and 'Trenchtown Rock,' which was number one on the charts in Jamaica for five months. These groundbreaking recordings were influential with a tough, yet simultaneously more spiritual sound that launched a new direction in Jamaican popular music, with black self-determination as its central theme (Barrow and Dalton 2001, 140). They reaffirmed the Wailer's status in Jamaica as spiritual leaders, as 'soul rebels,' and elevated them to the role of spokesmen for a generation of Jamaicans who were determined to suffer no longer because of persecution for their beliefs or social status (Davis 1990, 82).

The Wailers wanted to conquer non-Jamaican markets, however, and in 1972 they signed with Island records. Marley (and bandleader and bassist

Aston Barrett, who arranged and mixed most of the Wailers' recordings) wanted to create music with a wider appeal and an 'international sound' (Masouri 2008, 430, 434). So when producer Chris Blackwell told Marley that he believed the Wailers had the potential to reach worldwide mainstream audiences (Veal 2007, 103), Marley eagerly agreed to Blackwell's suggestion to combine reggae with other popular styles in order to achieve this goal. Blackwell's productions were cleaner and less distorted than those of typical Jamaican records, but he admired and emulated Perry's mixing techniques, especially the foregrounding and polyrhythmic interplay between the Barrett brothers' bass and drum 'riddims' and Seeco Patterson's nyabinghi-influenced hand percussion to create a thick African 'undertone' (ibid.). Together, Barrett's arrangements, Perry's mixing techniques, Blackwell's production style, Marley's catchy melodies, poetic language, charismatic personality, and especially his desire to reach non-Jamaican fans, resulted in greater worldwide acceptance than any other Jamaican artist had ever received before – or since (Masouri 2008, 480).

Characteristics of Roots Reggae

In roots reggae, most early reggae rhythmic and arranging traits and techniques were retained and intensified, and new ones were introduced. The same prominence of accented afterbeats and the same metric feel (i.e., heavy backbeats along with weak or silent first and third beats) were present, but afterbeats (which most often consisted of a doubled sixteenth note grouping; see Example 1) sometimes appeared alone or only with backbeats or bass, creating a new, uniquely Jamaican texture. Double afterbeats were frequently combined with other afterbeat patterns (usually played by the drummer on hi-hat or folk hand percussion). Roots reggae was often very slow (with tempos between 60 and 71 bpm), but it employed denser, more rapid beat subdivisions in combination with swung sixteenths or swung thirty-second notes, which together increased the overall sonic and corporeal rhythmic energy. This increase in rhythmic energy led some analysts erroneously to conclude that the tempo had increased. Roots reggae drummers sometimes imitated the sound of the nyabinghi repeater drum by alternating snare drum rim accents (without striking the drumskin) with hi-hat or bass drum, which created complex beat subdivisions and rapid timbral shifts (White 1977, 16).

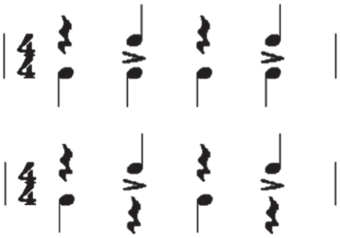
With regard to arranging techniques, collaborative improvisation, call-and-response and hocketing were intensified. Melodic instruments were often played more percussively than in early reggae, rocksteady or ska, and (drum set) drummers sometimes stopped time-keeping to introduce irregular accents or contrasting rhythms employing Buru, Kumina, Jonkonnu or nyabinghi patterns (White 1977, 16). The use of horns diminished further; when employed, horn roles were similar to those in early reggae. Bass parts were often busier, with more frequently silent downbeats. The overall effect of these rhythmic and textural changes resulted in a more pronounced neo-African emphasis than what had previously been heard in Jamaican Popular Music. Stutter guitar was uncommon in roots reggae; guitar sometimes doubled the bass at the octave, but rarely throughout an entire song. Electric organs were still frequently employed, and sometimes played in the shuffle style, but keyboardists frequently played organ with one hand and a different keyboard instrument with the other. Overall, the preference for buzzy vocal and instrumental timbres was retained.

In terms of melodic and harmonic tendencies, the use of modal scales and non-pitched lyrical delivery, called 'toasting,' increased significantly in the roots style. The tendency to use few chords was intensified and modal progressions increasingly became the norm. This emphasis was synchronous with James Brown's 1970s funk, which also often employed one chord or circular modal chord progressions for entire songs. Verse-chorus form remained the most common, although improvised structures derived from work songs and religious chants dominated live performances. Bob Marley and Toots Hibbert (of the Maytals) increasingly employed jazz-like scat singing and rarely performed any songs the same way twice; song structures were usually altered from performance to performance and Marley frequently segued or alternated between songs in spontaneous ways. Lyrical themes often expressed social criticism, philosophy and spirituality, and were usually sung in Jamaican Creole – vernacular Jamaican English. In the late 1970s some roots artists – for example, Dennis Brown, Gregory Isaacs and Freddie McGregor – performed love songs in a roots style, called 'Lover's Rock,' that became very popular in Britain (Barrow and Dalton 2004, 195–8; Bradley 2000, 438–46).

Most of the new elements in the roots era involved changes in orchestration and new rhythmic approaches and techniques. Jamaican folk percussion, including hand drums, shakers, scrapers, tambourines and/or cowbells, was common, usually playing complex beat subdivisions and afterbeat accents. Songs that dealt with Rastafarian themes often featured nyabinghi drums. Additional electric keyboards and synthesizers were also featured, used for sustained parts, afterbeats and reinforcement of guitar, bass, string lines and horn lines. The most strikingly different approach to instrumentation was the introduction of lead guitar, which was first heard on the Wailers' *Catch A Fire* album in 1973, when producer Chris Blackwell invited US rock and R&B session guitarist Wayne Perkins to overdub lead rock guitar lines. When the Wailers went on tour, they hired US R&B guitarist Al Anderson to play lead guitar. Afterward, most reggae artists imitated this practice.

There were a number of unique rhythmic innovations during the roots era, notably the 'straight four' feel, the 'flyers style' (aka 'flying cymbals') and the 'rockers' or 'steppers' drumming styles. Many new hi-hat afterbeat patterns were also introduced.

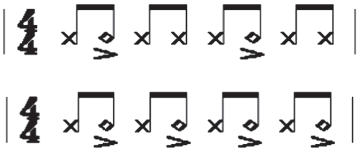
The 'straight four' feel refers to two similar bass drum and snare drum patterns that were used occasionally in early reggae. Producer Bunny Lee coined the term 'straight fours' to describe this pattern (interviewed in *Deep Roots Music 2 – The Bunny Lee Story*) (see Examples 9 and 10).



Examples 9 and 10: Two common roots reggae drum patterns (called 'straight fours')

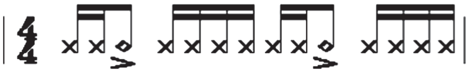
The term 'straight fours' refers to the fact that each beat is articulated by a drum. Although these two patterns are similar to those played by country, rock or R&B drummers, in performance they sounded quite different when played by Jamaican drummers because Jamaican backbeats were played stronger and louder than the sounds played on beats one and three – exemplifying the same backbeat emphasis present in ska and rocksteady – and because Jamaican bass drums were generally tuned at a higher pitch and less resonant (i.e., with a tighter, more muted sound) than those in non-Jamaican drum kits. When the rockers/steppers style emerged in 1975, 'straight four' patterns were often also called 'rockers' or 'steppers,' which makes analysis of interviews problematic.

The 'flyers style' (aka flying cymbals) refers to an open hi-hat pattern – first used by 1950s Caribbean calypso drummers – in which afterbeats are accented by opening the hi-hat, creating a 'pssh' sound (see Examples 11 and 12).



Examples 11 and 12: Two common calypso hi-hat patterns. (x's indicate closed hi-hat; o's indicate an open hi-hat)

In 1968 funk drummer Greg Errico (of Sly and the Family Stone) played Example 12 on 'Are You Ready?' and 'Dance to the Music.' In 1969 both patterns appeared on a few reggae records, although they were not labeled as 'flying cymbals' by musicians or producers at the time. For example, 'Wet Dream' by Max Romeo employs a variation of Example 11 (an open hi-hat on the afterbeats of beats one and three; see Example 13).

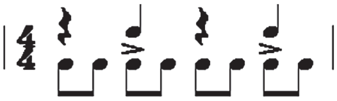


Example 13: Hi-hat pattern in Max Romeo's 'Wet Dream'

In the early 1970s Example 12 appeared in some US funk records, and in 1973 it became a disco cliché after R&B drummer Earl Young used it throughout MFSB's 'The Sound of Philadelphia.' The flyers hi-hat style was prominent on many roots reggae records for the next few years (Bradley 2000, 351).

In 1974 Jamaican drummer Carlton 'Santa' Davis, inspired by Earl Young's technique and style (Masouri 2008, 265), combined the pattern illustrated in Example 12 with one-drop drumming on Johnny Clarke's 'None Shall Escape the Judgement.' Producer Bunny Lee called this technique 'flying cymbals' (in spite of this being a new hybrid of 'flying cymbals' [referring exclusively to a hi-hat technique] combined with one-drop drumming) and asked Davis to play it on records he produced for Horace Andy, Johnny Clarke, John Holt and Delroy Wilson.

The terms 'rockers' and 'steppers' were used interchangeably for a disco-influenced bass drum style created in 1975 by Jamaican drummer Sly Dunbar, employed on the Mighty Diamonds' 'Back Weh A Mafia' and 'The Right Time.' He transformed disco's four-to-the-bar quarter-note bass drum pattern into a steady eighth-note rhythm, although his Jamaican-tuned bass drum, weak downbeats, afterbeat accents and heavy backbeats created a different sound/feel from the sound of repeated bass drums 'hits' in disco drumming (see Example 14).



Example 14: Sly Dunbar's Rockers/Steppers style

Many roots reggae drummers frequently combined flyers and rockers patterns.

Significant Roots Reggae Musicians and Producers

Bassists such as Aston 'Family Man' Barrett, George 'Fully' Fullwood, Errol 'Flabba' Holt and Lloyd Parkes created propulsive bass lines that often were the most distinctive elements of the songs. Drummers Carlton Barrett, Carlton 'Santa' Davis, Lowell 'Sly' Dunbar, Winston Grennan, Hugh Malcolm, Arkland 'Drumbago' Park and Leroy 'Horsemouth' Wallace combined mastery of ska, rocksteady and reggae techniques with ideas from rock and R&B. Guitarists Valentine 'Tony' Chin, Julian 'Junior' Marvin and Earl 'Chinna' Smith mastered every aspect of reggae techniques and also became highly skilled soloists. Keyboardists Tyrone Downie, Bernard 'Touter' Harvey, Earl 'Wire' Lindo and Robbie Lynn were not only proficient on organ and piano, but also introduced other electronic keyboards. Percussionists 'Bongo Les,' 'Bongo Herman' Davis, 'Skully' Sims, Uziah 'Sticky' Thompson and Alvin 'Seeco' Patterson played a variety of neo-African hand percussion, but most often performed on nyabinghi drums. Saxophonists Cedric Brooks, Glen DaCosta and Herman Marquis, trombonists Calvin Cameron and Vin Gordon, and trumpeters Bobby Ellis and Dave Madden usually performed in small horn sections of two to four players. In spite of the large number of roots reggae releases, a relatively small number of studio groups (featuring different combinations of the above musicians) played on the majority of roots reggae records: the Black Disciples, the Roots Radics Band, the Revolutionaries, the Soul Syndicate and Zap Pow.

Since the roots era produced the greatest number of Jamaican releases – especially in international markets – the number of producers also increased. The best known were Chris Blackwell (who produced all of the Wailers' recordings, including those issued after Marley's death in 1981), Glen Brown (who produced recordings by U Roy, Gregory Isaacs, Big Youth, I-Roy, Prince Jazzbo, Johnny Clarke, Lloyd Parks and Little Roy), Lee 'Scratch' Perry (who produced recordings by Max Romeo, the Heptones, the Congos, the Meditations, Junior Murvin and the Upsetters) and Clive Chin (who produced recordings by Dennis Brown, Lee Perry [as a solo artist] and Black Uhuru). Also, Dr Alimantado (Winston Thompson) was known for dub versions, and his recordings became especially popular with UK punk fans in the late 1970s; Harry 'Harry J' Johnson produced recordings by Burning Spear, the Heptones, Ken Boothe and Augustus Pablo; and Jack Ruby's (aka Lawrence Lindo) productions for Burning Spear – *Marcus Garvey* and *Man in the Hills* – became internationally successful albums shortly after Bob Marley and the Wailers' breakthrough to mainstream audiences in the mid-1970s. A number of producers became known for innovative dub recordings, frequently remixing songs and albums by other artists: Lloyd 'King Jammy' James, 'King Tubby' (Osbourne Ruddock), Augustus Pablo (Horace Swaby) and Lee 'Scratch' Perry.

In addition to the artists mentioned above, many reggae artists specialized in the roots style: the Congos, Culture, Carlene Davis, Israel Vibration, Barrington Levy, the Meditations (who also sang backing vocals on a number of Bob Marley's songs), Junior Murvin (Murvin Junior Smith) (whose 1976 song 'Police and Thieves' was covered by UK punk rockers the Clash on their debut album that same year) and Prince Alla (Keith Blake) (whose mid-1970s hits 'Bucket Bottom,' 'Lot's Wife' and 'Sun Is Shining' are considered classics of the genre).

Early International Spread of Reggae

Reggae was created initially for Jamaican audiences, but by 1969 it had become popular in Britain and some records were international hits, starting with releases in the United Kingdom. British fans included Jamaican immigrants and British youth, especially skinheads and Mods – two subcultural groups who enjoyed reggae's outsider image and danceability. The best-selling early reggae singles were those released both in Jamaica and in Britain between 1968 and 1971. Over 20 reggae songs appeared in British charts, many others were popular in clubs, and Jamaican artists performed to integrated UK audiences (Barrow and Dalton 2001, 103). Because BBC radio preferred recordings with strings, horns and a mix with more treble and less bass, Jamaican producers mixed records specifically for the British market (Masouri 2008, 90). When 'roots reggae' emerged in the early 1970s, however, reggae entries on British charts initially vanished (Barrow and Dalton 2001, 103), but by the mid-1970s – after it was marketed to university students and rock audiences – reggae became very popular in the United Kingdom (Masouri 2008, 314–15). For details regarding reggae in Britain, see Bradley (2000, 370–95), de Koningh and Cane-Honeysett (2003), de Koningh and Griffiths (2003), Hebdige (1974, 1982, 1990) and Jones (1988).

In 1968 American soul singer Johnny Nash released the first international reggae hits, recorded in Kingston, Jamaica (produced by Jamaican producer Harry J), with Jamaican studio musicians, strings and a 'British mix.' 'Hold Me Tight' – written by Nash – reached Number 5 in the USA and Britain, and 'Cupid' – written by Sam Cooke – reached Number 6 in Britain and Number 21 in the United States (Charles 1993).

In 1969 Desmond Dekker and the Aces' 'Israelites,' produced by Leslie Kong, attained the Number 1 spot on the charts in Britain, Canada, Sweden, West Germany, Holland and South Africa, and Number 9 in America). Jimmy Cliff's 'Wonderful World, Beautiful People,' produced by Chris Blackwell, was Number 25 in the USA and Number 6 in Britain.

The first internationally successful Jamaican reggae album was *The Harder They Come* (1973), the soundtrack of the first Jamaican-produced movie. It featured rocksteady and reggae songs by Jamaicans Jimmy Cliff (in the lead role), Desmond Dekker, the Maytals (also in the film), the Melodians and others. Marketing of the film and the majority of reviews made no distinction between rocksteady and reggae, which has contributed to the ongoing confusion about rocksteady as a genre distinct from reggae.

In 1973 and 1974 Bob Marley and the Wailers' albums *Catch A Fire* and *Burnin'* were released internationally on Island Records; their previous records had only been released in Jamaica and Britain. Producer Chris Blackwell targeted mainstream European and North American audiences with rock-style production and overdubs by US rock musicians Wayne Perkins (guitar) and John 'Rabbit' Bundrick (keyboards), but sales were marginal until British rock guitarist Eric Clapton reached Number 1 on the US charts in 1974 with his funk-rock cover version of Marley's 'I Shot the Sheriff' (from *Burnin'*). Subsequently, the Wailers' recordings received critical praise and sold well. After several global tours in the 1970s, Marley had become the most influential and best-selling reggae artist, but in 1981 he died of cancer at the age of 36. In 1999 *Time* magazine named Bob Marley and the Wailers' *Exodus* (1977) the best album of the twentieth century. *Legend*, the group's 1984 greatest hits album, was the biggest-selling reggae recording of all time, topping 20 million sales in 2009 (Timmons 2004). Jamaicans Jimmy Cliff, Toots and the Maytals, Burning Spear and Third World also scored international hits between 1973 and 1985, and in 1985 Black Uhuru won the first reggae Grammy Award for best album with *Anthem*.

Early Non-Jamaican Reggae Adaptations

By the late 1970s, non-Jamaican artists had recorded reggae-influenced songs, for example, one by Paul Simon in 1972 (recorded in Jamaica with Toots and the Maytals' musicians), hits in 1972 and 1973 by Paul McCartney, one by Led Zeppelin in 1973, 1977 hits by Elvis Costello and the Eagles, 1978 hits by Bony M and 1979 hits by the Clash, Madness, the Police and the Specials; see discography for specific song titles. Of these artists, only a few (e.g., Madness, the Police, Paul Simon and the Specials) are considered to have replicated most of the nuances of the reggae feel (McCarthy 2007, 511–50).

In these early efforts by non-Jamaicans to replicate the reggae style, the results were highly varied, with the majority of recordings including only a number of surface features related to the style. These surface features include accented afterbeats (usually a double afterbeat as per Example 1), slower tempos, increased beat subdivision, reggae-style orchestration, ostinato bass riffs and frequent use of the straight four and rockers/steppers grooves. Less common is the use of a swing or shuffle sixteenth-note groove, and use of Jamaican folk percussion. What is generally missing, however, is the Jamaican metric feel (i.e., the synchronization of accented afterbeats with heavy backbeats and weak first and third beats). Instead, the surface features are usually supported by drumming and bass parts that retain the metric weight of rock and R&B (i.e., heavy first and third beats and a fuller, more resonant bass drum timbre) in which primary accents fall on beats, rather than on afterbeats. This is especially commonplace when most non-Jamaican drummers play the straight four or rockers/steppers patterns or when bassists and drummers create fills in between phrases. While the rhythms resulting from these fill-ins are frequently similar to Jamaican ones, the metric weight is usually perceived as 'non-Jamaican,' which results in stylistically uncharacteristic syncopation in which the basic groove is altered; see McCarthy (2007, 511–50) regarding the complications of reggae performed by non-Jamaican artists. Since the absence of the Jamaican metric feel usually alters the other reggae traits significantly, this indicates that this trait is central to establishing and maintaining the same type of groove found in Jamaican ska, rocksteady and reggae recordings.

Reggae Dance/Movement

Reggae dancing involves many neo-African dance movements adapted from Jamaican folk traditions rooted in West African music-dance rituals. When combined with Jamaican metric weight (i.e., accented afterbeats synchronized to heavy backbeats and weak first and third beats), they create a uniquely Jamaican sound-movement pairing (Mulvaney 1985, 155). Most Jamaican dancers and musicians synchronize heavy downward gestures with lightly played (often silent) beats, as opposed to European sound-movement pairings, in which heavy downward gestures are synchronized with strongly played (usually accented) beats. For analysis of this pairing in JPM performances, and how changes in movement patterns alter characteristics of the sounds with which they are paired, see McCarthy (2007). Davis and Simon (1977, 49), O'Gorman (1972, 52) and Pinnock (2002, 102) note that reggae movements are a variation of those in rocksteady dancing, in which dancers make deliberate walking movements, usually alone, and when couple dancing, adopt a 'rent-a-tile' style of slowly grinding to the music in basically one spot.

Reggae dancers place their feet on the ground while making a dipping movement (Mulvaney 1985, 158), which Louise Bennett notes is also the description of a West African movement called the 'yanga step' (Bennett in Johnson and Pines 1982, 47). One of the basic reggae steps is called 'skanking,' a term that is also used to label guitar afterbeats (Mulvaney 1985, 157). The body is held straight with one arm on the belly and the other stretched out to the side. Arms swing up and down in alternation, the head and body rock back and forth, and the pelvis rotates (Wynter 1970). Dancers emphasize beats called 'drops' (which are frequently silent) with downward movements. Each leg is bent in alternation, lowering the body toward the ground in a deliberate manner, with the arms relaxed at the side. On each of the afterbeats, the dancers' bodies move upward, they pull one of their feet off the ground and raise the opposite arm in front. Each subsequent beat involves a repetition of these fluid movements, but with the opposite leg moving forward, while the first leg trails behind, accompanied by raising the initial arm behind the body. Everything is repeated throughout each bar of the piece; skanking's simplicity and predictability easily accommodate slight variations and personal touches (Mulvaney 1985, 157–8). According to Mulvaney, the skank has the appearance of slow, confident determination. Even though reggae lyrics often present the poverty and oppression of the lower classes, reggae movements (which are shaped by the rhythmic structure) may be interpreted as subverting this situation through positive actions (Mulvaney 1985, 158, 160).

McCarthy's (2007) study of reggae movement analysed 878 video performances by 299 JPM and Jamaican folk music artists. His findings confirm the movement traits noted above in Mulvaney's descriptions: 69 percent of Jamaican musicians in live performances make heavy downward gestures synchronized with lightly sounded/played, often-silent beats, pairings which are acquired and transmitted primarily via mimesis (McCarthy 2007, 474).

Bennett (in Johnson and Pines 1982, 47) identifies another West African step in reggae dancing – the Kongo step, in which one (flat) foot pushes down on the beat followed by pushing up with the ball of the opposite foot on afterbeats. Reckford (1977, 13) and Ryman (1979, 13) note similarities between reggae's shoulder thrusts and those in Jamaican neo-African religious rituals, and between reggae's pelvic movement style, mento dance and nyabinghi ritual movements.

Reggae in the 1990s to the Early Twenty-first Century

In 1985 dancehall – a Jamaican dance music that foregrounds digitally produced rhythms and toasting (talkover lyrics) rather than live music – superseded reggae as the most popular music in Jamaica. In the early 1990s there was a resurgence of the roots reggae style (Barrow and Dalton 2004, 355–71), which some called the 'Bobo Dread Sound' (ibid., 371–9). Buju Banton (Mark Anthony Myrie), Capleton (Clifton George Bailey), Luciano (Jepther McClymont) and Sizzla (Miguel Collins) topped Jamaican charts, initially with little international success. Although only popular in Jamaica at first, international sales of these artists have increased in recent years. Other significant roots reggae revivalists recording in the early twenty-first century include Anthony B (Keith Blair), Everton 'Blender' (Dennis Williams), Junior Kelly (Keith Morgan), Morgan Heritage, Tony Rebel (Patrick Barrett) and Garnett Silk (Garnet Smith).

Twenty-first-Century Global Reggae

Although still strongly identified with Jamaica, reggae has become a global style, with many syntheses of reggae with local, non-Jamaican styles, such as British, American and African reggae (Barrow and Dalton 2004, 383–443), reggae by Australian Aboriginal bands (Bennet 2010, 85–6), and the series of Putumayo World Music CDs (for example, 2004's *World Reggae*, 2008's *Latin Reggae,* 2009's *African Reggae*) with examples of reggae from 27 countries. Although many of these syntheses retain early reggae and roots reggae traits, overall the emphasis has been to prioritize local musical styles, resulting in many yet unnamed hybrids that may emerge as new genres in the years to come.

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Note: Most of the discographical references for this entry consist of CD reissues and compilations, rather than the original releases of 45 RPM singles. The availability of accurate Jamaican discographical information, especially for recordings issued from the mid-1950s to the late 1970s, has been problematic for several reasons. Most of these records were created for local Jamaican audiences (both on the island and abroad, notably in Britain), rather than being international releases. They were often initially released as one-off acetate recordings (with blank labels) to Jamaican DJs and often not issued commercially until many months (or years) later, sometimes with different takes or mixes from these initial releases. From the mid-1960s to the late 1970s, it was also common practice for record producers to create several different mixes and versions of songs (simultaneously released only as singles) that were either limited runs and/or not reissued after the first pressing sold out. Many of these singles were also not compiled in album form until decades later, usually when the original recordings were acquired and reissued by major labels such as *Island Records* or *Trojan Records*. As of 2013, no definitive print source exists with a complete accounting of Jamaican releases either by artist or by label documentation about release dates, the many different versions of records, totals of copies pressed, distribution details, sales figures, etc., although John Gray's *Jamaican Popular Music, from Mento to Dancehall Reggae: A Bibliographic Guide* (2011) lists a number of discographies (which are typically very circumscribed in scope) that have been published to date. In late 2012, however, an online database of all known information about Jamaican releases was created by Michael Turner and Robert Schoenfeld. Called *Roots Knotty Roots* (www.reggaefever.ch/rkr/guide), this database incorporates all of the discographical data from their 2004 book of the same name. Because it is updated regularly with new information submitted by fans and collectors worldwide, it has the potential to become the best (and most accurate) source in the future for all Jamaican discographical information. Other websites, like www.discogs.com and www.roots-archives.com, also have large databases of original recording information submitted by members (although only the latter focuses exclusively on Jamaican music). The only Jamaican discographical area/period that *is* well documented are the UK *Trojan* releases, from 1968 to the mid-1980s; see two 2003 books by de Koningh et al. in References.

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ROBERT WITMER AND LEN McCARTHY

Reggae en Español

A remarkably global style, reggae is sung in as many tongues as places it reaches, and Spanish is no exception. But although Spanish-language reggae artists enjoy popularity in Spain and across Latin America, not to mention wider international circulation via 'Latin Reggae' compilations, the term (or *reggae-español*) tends to refer to a more specific, and significant, locus for the music: Panama.

Panama is important not only as one of the first places to adapt reggae to local language, but for reshaping the genre, if subtly and faithfully, in a manner that would prove seminal elsewhere, especially in what eventually emerges as reggaeton in Puerto Rico. Thanks to longstanding links to the Anglo-Caribbean and to Jamaica in particular, Panamanian artists were well poised to play the role of translator for Spanish speakers elsewhere.

Historical Background

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, large numbers of migrant workers from the West Indies were lured to the Caribbean coast of Central America by such construction projects as the Panama Canal and the railroads that supported plantation commerce. From 1880 to 1920 as many Jamaicans moved to Panama as to the USA; prior to 1911 Panama received 62 percent of all Jamaican emigrants (Thomas 2004, 23). Stretching from Panama up the coast to Belize, these workers and their descendants established bilingual communities with transnational ties. Putative aliens due to language and race, often their assimilation into new nation-states proved a challenging project in which music played no minor role.

By the 1930s, West Indian migrant communities were hosting outdoor dances animated by a circum-Caribbean soundtrack that mixed New Orleans jazz, Jamaican mento, Cuban *son* and Trinidadian calypso, among others. According to historian Lara Putnam (forthcoming 2012), these weekly dances offered an important site for Afro-Caribbean youth sociability, though the events were also criticized by British West Indian community leaders promoting self-improvement and community respectability. While even 50 years later the project of national integration remained freighted by matters of race and language, the social institution of dancing to a modern, black, pan-American and cosmopolitan soundtrack would lay a foundation for the eventual embrace and transformation of reggae in Panama.

By the mid-1970s, as reggae began to travel the world, especially thanks to Island Records' savvy marketing of Bob Marley, diasporic sites such as Panama were well situated as sites of consumption and, eventually, production. Family ties and personal travel facilitated the circulation of reggae recordings to emigrant towns such as Colón and Panama City, where DJs and musicians seamlessly integrated the latest reggae hits into a repertory that by this time also included soca, salsa, soul and *konpa* (or 'haitiano' as it was called locally). Inspired by the Jamaican model, mobile sound systems or *discos moviles*, such as Electro Disco, served as crucial conduits for the music to reach a public, as did the *diablos rojos* (literally, 'red devils') or minibuses, popular forms of transport that employ music as part of their draw for customers.

Early Pioneers

It was not, however, until the early 1980s and the emergence of the dancehall style in Jamaica and amateur recording capacity that Panamanian artists really got into the act. Generally credited as the pioneer of *reggae en español*, Leonardo Renato Aulder (aka Renato) started out as a dancer and assistant to a popular English-speaking DJ called Wassabanga who encouraged Renato to translate some of the standard reggae party chants ('Lift up your hand!') into Spanish for club patrons. Ironically, Renato spoke relatively little Spanish at the time, having grown up alongside other English-speaking labor migrants in the Canal Zone. Before long, Renato was using Jamaican instrumentals, often issued as the B-side of reggae records, to produce his own Spanish-language recordings for drivers of *diablos rojos*, who began commissioning special versions of popular songs glorifying themselves and their buses. He also began performing with Electro Disco as well as with his own group, Renato y Las 4 Estrellas, which included a young vocalist named Edgardo Franco, aka El General, who would go on to become one of the most famous and influential practitioners of *reggae en español*.

Initially, Renato and his cohorts would produce a limited run of cassettes featuring their translations of contemporary reggae hits, selling them to bus-drivers for 3 dollars a piece (Nwankwo 2009, 93). In 1985 Renato recorded a song called 'El D.E.N.I.' which took as its template Lovindeer's dancehall favorite, 'Babylon Boops (What Police Can Do),' in order to critique Panama's secret police. An underground hit, the song became so popular on the buses that a radio DJ, Héctor Tuñón, played it over and over again on the air, turning the local ditty into a national hit, eventually selling thousands of copies once Renato and some colleagues had the recording pressed onto vinyl. The popularity of 'El D.E.N.I.' led to sponsorships and other opportunities to record. Renato's followup, 'La chica de los ojos café' (The Girl with Brown Eyes) (1985), a romantic song with lighter subject material (if, according to Renato, a protest against soap-operas), was a small sensation, becoming the first true radio hit for *reggae en español* and even garnering airplay and record sales outside of Panama, finding its way to Colombia, Venezuela and across Latin America. Although Panamanian radio had been slow to embrace the style, 'La chica' confirmed local reggae's commercial potential and created an opening for artists such as Nando Boom, Chicho Man and Aldo Ranks, all bearing names in tribute to Jamaican models.

Panamanians in New York and the Rise of Reggaeton

Despite the growing popularity in Panama of *reggae en español*, or '*plena*' as it is often called there (not to be confused with the Puerto Rican genre), the most popular and influential recordings of the late 1980s and early 1990s were recorded not in Panama City but in New York City. Local stars such as Nando Boom and El General relocated to the United States for various reasons: to seek better jobs, to reunite with family and even, according to some, to evade censorship from the military dictatorship. Brokered by the Panamanian manager and producer Ramón 'Pucho' Bustamante, these vocalists continued the practice of translating the latest Jamaican hits for Spanish-speaking audiences, often covering songs suggested by NYC-based Jamaican collaborators, especially those working at Philip Smart's HC&F studio in Long Island, the premier reggae studio in the United States at this time. Together, they recorded such seminal work as Nando Boom's album, *Reggae español* (1991), a set of translated dancehall hits that lists the Jamaican recordings alongside their Spanish counterparts, and El General's underground anthem, 'Pu Tun Tun' (1991). A compilation on Columbia records, *Dancehall Reggaespañol* (1991), stands as a telling testament to the degree of entrepreneurial activity and industrial interest in *reggae en español* at this time.

Finding their way to Puerto Rico rather rapidly, the popularity of these NYC-based *reggae en español* recordings would initiate a stylistic turn in the hip-hop scene there that would sow the seeds for what eventually emerges as reggaeton. On the one hand, the dance hall-indebted vocal performances of Panamanian artists offered Puerto Rican listeners a new, more audibly Caribbean template for rapping in Spanish, where El General soon joined Vico C as a model for aspiring vocalists. On the other, the instrumental B-sides of *reggae en español* records provided reggae-inflected accompaniment for lively freestyle sessions in San Juan's burgeoning hip-hop scene. Before long, local DJs such as Playero and DJ Negro began sampling and rearranging the most popular tracks in order to stitch together marathon rap sessions marketed as mixtapes. Especially notable in this regard is that reggaeton's ubiquitous, bedrock rhythm, the Dem Bow, does not derive directly from Shabba Ranks's dancehall hit, 'Dem Bow' (1991), but rather from a cover version (Nando Boom's 'Ellos Benia'), produced by Jamaican instrumentalist Dennis the Menace in collaboration with Pucho Bustamante at HC&F in Long Island – quite a legacy for these New York-based *reggae en español* sessions.

The Reanimation of Reggae in Panama

In addition to Puerto Rico, of course, these recordings also circulated back to Panama where they reshaped a still lively local reggae scene. In Colón and Panama City, singers and producers continued to follow their own muses (especially via contemporary Jamaica) and to uphold a faithful approach to reggae, even as they inevitably localized and otherwise transformed the latest sounds and styles. Throughout the 1990s and into the new millennium Panamanian reggae was reanimated by a second generation of artists. Having grown up with *reggae en español* as a national soundtrack, artists such as Kafu Banton, Jam & Suppose and Danger Man took the local style in new directions even while engaging closely with new and traditional styles from Kingston. One local style that emerged at this time was known as '110' because of the popularity of that tempo (110 beats-per-minute), a slightly fast pace for dancehall reggae and hence a platform for virtuosic, spry-tongued vocalists. Sometimes called *bultrón* (or *vultrón*), marking the music's localization, *reggae en español* was also colloquially called 'petróleo' in the mid–late 1990s, a term indexing the music's putative blackness (similar to 'melaza' in Puerto Rico) but also bearing witness to the broad influence of producer Rodney Clark (aka El Chombo) and his label, Oilers Music, and annual mix series, *Spanish Oil* (1995–9).

Like *reggae en español*, El Chombo's moniker, a local slur for non-Spanish speaking blacks, is itself a product of the long, ambivalent history of Afro-Caribbean immigration and integration in Panama. Embracing this legacy, Clark became the leading light in Panamanian reggae by producing local hits that also found popularity in the region and more widely, such as his *Cuentos de la cripta* (Tales from the Crypt) albums (1997–2004), which were distributed internationally by Sony. Less grounded in strict Jamaican style than some of his peers, El Chombo shrewdly drew from American pop and hip-hop as well as Puerto Rican reggaeton to produce the kinds of records, if sometimes novelty numbers (see, for example, 1997's 'El gato volador' [The Flying Cat] or 2006's 'Chacarron'), that could cross over to audiences outside of Panama's reggae scene. His biggest hit in this regard is Lorna's 'Papi Chulo' (2003), arguably the first reggaeton song to become an international chart-topper, predating the success of Daddy Yankee's 'Gasolina' (2004). Suturing a sample from Dee-Lite's 'Groove Is in the Heart' (1990) onto Dem Bow-style drums, 'Papi Chulo' was a top ten hit in several European countries (Number 1 in France, Number 2 in Italy) and huge across Latin America.

Beginning around 2000 and continuing to the present day, another chapter in the story of *reggae en español* has unfolded under the banner of *romantiqueo*. Fusing reggae rhythms with pop sheen and romantic ballads, and led by such popular acts as La Factoría, Eddy Lover, Flex and Makano, *romantiqueo* marks a remarkably commercial turn for Panama's reggae scene. These singers and groups sell out stadium shows and reign at the top of the charts in Panama as well as across Central and South America, giving Puerto Rican reggaeton a run for its money. At the same time, Panama still plays host to a vibrant dancehall and roots reggae scene looking primarily toward Jamaica for inspiration, if at this point inextricably inflected by reggaeton too. Some artists, such as vocalist El Roockie and producer Predikador, collaborate with Puerto Rican producers, while others, such as Ruff Dad or Scaredem Fish, eschew reggaeton style for a closer engagement with contemporary reggae, especially the use of new Jamaican instrumentals and songs as the basis for their own inventions. Moreover, the flowering of independent and amateur pro-grade production via home studios and other modest enterprises means that *reggae en español* is as big and vibrant a tent as ever, circulating online via local sites like Plena507.com, and closely engaged with the shifting styles of Afrodiasporic pop. In the second decade of the twenty-first century, as at any time over the previous 30 years, one can safely assume that the latest reggae hits will be faithfully and almost immediately translated and transformed for Panamanian audiences by local artists.

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WAYNE MARSHALL

Reggaeton

Reggaeton (also spelled reggaetón or reguetón) is a commercially successful genre of music that developed in Puerto Rico during the 1990s and became increasingly popular on an international level throughout the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Most obviously influenced by reggae and hip-hop, reggaeton features rapped vocals, a danceable beat usually produced electronically and party-themed lyrics. It is not, however, simply the Spanish-language version of either of these two types of music (the Spanish-language version of reggae is better known as or *reggae en españo*l and the Spanish-language version of hip-hop is usually recognized as *rap en español*). Rather, reggaeton is a unique blend of both these genres, characterized by its own specific rhythm known as the 'Dem Bow' beat. It also borrows from other Caribbean genres, such as *bomba*, *merengue* and salsa, resulting in a transnational musical fusion.

When reggaeton became popular among Latin American and Caribbean youth in the United States in the early 2000s, many critics believed that the trend was simply a passing fad. But the music has continued to resonate strongly with youth across the United States and throughout Latin America. The Spanish-language lyrics address issues of inequality, discrimination and cultural pride, in addition to the popular themes of dancing, romantic and sexual relationships, and partying. These topics in some cases foster a sense of pan-Latino pride among fans by focusing on the history and culture that unites Latinos and Latin Americans on a global and national level. Mega-concerts, which often feature several top-billing artists on one night and can last more than six hours, are key to the sustained popularity of reggaeton, and also provide a space for fans to recognize their cultural commonalities.

Reggaeton has been criticized in the Puerto Rican media for its sometimes explicitly sexual or violent lyrics, similar to those featured in hip-hop. The genre is known for *el perreo* (roughly meaning 'doggy-style dance'), a sexually suggestive dance that usually involves a man grinding against the backside of a woman. Because of its sexual and violent themes, policy makers in Puerto Rico have at times attempted to ban the music and the dance, claiming that it leads to criminal and deviant behavior. On the other hand, the commercial success of reggaeton has prompted many critics eventually to acknowledge the music as a valuable cultural export that has thrust Puerto Rico into the international spotlight and unquestionably made an impact on the global economy.

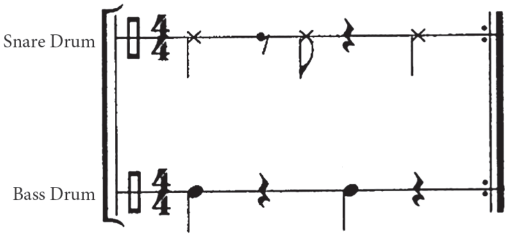
The Roots of Reggaeton: *Reggae-Español* and *Rap en Español*

Although reggaeton is most closely associated with Puerto Rico, its roots lie in Panama. In the early twentieth century, many Jamaicans migrated to Central America to work on the construction of the Panama Canal. As they established permanent residence there, they continued to foster transnational ties to Jamaica. When reggae emerged in the late 1960s, it quickly spread throughout the Afro-Panamanian community as a result of these diasporic circuits. During the 1970s Panamanian artists began to cover popular Jamaican reggae songs, translating the lyrics into Spanish and mostly preserving the rhythm, instrumentation and melodies of the original song. Over the course of the next couple of decades, DJs continued to cover popular tunes while also creating original versions of their own, blending the stylistic elements of reggae and dancehall with a Latin American musical flavor. This Spanish-language, Latin American version of reggae, *reggae en español*, was popular throughout Panamanian nightclubs for decades. In the 1990s the genre exploded onto the international scene. Panamanian DJs such as Nando Boom and El General experienced great success during this decade, and *reggae en español* compilation albums soon became standard rotation for nightclubs and Spanish-language radio stations across Latin America, the Caribbean and the United States. Because of the way in which these artists fused Jamaican and Latin American traits, *reggae en español* is understood to be the predecessor of contemporary reggaeton. In particular, modern reggaeton artists often pay tribute to El General (born Edgardo A. Franco) as the 'Grandfather of Reggaeton.' Tracing his multicultural heritage to Trinidad, Jamaica, Panama and Colombia, El General was a primary innovator of *reggae en español* and experienced international success in the early 1990s with danceable Spanish-language hits such as 'Muévelo' (Move It) and 'Te ves buena' (You Look Good).

While Panamanian artists integrated reggae into their own musical traditions, Puerto Rican artists experimented with hip-hop beats and rapped vocals. During the late 1980s and early 1990s American hip-hop infiltrated the island largely because of Puerto Rico's special status as a commonwealth of the United States; music and people could travel without sanctions. Puerto Rican rappers sometimes sampled the instrumental parts of popular American rap songs, adding their own Spanish lyrics and vocal melodies on top of the borrowed foundation. As Spanish-language rap in Puerto Rico continued to develop, producers increasingly created entirely original rap songs, making their own beats. A particularly influential Puerto Rican *rap en español* artist was Vico C (born Armando Lozada Cruz), known for his socially conscious rap lyrics that explored urban themes of poverty, violence and discrimination. The success of Vico C's 1989 hit 'La Recta Final' (The Home Straight) was followed up by 'Saboréalo' and 'María' in 1992 (also released on his 1993 album Xplosion). 'María' demonstrates the extent to which Puerto Rican rappers would borrow from popular rap songs from the United States, superimposing their own Spanish lyrics: Vico C samples beats and sound effects from the single 'Jump Around' by Irish-American rap group House of Pain and also references 'Jump,' a song released by young African-American rap duo Kriss Kross.

Becoming a Unique Genre

By the 1990s, Puerto Rican dance clubs were alive with the sounds of both *reggae en español* and *rap en español*, setting the stage for the creation of reggaeton, a combination of these two genres set to a specific beat borrowed from Jamaican dancehall. Reggaeton is primarily defined and recognized by its unmistakable 'boom-ch-boom-chick' beat, produced by interlocking a bass drum on beats 1 and 3, with a snare sample that plays a modified backbeat against it (see Example 1).



Example 1: Reggaeton's 'boom-ch-boom-chick' beat

Although this snare pattern may differ slightly from song to song, it usually emphasizes the 'and of 2' and beat 4. Many musicians directly trace the reggaeton beat back to the electronically generated bass and snare rhythm featured in Shabba Ranks's 1991 song 'Dem Bow.' Within the 'Dem Bow' rhythm, the syncopated snare pattern is reminiscent of the 'tresillo' part of a *clave* rhythm, lending a particularly 'pan-Caribbean' flavor to the rhythm because the '3 against 2' juxtaposition of a *clave* pattern over a duple-meter pulse can be found in rhythms throughout the Caribbean, including Jamaican reggae, dancehall and mento, Trinidadian soca and calypso, Haitian *méringue* (*mereng*) and *konpa*, Puerto Rican *bomba* and *plena*, Dominican *merengue* and *bachata*, Cuban *son* and *mambo*, and salsa from New York.

When Spanish-language rap vocals were placed on top of this synthesized dancehall beat, reggaeton was essentially born. However, the new genre was not originally known as 'reggaeton'; it was alternatively called 'Underground,' 'Melaza' and 'Dem Bow' (after the most prominent 'riddim'). A Puerto Rican club called 'The Noise' was particularly important in the development of this subculture in the 1990s. Producers and DJs popularized songs which fused the attributes of rap and dancehall, used Spanish-language lyrics about common hip-hop themes, and featured the Dem Bow beat produced on a drum machine. The lyrics touched on issues that people in the poor, urban *barrios* (neighborhoods) could relate to: discrimination, poverty, gang violence and the desire to seek pleasure through sex and partying. They released compilation albums which featured this unique new blend but these were not typically available to the general public, because the Puerto Rican government repeatedly banned reggaeton from stores, radio and TV throughout the 1990s, due to its controversial subject matter. Instead, DJs, artists and producers sold cassettes in the housing projects and dance clubs, creating street buzz throughout the low-income *barrios*. Although *reggae en español*, *rap en español* and dancehall continued to flow between Puerto Rico, Panama, Jamaica and the United States, most of the original Spanish-language fusions of rap and reggae (soon to be known as 'reggaeton') were developed in Puerto Rico.

International Popularity and Important Artists

In the early 2000s the hybrid genre increasingly became known as 'reggaeton,' a distinction which marked it as its own unique genre, specifically different from either *reggae en español* or *rap en español*. In 2003 and 2004 reggaeton quickly began to break international ground, particularly in the United States. Singles produced in Puerto Rico became hits in the United States after earning standard rotation on Spanish-language radio stations and music television channels. Reggaeton became particularly popular in large cities with a significant number of Latin American immigrants and Spanish-speakers, such as Miami, Los Angeles and New York. One important aspect of reggaeton was that it appealed to a pan-Latino audience including Mexicans, Colombians, Venezuelans and Dominicans, rather than catering only to Puerto Ricans. It also acted as a Spanish-language alternative to the mainstream American music that Latino youth usually consumed, such as hip-hop and pop. It was modern and new, unlike some of the Spanish-language music that their parents listened to, such as salsa, *canción romantica*, *bachata* and *ranchera*. Finally, reggaeton lyrics commented on topics that resonated with Latino youth in the United States, touching on poverty, discrimination and Latino pride while also privileging lighter topics having to do with romantic and sexual relationships, parties and consumerism.

While reggaeton had been developing in Puerto Rico for years, the first single that brought the genre to national attention in the United States was N.O.R.E.'s 2004 single 'Oye mi canto' ('Hear My Song'). The hit featured vocals by N.O.R.E., a half Puerto Rican, half African-American rapper (born Victor Santiago, Jr., 6 September 1977, in New York), with special appearances by reggaeton stars Daddy Yankee, Nina Skyy, Gem Star and Big Mato. Because N.O.R.E. was already a popular rapper in the United States, he was particularly successful at exposing the American audience to the Puerto Rican fusion, reaching both African-American and pan-Latino demographics. Through widespread exposure on radio, TV and award shows, 'Oye Mi Canto' quickly propelled reggaeton into the spotlight.

Although the single 'Oye Mi Canto' could be heard booming from stereos throughout major US cities, the first reggaeton artist to have true star potential in both Puerto Rico and the United States was Daddy Yankee (born Ramón Ayala, 3 February 1977, in San Juan). He developed his style through his involvement in the underground *rap en español* scene in Puerto Rico during the 1990s. Daddy Yankee achieved moderate success on the island and in the United States with his independently released albums. But it was his 2004 album *Barrio Fino*, with hits such as 'Gasolina,' 'Lo Que Pasó, Pasó' (What Happens, Happens) and 'No Me Dejes Solo' (Don't Leave Me Alone) that turned Daddy Yankee into an instant star. The album combined elements of traditional hip-hop, reggaeton and salsa, and featured a diverse array of guest artists and producers. Ayala promoted his album with an extensive tour throughout the Americas, and *Barrio Fino* quickly went platinum in several countries, topped the Latin charts at number 1 in the United States, and reached number 26 on the US *Billboard* Top 200 list. By 2006 two million copies of the album had been sold. Daddy Yankee was named one of the 100 most influential people by *Time* magazine in 2006, has set records for concert attendance at stadiums around the world, collaborated with a variety of hip-hop, Latin and pop performers, and continued to receive numerous awards. Known for his business acumen, Ayala negotiated a contract with the Pepsi company and became the first Latin artist to sign a promotional deal with the Reebok corporation. He has also branched out into the film industry; he produced and starred in a semiautobiographical feature film called *Talento de Barrio* and has played minor roles in other movies and television shows. He has received awards for his commitment to social issues in *barrios*; he founded a charitable organization in Puerto Rico, *Fundación Corazón Guerrero*, which helps incarcerated youth, and has remained active in politics, encouraging Latino youth to participate in the voting process.

Facing off for the title of 'King of Reggaeton' is Don Omar (born William Omar Landrón, 10 February 1978, in San Juan). With singles such as 'Dale Don Dale,' 'Dile' and 'Pobre Diabla' from his 2003 debut album *The Last Don*, Don Omar was quickly catapulted to international fame. Both the studio version and the live edition of the album went platinum and earned him awards for 'Latin Pop Album of the Year' and 'New Artist & Latin Rap/Hip-Hop Album of the Year' at the *Billboar*d Latin Music Awards in 2003. He had a major hit in 2004 with 'Reggaeton Latino,' a club anthem that became a rallying cry for pan-Latino pride. Following this success, Don Omar released one of the best-selling reggaeton albums yet, *King of Kings* (2006). The album won 'Reggaeton Album of the Year' at the *Billboard* Latin Music Awards, and the single 'Angelito' earned a 'Nuestro Lo Premio' Award for 'Best Latin Music Video.' The album achieved the highest-charting debut ever from a reggaeton artist, reaching number 7 on the Billboard 200 and number 1 on the Latin Chart. In 2009 *Billboard* recognized *King of Kings* as the most successful album of the decade in Latin America, having sold over four million copies since its release. Don Omar even shattered the in-store appearance sales record at Downtown Disney's Virgin music store, previously held by Britney Spears.

Finally, Tego Calderón (born Tegui Calderón Rosario, 2 February 1972, in Santurce, Puerto Rico) also deserves mention for the popularity of reggaeton among Latino youth in the United States. When he was young, his family moved from Puerto Rico to Miami where he was exposed to diverse pan-Caribbean and pan-Latino musical styles such as salsa, dancehall, hip-hop and Puerto Rican folkloric styles such as *plena* and *bomba*. Calderón's music highlights this musical variety and his lyrics tend to avoid the party-oriented topics of mainstream reggaeton, focusing instead on politics and social justice. He has headlined AIDS-awareness concerts, refused to sign contracts with companies that use sweatshops, and implored fans to boycott conflict diamonds from Africa. Calderón is also known for his collaborations with African-American and Latino hip-hop and R&B musicians in the USA, crossing over to multicultural rap audiences with hits such as 'Latin Thugs' (a collaboration with Cypress Hill). Proud of his Afro-Puerto Rican heritage, Tego Calderón explores racial discrimination and ethnic pride in his songs more often than other reggaeton artists, many of whom have more of a Hispanic background.

One particular production duo, known as Luny Tunes, was responsible for many of the hits during the early years of reggaeton's mainstream and international popularity. Francisco Saldaña (born 23 June 1979) and Víctor Cabrera (born 12 April 1981) were born in the Dominican Republic and raised on the east coast of the United States. When they both moved to Puerto Rico, they quickly became one of the most accomplished reggaeton production groups. In 2003 they released a successful compilation album, *Mas Flow*, which featured their beats overlaid with vocals by some of the up-and-coming stars of reggaeton, such as Don Omar, Tego Calderón, Wisin Y Yandel, Héctor Y Tito, Nicky Jam, Zion Y Lennox, Baby Ranks and Daddy Yankee. Over the next few years, they produced several of reggaeton's biggest hits, including Don Omar's 'Dale Don Dale' (2003), Daddy Yankee's platinum song 'Gasolina' (2004) and Wisin Y Yandel's hit 'Rakata' (2005). The duo continued to release compilations that solidified their reputation as one of the most desirable production teams. Many of these 'mixtapes' (compilations) charted near the top of Billboard's Latin, Reggae, Rap, Tropical and Top 200 Charts, and achieved gold or platinum status in the United States. Their success was due in part to their ability to create interesting patterns with the standard reggaeton beat template by drawing on *merengue*, *bachata*, *bolero*, *cumbia*, salsa and hip-hop rhythms. By 2007 they had produced more than 500 songs and earned numerous accolades from the Latin Billboard Awards, the Latin Grammy Awards and the Reggaeton People's Choice Awards.

Reggaeton has been dominated primarily by male performers and producers. There are some notable female artists, such as Ivy Queen, Glory, La Sista, Nina Skyy and Adassa, who have competed for popularity, but many critics have commented on both the relatively low number of female artists who have attained success and the sexually explicit or misogynistic nature of reggaeton's themes, dance moves and fashion styles.

Conclusion

Although many critics believed that reggaeton's popularity would fade within a few years, the genre continues to resonate from car speakers, nightclubs and concert arenas in the second decade of the twenty-first century. The music and lyrics continue to appeal to a pan-Latino audience not only in the United States and Puerto Rico but around the world, particularly in Mexico, the Caribbean, Central America, South America and parts of Europe and Asia. International fans support tours by Puerto Rican stars and have also witnessed the rise of local reggaeton artists. The genre has been fused with many other world genres, resulting in hybrid subgenres such as *bhangraton* (reggaeton mixed with South Asian *bhangra*, particularly by DJs in England), *salsaton* (salsa and reggaeton), *merenton* (merengue and reggaeton), *reggaecrunk* (reggaeton infused with the bass-driven crunk style of Southern US hip-hop), *cumbiaton* (*cumbia* and reggaeton), *romantikeo* (zouk and R&B mixed with reggaeton) and *bachateo* (*bachata* and reggaeton).

Because the genre is comparatively new, the amount of academic research published on the subject so far is relatively small. Nevertheless, several significant works have been produced. Wayne Marshall (2006, 2008) has contributed to the understanding of reggaeton's musical influences and historical development, Deborah Pacini Hernandez (2009) has reflected on Dominican involvement, Geoff Baker (2011) is an expert on reggaeton and rap in Cuba, and Jan Fairley (2009) has written about gender and sexuality as reflected in reggaeton dancing. The anthology of articles entitled *Reggaeton* (2009), edited by Raquel Rivera, Wayne Marshall and Deborah Pacini Hernandez, offers an interdisciplinary perspective on these topics. In addition, the music continues to be documented in mainstream news publications, as well as in magazines and websites that cater to the Latino and African-American communities.

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KIM KATTARI

Ringbang

Guyanese music composer, record producer and entrepreneur Eddy Grant coined the term 'ringbang' to define a style of Caribbean music that emerged from his Blue Wave Studio in Barbados around 1994 and spread throughout the southern and eastern Caribbean. It is closely associated with calypso's dance music, soca. Ringbang is characterized by aggressive drums, well-stated bass, the forceful vocal delivery of celebratory lyrics and the downplaying or absence of the live brass/horns and guitar strumming that are usually associated with the calypso and soca. Ringbang was popular in the region during the 1990s and had some recognition in the international arena during the early 2000s, and then again in 2008.

Controversy surrounding the origin of soca music was partly responsible for the evolution of ringbang as a musical style. Many commentators have declared the Trinidadian musician and performer Lord Shorty (later known as Ras Shorty-I) to be the originator of soca. Eddy Grant disputed this, contending that his experiment with calypso and pop produced soca, some years before Lord Shorty's work of the mid-1970s. In the early 1990s, while in Trinidad, Grant was issued with a challenge: if he had indeed been the originator of soca music, surely he could do it again and create a genre/style over whose origin there would be no dispute.

Ringbang gets its name from the scat or improvised sound that some Caribbean musicians make when they sing. For instance, some calypso singers might sing the words 'ring ring bang de bang bang bang' during the band chorus of a song or a similar moment. Despite the presence of powerful rhythmic elements, ringbang has no distinctive rhythmic patterns and is best thought of as a style or approach to rendering and performing current-day forms of Caribbean and Western popular music. It was conceived first as studio music, in which the engineer manipulated the volume level of instruments on the various recorded tracks. Ringbang is defined by the deliberate stripping of music down to some of its basic constituents. In particular, the sound level of the drums is raised in the recorded mix, or during performance, while other melodic and harmonic lines and/or instruments (excluding the lead vocals) are lowered or muted. This music has been played at the various Caribbean and Caribbean diaspora festivals, and heavily circulated via FM radio, the compact disc, and to some extent on newer formats like MP3 and on the computer and internet.

In 1994 Grant produced an album, *Rebellion,* for the Trinidad calypso/soca artist Black Stalin. The album included two songs in which the word 'ringbang' was uttered: 'Black Woman Ringbang' and 'All Saints Road.' That same year, Grant produced a full-blown post-soca compilation called *Fire in de Wave* in which he deliberately stripped the music of brass, strumming guitar and other harmonic instrument embellishments, while introducing a more aggressive vocal delivery than is usually associated with soca.

In some respects, the fact that early ringbang artists tended to deliver their lyrics by singing and/or chanting meant that its vocal tracks were closer to Jamaican dancehall. Viking Tundah's 'Ring-a-Ringbang' best exemplifies these kinds of experiments, where melodic vocals give way to rhythmic delivery. Grant's production of the Trinidadian Superblue's 1994 album *Flag Party* created what is arguably one of the most popular ringbang standards of the 1990s. The song 'Jab Molassie' featured Superblue's aggressive vocals layered within a mix dominated by a tight snare, recurring drum crash/splash, expansive floor toms and pulsating bass/foot drum.

These experiments continued throughout the 1990s. Ringbang helped to change notions about the construction and mixing (live and recorded) of Caribbean dance styles like soca and dancehall. Largely due to Grant's initiative, soca music paid even greater attention to rhythm and percussive instrumentation. Other acts such as Machel Montano of Trinidad, Tallpree of Grenada, Fireman Hooper of St Vincent, Krosfyah of Barbados and El-A-Kru of Antigua all recorded or performed some form of ringbang during the 1990s and even thereafter. Many of these artists were not using the term ringbang to define their music; rather they called it soca, raggasoca, dancehall soca and other associated terms.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, Grant and his ICE Records company were embroiled in legal issues. Because of this, the label was not able to produce the same quantity of music as previously. Understandably, its attention seemed to be directed more toward retaining ownership of the company and all its assets. There was therefore less effort made to promote and fuel the style of music. This severely impacted on the name brand 'ringbang,' which Grant had copyrighted and which he projected would appear on a range of pop culture goods, like hats and clothing. In addition, there had been suggestions that Grant was drawing from indigenous Caribbean music forms (like Barbadian tuk and Trinidadian jab jab music) and rebranding them as ringbang. By the early 2000s there were far fewer artists who were actually using the term *ringbang* within their songs, even though their styles remained heavily rhythm-centered.

In 2001 Miami DJ Peter Black's remix of Grant's 1983 song 'Electric Avenue' caught the attention of local and then international radio. Grant endorsed the remixed version and it was promoted as 'Electric Avenue: The Ringbang Remix.' The term ringbang was therefore marketed to the world. By the late 2000s Grant's output of dedicated ringbang music was not as proliferate or celebrated as during the 1990s, but he went on a world tour during 2008 and this provided further outlet for his performance of ringbang to audiences in Africa, Europe and the United States of America.

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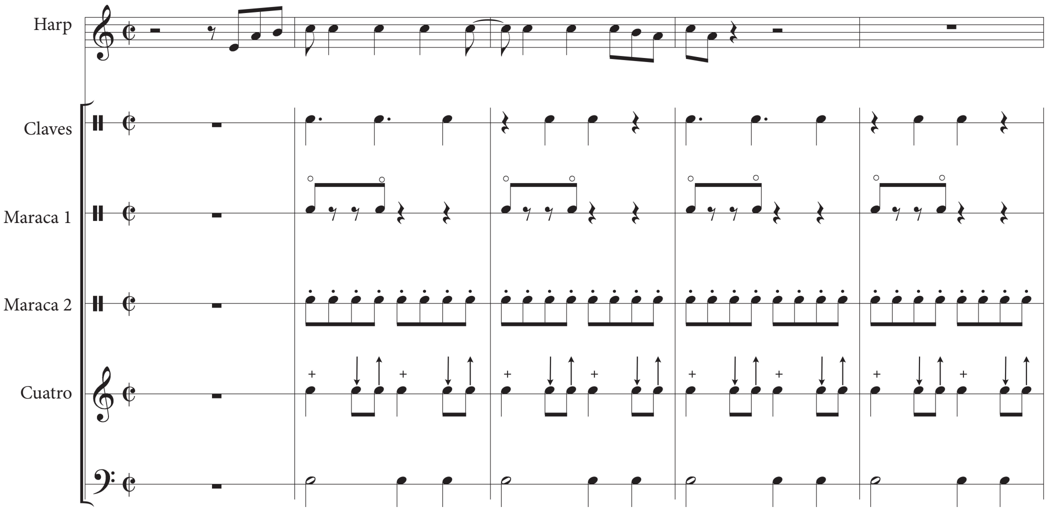
CURWEN BEST

Ritmo Orquídea

In the early 1960s, Venezuelan composer Hugo Blanco created and developed a musical style which he named '*Orquídea*' ('Orchid') after the Venezuelan national flower. *Ritmo orquídea* ('Orchid Rhythm') features the melodic and timbral essence of Venezuelan folk music fused with Caribbean rhythms. This new genre is represented by the blending of *joropo* (a traditional Venezuelan genre) with the Caribbean genres *guaracha*, *son cubano* and *rumba*.

The strategic location of Venezuela at the northern tip of South America allowed for an important presence of music from the Antilles. Thus, South American folk music – which is primarily in triple meter – slowly absorbed the simple meter characteristic of Afro-Hispanic music from the Antilles. In the 1960s a folk ensemble from Caracas, Venezuela became interested in performing Caribbean music with traditional local instruments – *arpa criolla* (a diatonic harp), *cuatro* (a small guitar with four strings), maracas and double-bass. Hugo Blanco wrote music for this ensemble, restricting melodies to certain scales to accommodate the diatonic nature of the *arpa criolla* but incorporating rhythmic elements from *guaracha* and *son* (see Example 1 below). The title of Blanco's first song for this ensemble was 'Orquídea,' a name which was subsequently used to refer to the new rhythm. The widespread success of 'Orquídea' prompted El Palacio de la Música, a major record label, to produce an album of Blanco's music. One of the songs in this album, 'Moliendo Café' (Grinding Coffee), became an international success, thanks to the combination of the new rhythms with the sounds of the *arpa criolla*. It is estimated that almost 800 different versions have been made of this song.



o = Muted sound of all strings made with a closed hand ("trancao" or "stuck")
+ = Open sound of the maraca ("escobillao" or "swept", one of the three main steps in joropo)

Example 1: Typical ensemble of *Ritmo orquidea*, using melody of 'Moliendo Café'

Ritmo orquídea continued to develop through the years, becoming increasingly more complex and heterogeneous. Local folk ensembles performing this music began incorporating new elements into the genre – Caribbean rhythms such as *calypso*, *soca*, *cumbia* and *merengue dominicano*, and international styles such as Tijuana Brass and African Beat were slowly integrated into the original sounds of *ritmo orquídea*. With the assimilation of new rhythms and styles, the size of the orchestra was also expanded to include brass, reed, string and Latin percussion instruments as well as voices.

According to some musicologists, the perception of *ritmo orquídea* outside of Venezuela is generally framed by the early sounds of 'Moliendo Café' and 'El burrito sabanero' (The Savannah Donkey), a Christmas song. On a national level, however, *ritmo orquídea* is conceived as something more than a specific rhythm: it is the Venezuelan style of making Afro-Hispanic music from the Antilles.

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NELSON BLANCO MANZO (TRANSLATED BY PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

Rock Andino

Rock andino is a musical style that combines Anglo-Saxon rock with indigenous music styles from the Andes. The particular types of rock that are favored are mainly progressive rock and its immediate predecessor, psychedelic rock, which inspired Latin American rockers to engage in musical fusions. On the one hand, the attention to Andean Music expresses the interest of progressive rock bands in the music of non-European cultures; on the other hand, it also reflects an equally typical 'folk attitude' displayed by many of these groups (Macan 1997, 18–23). Both musicians and audiences interpret indigenous music styles as symbols of cultural identity.

Rock andino developed in the late 1960s and early 1970s mainly in Bolivia (Basualdo Zambrana 2003), Chile (Salas 1999) and Peru (Cornejo 2002, 41), and to a much lesser extent in Argentina (Díaz 2010, 222). In the early twenty-first century, *rock andino* still exists amid other new trends in rock music.

Rock Andino in Bolivia

The beginning of rock *andino* in Bolivia goes back to the early 1970s, when the band Wara began to fuse rock with Andean music. Wara, consisting of Dante Uzquiano, Pedro Sanjinés, Omar León, Carlos Daza and Nataniel González, began their career as a cover band of psychedelic, hard and progressive rock bands such as Deep Purple, Pink Floyd and Uriah Heep. Thanks to contact with Klarken Orozco, a member of the band Los Aymaras, Wara became interested in the Bolivian *música folklórica* movement (Céspedes 1984, 1993) and began to use Andean instruments including *quenas*, *sikuris* and *charangos* in their songs (Leichtman 1989, 40). Although the tracks of their first album *El Inca* (1973) show extensive musical structures characteristic of progressive rock, songs such as 'El Inca' and 'Realidad' also show clear influences of Andean music. Wara subsequently abandoned the long format of progressive rock, moving closer to Andean music with songs such as 'Imillitay' (*Paya*, 1976) and 'Basta corazón' (*Quimsa*, 1978) and increasingly becoming a *grupo folklórico* (Basualdo Zambrana 2003, 40–2). In the 1990s, Wara returned to *rock andino* inspired by the emergence of the World Music genre but with less success than they enjoyed in the 1970s and 1980s.

Another important group of Bolivian *rock andino* is Octavia, consisting of Gimmer Illanes, Simón Luján, Vladimir Pérez, Ricardo Sasaki, Omar González and Martín Fox. After having issued some albums as a soft rock band named CODA 3, Octavia redefined their style in 1996, employing Andean instruments and the pentatonic scale (Basualdo Zambrana 2003, 73–4). Soon, however, Octavia abandoned pentatonic melodies and formed a rock band that used Andean instruments. Among their successes 'Seré tu música' (I Will Be Your Music) (1996), 'Después de ti' (After You) (2001), 'Talisman' (2004) and 'Lentamente' (Slowly) (2006) should be mentioned.

The group Atajo is another that has fused its style with Andean rhythms, especially in their album *Nunca más* (2004), but without limiting themselves to the Andean rock style. The band Llawar mixes Andean rhythms such as *huayno* and *saya* with a hardcore style, but without the use of Andean instruments (Basualdo Zambrana 2003, 125).

Rock Andino in Chile

In the 1960s two factors converged to enable the emergence of *rock andino* in Chile: on one side, the rise of rock music as an expression of youth counterculture, and on the other side the consolidation of the musical movement *nueva canción chilena,* which employed marginalized music from the Andes in the late 1960s and early 1970s as a cultural and political statement (Albornoz 2002, 13). In this sense, the epithet 'Andean' does not refer to direct contact with the music of the Andes as it does in Bolivia or Peru, but rather to an adaptation of it by groups such as Inti-illimani or Quilapayún that made this music more accessible to the urban middle classes.

The first group associated with Chilean *rock andino* was Los Sicodélicos. Led by Leslie Needham and Francisco Sazo, they were pioneers in using Andean instruments such as the *quena* or *charango* on their album *Sicodelirium* (1967) (Gajardo Cornejo 2010, 50). Influential too were Los Blops, consisting of Julio Villalobos, Eduardo Gatti, Juan Pablo Orrego, Juan Contreras and Sergio Berzad. Formed in 1964 as a cover band that played Beatles and Rolling Stones, Los Blops began in the early 1970s to combine their music with elements of folklore and *nueva canción chilena* (Escárate 1993, 58). In 1971 they recorded with Victor Jara the songs 'El derecho de vivir en paz' and 'María' (Salas 1999, 255). Their Albums *Del volar de las palomas* (1971) and *Locomotora* (1973) are legendary.

Whereas the aforementioned groups hinted at Andean music with the use of Andean instruments or minor scales, with Los Jaivas Andean musical forms began to be mixed with riffs and beats of Anglo-Saxon rock (Arratia, Careaga and Soriano 2002, 84). Originally founded in 1963 as 'High-Bass' by the brothers Gabriel, Claudio and Eduardo Parra, Mario Mutis and Eduardo 'Gato' Alquinta, Los Jaivas changed the spelling of their name in the 1970s and oriented their music more toward national themes (Escárate 1993, 32; Albornoz 1999, 317). In 1972 they released their album *La ventana* (The Window), which included songs such as 'Niña serrana' (Highland Girl) a composition of Raul Pereira from the Peruvian group El Polen, and 'Todos juntos' (All Together), with its clear evocations of Andean pentatonic scales and Mapuche music. In 1981 the band released the album *Alturas de Macchu Picchu* (Heights of Macchu Picchu) (1981), based on a poem by Chilean Poet Pablo Neruda.

Along with Los Jaivas, the band Congreso, formed by the brothers Sergio, Fernando and Patricio González and Francisco Sazo (from Los Sicodélicos), is representative of Chilean *rock andino* (Escárate 1993, 75–7). Their album *Terra incognita* (Unknown Land) (1975) included songs such as 'Dónde estarás' (Where Will You Be?), 'Vuelta y vuelta' (Around and Around) and 'Quenita y violin' (Little Flute and Violin), which have come to be considered classics of Chilean *rock andino*. In 1980 new frontman Joe Vasconcellos inspired innovations evident in Congreso's emblematic songs of Chilean *rock andino* 'Hijo del sol luminoso' (Child of the Shining Sun) on the album *Viaje por la cresta del mundo* (Journey to the End of the World) (1981) and 'Ha llegado carta' (A Letter Has Arrived) from the band's album by the same name (1983).

The golden age of Chilean *rock andino* most probably was between 1970 and 1985. It decreased in popularity in the 1980s, when punk bands stressed simple rock forms and musically complex styles were discredited. Los Jaivas and Congreso, however, remained active. Whereas Los Jaivas have continued producing music in the same style for more then three decades, Congreso moved away from rock to jazz fusion.

Rock Andino in Peru

The evolution of Andean rock in Peru must be understood in the context of a debate that has characterized the arts in Peru since the foundation of the republic in the nineteenth century. This debate focuses on how to represent in a national form the variety of distinctive mother cultures and their many variants that developed in the three natural regions of the country – coast, sierra (Andes) and jungle – as well as that of Afro-Peruvians, descendants of those who arrived via the slave trade. The performative representation of identity is central to the discourses around contemporary Andean rock musicians, and the related struggle to solve contradictions between modernity and tradition, the local and the global, multiculturality and nationhood. Therefore, even when, by strictly musical criteria, *rock andino* bands would be considered 'straight' rock bands, the music cannot be separated from its *mise-en-scène*, the performance of an identity which mixes the modern, represented by rock, and the traditional, alternately represented by a fragment of a popular Peruvian song, the use of a Peruvian instrument, or even garments and images that refer to non-Occidental spaces.

Andean rock developed in Lima, the capital city, where inward migration led to encounters between people from different parts of the country, Musically, it combines rock and related genres (such as blues and metal), with traditional Peruvian music. In general Andean rock bands are very eclectic, and mix elements from the music of the three regions of Peru. Some authors have argued that in most of the bands there is no real 'fusion' between harmonic, rhythmic or melodic elements of the Peruvian traditions and rock (Olazo 2000), but rather juxtapositions of these elements. Some of the most popular Andean rock songs consist of the use of the indigenous Quechua language to sing rock songs, or the use of instruments associated with Peruvian traditional music, such as the *charango* or the *cajon*, to play rock songs.

The first artists to combine elements of rock and Peruvian music, who may be considered the progenitors of Andean rock, were singer Yma Sumac and bandleader Moises Vivanco, who collaborated to produce recordings of Peruvian folk music in the 1940s. Yma Sumac (b. 1922) reached the peak of her career during the 1950s, in the context of the genre known as 'Exotica,' which gathered divas from around the world and mixed their traditions with academic orchestrations and elements of popular musics such as jazz and rock 'n' roll. Her musical representation of Peruvian identity established a stylistic trend that would influence Andean rock when the genre later emerged. Sumac's experiments with Peruvian traditional music were influenced by the *indigenismo* movement that originated in the 1920s and proposed that a national art was needed, based on the strengths of the pre-Columbian Peruvians. However this movement – and

Sumac's music, by extension – contributed more to the exoticization of the Andean world than to the inclusion of a legitimate Andean voice in the art world (Poole 1997), suggesting that Andean culture was static, isolated and unable to develop a mixture between modernity and tradition.

In the mid-1960s Andean rock emerged as a genre. During this time, the brothers Juan Luis and Raul Pereira, formerly of the popular rock band The Shain's, refused to make versions of songs by American or English bands, and began instead to reproduce the traditional music they heard on the radio and their parents' records. The band they founded, El Polen, is considered by many to be the first Andean rock band, a distinction they share with Los Jaivas from Chile. El Polen were heavily influenced by the hippy movement and New Age thought. Other bands following El Polen were El Opio, El Ayllu, El Trebol, Zulu, Cacique and Black Sugar. This stage in Andean rock spans a period from around 1965 to the end of the 1970s (Cornejo 2002).

However, the movement lost its strength following the left-wing military coup led by Juan Velasco Alvarado in 1968, who banned the broadcasting of foreign musical genres such as rock. The era of the military government, which lasted until 1980, marked a low production period for Andean rock. There was a vacuum between the hippy generation and new underground bands emerging during the mid-1970s who were searching for a sound that could mix their provincial past with their urban present.

In this context, in the early 1980s a new band appeared and took the lead in the still weak Andean rock scene. The members of Del Pueblo y del Barrio were mostly sons of immigrants in Lima, influenced by rock, traditional music and the *nueva canción* that had become popular across Latin America. Del pueblo y del Barrio's lyrics addressed the creation of a new identity in Lima, and the development of a left-wing-oriented society. Most of the groups in this scene, among them Kotosh, Andrómeda and Madrigal, never recorded.

During the second half of the 1980s, the rock scene started to blossom again. Although the end of the military dictatorship enabled the growth of the scene, it was seriously affected by the violence caused by the Shining Path guerilla organization and Peru's economic troubles. During this period, Andean rock left behind its explicit political position and entered the mainstream with artists such as Miki Gonzales, the first musician in this genre to gain a significant mainstream following. Gonzales became famous for performing on stage with Afro-Peruvian musicians. On the underground side was the birth of Andean metal, pioneered by the band Kranium. Kranium took a mythological approach in their lyrics, drawing traditional stories from the Andean world. Meanwhile, in progressive rock, the band Fragil was an interesting case.

With the 1990s came the dictatorship of Fujimori, the end of terrorist violence and the consolidation of a mixture of the urban and the rural in Lima: *chicha* culture. *Chicha music* mixed *cumbia* and Andean music, with an eclectic and festive style. Andean rockers were greatly influenced by this development and began to fuse it with rock and with other traditional genres. The main bands in this period were La Sarita and Los Mojarras. They used their lyrics to criticize the Fujimori government's crimes against human rights. Uchpa must also be mentioned among the important bands in this period.

In the twenty-first century, *chicha music* entered the mainstream as a great influence in the Andean rock scene, which has grown due to the boom of the eclectic phenomenon of World Music. La Sarita (est. 1995), the longest-running Andean rock band, began using typical scissor dance musicians (a traditional dance from Ayacucho) in their recordings. Bands such as Radiohuayco, Cimarrones, La Mente and Bareto imitated the eclectic style of *chicha* culture, nurturing their music with tropical rhythms. By contrast, Flor de Loto followed in the progressive rock steps of Fragil. The eclecticism of the genre has led some former Andean rockers to abandon rock, most notably Jaime Cuadra and Miki Gonzlaes, who turned to experiments with electronic music and folklore.

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JULIO MENDÍVIL (INTRODUCTION, BOLIVIA, CHILE) AND EFRAÍN ROZAS (PERU)

Rock in Brazil

As a musical genre, rock was integrated into Brazilian music in the late 1950s. As it evolved, Brazilian rock went through several phases, incorporating various rock subgenres and mixing them with other Brazilian popular music genres. Among the main Brazilian rock trends are classic rock from the 1950s, *Jovem Guarda*, *Tropicália*, psychedelic rock, BRock, punk, *manguebeat*, metal and contemporary rock or *Novo Rock*. Some of these trends – *Tropicália*, BRock, punk and *manguebeat* – were characterized by their criticism of Brazilian political and social issues. Others – *Jovem Guarda*, psychedelic rock and *Novo Rock* – criticized conservative values and spread a hedonistic vision of the world. In Brazil, rock subgenres were frequently accused of causing alienation from Brazilian 'authentic' music and of Americanization. However, the idea of 'cannibalism,' proposed in the 1920s by the modernist poet Oswald de Andrade, is frequently employed to legitimate the integration of rock in Brazilian music and it's blending with other Brazilian genres. Andrade's 'cannibalism' is the metaphorical process by which Brazilian culture 'consumes the other,' in other words, the ability to transform the foreign into the Brazilian.

1950s Classic Rock

The 1950s was a decade of diversity in Brazilian popular music. *Bossa nova* and *baião* first appeared in the 1950s, along with the *samba* and *choro* revivals. At that time, Brazilian music incorporated various foreign genres including the Cuban *bolero* and US and European rock. The assimilation of foreign genres was considered by some intellectuals to display a lack of creativity that was to result in the dissolution of genuine Brazilian popular music. A similar argument concerning changes in what is perceived as legitimate Brazilian 'traditional' music had developed in the 1930s when the *samba* styles of Bahia and Rio were opposed, resulting in a tension between 'traditional' (Bahia) and 'modern' (Rio) music. Eventually, Rio's *samba* was viewed as Brazilian music *par excellence* (Vianna 1995; Menezes Bastos 2005).

Rock 'n' roll music made its debut in Brazil with Richard Brooks's movie *Blackboard Jungle* (1955) and Fred F. Sears's *Rock Around the Clock* (1956). In the late 1950s many rock programs emerged on the radio, such as São Paulo National Radio's *Ritmos para a Juventude* (Rhythms for Youth), Tupi Radio's *Clube do Rock* (Rock Club) and Guanabara Radio's *Os Brotos Comandam* (loosely, The Youth Command). After *Blackboard Jungle* and *Rock Around the Clock* were released, Brazilian popular musicians such as Nora Ney recorded their own versions of songs originally written by Bill Haley, Neil Sedaka and other US rock 'n' roll artists. Those versions contributed to the rise of the first Brazilian rock generation, whose main exponents were Celly Campello and her brother Tony Campello, Sérgio Murilo, Carlos Gonzaga, Ed Wilson, Ronnie Cord and some bands that mixed rock 'n' roll with surf music such as The Jordans, The Jet Blacks, The Fellows and The Clevers. Female singer Celly Campello was the host of TV Record's *Crush em Hi-Fi* (Hi-Fi Crush), and became a youth icon for her generation.

Jovem Guarda

Beginning in the 1960s rock music in Brazil, shaped by US music appropriations, was increasingly perceived in terms of its relationship with Brazilian politics and the United States. In 1964, during the Cold War, when the United States fiercely opposed the Soviet Union as well as perceived supporters of communism, a military coup occurred in Brazil. The military imposed strong civil rights restrictions and cultural censorship (Menezes Bastos 2005). As a consequence, several rebellious movements erupted and many eminent musicians went into exile. In addition, the military government established a policy of capitalism reform, modernization and anticommunism that relied on US funding. Against this politically charged backdrop, rock music became a symbolic reminder of the US support of Brazil's military regime. However, this symbolic relationship between rock and dictatorship was not taken into account by the 1960s *Jovem Guarda* movement, which ironically combined rock's spirit of youth rebellion with an apolitical stance regarding the Brazilian government.

In 1965 the emerging singer Roberto Carlos launched a television program called *Jovem Guarda* on TV Record. That broadcast inspired a musical and cultural movement, also called *Jovem Guarda*. Influenced by US and British rock, especially the Beatles, *Jovem Guarda*'s essential feature was the incorporation of electric guitars. The movement was led by Roberto Carlos, Erasmo Carlos and Wanderléa Salim, and comprised of 'old' rock 'n' roll/surf rock bands, such as The Rebels, The Jordans, The Youngsters and Os Incríveis (The Incredibles), as well as new bands, such as The Fevers, The Sunshines and Renato e Seus Blue Caps, and vocal groups such as Leno & Lilian and The Golden Boys.

Jovem Guarda disseminated the idea of youth rebellion. However, its members did not take any political stand against the military dictatorship. They were more interested in spreading the idea of youth rebellion against conservative values, expressed by the use of a specific slang and dress style (long hair for men and tight pants or miniskirts and boots for women). Their appropriation of rock, perceived as Americanization, and their lack of political engagement exacerbated the tensions between cultural critics supporting 'traditional' and 'modern' positions, while certain intellectuals and musicians considered *Jovem Guarda* a form of alienation from the Brazilian political context and collaboration with military dictatorship. In particular, this criticism came from the musicians of MPB (*Musica Popular Brasileira*), a subgenre of Brazilian popular music characterized by the ideals of loyalty to Brazilian cultural traditions and liberation from capitalist domination and featuring a lineage of songs related to *samba* and *baião* – considered 'genuine' Brazilian musical genres (Menezes Bastos 2009). The tension between *Jovem Guarda* and MPB culminated in July 1967, when some MPB musicians engaged in a public march to protest against the use of electric guitars, which they viewed as a symbol of US imperialism in Brazilian music.

Tropicália and Psychedelic Rock

In 1967 *Tropicália*, an avant-garde movement, developed arguments that justified *Jovem Guarda's* rock appropriations and provided a possible means of reconciliation between 'modern' and 'traditional' music lovers. *Tropicália*'s aesthetic goal was to achieve a revolution in MPB, supporting, to that effect, rock and pop aesthetic elements including the blending of electric and electronic instruments with typical Brazilian genres and instruments. Among *Tropicália*'s exponents were Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil and the band Os Mutantes. The members of *Tropicália* were extremely innovative with regard to music structures, melodies, arrangements and vocal and instrumental performances. For example, in 1967, influenced by the Beatles' album *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*, Gilberto Gil wrote the song 'Domingo no parque' ('Sunday at the Park') for the Third Festival of Brazilian Music held by TV Record. 'Domingo no parque' mixes rock, European 'classical' music, and Brazilian music, combining the sonorities of *berimbau* – a one-stringed bow instrument used in *capoeira*, a Brazilian martial art – with electric guitars.

Thus, *Tropicália* was significantly marked by Oswald de Andrade's ideal of 'cannibalism,' and it also revived the Modernist use of irony to criticize the establishment. The military authorities did not particularly like these 'hidden' criticisms. As a result, *Tropicália*'s main channel of communication, a program on TV Record called *Divino Maravilhoso* (Wonderful Divine), was banned and Gil and Veloso, the hosts, were sent into exile. This political repression of *Tropicália*'s musicians helped legitimate rock for Brazilian musicians and intellectuals, opening the door for many rock bands. The performance of Gilberto Gil's 'Domingo no parque' at the Third Festival of Brazilian Music (on 6 October 1967) was a milestone for the acceptance of rock in Brazil. With 'Domingo no parque,' Gilberto Gil was the first MPB musician to be accompanied by a rock band. That band, Os Mutantes, was to lead the third generation of Brazilian rock.

Os Mutantes continued to criticize the establishment with a strong sense of irony. The band was closely associated with the emerging international psychedelic trend, and with experimentation with new sonorities. Their third record, *A divina comédia ou ando meio desligado* (The Divine Comedy of Mutants or I Feel a Little Spaced Out), points to the maturation of Brazilian rock (Dapieve 2000). Other important exponents of rock in the late 1960s and 1970s were singer Raul Seixas, rock bands such as Secos e Molhados and Novos Bahianos, and the psychedelic bands O Terço, Casa das Máquinas and Som Nosso de Cada Dia. These rock and psychedelic bands articulated hippie values that had been appropriated by many Brazilian young people, including sexual liberation and female empowerment. Thus, they were profoundly marked by criticism of the Establishment's conservative lifestyle and associated behaviors. Although not specifically related to Brazilian political questions, their music was perceived as having the potential to experiment and change conservative and prejudiced structures of thought.

BRock and Punk

The early 1980s was marked by demonstrations and protests calling for free presidential elections. In 1985 a democratic government was re-elected in Brazil, and artists recovered their freedom of expression. This new political context helped strengthen a new movement within rock primarily characterized by its open criticism of Brazilian political and social problems, including social inequalities, government corruption, elitist hypocrisy and violence. BRock (an abbreviation of Brazilian rock), which began in the late 1970s, firmly integrated rock into Brazilian popular music (Dapieve 2000; Menezes Bastos 2005). The political engagement of BRock musicians was fundamental to the final acceptance by Brazilian intellectuals of rock as a genuine genre of Brazilian music. Stylistically, the bands related to BRock appropriated pop-rock, punk and new wave. Legião Urbana, Paralamas do Sucesso and Titãs were among the most important bands of that period.

Despite the revolutionary intent openly expressed in BRock lyrics since its inception in the early 1980s, BRock established itself as a mainstream genre, strongly related to mass media. However, while BRock musicians signed contracts with some of the most prominent record labels in the country (EMI, WEA, Som Livre, BMG), a more radical appropriation of British and US punk rock emerged from suburban areas, with bands such as Inocentes, Cólera, Ratos de Porão and Coquetel Molotov. Those bands did not embrace the new trend combining BRock with pop music. Instead, they created their own style characterized by screaming vocals, guitar distortion and punk dress codes such as boots, torn clothes and safety pins.

Manguebeat and Metal

Between 1985 and 1994 Brazil faced a severe economic crisis, characterized by high levels of inflation and increasing social inequalities. The city of Recife in northeastern Brazil suffered particularly strong consequences of Brazilian economic problems. Amid this context in Recife in the late 1980s and early 1990s, *Manguebeat* (also known as *mangue bit* or simply *mangue*) emerged as a musical and intellectual movement strongly characterized by its criticism of Brazilian poverty. This criticism is expressed even in the choice of the movement's name: the *mangue* (meaning swamp or mangrove) is where the poor population of Recife obtains its meagre food supply. Reviving the idea of cannibalism, *manguebeat* music blended the harsh criticism, 'do it yourself' ideal, distorted electric guitars and hardcore beats of US and Brazilian punk rock with Brazilian music genres such as *maracatu*. The most important exponents of *manguebeat* were Chico Science, leader of the band Chico Science and Nação Zumbi, and Fred 04, leader of Mundo Livre S/A.

Some heavy and thrash metal bands also emerged in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Sepultura, formed in 1984, was the most prolific of these bands. On its early albums, Sepultura was concerned neither with Brazilian identity questions nor with Brazilian political problems. Its lyrics – in English – addressed fantastic images of hell and demons, which could be read as the expression of the experience of social tensions (Walser 1993). However, with *Beneath the Remains* (1989) and *Arise* (1991), the band launched a more critical approach to globally relevant issues such as mass manipulation, contradictions of modern society, state violence and distrust of science. In 1993, with the release of *Chaos*, the band began to address Brazilian problems such as disrespect of indigenous rights and violence in prisons. *Chaos* was also marked by the recovery of 'cannibalist' ideals, with lyrics in English and guitar distortion blended with Brazilian rhythms and modal scales. *Roots* (1996), recorded in collaboration with Afro-Brazilian percussionist Carlinhos Brown and with *Xavantes* Indians from the State of Mato Grosso, follows the same trend.

Novo Rock

In 1994 Brazil controlled inflation and recovered relative economic stability with the 'Plano Real' measure, consisting of the implementation of a new currency, despite the continuation of high levels of unemployment and the serious problems of government corruption. The 1990s saw independent media playing a significant role in the development of rock across the country, with the emergence of independent labels, rock festivals and fanzines. Independent media became even more important after the year 2000, when new editing technology and studio capacities lowered recording costs and made it possible for most garage bands to record their songs. The internet also played an important role in the proliferation of rock in Brazil, speeding up the dissemination of rock bands' information and contributing to the emergence of scores of new bands.

Contemporary Brazilian rock is characterized both by the revival of former rock trends, such as *Jovem Guarda*, punk, metal and psychedelic rock, and by the integration of new genres such as psychobilly, stoner rock, nu metal and grunge. These two approaches joined together in a movement called *Novo Rock* (New Rock). Among the most important bands associated with *Novo Rock* are Pitty, a female singer from Bahia and her hardcore/alternative rock band; Los Hermanos, a band from Rio blending rock, reggae and MPB; and Detonautas Roque Clube, a pop-rock band from Rio. A particular dress code, characterized by piercings, tattoos, dyed hair and black clothing – with the exception of Los Hermanos' colorful clothes – is central to *Novo Rock*. Unlike BRock and *Manguebeat*, central movements in legitimating rock in Brazil, *Novo Rock* rarely addresses Brazilian social problems and political questions, which at first appears to display a lack of political engagement. However, *Novo Rock*'s criticism is not expressed by a verbal discourse (lyrics) but by the musical form itself. This movement, strongly marked by punk 'do it yourself' ideals, is characterized by the celebration of bands' musical innovations and creativity as supreme values and by the criticism of a technocratic and rationalized music, associated with an equally technocratic and conservative society and with mass media manipulation. This emphasis on originality can be read as the intention to demarcate a rock-associated symbolic territory characterized by hedonistic values expressed in a spontaneous music.

Conclusion

In its many manifestations and subgenres, rock in Brazil has been empowered by the concept of 'cannibalism' and characterized by its mobilization as an outlet for young people to express their opposition to both social and political conditions in Brazil. The notion of 'cannibalism,' central to the constitution of Brazilian identity, became the main aesthetic principle for important musical movements such as *Tropicália* and *Manguebeat*. The appropriation and redefining of international rock styles has nourished Brazilian rock subgenres such as punk, hardcore, psychedelic rock and metal. In their Brazilian context, these subgenres combine with other popular music genres, assuming particularly 'Brazilian' features. As a result, the Brazilian rock scene is distinctive for its integral mix of subgenres.

In addition, Brazilian rock movements up to the early twenty-first century were characterized by criticism and non-conformity. This criticism is sometimes openly directed toward political discussions – as in the case of BRock, punk and *Manguebeat*. At other times, in the case of *Jovem Guarda*, psychedelic rock and *Novo Rock*, this criticism addresses social issues, especially conservative values and structures of thought. Bands related to this second type of criticism demonstrate that rock criticism is not just a question of lyric content. Purely musical elements, such as the emphasis on musical innovation, can be related to the search for alternative lifestyles and to non-conformity concerning established values. Thus, in Brazil, rock appropriation can be perceived as a project that calls for social change with its criticism of a society governed by a hypocritical morality that sometimes leads to violence, corruption and social inequalities, while at other times perpetuating repression and intolerance of non-conformist values and behaviors.

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TATYANA DE ALENCAR JACQUES

Rock in Latin America

Rock began to spread throughout Latin America in the 1950s, undergoing various stages of evolution and related cultural movements in each country and region where it took hold. While periodization is always imperfect, an examination of the major eras in which rock emerged and developed provides a framework for understanding the context of the music, including the influence of local and international cultural, political and societal movements such as *Nueva Ola, Nueva Canción, Tropicalismo* and others. Rock in Latin America thus may be viewed as the result of a series of events that, coming from various political, cultural and societal directions, contributed to the maturation of a single musical form.

The 1950s: Birth and Origins of Rock in Latin America

The early history of rock in Latin America mainly concerns the role of three countries, Mexico, Argentina and Cuba, traditionally envisioned as centers of extensive cultural distribution and production. At the core of this history are issues of language and nationality, as rock provided a local alternative for a growing Latin American population avid for modernity. In different latitudes of the Americas, youth embraced rock in particular ways, celebrating melodies that echoed the culture of the metropolis while negotiating a local presence in that modern world via the adoption of lyrics in Spanish. In some cases, these lyrics were original, resulting from new compositions. In others, despite linguistic integration, they merely reproduced the overall context of hits from abroad. Responses were largely dictated by views of class and the effort to balance the celebration of an imported cultural practice, occasionally interpreted as an imperialist imposition, with the legitimation of new national identities.

When rock initially emerged in Latin America in the 1950s, in some cases, Latin American scenes developed as a result of geographical proximity to the United States and/or close cultural contact, while in others rock emerged due to familiarity with US and British culture and the development of related fashions. By the late 1950s radio stations beaming signals with rock music were actively consumed across the US/Mexico border (just as stations with Mexican music were consumed to the north) and in Cuba. In this manner, close contact with US culture brought about a taste for the music emerging to the north, establishing it as an object of consumption for the middle and upper classes of many Latin American countries. Thanks to the expanding influence of the culture industries of Latin American countries and increased contact with the US market, many other places in Latin America developed an appetite for this musical genre. As far south as Argentina, at the very edge of the hemisphere, acquaintance with fashionable US music trends brought about initial stabs at rock 'n' roll.

Throughout the entire subcontinent, however, a significant event contributing to the popularization of the musical genre was the incorporation of rock 'n' roll songs in the repertoire of many jazz bands in the dance halls and clubs of Latin American capitals such as Mexico City, Buenos Aires and Havana. Billy Cafaro, for example, performed with the Jazz Club orchestra directed by Virgilio Espósito. As a rule, such dance halls and clubs were favored by the elites and beyond the access of most Latin Americans. In a sense, these new repertoires reflected the desire of local elites to share and consume the very same products favored by the masses of metropolitan countries. Within this context, early recordings of rock in Spanish date as far back as the mid- to late 1950s, mainly in Mexico and Argentina. Given their large populations, both countries were favored as locations for branches of major music labels, including recording and production facilities. Early recorded examples of Latin American rock include Gloria Ríos with hits such as 'El relojito' and 'La mecedora' (The Rocking Chair) (1957) and Cafaro with hits including 'Personalidad' (1958). Around the same years, a Cuban group called Los Hot Rockers arguably became the first band to sing rock 'n' roll in Spanish; nevertheless, the Rockers left no recordings and their efforts blended into popular lore.

By the end of the 1950s many bands had surfaced across Latin America, developing a following among upper-middle-class youth. At this time, shortly prior to the revolution, Cuba was a hotbed of musical experimentation. Amid this enthusiasm, Havana's Los Llopis recorded the first rock 'n' roll single for the local music industry, 'No pidas más perdón' (Don't Ask for Forgiveness Any More). After the outbreak of the Cuban revolution in 1959, the band migrated to Mexico and the United States, where it toured heavily.

A key issue for the rapid spread of rock music in Latin America was the element of language. While arrangements and rhythm were appealing, the fact that rock was a cultural practice strongly associated with the English language limited its initial appeal to only the more affluent sectors of society. After all, at this point in time, English was primarily accessible through centers of private education, dictating linguistic exclusion as part of the economic imperative of a strict class order. Thus, to generate a preference for rock, a large part of the music's future depended on the possibility of engendering a sensibility and aesthetics rooted in Spanish, in which language played a role akin to the English version, channeling rebellion and nonconformity.

Thus, though rock in English became widely available and popular throughout Latin America, thanks to distribution access at many local and regional branches of US music labels, record companies discovered by the early 1960s that, if the music was to gain a commercially reliable following, Spanish versions of US and British hits would be needed. US and European labels such as RCA Victor, Columbia and Decca favored large Latin American capitals as distribution centers, where copies of original recordings became readily available. In this way, the chain of distribution reinforced the links between large metropolitan centers and emerging economies, creating an order that was perceived as natural, accessible and relatively autonomous. Thus, the Mexican music industry soon invested in the development of music groups and stars dedicated to the release of Spanish versions of hits (covers known as *refritos*, or refried) from the United States and Britain, especially songs by Elvis Presley, Bill Haley, Little Richard, Chuck Berry and Buddy Holly. Key among these bands were names such as Los Locos del Ritmo (later known as Los Rebeldes del Rock), Los Teen Tops, Los Black Jeans (later known as Los Camisas Negras), Los Apson, Los Loud Jets and Los Hooligans, composed mainly of clean-cut kids who could appeal to the preferences of the upper-middle-class audiences, originally responsible for the flourishing of this cultural habit.

In Cuba, however, as a result of the 1959 revolution, the music scene moved in another direction. The new political regime rejected rock in Spanish (just as it brought to an end most of the tropical music bands from the 1950s), and it portrayed the genre as an object of cultural imperialism. In 1959 Fidel Castro's regime banned rock music, effectively halting Cuba's role as a forerunner of Latin American rock 'n' roll. Even within this environment, when recording music related to US imperatives was actively discouraged, Cuba managed to produce Los Zafiros, a legendary doo-wop and R&B ensemble with a short-lived career.

After the Cuban government banned rock 'n' roll, Mexico, with its thriving cultural industry and stars like Enrique Guzmán, lead singer of Los Teen Tops, and César Costa, lead vocalist of Los Black Jeans, was primarily responsible for bringing rock music to the middle classes throughout Latin American. The appearance of Mexican rock musicians in TV shows (*Cómicos y canciones* [Comedians and Songs, 1956]), as well as in various motion pictures (*Jóvenes y rebeldes* [Young and Rebellious, 1961], *Twist, locura de juventud* [Twist, a Youth Craze, 1962] and *Mi vida es una canción* [My Life Is a Song, 1963]), contributed to the formation of a bond between Latin American youth of various nationalities, as they were exposed to and consumed the Mexican cinema of the 1960s.

The 1960s: The Age of Refritos and Nueva Ola

In the 1960s, as rock gained a larger following throughout Latin America, class tensions and languages issues became paramount. Recordings of Spanish covers of hits from the United States and the United Kingdom assumed the audience's familiarity with a repertoire that, for the most part, was only accessible to members of the elite class. At the same time, the translation of the lyrics to Spanish reached out to a larger market that could only consume music in its mother tongue. Media, especially the press and television, played a major role in this process, establishing a norm across the hemisphere. In this way, the Latin American media began to emulate the dynamics of the US cultural industry, so effective at diffusion, though with a different twist: emphasizing, rather than attenuating, class differences. Eventually, with covers of US and British rock songs and Latin American expressions of teenage angst, rock evolved into a fixture in Latin America, from the Rio Grande to Patagonia.

In Argentina, the Latin American country with perhaps the most solid middle class during the 1960s, rock progressed along two routes: as in Mexico, the well-to-do developed a taste for US and English rock, while at the lower-class level a locally brewed version of rock emerged that was quite distinct from the *refritos* sponsored by the commercial industry. Followers of the upper echelon were known as *caqueros*, while working-class rock was identified as *mersa* (Argentine slang for something common and ordinary). By the mid-1960s stars such as Guzmán, Leo Dan, Sandro, Palito Ortega and Brazilian heartthrob Roberto Carlos were quite popular among middle-class sectors in Argentina. As in other parts of the subcontinent, television contributed heavily to rock's popularity with programs including *Swing, juventud y fantasía* (Swing, Youth and Fantasy), *El club del clan* (The Clan's Club) and *Ritmo y juventud* (Rhythm and Youth), broadcast in the Greater Buenos Aires area. *El club del clan*, in fact, became so popular that it was soon emulated in other Latin American countries such as Colombia.

In Mexico in the 1960s, the equivalent of these TV shows were programs like *Yeah Yeah* and *Discotheque a gogó*. Programs of this kind celebrated and sponsored the *nueva ola* (New Wave), a cultural phenomenon that brought Latin America's middle classes in contact with the repertoire, clothing and cultural attitudes of US and British countercultures, incorporating many of the previously listed stars as well as Spanish imports such as Rocío Durcal and Marisol. Hippies started appearing in the better neighborhoods of many Latin American capitals. Generally speaking, their presence was interpreted as a sign of penetration by US culture, but it also strongly asserted the class context of rock music during its initial years in the region. Because Latin America had only a small middle-class population, to embrace rock culture's typical attire, hairstyle and overall demeanor was viewed as eccentricity, in open contrast with the conservative mores and attitudes of conventional Latin American society.

While the *nueva ola* moniker in most of Spanish-speaking Latin America described different facets of life associated with music, in Mexico it also referred to a literary movement known as *La Onda*. Some of the authors involved in the movement were José Agustín and Parménides García Saldaña. Sharing a bit of a beatnik flavor, this literary movement added an adventuresome, experimental character to the Mexican version of the *nueva ola*. Its sound materialized from the influence of the early phase of the Beatles, rich in romantic ballads and songs that advocated a relaxed, laid-back lifestyle, presumably influenced by the consumption of narcotics.

Nueva ola soon became a Latin American constant that lent itself to commodification, having been disseminated by new media such as television and alternative magazines as well as the music tradition of bars and small commercial establishments, such as Mexico's *cafés cantantes*. In Mexico, magazines like *POP* celebrated singers such as Angélica María and Julissa, and bands such as Los Yaki, Los Belmonts and the Rockin' Devils. In the Argentine case, though, the emergence of a rock in Spanish tradition oriented the musical scene toward a different dynamic from the Mexican context, where Spanish-language remakes of English-language hits – the so-called *refritos* – were rampant. Just as the United States had experienced a British invasion, in the case of Argentina it is possible to speak of an Uruguayan invasion, with bands such as The Shakers and The Mockers arriving from Montevideo and imitating the flair and style of British bands such as the Beatles or the Rolling Stones. In addition to the customary covers, Argentine singers such as Mauricio Birabent (also known as Moris) and José Alberto Iglesias (also known as Tanguito) sang original material in Spanish and contributed to the rise of bands such as Los Gatos Salvajes (ex-Wild Cats) and Los Beatniks, some of which arrived in Buenos Aires from smaller cities in the interior of the country, adding to the effervescence of the musical scene. By 1968 two main bands, Manal (with Javier Martínez) and Almendra (with Luis Alberto Spinetta), were considered staples of the rock in Spanish music scene. While the local music scene evolved at a grass roots level, the Argentine music industry emulated the work of the Mexicans, developing Argentine equivalents for acts like Creedence Clearwater Revival (Trío Galleta) or Sonny & Cher (Fedra y Maximiliano). In addition, by the dawn of the new decade (1970), magazines like *Pinap* and *Pelo* catered to the tastes of early followers of this type of music.

The development of local rock scenes was largely analogous throughout the subcontinent, depending on the extent of national well-being and the consolidation of a music market for the local middle classes. However, only large markets such as Mexico or Argentina experienced substantial friction between social classes around the adoption of rock music, especially in terms of musical production; the working classes of most other Latin American nations of the period lacked the means and the resources to play an active role in the production and consumption of a newly born genre. To a large extent, the cultural industry replicated exclusive notions of nation and society, thus condoning differences in terms of taste and habits of consumption.

In general, wherever markets allowed for experimentation and successful commercialization, the dynamics of the initial phase of rock in Latin America were relatively comparable, shifting between Spanish covers and songs in English. For example, Colombian cities such as Bogotá and Medellín, where national government bureaucracy and an entrepreneurial ruling class resulted in sizeable middle classes, witnessed the emergence of bands such as Los Speakers, Los Flippers, Los Danger Twist and Los Yetis, with the usual assortment of Spanish covers. As in other latitudes, the local music industry developed equivalents for US ensembles, such as Ana y Jaime, Norman y Darío and José y Darío (in both of the latter cases, mimicking Simon and Garfunkel). As in the Argentine case, where Sandro, the ex-vocalist of Los del Fuego, was promoted as a sexy, hunky singer, in the manner of Tom Jones, Colombia's music industry promoted figures such as Oscar Golden. In Venezuela, bands such as Los Dangers and Los Impalas generated widespread interest; in Peru, Los Saicos proposed a different sound, more in line with alternative US and British bands. In Chile, groups such as Los Rockets and Los Ramblers became household names.

Brazil, with its separate linguistic tradition, emulated certain facets of the Spanish-language markets, but its rock movement operated with a different set of rules (in particular, with respect to race and influence from abroad). Brazil's rock in Portuguese movement is as old as its Mexican, Argentine and Cuban counterparts, with the following customary phase of covers. In the Brazilian context, the *Jovem Guarda* movement of the 1960s and early 1970s was the early equivalent to the Spanish-language *nueva ola*, with figures like Roberto Carlos, Erasmo Carlos and Wanderlea. To the cry of 'iê-iê-iê,' a Brazilian equivalent for the Beatlesque affirmative (yeah, yeah, yeah), they created softer, lighter arrangements with lyrics aimed at young crowds.

In general, rock in Latin America drifted toward a 'whitened' version of the music, favoring the image some Latin American audiences may have projected upon the British invasions, and catering to the racialized preferences of middle and upper-class sectors. In particular, chordal instruments, harmonies and arrangements identified with Western heritage were emphasized over percussive arrangements identified with African descent (this was particularly evident in progressive Argentine rock throughout the 1970s). Ironically, the British invasion artists covered rock and R&B songs by black US artists, but this was unknown by most Latin American audiences and elites. Further, most Latin American nations lacked a significant number of rock performers of African descent, so, during its initial phase, rock was not associated with an African-American experience. In Mexico, a significant exception was Johnny Laboriel, lead singer of Los Rebeldes del Rock until 1964, and his sister Ella, but their impact on Mexican rock was limited. The Laboriels mainly, but not exclusively, played music by African Americans. Thus, while it was not a foregone conclusion that their music would reflect their African-descended heritage, Laboriel's best-known hit is his cover of US African-American R&B group The Coasters' hit 'Poison Ivy,' titled 'Hiedra venenosa' in Spanish.

Brazil's rock scene was different in that it was more strongly influenced by what was perceived as 'black' music from the United States – that is to say, music by African Americans alluding to societal and cultural dissimilarity – with the exception of the aforementioned 'iê-iê-iê,' movement. Unlike rock scenes in other parts of Latin America, Brazilians more readily embraced performers of African descent whose lyrics alluded to racial disparity, such as Tim Maia and Ed Motta. The self-conscious uses of influences from music by US African Americans (such as Motown, US soul and funk) on *Tropicália* and Brazilian soul, evident in well-known hits such as Os Mutantes' 'Ando Meio Desiglado,' as well as the adoption of rhythms from Bahia and the popularity of *bossa*, made Brazil's rock scene distinct from its counterparts in most other Latin American nations. Due to Brazil's sizeable population of African descent (a result of its role as the largest importer of enslaved Africans in the Americas and the last Latin American country to end slavery), a greater attention from the cultural industry to the integration of African diasporic ethnomusical heritage and societal experience was to be expected. Even though many blacks toiled in poverty, they also represented a sizeable market for the local record industry, and the rise in popularity of many genres influenced by the diasporic experience coincided with a heightened sense of racial consciousness.

Tropicália, Brazil's great cultural movement of the 1960s, influenced the music scene deeply and in due course engendered engendered MPB (*Música Popular Brasileira)*, a main staple of the national cultural market. Though more pop-oriented, MPB would come to represent the hope for an independent market of national character with a voluminous record production. One of the main tenets of the *Tropicália* movement was *antropofagia*, that is, the cannibalization of all sorts of musical and cultural traditions for integration into the Brazilian landscape. Initially, however, *Tropicalismo* (an alternate name for the movement) experimented with the fusion of pop, rock and avant-garde music. Key figures such as Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil, who played a vital role in the movement's incorporation of rhythms from Bahia, a major center of Afro-Brazilian music in the North-east, were persecuted and arrested by the military regime, ultimately fleeing to exile in the United Kingdom. Os Mutantes (with lead singer Rita Lee), the psychedelic rock band from São Paulo, took part in the movement; in the 1990s they were to become a major influence for musicians like David Byrne, Kurt Cobain and Beck.

Thus, along with Cuba (where Los Zafiros emulated the US doo-wop group The Platters), Brazil is the other Latin American location where rock musicians determinedly contemplated the assimilation of US black musical traditions such as doo-wop and soul, adding a complementary level of texture to their repertoire. In most other Latin American nations, since rock entailed light-skinned acts performing 'lighter' musical arrangements of songs that originated in the black US community, influenced by the musical style of the British invasions, rock did not contribute significantly to the problematization of racial differences in society. The case of Brazilian soul, with renowned figures like Tim Maia, who combined US soul with Brazilian rhythms such as *baião* and *samba*, provides a contrast. Having lived for four years in the United States, where, in the end, he was jailed and deported for drug possession, Maia brought to his music a different view of race, conscious of disenfranchisement and alienation. In fact, an important consideration in the growing popularity of Brazilian soul is the fact that several of its main exponents (including Maia and his nephew, Ed Motta) lived in the United States for a while and then returned home with an enhanced sense of the possibilities US soul music held for the black community in Brazil. Influenced by James Brown, Otis Redding and Aretha Franklin, a number of Brazilian artists from the 1970s, including Paulo Diniz, Gerson King Combo, Robson Jorge and Miguel de Deus, emphasized the African diasporic aspects of their music. In due course, Brazilian soul would feed the dance scene in Rio's *favelas* and engender affirmative movements such as Black Rio, focused on the celebration of African heritage.

The rise of *nueva canción* in the Southern Cone is another key element related to the popularization of rock during the 1960s and 1970s. Chile's case, with singer Víctor Jara and groups such as Los Jaivas, is particularly relevant. While this kind of politically motivated folk music received different names in various parts of Latin America (*canción protesta*, or *nueva trova* in the Cuban case), this movement was crucial, along with the *nueva ola*, for the swift expansion of rock music beyond the *refrito* tradition. Many aspects of *nueva canción* music are reminiscent of the work of US icons such as Joan Baez or Bob Dylan, inviting the audience to adopt politically committed postures and greater social awareness. Emphasizing local contexts and incorporating Amerindian elements in many recordings (e.g., the *charango*, a small stringed instrument, was a staple of Chilean *nueva canción*), this type of music brought about the rise of a staunchly defiant kind of folk-rock in Spanish throughout the subcontinent. Jara's death during the 1973 *coup d'état* in Chile also contributed significantly to heightening the profile of Latin American folk rock, which matured until the late 1970s, eventually standing on its own as a genre.

The 1970s: Concerts, Repression and Punk

The 1970s were marked by an expansion of rock into the mass public sphere, its demonization and repression by authoritarian regimes, and, toward the end of the decade, the influence of punk and ska. In some countries, rock began to be viewed as a tool of cultural and/or political resistance. In Mexico, among other places, this juncture led to an underground rock scene. In other places, such as Argentina, it heightened rock's visibility. Coming from abroad, punk and ska played key roles in conquering this new, more discernible profile. Latin American social and political elites had become accustomed to the peace-loving hippies of the 1960s, but they were baffled by the more assertive nature of these newcomers. In both the underground and the highly visible contexts, rock expanded its audience and engaged a political discourse, leading to its eventual climax in the following decade.

Concerts were a key venue for the popularization of rock music in the 1970s. In Argentina, the popularization of working-class *mersa* bands is closely tied to this situation. Across the Americas, many local versions of the Woodstock festival were held: in Argentina, it was Buenos Aires Rock (1971); in Mexico, Avándaro (1971); in the case of Colombia, Ancón (1971). While Latin American rock concerts reproduced expressions of the US and Great Britain's rock cultures, amid Latin America's socially conservative environment they were portrayed as volatile events with an enormous potential for social instability, closely tied in the eyes of the Establishment to drug consumption and excessive sexual liberties. The case of naked women at Avándaro, for example, attained mythological proportions within Mexican society.

The backlash was soon palpable. In the Mexican case, the air of political repression, fed by the events at Tlatlelolco prior to the 1968 Olympics during which an undetermined number of students were massacred at the Plaza de las Tres Culturas, contributed heavily to the displacement and shift to the underground of the local counterculture, *La Onda*. Shortly afterward, an underground rock and blues tradition was already established in Mexico, thanks to the appearance of huge urban spaces – warehouses, mostly, where great masses could gather – known as the *hoyos fonquis*, with Javier Batiz as a principal figure. Also, contesting the political establishment's almost absolute control of language and providing a backlash against the *refrito* tradition, many bands embraced an English-language repertoire; their return to Spanish was to take place in the early 1980s. Having held on to power since the revolution, Mexico's Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) enjoyed such a monopoly of political discourse and culture that it left virtually no spaces available for peripheral, dissenting views; as a consequence, rock had to forge a space of its own. Eventually, rock concerts became the primary excuse for political persecution by local and state governments, forcing rock production to go dormant through a major portion of the 1970s.

The 1970s was a particularly problematic time for rock in Latin America, due to the market position of ballads. By the late 1960s music multinationals had discovered that pop ballads sold equally well on both sides of the Atlantic, maximizing returns; their generic pop appeal cut across boundaries of nationality and required minimal cost. Given the omnipresence of ballads on the radio, music labels were unwilling to invest heavily in production costs for music that would not gain substantial airplay. Lack of support for rock recordings was compounded by the suddenly absent live music scene, a consequence of relentless political demonization and cultural repression, and rock in Spanish lost visibility during the initial part of the decade. Nevertheless, a few new stars managed to emerge and establish a solid reputation within this lackluster environment: chiefly, Argentine rockers such as Carlos Alberto García Moreno, also known as Charly García (with groups such as Sui Géneris and La Máquina de Hacer Pájaros), and poetic virtuoso Luis Alberto Spinetta, a former member of Manal (later leader of Pescado Rabioso, Invisible and other groups).

By the middle of the decade, disco and salsa arrived (by 1977 both were part of the mainstream), competing for space and presence on the radio and in live music venues. Within this context, even musical movements such as Brazilian funk, which evolved organically from community life rather than from commercial or cultural imposition, saw some of their production affected. While Brazilian funk originally emerged from the dance scene in Rio's *favelas* in the 1980s, accentuating a coarse emotional response, the heavy agitation of funk was attenuated to mimic a sound closer to the disco beat, with lighter themes in lyrics and a greater incorporation of synthesizers. Brazilian funk had originally been influenced by US funk and rap, styles embraced by many early followers of Brazilian funk. For a while, disco's thematic context, which did not invite deep inquiry of harsh social differences, attenuated the music's critical verve. While funk parties in suburban Rio were already extremely popular, the music would have to surmount this phase of being light and festive in nature, closely associated with the disco scene, to attain its eventual, distinctly Brazilian character, with lyrics contemplating a particularly idiosyncratic context (life in the *favelas*, extreme class disparity, rampant drug trafficking and police brutality).

Nevertheless, while dance music had a negative impact on the continued existence of rock and related subgenres throughout the hemisphere, rock was revitalized by a set of working-class newcomers who channeled the rage and frustration of displaced sectors of society in the Thatcher era. Punk and ska arrived from the United Kingdom and posited themselves as contrasting forces to the lighthearted interests of disco and salsa, which emanated from New York. In countries such as Peru, this working-class appeal functioned effectively, and bands like Leusemia, Narcosis and Zcuela Crrada joined a first wave of emulators. Most importantly, Argentina saw the arrival of a seminal figure from Europe: Luca Prodan, the leader and founder of Sumo (1981), a band that, mixing punk and ska, arguably embodied the most insightful incarnation of an iconoclastic musical project in the Spanish-speaking Americas. Though Prodan died in 1987, his presence, full of angst and non-conformity, signaled a turning point in the history of Latin American rock.

Repression, to a certain extent, also acted as a catalyst for the revival and/or perpetuation of rock in the 1970s. With the onset of Latin American military governments, it was easy to conceive of rock as an act of cultural resistance. From long hair to a penchant for outspokenness and a taste for what were perceived as strident musical arrangements, many features of rock were viewed reprehensively by the military; hence, bands were targeted by many Latin American military regimes. A key case in point is the Guatemalan band Alux Nahual, founded in 1979, in a region with a limited rock tradition. Composed of well-versed musicians, it engaged in progressive rock and developed lyrics that alluded in a sustained but elegant fashion to the conflicts affecting the region. Alux Nahual also incorporated elements pertaining to Central America's native heritage, gaining a considerable following and popularity throughout the entire region. The band remained relevant until the late 1990s, when many of the political processes in the region had concluded with peaceful resolutions. Ultimately, following a trend set by many Anglo bands as well as Argentina's Serú Girán or Soda Stereo, its members reunited in 2006 to raise funds for victims of a hurricane. In this sense, the band always managed to portray itself as an ally of the people, thus justifying its great level of support.

Amid the societal turbulence resulting from military oppression, a particular circumstance proved highly influential: during the Malvinas/Falkland conflict that began in 1982, in an isolationist move, Argentine authorities outlawed the airplay of music in English, instigating a revival of *rock nacional*. In a hurried effort to comply with the tyrannical ruling, many radio stations dusted off old copies of national recordings of rock in Spanish and generated a channel for the massive popularization of this music, adding viability to new commercial rock productions. In short, a political crossroads led to economic feasibility for rock music. The main achievement of this juncture was its demonstration of the fact that an important economic segment of Argentine society, its middle class, was willing to invest in nationally produced rock music in Spanish and to support its integration into the media mainstream. This circumstance, closely watched by the music industry, brought about a dramatic change in the attitude toward rock of recording studios in Argentina, which now recognized an economic opportunity in a previously ignored sector of the culture.

The 1980s and 1990s: Democracy, the Mainstream and Commercialism

The 1980s marked the beginning of the end of rock's status as an ostracized cultural practice. With the return to democracy in many countries, within a decade the music was embraced and celebrated across the hemisphere. The music industry responded accordingly, supporting a wide variety of styles and preferences. Once the investment was justified, it made sense to reach out to the US Latino market, long neglected as an audience for rock. In addition, thematically speaking, the music addressed the growing economic disparity in Latin America, resulting from the improvised, rushed implementation of misguided policies, increasingly interpreted as a branch of US-led asymmetrical globalization. Neoliberalism, no less – the market-driven approach to government policies popularized during these years – became a topic for lyrics. These were, clearly, more selfish times; during the 1980s, many bands included references to the greater individualism and lack of collective spirit resulting from the implementation of new neoliberal policies (e.g., Charly García's hit 'No voy en tren' [I'm not Going by Train]).

In 1983, after the return to democracy in several Southern Cone countries, the dynamic that emphasized rock's market potential intensified. At the same time, though in a lesser light, the death of General Franco of Spain (1975) brought about a rebirth of Spanish culture, which had been restricted under Franco, with a sizeable rock component. In both cases, music labels in search of new markets promoted tours and the active circulation and distribution of the new cultural production of rock music. Even Chile, while struggling with Pinochet's oppressive regime and censorship, produced a groundbreaking band, Los Prisioneros, with a style that, though purposely musically rudimentary, addressed key uncertainties of the moment. In Mexico, a central event during this period was the increased popularity of the El Chopo street market, which resulted, for the first time in years, in a meeting of musicians and their fans, fostering a collective consciousness and excitement about the latent emerging rock scene.

Similarly, while the 1970s had witnessed the arrival of figures such as Raul Seixas in Brazil, in 1981 the Brazilian rock scene exploded with the *Nova Jovem Guarda*, a movement that incorporated the guiding principles of punk and ska, including groups such as Barão Vermelho, Legião Urbana and Paralamas do Sucesso. In heavy metal, the extensive underground scene included bands such as Ratos do Porão (from São Paulo) and Sepultura (from Belo Horizonte). Many of these bands were strongly influenced by the political climate of the times, with the impending arrival of democracy.

By the mid- to late 1980s, bands including Soda Stereo (Argentina), Enanitos Verdes (Argentina) and Hombres G (Spain) had toured much of the hemisphere with fervor, popularizing the genre at an accelerated pace. Hombres G (and other Spanish bands) played a role akin to that of British bands in the 1960s, lending a sanctioning hand to a movement previously frowned upon by the political establishment. In Mexico, attentive to these arrivals, record companies realized the existence of a demand and went to work immediately, producing local equivalents including Caifanes and Botellita de Jerez. In most Latin American capitals, manifestations of rock in Spanish began to appear: in Venezuela, there was Sentimiento Muerto; in Colombia, Compañía Ilimitada, Pasaporte and Hora Local; in Peru, Río and Miki Gonzalez. The newly evident demand even bestowed legitimacy upon working-class bands that had toiled in the background for a number of years; suddenly groups such as Mexico's El Tri (formerly Three Souls in My Mind, led by Alex Lora) were viewed differently by the middle class and gained commercial success.

At this point in the 1980s rock in Latin America began to follow commercial directives. This development was reflected by the emergence of new names. *Rock en español* and *rock en tu idioma* were labels or monikers created and sponsored by the commercial establishment to popularize rock music in a quick, effective manner. Eventually, each label was to incorporate a variety of popular genres and styles, as well as popular urban music trends. This rock music production was to embody a multiplicity of social meanings that might address changing times in Latin America as the financial crisis of the 1980s gave way to the opening of many economies in the 1990s. The label *rock nacional* also gained widespread popularity. While it was embraced quickly in countries such as Mexico and

Colombia, in truth, Argentina was the only country where the label emerged to identify the organic development of a musical tradition linked to nationalism. In Argentina, the label was a literal consequence of the sense of identification between the music and the rampant nationalism stimulated by events including the 1978 FIFA World Cup and the Malvinas/Falklands conflict. The Argentine military government used the World Cup to promote nationalism, much in the spirit of Hitler's 1936 Berlin Olympics according to some analysts. In the case of the Malvinas, the futility of the conflict underlined the overt interests of the military dictatorship.

In their eagerness to tap the newly discovered market, music labels supported a wide assortment of trends. Among the most significant was the development of a sound rooted in the rebelliousness and backbeat of punk or ska but fused with Latin music, from *huapangos* to *cumbia*. Following Mexican rock band Caifanes's wild 1988 success with 'La Negra Tomasa,' a hit that combined a lilting *cumbia* beat with British New Wave aesthetics, à la The Cure, the market became receptive to the continued integration of syncopated rhythms. Thus, in musical terms, the 1990s marked a very experimental period in Latin American rock production, when fusion became the norm and conventionally arranged production, more evocative of an Anglo flair, maintained a decidedly lower profile. The integration of popular local genres in the repertoire of many emerging bands contributed to a quick embrace of rock by the young masses that longed for a modern, contemporary version of their autochthonous music, reflective of their urban experience while remaining connected to the not-so-distant rural past.

Thus, fusion contributed significantly to the mainstreaming of Latin American rock, and the rise in the late 1980s and early 1990s of groups including Maldita Vecindad and Café Tacuba in Mexico, Aterciopelados in Colombia, Los Fabulosos Cadillacs and Divididos (ex-Sumo) in Argentina and Los Amigos Invisibles in Venezuela. Along the way, thanks to the eclectic mix of genres and styles, national musical boundaries blurred, adding to the cohesiveness of a Latin American alternative sound. A quintessential recording from this period is Tacuba's *Avalancha de éxitos* (Avalanche of Successes) (1998), in which Mexico's fab four cover a variety of songs, flirting with Cuban *bolero*, Mexican *huapango*, Brazilian *bossa nova*, international pop and Dominican *merengue*. The band's ingenious dexterity epitomizes the spirit of this period, during which musical experimentation became the all-encompassing standard.

Ultimately, record labels hit the jackpot with groups that were enormously successful in popular appeal, such as Maná, a band from Guadalajara, Mexico that blended impressive riffs, romantic lyrics and Latin musical ingredients. In addition, hip-hop and rap began surfacing throughout the subcontinent, both in places where African descent played a minor role, as in the case of Argentina, with Bersuit Vergarabat and Illya Kuryaki and The Valderramas, and Mexico, with Molotov and Control Machete, and in places where rap was viewed as a justifiable product of racial demographics, such as Cuba, with Orishas, and Brazil, with Chico Science and AfroReggae. In these latter cases, rap reincorporated the local music industry into the international music scene.

The rise of rock in Spanish in Latin America also resulted in a greater influence on the US market, since Latinos/as, a burgeoning, young US population with disposable cash and a healthy appetite for music, represented a lucrative market for this product. As fans for acts such as Ricky Martin, Latinos/as appeared to integrate themselves into the US mainstream through a mounting presence in the media. Groups that related more to the Latino/a masses, such as the Puerto Rican Puya with its mix of salsa and rap metal, California's Los Lobos with its Mexican-American heritage, or even Mexican-born electric guitar virtuoso Santana, benefited from a growing awareness on the part of the major music labels of exciting developments in the Latin music market. In contrast, mainstream US production in English reported dismal figures in the 1990s, primarily as a result of the increasing impact of new technologies that enabled the burgeoning piracy market.

Perhaps the greatest irony was that a solid rock tradition was established at the working-class level with little gain for the recording industry. In the late twentieth century, piracy skyrocketed in Latin America, accounting in some countries for close to 90 percent of music purchases. In addition, neoliberal policies brought improved technologies and increased access to independent channels of distribution via the internet, which impacted heavily upon urban working-class bands. For example, as new working-class bands emerged and gained popularity in Argentina, resulting in the rise of so-called *rock chabón* (rock of the slums or projects), with groups such as Los Ratones Paranoicos, Los Piojos, La Renga and Patricio Rey y sus Redonditos de Ricota, their followers also discovered inventive ways to share and consume the music. As time progressed, this phenomenon became more extensive and better organized.

The Twenty-first Century: Coming of Age

With the rise of new technology, the early 2000s were a time of increased trade and opening markets. With the ability to record and master music at a fraction of the previous cost, thanks to greater access to more affordable equipment, Latin American bands gained confidence and created music with a larger audience in mind. Via the internet, Mexican bands catered to Colombian audiences and vice versa, while Argentine rappers shared the stage with Cubans. In short, national boundaries began to diminish when it came to rock music. In the hope of developing a wider-reaching, more effective formula, music labels encouraged international exchange, promoting collaborations between South, North and Central Americans (and, in some cases, even Spaniards). Pop stars were designed, from their very inception, with broader markets in mind. Along the way, rock lost some of its edge.

Toward the beginning of the twenty-first century, particularly for bands from countries other than Mexico or Argentina, where the major labels were able to rely on a steady demand for musical novelties, there was a massive migration to independent labels, in some cases even linked to the Creative Commons Project (a non-profit organization dedicated to expanding the range of creative works available for sharing and sampling), inviting greater flexibility in the management of copyrights. Even in Mexico City, a stronghold of the multinational recording industry, independent labels including Noiselab and Nuevos Ricos backed bands such as Chikita Violenta and María Daniela y su Sonido Lasser, respectively.

The growing popularity of electronic and lounge music, genres that build effectively on sampling techniques, was a determining factor for this development. The rise of the internet in the region influenced the perspective of many bands that learned that it was perfectly feasible to compose, record and market their music without having to grant excessive concessions to the major multinational labels. Bands such as Sidestepper, from Colombia, and the Instituto Mexicano del Sonido promoted commercial independence and are also good examples of the new influence of lounge or chill-out music.

The 2000s also witnessed the rise of a new kind of Latin American rock superstar, evidenced in global figures like Colombians Shakira and Juanes, who tour heavily and whose recordings sell well across international borders. Bands along the US/Mexico border, such as Ozomatli and El Gran Silencio, also continued to experiment and produce multigenre recordings, seeking to appeal to both the Latin American and US market. In general, while some of the bands of the 1980s and 1990s have established themselves as veterans and gathered a continental following, perhaps a better measure of the overall level of acceptance of the music is the founding of a tradition of rock festivals including Vive Latino (2000–07 in Mexico City), Rock al Parque (1995–2007 in Bogotá), Cosquin Rock (2001–07 in Cosquín, Argentina) and Quilmes Rock (2002–04 and 2007 in Buenos Aires). In this respect, rock in Latin America in the early twenty-first century was fashionably acceptable and did not have to fight for a space in the public sphere or mass media. At the same time, detractors argued that the rock movement as a practice of cultural resistance had been largely co-opted.

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***See also*: Rock (Volume XII, International)**

Rock Nacional

In the late twentieth century, *rock nacional* became one of Argentina's most important youth music movements, the influence and impact of which extended deeply into the Argentine musical scene, and indeed beyond. In doing so it did not neglect the country's musical past but built upon it, by synthesizing and replacing in popularity the three great musical movements that preceded it: the *tango* of the 1900s–40s, the traditional folklore of the 1930s–50s and the urban staged folklore movement of the 1950s–70s.

Rock nacional, therefore, is essentially fusion music, with sounds, lyrics and performances constantly mixing elements from diverse musical traditions, both national and international. At different times in its history, *rock nacional* has blended itself with *tango*, traditional folklore, urban staged folklore, rock 'n' roll, hard rock, blues, pop, symphonic rock, punk, jazz, jazz-rock, US country, US folk, heavy metal, *bossa nova*, *samba*, reggae, ska, *bolero*, twist, *murga* (Argentina's carnival music), salsa, *candombe*, etc. *Rock nacional* is not characterized by a particular kind of melody or rhythm, because throughout its history many different styles were employed. Its trademark is a particular use of language. The bands that belong to *rock nacional* sing in Spanish and account for Argentine reality. Because of the different rhythms that *rock nacional* encompasses, its relationship with dance is extremely diverse, ranging from total exclusion to sub-variants with dance at their core.

Due to this eclecticism, different variants of *rock nacional* appeal to different social sectors within the youth population of the country. While the bulk of its constituency comes from the middle classes, some styles have appealed to the working and upper-middle classes as well. Similarly, while young people are the most fervent fans of the genre, many adults in their 30s, 40s and 50s still consider the *rock nacional* of their adolescence to be 'their' music.

History

The *rock nacional* movement appeared in the 1960s, the same decade that witnessed the Woodstock festival, the Beatles, the French student movement of 1968 and Latin American guerrilla movements including Argentina's Fuerzas Armadas Peronistas, Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo, Montoneros and so on. Worldwide, music was only the most visible aspect of a life attitude characterized by a deep questioning of society. In the United States, the origin of the counterculture movement's slogans (freedom, peace, love, respect for nature, etc.) was closely linked to a very important societal debate around civil rights, the Vietnam War and the capitalist model in general. In Argentina, the essential concerns were similar. The so-called 'Argentine Revolution' (1966 to 1973) of the military government promoted a model of society that young people considered rigid and repressive, characterized by a suffocating morality and plenty of oppressive censorship.

This period (late 1960s to early 1970s) is seminal in the construction of the 'origin myth' of the movement. An integral part of the imaginary that developed in this early period is the idea that *rock nacional* was a 'public' cultural manifestation, not a private cultural consumption. At the same time, a difference between cultural consumption and cultural manifestation, between 'consuming' music and 'using' music, was expressed through the agency of *rock nacional* fans when they 'used' the music artists produced for them. *Rock nacional* in the late 1960s was for listening, not dancing. Its goal was to open minds, not to liberate bodies.

In 1967 Los Gatos recorded the single 'La balsa/Ayer nomás' (The Raft/Just Yesterday), and in a few months it sold more than 250,000 records. *Rock nacional* became public, a part of mass culture for the first time. Despite the fact that Los Gatos is considered the first *rock nacional* group, there was not much distinction between the kind of music the group played and other bands of the period. What, then, made Los Gatos the pioneers of *rock nacional*? The difference is clearly a particular attitude that positioned them at the forefront of an alternative, anticommercial, musical movement. This attitude was linked to the bohemian life that many of the founders of the movement advocated: 'drifting' on Buenos Aires's streets playing their guitars, riding buses while singing (uninvited) their new songs, spending entire nights in the mythical bar 'La Perla' composing new lyrics, and so on. Beyond Los Gatos (with bandleader Litto Nebbia), other important pioneers were Tanguito, Moris, Pajarito Zaguri, Javier Martinez, Luis Alberto Spinetta, Vox Dei and Gustavo Santaolalla.

For large sectors of youth in the early 1970s, politics became a privileged form of social participation. The enemy was readily apparent: imperialism and the bourgeoisie. Revolution seemed possible, and militancy was viewed by young people as a worthwhile way of life, one that demanded the renunciation of indifference, consumerism and the superficiality of the Establishment in the eyes of middle-class youth. To these young people socialized as militants, who actively participated in legal and illegal political parties and in guerrilla movements, the tenets of *rock nacional* appeared very individualistic, with no social content and extremely diluted values. Hippism (as the militants labeled *rock nacional*'s ideology), with its emphasis on peace, love and drug experimentation, was not considered a revolutionary ideology by the more politically engaged youth. In their disdainful view, the rockers had been co-opted by the establishment. *Rock nacional* was influenced by this kind of criticism, and some of its most important representatives (Sui Generis, Alma y Vida, Pedro y Pablo, Roque Narvaja, etc.) started to write lyrics that were much more politically motivated.

During this period in the early 1970s, the *rock nacional* movement was characterized by continuous formations and disbanding of performance groups (Aquelarre, Huinca, Color Humano, Pescado Rabioso, Soluna, etc.) and by violence at concerts. The gradual politicization of Argentine society was mirrored by the increasing popularity of rock combos whose lyrics and attitudes most clearly questioned the system (Pedro y Pablo, Sui Géneris, Alma y Vida, and later Leon Gieco and Roque Narvaja). For example, Pedro y Pablo's 'Marcha de la bronca' (March of Anger) was an anthem against the state and its attempt to regulate, via repression, the life world of young people, and Alma y Vida dedicated a song to Che Guevara. Concerts at universities, political festivals and shantytowns were very common during this epoch.

After the military coup of 1976 fear became a pervasive feature of Argentine society. Out of fear and devoid of traditional points of reference, civil society turned inward. In a far-reaching attempt to redefine traditional political and social identities, the military regime proceeded to disperse all organized groups. The culture of fear made the youth movement its privileged target. Legitimizing itself through the image of the 'suspect youth,' the government directed its repression specifically at this age group (67 percent of the 30,000 people who 'disappeared' under the military coup were young people between the ages of 18 and 30).

While the student movement and the political youth movements slowly disappeared as frameworks of reference and support for collective identities, the *rock nacional* movement established itself as the sphere within which a 'we' could be constructed. Of course, many of the former participants in those student and political movements were now active participants in the rock concerts. Thus, going to concerts, listening to records and singing *rock nacional* songs with groups of friends became privileged activities through which broad sectors of youth sought to preserve their identity in a context in which they felt threatened by the military. The period 1976–77 was marked by a tremendous boom in *rock nacional* concerts. It was common in this period for Luna Park (the largest covered stadium in Buenos Aires, with a capacity of 15,000) to be filled once or even twice a month, along with innumerable theaters and café concerts. In ritual-like concerts, the movement celebrated itself and confirmed the presence of the collective actor whose identity had been questioned by the military regime.

At first, the military was unaware of *rock nacional*'s potential to serve as a sphere of social identity construction. Obsessed with the annihilation of the guerrilla movement, the government considered the *rock nacional* movement a 'minor evil.' Nevertheless, as soon as the bulk of the repression against the 'major enemies' had been launched, the military started its repression of *rock nacional*. The offensive reached such an extent that, toward the end of 1977, faced with the impossibility of producing concerts, most of the groups (La Máquina de Hacer Pájaros, Crucis, Soluna, Alas, etc.) broke up and leading musicians (Litto Nebbia, Leon Gieco, Moris, Gustavo Santaolalla, Javier Martinez, Gustavo Moretto, Pappo, etc.) were forced to move abroad in order to continue working.

Another factor that contributed to the inability of the *rock nacional* movement to resist this onslaught was the military government's political project to redefine Argentine collective identities. In a well-orchestrated endeavor backed by fierce repression, the military government discouraged any collective action (political parties, trade unions, student associations, etc.) and promoted, instead, a neoliberal conception of the citizen as an individual actor playing a role in the economic market. Opening the country to imported consumer products that were historically banned in Argentina (cars, television sets, stereos and the like), the military regime promoted rampant consumerism. At the same time, the organization and eventual winning of the soccer World Cup in 1978 gave the military a very important symbolic victory. As a result, the movement's members, like the great majority of previous targets of the military machine, relocated their activities to the private sphere, where listening to music and reading underground magazines at home with friends and family replaced the public experience of rock concerts. The private sphere replaced even the reduced public one that prevailed during 1976–77.

However, in private settings, singing the songs that interpellated them as young people was the first step to recuperating an identity that the military tried to destroy, symbolically and physically. The social space occupied by young people under the dictatorship was an absence, a negation, a no-place. The denial of youth identity was fueled both by the military regime (the idea of *desaparecidos* was the most cruel concept in this process of negation; a double negation, not only of life, but also of death) and by civil society.

Not by chance, *rock nacional*'s final rebirth in the early 1980s came at the hands of the very musicians responsible for the birth of rock in Argentina, those who provided the songs many adolescents used as symbolic weapons against the attempt to annihilate them. The slogan promoted by the most representative exponents of the movement was 'A return to the source in order to emerge from the period of darkness.' One such exponent, the pioneer group Almendra, decided to attempt a new conquest of the public sphere, having already enlisted the private one through the everyday practices of the thousands of adolescents who knew the lyrics of their songs (such as 'Muchacha ojos de papel' [Girl with Paper Eyes] and 'Laura no duerme' [Laura Doesn't Sleep]) by heart. Almendra's concerts were great successes. The band attracted more than 30,000 people to its reunion concerts in 1979 and 1980.

The reunification of Almendra was intertwined with the reconnection of the movement with itself, and thus the entire *rock nacional* movement, not just Almendra, was reborn. Interestingly, even though Almendra launched the rebirth of the movement, it was not the band that benefited most from what happened after 1980; León Gieco and Serú Girán became the new *rock nacional* leaders. Beginning with Almendra's performances in December 1979 (35,000 people), a flood of young people attended *rock nacional* concerts, peaking in December 1980, when Serú Girán (led by Charly García) brought 60,000 people to the elite ranchers' organization La Sociedad Rural's concert venue in the posh Buenos Aires neighborhood of

Palermo. Meanwhile many pioneers, including Manal, Moris and others, staged very successful comebacks. Thus, step by step, the movement moved from a self-congratulatory celebration of survival to an overt expression of dissidence against the military regime.

This was the panorama presented by *rock nacional* on the eve of the Malvinas (Falklands) War, which began in April 1982: concerts of a size never seen before, songs with an increasingly marked oppositional content, and a strongly antimilitary climate in the audience. The period between December 1981 and the Malvinas War saw the return of the military 'hard-liners.' Civil society did not accept, in general, the closure of the political space that had been opened by President Viola one year earlier, and both political parties and unions increased their oppositional activities. In this context, the Malvinas War appeared as an attempt by President Galtieri, by means of a military action that struck a chord deep in the hearts of all Argentines, to resolve domestic political conflicts and reestablish the basis for the legitimation of an authoritarian political project.

Unexpectedly, the Malvinas War inspired the consolidation of the *rock nacional* movement in the Argentine cultural and political scenes. Due to the conflict against Great Britain, the military prohibited any diffusion of music in the English language, forcing radios and television to rely on *rock nacional* music to appeal to youth audiences. Suddenly Seru Giran, Leon Gieco, La Torre, Juan Carlos Bablietto, Raul Porchetto, Alejandro Lerner, Luis Alberto Spinetta and other *rock nacional* bands became widely known. Thus 1982 is marked as the year *rock nacional* finally was accepted by Argentine society as a major political and cultural actor.

When democracy arrived in 1983, the leaders of the *rock nacional* movement were unsure how to proceed. Launched as an oppositional movement, *rock nacional* was forced to adjust to the opening of the new democratic space. Further, the leaders of the rock movement no longer felt the urgent necessity to assemble all of its distinct musical expressions together as part of one collective movement, in reality or imagination. It was no longer imperative to hear *rock nacional* in each of the different musical initiatives.

The first reaction was to use concerts to celebrate the arrival of democracy and justice in a kind of festive mood that sometimes confused frivolity with happiness. Thus, the 'democratic spring' promoted by the Alfonsín administration (1983–85) proposed to celebrate the happiness of living in liberty and an abrupt end to the repression that had characterized the dethroned military regime. In the mid-1980s, for the first time in history, the *rock nacional* movement was able to develop one of the most important features of the international rock movement that also marks youth identity: an emphasis on the body and leisure. Therefore, the first years of democracy witnessed the success of combos linked closely to the pop variants of rock 'n' roll (Los Abuelos de la Nada, Los Twists, Virus, GIT, Soda Stereo). For the first time in *rock nacional*'s history, to dance and laugh were more important than to sing and think.

The period from 1986 to the early 1990s was characterized by disenchantment and fragmentation and the absence of a unified proposal. *Rock nacional* discourse abandoned its founding mythical image of the '*náufrago*' [the shipwerecked person] and moved toward the idea of those of '*del palo*' [the same 'tribe']. The rocker was, at this historical conjuncture, someone who resisted the system, but without proposing her/himself as an alternative for the collective. There was a nascent revalorization of some initial rock proposals like blues (Memphis la blusera) and rock 'n' roll Rolling Stones-style (Los Ratones Paranóicos). But the new developments did not mean the disappearance of the old proposals. Rather, a panorama was set forth in which several very different proposals coexisted and appealed to different youth segments.

Thus in the early 1990s the very complicated and heterogeneous *rock nacional* musical scenario included the traditional rockers still linked to the pop and protest music mainstream (Charly García, Fito Páez, Luis Alberto Spinetta, León Gieco), the heavies (Pappo), the punks (Los Violadores), different variants of the 'modern rock bands' that promoted a more danceable version of *rock nacional* (Soda Stereo, Virus, Los Brujos, Los Babasónicos), blues-oriented bands (Memphis la blusera, La Mississippi Blues Band), various underground proposals (Patricio Rey y sus Redonditos de Ricota), reggae and ska bands (Los Fabulosos Cadillacs, Los Pericos), Spanish rap bands (Illya Kuryaki and The Valderramas, A Tirador Laser), *rock chabón* bands (a movement which could be translated as 'rock of the neighborhood') (Divididos, Las Pelotas, La Renga, etc.) and many others.

The flourishing of the underground as the site of the 'defenders' of the 'real *rock nacional*' also contributed to fragmentation in the early 1990s. The underground musicians claimed to be the only ones who preserved the *rock nacional* ideology combating the establishment, the ones who had resisted 'la transa' (being sold out) that the appearance of big commercial sponsors seemed to have brought to the *rock nacional* scenario. Interestingly, these underground musicians became some of the most commercially successful groups of the period. Such is the case with La Renga and Patricio Rey y sus Redonditos de Ricota.

For many young people of the popular sectors, living in neoliberal Argentina was not so different from living under a military dictatorship. Thus, it is not by chance that, for those young people excluded from the socioeconomic model, *rock nacional* continued to provide the basic interpellations through which they processed their identifications. Therefore, a new form of musical protest started against President Menem (1989–99) and his neoliberal economic model, and *rock nacional* was at the vanguard of this protest in the 1990s with a subgenre derogatorily called '*rock chabón*.'

Rock chabón addressed young people whose social integration was severely hindered by a socioeconomic process that reduced employment and diminished the culturally consecrated figure of the worker, even as it hallowed a consumer culture that frustrated more than it satisfied. *Rock chabón* was the music of the young people who contested this economic model. The stance adopted by *rock chabón* was culturally novel within the history of *rock nacional*, because it did not express the political disenchantment of the middle class. Rather, it gave expression to the more polyvalent voice through which youth from popular sectors related to democracy, to the dismantling of the last vestiges of the welfare state, and to the historical imaginaries generated by the Peronist experience, which fueled the dreams of integration (more or less egalitarian) that characterized the Argentina already dying in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

An interesting change occurred in the 1990s within *rock nacional*. If, in the previous epochs, most of the musicians were middle-class artists who sporadically addressed the working-class issues that many of their followers experienced, with *rock chabón* many lower and working-class people came forward and occupied the stage. Therefore, there were no visible class differences between the members of La Renga, Viejas Locas, Dos Minutos, Attaque 77, Flema, Gardelitos, etc., and the fans that bought tickets to see their shows. Even though *rock chabón* groups performed very different musical variants, there was a perceived unity in the subgenre, achieved through a common theme in *rock chabón*'s lyrics, a particular way of reading social reality, and the more or less homogeneous way in which the public received and categorized its messages. Thus, emblematic songs of *rock chabón*, such as 'Matador' by Los Fabulosos Cadillacs, 'Verano del 92' (Summer of 92) and 'San Jauretche' by Los Piojos, 'Nada que hacer' (Nothing to Do) and 'Demasiado tarde' (Too Late), by Dos Minutos, 'En la esquina' (On the Street Corner) by Hermetica, 'Sabado' (Saturday) by Divididos and 'Vendepatria clon' (Sellout Clone) by La Renga, advance issues of police violence, drug and alcohol consumption, antineoliberal political stances, petty crime and the like, which conform the core of *rock chabon*'s message.

Thematically this variant of rock drastically departed from the genre's history, because it glorified thieves and slums as heroes and revolutionary paradises, and it became nationalist as *rock nacional* never had been before. *Rock chabón* brought to the fore a form of social criticism rooted in the idea of the 'good old times,' and a moral stance situated far from the individualistic values that gave meaning to the sensibilities of the middle classes.

As an important part of this new direction, *rock chabón* audiences played a much more prominent role in the creation of a 'joint' performance with audience participation than was customary with previous *rock nacional*. That role was enacted, among other ways, through audience activities transplanted from soccer games to *rock chabón*'s performances, including the continuous display of banners, singing *cantitos* (brief popular songs) and firing flares during concerts. Initially an autonomous development of the public, the practice of firing flares was rapidly promoted by many musicians themselves, starting a kind of 'contest' between bands over how many flares were fired at their concerts. Eventually this practice tragically marked the end of *rock chabón*, when 194 young people were killed in December 2004 in a fire at the dance hall Cromagnon, while attending a performance of one of the most popular bands of the genre, Callejeros, which was not, by chance, one of the bands that publicly promoted the flare contest.

The Cromagnon tragedy triggered the closing and prohibition of the traditional spaces where *rock chabón* flourished. In order to survive, some of *rock chabon*'s bands decided to participate in massive rock festivals, such as Pepsi Music or Cosquin Rock, modifying, in the process, their trademark performance style. In this regard, they moved from self-production and an independent approach to their live performances to a more market-oriented approach based on commercial (and often multinational) sponsors.

At the same time, the musical map moved again to the 'festive' side of the fence, and after 2005 the most popular bands were those enrolled in this variant of *rock nacional*, such as Miranda and Babasonicos (both linked to the techno-pop musical scene). The most important event of the period, however, was the brief return of Soda Stereo (the paradigmatic pop band of the 1980s and 1990s), which gathered more than 350,000 fans in seven concerts that were held at the River Plate soccer stadium between October and December 2007.

Conclusion

Due to the diversity of subgenres that characterize *rock nacional*, it is clear difficult to typify, and that it meant different things in different periods of its almost fifty-year history. However, some constants seem pervasive in the evolution of the movement. Two of the 'founding fathers' continue to be viewed as indisputable leaders of the movement: Luis Alberto Spinetta and Charly Garcia. Additionally, *rock nacional*'s tendency to embrace fusion music has persisted, the only difference being the type of music blended with rock. At the same time, the oppositional nature of the genre has become a given, and most young people expect *rock nacional* to be meaningful (thus the early twenty-first-century divide between 'music for fun,' or *cumbia*, versus 'music to think,' or *rock nacional*).

While the Argentine music scenario is more divided than ever in the early twenty-first century, and new technologies (iPods, Youtube, Facebook, etc.) allow people to construct their own music repertoires 'outside or beyond genres' (giving the users much more agency in their use of music), the future of *rock nacional* looks as bright as was its past, as the genre that somehow has synthesized Argentine music history and may continue doing so in the immediate future.

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PABLO VILA AND JOSÉ GARRIGA ZUCAL

Rocksteady

Rocksteady (variant, rock steady) music emerged in the Kingston, Jamaica recording studios in the fall of 1966, although the term first referred to a relaxed style of dancing that appeared in Kingston dance halls between 1963 and 1965 (Bradley 2000, 161; Katz 2003, 69). Rocksteady music was a variation of ska, an uptempo Jamaican dance music that synthesized US R&B with Jamaican folk and religious musics in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

Whereas ska music and dance were lively and celebratory, rocksteady arose when musicians slowed the rapid ska tempo to a more relaxed pace to accommodate dancers' requests for less frantic music and to create musical variety. The first recording in the rocksteady style was Hopeton Lewis's 'Take It Easy,' released in October 1966. Musically and lyrically, 'Take It Easy' expressed the desires of the Jamaican lower-class musicians and audiences to slow down and remain calm at a time when tension was in the air due to a rise in unemployment, crime and taxes, and this lyrical theme often surfaced in other rocksteady songs. Rocksteady's musical features comprised a broad range of musical elements from Jamaican music, traditional Anglo-Celtic folksongs and Christian hymns, and US contemporary African-American music. Rocksteady lyrics addressed a wide variety of subject matter, including light-hearted party-oriented topics, romance, social criticism, Rude Boy culture (explained below), philosophical and spiritual themes. Rocksteady's popularity was short-lived, however, and in 1968 a new genre called 'reggae' emerged when rocksteady musicians synthesized rocksteady with several other Jamaican and non-Jamaican musics.

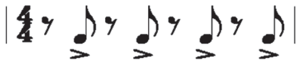
Until the late 1960s both rocksteady and reggae were popular in Jamaica and in the United Kingdom, and the 'rocksteady' and 'reggae' labels were frequently used interchangeably by musicians, producers, disk jockeys, record labels, journalists and even musicologists to refer to the earliest reggae recordings. This imprecise labeling makes rocksteady analysis problematic when studying contemporary accounts or considering the retrospective statements of participants (e.g., interviews with rocksteady pioneers in Katz 2003). Additional problems arise because the features of the rocksteady recordings that immediately preceded the earliest reggae recordings were not markedly distinguishable from each other in term of musical elements (Witmer 1981, 107). The most notable late rocksteady–early reggae recordings released in 1967 and 1968 include 11 songs that are often individually cited by different reggae aficionados as being 'the first reggae record,' but they could just as easily be considered the final recordings of the rocksteady style since their distinguishing reggae traits are sometimes outnumbered by rocksteady ones: 'No More Heartaches' (the Beltones), 'Pop A Top' (Andy Capp [aka Lynford Anderson]), 'Bangarang' (Wilburn 'Stranger' Cole and Lester Sterling), 'Dulcemania' (Drumbago and the Dynamites), 'Feel the Rhythm' (Clancy Eccles), 'Nanny Goat' (Larry [Marshall] and Alvin [Perkins]), 'Do the Reggay' (the Maytals), 'Say What You're Saying' (Eric 'Monty' Morris), 'People Funny Boy' (Lee Perry), 'Long Shot' (the Pioneers) and 'Everybody Needs Love' (Slim Smith).

The factors that account for rocksteady's emergence as a musical style are complex and intertwined, and unfortunately were not documented at the time (Katz 2003, 65–95). Rocksteady has suffered from the least detailed analysis in the literature about Jamaican popular music, possibly due to its relatively brief period of prominence and its lack of a subsequent full-scale revival. Few scholars delve into its characteristics other than its transitional status between ska and reggae. Further, there are no films of rocksteady performances between 1966 and 1968.

Musical Characteristics

Rocksteady's Jamaican traits include rhythmic and melodic elements that appear in Jamaican folk music such as mento (a Jamaican folk music that combines Anglo-Celtic melodies and harmonies with syncopated bass lines and accompaniments that employ strong afterbeat accents; 'afterbeat' is explained below), as well as religious music and ska. Many Jamaican musics share an aesthetic approach that scholars call 'neo-African,' because of their roots in West African religious, music and dance practices that were retained by Jamaican Maroons (slaves who escaped to the forested, mountainous interior of the island between the sixteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries) (Carty 1988, Ryman 1983). Jamaican neo-African elements include a preference for overlapping syncopated polyrhythms, bass riffs that frequently begin and end on afterbeats, circular ostinato harmonic progressions and a preference for individualistic, buzzy vocal and instrumental timbres. Although these neo-African elements also appear in US African-American religious and popular musics, the degree of African elements in Jamaican music is often more pronounced than in their US counterparts.

'Afterbeats' is a term that Jamaican music scholars use to refer to the consistent accenting of offbeats (see Example 1) that appears in not only rocksteady and ska, but also in reggae, dub, dancehall and all Jamaican folk and religious musics; examples of Jamaican folk music follow below. Because of the frequent conflation of the term 'offbeat' with 'upbeats' and 'backbeats,' Jamaican musicologist Garth White and American musicologist and reggae bassist Luke Ehrlich suggest that 'afterbeat' is a more appropriate term, since afterbeats usually consist of the harmonies of the previous beat (White 1982, 38; Ehrlich 1982, 55). Another notable characteristic of afterbeats is that they are consistently louder and heavier than sounds on the beat. (See 'Reggae' entry for a more detailed analysis of the term 'afterbeat.')



Example 1: Afterbeat accents

Examples of Jamaican folk and religious musics include Jonkonnu – a Jamaican celebratory practice featuring fife and drums that involves parading and miming with neo-African music and dance and demonstrates commonalities with both West African harvest festivals and the British Mumming traditions practiced during the Christmas season (Ryman 1984a, 1984b; White 1984, 63–4; Wynter 1970). Other examples are mento and Jamaican Revival (a syncretic blend of traditional Christian practices with rituals, music and dance retained from West and Central African religions that were practiced by Jamaican Maroons).

Rocksteady songs employ a steady 4/4 tempo, accented afterbeats usually played on guitar and keyboard, and strong backbeats similar to the rhythmic emphasis found in ska, mento and other Jamaican secular and religious folk musics. Rocksteady melodic phrase structures are dominated by afterbeat entries, accents and endings, but harmonic elements include many traditional European traits: a preference for basic three-chord primary harmonies in major keys (i.e., the same I, IV and V chords employed in Christian hymns and Anglo-Celtic traditional songs) and symmetrical four-bar and four-phrase song sections.

African-American elements appear from two overlapping sources: first, their presence in ska and second, the US soul and R&B recordings that were extremely popular in Jamaican dancehalls and with musicians in the mid-1960s, exerting a significant influence upon rocksteady instrumental, vocal and arranging styles (Barrow and Dalton 2004, 11–18; Bradley 2000, 157–8, 161–2, 173; Masouri 2008, 9, 32–3). The most popular African-American R&B artists in Jamaica during the mid-1960s were Curtis Mayfield and the Impressions, Otis Redding, the Drifters, Clarence Carter, Ray Charles, Sam Cooke, Ben E. King, Chuck Jackson, Lou Rawls, and all of the Motown artists.

The influence of African-American music is evident in several areas: the predominance of small R&B combo instrumentation (lead and rhythm guitars, electric organ, electric bass, drum kit, and – occasionally – a small horn section usually consisting of a trumpet, one or two saxophones and a trombone), an emphasis on electric bass riffs, call-and-response vocal and instrumental techniques, solo and ensemble vocal and melodic approaches similar to those of 1960s African-American soul and R&B artists (use of melismas and ornaments; non-pitched techniques such as growling, scooping and semi-speech; rough timbres), and fondness for unisex ensemble singing ranging from solo vocal to three- or four-part harmony.

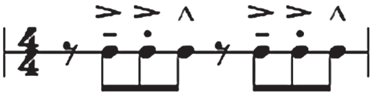
Rocksteady ensembles increasingly featured organ in addition to, or instead of, piano, primarily influenced by the organ's prominence in contemporary US soul and R&B recordings and live performance practices. Backbeats are emphasized with a drum technique used occasionally in ska that became standardized in rocksteady, called the 'one-drop' bass drum pattern. In this technique, the bass drum plays an accented quarter note on beats two and four in a 4/4 measure (rarely playing first and third beats, and often reinforced with snare drum rim shots). When combined with the rocksteady bass style (described below), this one-drop technique creates a consistent pattern in 4/4 meter (which dominates the rocksteady repertoire) in which the first and third beats are either weak or silent. This emphasis moves most rocksteady arrangements further away from the R&B inflections of ska, resulting in a style that tends to feature Jamaican elements more often than African-American ones, even when both are present.

A minority interpretation affirms that the bass drum drop is placed on the third beat of a 4/4 measure (rather than on backbeats). This minority view is held primarily, but not exclusively, by non-Jamaican musicians and musicologists, including British rock drummer Stewart Copeland of the Police, British writer Lloyd Bradley (2000) and Jamaican drummers Sly Dunbar and Winston Grennan (cited in Bradley 2000). However, the majority of scholars and musicians find this interpretation problematic, since it would place the sounds attributed to afterbeats (by the majority interpretation) on beats two and four, with no possibility of their being delayed if a swing groove is employed. Examples of those espousing the majority view include Bob Marley (interview in *Caribbean Nights* [1986]), Luke Ehrlich (1982), McCarthy (2007) and White (1984).

Although rocksteady initially emerged as a variant of ska, it differs from ska in terms of tempo, rhythmic approach and orchestration. Tempos are between 85 and 120 beats per minute (bpm) (versus 120–30 bpm for ska). Ska generally favors swing rhythms (often called a shuffle groove), but rocksteady rhythms favor even beat subdivision (usually notated as eighth notes). Rocksteady rhythmic patterns are generally more rapid (usually notated using sixteenth-notes/rests), although this increased activity is frequently implied (especially in bass and drum parts) with pickup and/or grace notes, rather than with a flurry of sounds.

Rocksteady orchestration differs from ska in terms of bass lines, use of guitars, horns and vocal parts. Rocksteady bass lines are played exclusively on electric bass and employ active, syncopated rhythmic patterns (usually notated as eighth and sixteenth notes in a 4/4 measure), versus ska bass parts that usually consist of walking bass lines (played on acoustic bass) that emphasize each beat. Rocksteady bassists usually play short repeated phrases (called 'riffs') that emphasize afterbeats and second and/or fourth beats, a style that differs significantly from the one employed by 1960s African-American bassists on soul and R&B recordings. One- or two-beat rests appear frequently between these phrases, which last from a few beats to one or two bars. Synchronous with the style on contemporary R&B records, rocksteady bass is mixed louder and with more fullness than in ska recordings.

Rocksteady arrangements usually feature two or three electric guitars – versus one guitar in ska – influenced by 1960s US and British rock and R&B recordings, although the characteristic solo lead guitar function (exemplified by George Harrison of the Beatles or Eric Clapton's work in Cream) is not employed. One guitar usually plays chordal afterbeats, frequently adding muted, accented chords on second and fourth beats which produces a pattern that Neely calls the mento banjo 'bubble' rhythm (see Example 2) (Neely 2008, 207).



Example 2: Rocksteady guitar strumming pattern derived from mento banjo bubble rhythm

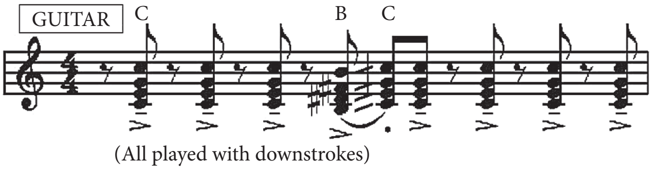
A common approach to playing these chordal afterbeats introduced by guitarist Nerlynn 'Lynn' Taitt (who grew up in Trinidad) was a 'chordal scoop' (an upward glissando between two barred guitar chords of the same shape, from a semitone below up to the target chord), usually starting on the final eighth note of a 4/4 measure and resolving on the subsequent downbeat (see Example 3).

Another guitar often plays rapid fills employing rapid tremolo picking – called stutter guitar – a technique also developed by Taitt, as an imitation of steel drums (Katz 2003, 71). An additional guitar technique (sometimes combined with stutter guitar) – also common in US R&B (especially on recordings on the Stax label that employed the house band Booker T & the MGs, and on the Motown label that employed the house band the Funk Brothers) – involves the doubling of bass parts an octave higher in a muted, clipped style.

In rocksteady arrangements, horns are used only occasionally, if at all, and their style is generally more melodic and contrapuntal than in ska, where the emphasis is upon chordal afterbeat accents. Rocksteady horn parts can involve call-and-response figures between vocal lines, short interludes and reinforcement of bass and/or guitar patterns. This approach is similar to the use of horns in mid-1960s African-American R&B recordings, especially those on the Stax record label. The reduction in horn use in rocksteady arrangements was due to several interrelated factors: the breakup of the Skatalites in 1965 (the main Jamaican house band of the early 1960s – with a 4–5 piece horn section – that played on the majority of ska recordings), an economic downturn in 1966 (which reduced budgets for recordings and live performances), and the rise of guitar-based bands in North American and British rock (e.g., the Beach Boys and the Beatles). Also, in contrast to ska, where solo singing is more commonplace, rocksteady vocal parts favor multipart voicings in a soul/gospel style, strongly influenced by contemporary US R&B vocal groups (especially on the Motown and Stax labels).

Rocksteady melodic and harmonic patterns were influenced by late-1960s African American recordings and songs. Harmonic progressions are often static – frequently consisting of just two or three oscillating chords and favoring minor modes – and melodies are dominated by blues-influenced improvisatory call-and-response techniques that create overlapping contrapuntal textures.

In terms of lyrical orientation, many rocksteady artists were inspired by Walter Rodney, a Guyana-born



Example 3: Lynn Taitt's chordal scoop technique

graduate of Jamaica's University of West Indies whose promotion of black civil rights and identity was influenced by African-American leaders (especially Malcolm X and Martin Luther King) as well as by Jamaican writer and orator Marcus Garvey's philosophies, many of which are at the heart of Rastafarianism. Lyrics that either celebrated or chastised a rebellious lifestyle (exemplified by Rude Boys or Rudies, unemployed youth who were known for their confrontational attitude and disregard for societal rules and codes [Bradley 2000, 160–3]) were also popular. Many Rudies were enamored with American movies about gangsters and Wild West cowboys, and they adopted the cool, often detached demeanor of gangsters and cowboys. This attitude did not fit the jerky, flailing down-and-up style of ska dancing, so they created a slow-moving dance style that became known as 'rocksteady,' because they mostly rocked back and forth in one place.

Although rocksteady songs generally differed from those of the ska era in the ways noted above, some rocksteady traits had appeared sporadically during the ska era: slower tempos, riff-oriented bass lines (employing quarter and eighth notes with afterbeat accents and rests between phrases), minor keys and modal melodies and harmonies. For example, the Skatalites recorded many instrumentals that were in minor keys and featured repetitive or riff-like melodies and fairly static harmonic progressions with an emphasis on the tonic minor chord, and bass parts (played by Lloyd Brevett) that often deviated from the walking bass pattern with short riffs and afterbeat accents (e.g., Don Drummond's 'Silver Dollar,' 'Confucious' and 'Re-Burial' and Roland Alphonso's 'Determination,' recorded in 1964 or 1965). These pieces were similar to US 'soul jazz' recordings from the late 1950s and early 1960s such as the Cannonball Adderley Quintet's 'Work Song' (1960) and 'Sack o' Woe' (1960) (Witmer 1986, 367).

Other Factors Influencing Rocksteady Development

Rhythmic developments in contemporary Latin musics such as *samba, bossa nova* and *son* were influential upon rocksteady, especially in the work of Jamaican rocksteady musicians who grew up elsewhere, such as guitarist Lynn Taitt (Trinidad), drummer Winston Grennan (Saint Thomas) and saxophonists Tommy McCook and Roland Alphonso (Cuba) (Katz 2003, 65–95; White 1982, 42; Masouri 2008, 10–11).

Some analysts (and some rocksteady artists and producers, notably singer Derrick Harriott and producer Bunny 'Striker' Lee) believe that the exceptionally hot summer of 1966 was a significant reason why dancers requested slower music, which ultimately led to a change in dancing and musical styles (Bradley 2000, 163). In the literature about reggae, others suggest that Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie's visit to Jamaica on 21 April 1966 was a factor in the shift from ska to rocksteady and then to reggae (Davis 1990, 70; Edwards 1999, 1591). When Haile Selassie visited Jamaica, hundreds of thousands of Rastafarians came out to see him, which generated many new converts to the movement. The Ethiopian emperor's visit took place as the US Black Power movement was growing, along with a general increased awareness of civil rights issues in both the United States and Jamaica, and social and political unrest in Jamaica in late 1966 and early 1967. However, according to the testimony of artists involved in the first rocksteady recordings (such as Bob Andy, Ken Boothe, the Ethiopians, the Gaylads, the Heptones and Bob Marley and the Wailers), Selassie's visit and Rastafarian philosophy may have inspired many of them to focus on their African roots, but they played only a small, indirect role in the actual emergence of both rocksteady dancing and the musical shifts noted above (Reckford 1998, 247; Katz 2003, 69–95). Rather, the primary influence cited by the above rocksteady artists appears to be that of US R&B, while the main influence of Selassie's visit and the subsequent rise of Rastafarianism seems to have been to inspire rocksteady artists to begin to create the type of socially conscious, philosophical lyrics that would ultimately dominate reggae, the next phase of Jamaican music (Barrow and Dalton 2004, 78–9).

Influential Rocksteady Producers, Artists and Songs

Because rocksteady was initially developed primarily in the studio, rather than as a live music, producers played a major role in the shaping and development of the genre. The most influential producers were Arthur 'Duke' Reid (who produced most of the earliest rocksteady recordings) and Clement 'Coxsone' Dodd, followed by Sonia Pottinger, Bunny 'Striker' Lee and Harry J (Harry Zephaniah Johnson). Most rocksteady artists were vocalists accompanied by studio house bands, and rocksteady arrangements emphasized vocal harmonies and soloists versus the prominence of instrumentalists in ska. The most frequently employed house bands were Studio One's Soul Vendors, led by Roland Alphonso and Treasure Isle's Supersonics led by Tommy McCook (both former saxophonists in the Skatalites) and Lynn Taitt and the Jets. The personnel of each band was variable, employing different combinations of the following musicians: bassists Clifton 'Jackie' Jackson and Leroy Sibbles; drummers Winston Grennan, Lloyd Knibbs, Hugh Malcolm and Arkland 'Drumbago' Parks; guitarists Ernest Ranglin and Lynn Taitt; keyboardists Gladstone Anderson, Ansel Collins, Neville Hinds, Jackie Mittoo and Winston Wright; trumpeters Baba Brooks and Johnny 'Dizzy' Moore; trombonist Vin Gordon; and saxophonists Herman Marquis, Tommy McCook and Roland Alphonso.

In spite of its brevity, the rocksteady era introduced over two dozen new artists – a mix of soloists and soul-influenced vocal harmony groups. The repertoire of most soloists was dominated by love songs performed in a US soul style similar to that of African-American artists Lou Rawls and Curtis Mayfield. The biggest hits in this style include Alton Ellis's 'Girl I've Got a Date' (1966); Dobby Dobson's 'Loving Pauper' (1967); Phyllis Dillon's 'Don't Stay Away' (1967); Dawn Penn's 'No, No, No (You Don't Love Me)' (1967), covered by Rihanna on her 2005 debut CD; and Ken 'Mr. Rock Steady' Boothe's 'Puppet on a String,' a 1968 cover version of UK pop artist Sandie Shaw's 1967 Eurovision Song Contest award-winning hit. Many vocal harmony groups also had love songs in their repertoire. Some of the biggest hits in this style were the Gaylads' 'No Good Girl' (1966); the Techniques' 'Queen Majesty' (1967), a cover version of Curtis Mayfield and the Impressions' 1963 hit 'Minstrel and Queen'; Carl Dawkins and the Carib-Beats' 'Baby I Love You' (1967); the Paragons' 'Happy Go Lucky Girl' (1967), 'On the Beach' (1967) and 'The Tide Is High' (1967), which became an international hit in 1980 in a cover version by American rock group Blondie; and Bob Marley and the Wailing Wailers' 'Nice Time' (1967).

Most dance/party songs had prominent active bass riffs and employed the one-drop drum style, which were foregrounded in the mix. Big hits in this style include Roy Shirley's 'Hold Them' (1966); Delroy Wilson's 'Dancing Mood' (1966); Alton Ellis's 'Rock Steady' (1967); Marcia Griffiths's (who would become a member of the I-Threes, the vocal trio that became part of the Wailers in 1974) 'Feel Like Jumping' (1967) and 'Melody Life' (1968); Slim Smith and the Uniques' 'People Rocksteady' (1967) and the Heptones' 'Party Time' (1968).

Many rocksteady songs either glorified or castigated the Rude Boys phenomenon. One of the earliest, 'Cry Tough' by Alton Ellis (1966), was highly critical of violent Rudie behavior. It inspired many other songs that confronted Rude Boys' attitudes, such as the Clarendonians' 'Rudie Bam Bam' (1966) and 'Rudie Gone A Jail' (1966); Justin Hinds and the Dominoes' 'No Good Rudie' (1966); Prince Buster's 'Judge Dread' (1967); and Dandy Livingstone's 'A Message to You Rudy' (1967), which became an international hit in 1979 in a cover version by the Specials – a UK punk-style band comprising former Jamaicans and British youth. Songs that glorified Rudie culture included Bob Marley and the Wailers' 'Jailhouse' (1966), Derrick Morgan's 'Tougher Than Tough' (1966) and Desmond Dekker and the Aces' '007 (Shanty Town)' (1967).

In the 1970s social justice and spirituality dominated a subgenre of reggae called 'roots reggae,' but this genre had its genesis in rocksteady hits such as the Heptones' 'Equal Rights' (1968) and the Ethiopians' 'Everything Crash' (1968), songs that addressed social injustices in a manner similar to Bob Marley and the Wailers' 'Get Up Stand Up' (1973). In 1967 Bob Andy's 'I Got to Go Back Home,' and Justin Hinds and the Dominoes' 'Carry Go Bring Home' portrayed philosophies and ideas similar to Marcus Garvey's 'back to Africa' ideology, in which all descendants of African slaves should return to the African homeland. This was to become a dominant theme during the roots reggae era, typified by Burning Spear's (Winston Rodney) 'Slavery Days' (1975) and Bob Marley and the Wailers' 'Exodus' (1977).

Some rocksteady songs also addressed spiritual issues – yet another theme that would dominate the roots reggae era. Ken Boothe's 'The Train Is Coming' (1966) used the metaphor of a train taking the singer to a place where 'we will all be free.' In 1995 a remake by Shaggy (Orville Richard Burrell) featuring Ken Boothe became a huge international hit. Bob Marley and the Wailers' 1970s repertoire featured many songs with spiritual themes, for example, 'So Jah Seh' (1974), 'Jah Live' (1976) and 'Redemption Song' (1980), but one of their first songs in this style was their 1967 rocksteady hit 'Thank You Lord.'

Most of the rocksteady recordings with lyrics about romance and dancing/partying were also big hits in Britain (see de Koningh and Cane-Honeysett 2003; de Koningh and Griffiths 2004; Hebdige 1982, 1987). In November 1968 the Beatles' 'Ob-La-Di, Ob-La-Da,' a rocksteady-influenced song, appeared on their internationally best-selling album *The Beatles* (aka 'The White Album'). This recording was the first exposure for many non-Jamaicans to the rocksteady genre, although its rocksteady traits are synthesized with (and dominated by) rock rhythms. Jamaican elements include piano and guitar playing Jamaican-style chordal afterbeat accents, an *ostinato* bass riff doubled at the octave by guitar, melody and horn parts dominated by afterbeat accents, and a simple harmonic vocabulary – just three chords for verses and choruses (I, IV and V), with a fourth chord (vi) in the bridge and coda. These Jamaican elements are combined with heavy rock-style accents by bass guitar and bass drum on first and third beats, which ends up dominating the overall rhythmic groove. This synthesis of rock-style drumming and bass parts accenting the first and third beats with rocksteady afterbeat accents was emulated in the 1970s by many non-Jamaican artists' recordings in rocksteady-inflected original songs (although most musicians and reviewers mislabeled the Jamaican component as 'reggae' in each case), including Paul McCartney's 'C Moon' (1972), Led Zeppelin's 'D'yer Mak'er' (1973) and Kenny Rogers's 'The Gambler' (1978). McCarthy (2007, 511–50) analyses Jamaican-style music recorded by a variety of non-Jamaican pop, country, R&B and rock artists.

The first internationally successful rocksteady recordings by Jamaican artists were Jimmy Cliff's 'You Can Get It if You Really Want' (1970) and Desmond Dekker and the Aces' '007 (Shanty Town)' (1967), featured on the soundtrack album of the movie *The Harder They Come* (1973). This first Jamaican feature film was about a rebellious Rude Boy-type of antihero. Although the soundtrack was a compilation of rocksteady and reggae songs (mostly Jamaican hits released in the late 1960s and early 1970s), it was marketed and reviewed by most analysts and journalists as 'reggae' music, with infrequent discussion of those songs that were actually rocksteady. Thus, although this film and soundtrack was a vehicle for the most successful dissemination of rocksteady outside of Jamaica, the mislabeling of rocksteady songs as 'reggae' became another contributing factor in the lack of awareness about and understanding of the rocksteady style as a unique genre that preceded reggae.

Rocksteady Dancing

The first rocksteady dancers were primarily Rude Boys, who wanted to be on top of the latest trend, which in the dance halls was R&B music – most of which was at a slower tempo than ska. It appears that rocksteady dancing began with movements adapted from R&B dancing which Rude Boys tried unsuccessfully with the faster ska music. According to Skatalites leader Tommy McCook (in Johnson and Pines 1982, 56), rocksteady's slower tempos emerged to accommodate Rude Boys' requests for slower music, and the music and rocksteady dance movements influenced each other (Bradley 2000, 157–97; Katz 2003, 65–95; McCarthy 2007, 211–22, 257–9).

Rocksteady dancing was more of a movement style than set gestures or steps, with limp arms and shoulders swaying from side to side and a one-step foot shuffle going in any direction (Bradley 2000, 159). Dancers usually stayed in one place and raised each shoulder alternately, with sensuous hip movements 'rocking steady' and with pounding motions with arms and hands (Bradley 2000, 159, 164; Clarke 1980, 81). Dancers marked time in one spot, which they called 'renting a tile' (Whitney and Hussey 1984, 13).

Rocksteady Post-1968

After reggae emerged in 1968, the rocksteady style faded in popularity in Jamaica, but many rocksteady songs consistently appeared on UK charts, albeit usually marketed as 'reggae' records. Examples include Ken Boothe's 'Everything I Own' (1974), a rocksteady cover of American pop band Bread's 1972 hit ballad, and Susan Cadogan's 'Nice and Easy' (1977), produced by Lee Perry. Reggae artists also still wrote and recorded songs in the rocksteady style, such as Bob Marley and the Wailers' 'Bend Down Low' (1974) and 'Cry to Me' (1976). In the 1970s and 1980s, most of the rocksteady-style hit recordings produced outside of Jamaica were made by non-Jamaican artists as either cover versions of rocksteady hits or original songs in the rocksteady style; for example, Paul Simon's 'Mother and Child Reunion' (1972), whose backing tracks were primarily recorded in Jamaica and performed by Jamaican session musicians, the Police's 'Spirits in the Material World' (1981) and UB40's 'Red, Red Wine' (1984), a rocksteady cover version of Jamaican reggae artist Tony Tribe's 1969 version, itself a cover of a song written by pop rock artist Neil Diamond in 1968. UB40 became familiar with Tribe's version when it became a hit in the United Kingdom in 1969.

In the early twenty-first century the conflation of the terms 'rocksteady' and 'reggae' persists in the media, and even among Jamaican artists, with little consistent explanation or recognition of the differences (and similarities) between the two styles. A 2009 documentary, *Rocksteady: The Roots of Reggae*, assembled many of the original artists for interviews and performances and attempted to delineate the style, but other than identifying some of the key artists and songs of the classic rocksteady era, the film presented few significant distinctions between rocksteady and reggae other than tempo and chronology. Unless there is a rocksteady resurgence, the conflation of rocksteady and reggae is likely to be persist.

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ROBERT WITMER AND LEN McCARTHY

Rumba

Rumba refers to a secular music and dance genre originating in Cuba among the primarily black and mulatto lower classes of Havana and Matanzas. The genre coalesced from the spontaneous and creative intermingling of West African music and dance elements (notably Congolese), with influences from Hispanic musical culture present in Cuba. With roots in the slave barracks of rural Cuba, *rumba* solidified as a style by the late nineteenth century in the lower-class black neighborhoods of Havana and Matanzas, performed informally at parties and social gatherings. The music comprises singing and percussion and is often accompanied by dancing. Since the late twentieth century *rumba* has become one of the most widespread, influential and recognizable Afro-Cuban genres both in Cuba and around the world. Although many variants of *rumba* once existed, since the mid-twentieth century three have remained: *yambú, guaguancó* and *columbia*.

The term *rumba* is used widely throughout Latin America and Spain as a general reference to dancing or a dance party. In Cuba, although the term may also be used in this manner, *rumba* (alternatively known as *timba*, although not referring to the modern style of Cuban dance music of the same name) as a genre is the umbrella term used to describe the music and dances of *yambú*, *guaguancó* and *columbia*, or the event in which these are performed.

The exact reason for the adaption of this Spanish term to designate this Afro-Cuban manifestation is uncertain. Odilio Urfé notes that the word *rumba* may have stemmed from the link between prostitutes or *mujeres de rumbo* (nineteenth-century designation) and houses of dance (1997, 215). On the other hand, Argeliers León links it to similar-sounding African-derived words such as *tumba*, *macumba* or *tambó*, with references to a reunion or collective dance party (196?, 4). *Rumba* has also long been used in southern Spain to refer to the dances and music of the *gitanos* (gypsies): *rumba flamenca*.

It must also be noted that *rumba* is not to be confused with 'rhumba,' the label applied to the commercial Cuban dance genre internationally popular during the 1930s and 1940s. Yet the two terms are not unrelated. In Cuba in the early twentieth century, staged versions of stylized *rumbas* were performed as part of comic theater shows (*teatro bufo*). These *rumbas* were actually stylistically closer to *son*, and featured dancers in ruffled sleeves. This stylized version of *rumba*, adapted and performed by big bands in the 1930s and 1940s, was marketed to largely North American audiences under the Anglicized label 'rhumba' as part of a strategy to highlight the 'exotic' and 'fiery' Cuban rhythms.

Origins of the *Rumba*

In discussing the history of *rumba*, it is important to understand the historical and ethnic background of Cuba. Christopher Columbus landed in Cuba in 1492, marking the beginning of the island's role as a colony of Spain. The Europeans brutally massacred Native Americans as they conquered their lands, and Cuba was no exception. Those who were not killed were often forced into slavery, which in the Caribbean often ended in suicide, escape or death from infectious diseases contracted from the Europeans. As the native workforce population dwindled, the Europeans looked to West Africa as a source for plantation labor. The importation of slaves increased in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as the sugar industry grew in Cuba, with most slaves being brought from West and Central Africa. The largest number of slaves came from the Congo area of Central Africa (Alvarado 1998, 7). The Bantu-speaking slaves originating in this area were called *congos*, and their cultural legacy in Cuba is referenced by the same name (*congo*). The *congo* and the *lucumí* (slaves from the Yoruba ethnic groups in West Africa) were the African groups with the greatest cultural impact in Cuba. The ancestor of *rumba* is found in the secular music and dance of the *congo* slaves, specifically the *yuka*.

The *yuka*, now rarely performed, contained many of the primary characteristics of *rumba*. During the colonial era, it was a popular form of secular entertainment, performed in slave barracks and *cabildos* (societies functioning as cultural and religious centers of African ethno-cultural groups) by the *congo* slaves and their descendants.

The *yuka* musical ensemble comprised three single-headed drums, pitched low to high, accompanied by sticks (called *guagua* or *katá*) played on the side of the lead drum. The songs featured call-and-response-style singing between *gallos* (singers who competed against one another) and a mixed chorus. The dance featured a male-female couple and centered on the pursuit of the female by the male, in which he tried to conquer her symbolically with a *vacunao*, touching his pelvis to hers.

During the colonial era in Cuba, some *congo cabildos* held a certain authority over other *congo cabildos*, as well as *cabildos* of other African ethnic groups, such as the *carabalí* (Ibibio-Efik). Thus the *yuka*, being the most popular entertainment music and dance form of the *congos*, was adapted and spread by these other groups as well (Moliner Castañeda and Gutierrez Rodríguez 1987, 42). New and different variations were a natural occurrence.

An important part of the continuing musical evolutions forming the prehistory of *rumba* was the gradual abolition of slavery and the migration of mass numbers of freed slaves from rural to urban areas during the mid- and late nineteenth century. After the first war of independence in Cuba (1868–78) and the formal abolition of slavery (1886), thousands of freed slaves were forced to move to Havana and Matanzas in search of employment. Here, they joined other free blacks, mulattoes and Spanish workers in the crowded ghettoes of the cities, which grew significantly in population. As the population intermixed, new, urban Creole identities were formed as elements of *congo*, *lucumí*, *carabalí*, Andalusian, Castilian, Chinese, Canarian, as well as countless other cultures were combined and transformed in the urban Cuban environment.

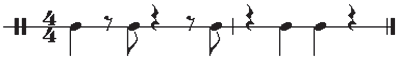
Living quarters in the *barrios* were tight and families lived in small apartments in buildings that often surrounded a central courtyard. These courtyards, called *solares*, were the birthplace of *rumba*. The *solar* was a social center where neighbors performed daily activities and celebrated religious and secular events with music and dance. Here, the people were poor and had limited resources, thus drums and other crafted instruments were not always available and instruments were created out of almost anything that could produce a sound when struck: dresser drawers, doors, tabletops, chairs, walls, spoons or even bottles. These were the instruments used in the earliest *rumbas*, which may have appeared as early as the 1840s.

In the late nineteenth century many *rumberos* began using *cajones* ('boxes') as the primary instruments for accompanying *rumbas* in the *barrios*. The first *cajones* were derived from wooden packaging crates from the ports of Havana and Matanzas, where many of the inhabitants of the *barrios* worked. The wooden crate in which *bacalao* ('salted codfish') was packed was particularly popular for the large *cajón*, sometimes called the *caja*. In perfecting the sound, the crates were dismantled, sanded and reassembled tightly to improve resonance. The *caja* is shaped like a box and is played while sitting on top. The primary side, which usually has the thinnest wood, is struck with the fist in the center, producing a low-pitched bass sound, while the player keeps time with his fingers on a corner of one of the other sides.

A second, smaller *cajón* also appeared, called the *cajoncito* or *quinto cajón*. This was constructed from the small boxes used by the Sabatés company to ship their candles. This *cajón* is shaped like a square dresser drawer, with the bottom side open. It fits between the legs of the player and is struck with both hands on the top side, between the knees. This side, being the thinnest, produces a full, dry sound when struck in the center of the side closest to the player. It can also be struck near the corners for a high-pitched slap sound or played in the middle of the top side with the fingers for a bass sound.

The *cajones* were the first instruments constructed specifically for playing *rumba*. The large *caja* replaced the role of the door or wall for the low-pitched sonorous plane and supplied a basic, repeating pattern. Above this, the *quinto cajón* elaborated around the rhythm of the *caja*, while strategically interacting with the singers and other instruments. The player of the *quinto cajón* often wore a pair of wrist rattles or *nkembi*, an influence from the practice of lead drummers in *congo* forms.

In the highest-pitched plane, the *claves* and sticks or spoons helped complete this early *rumba* ensemble. The *claves* were another product of the shipyards, derived from large wooden pegs. They are two pieces of hard wood struck together to produce a high-pitched sound. The *claves* replaced the role of other beaters such as the bottle or hoe blade, providing a short, repeating rhythmic cell.



Example 1: *Clave* rhythm. *Rumba*'s central rhythmic reference

This pattern, called *la clave* ('the *clave*'), became the central point of reference for both instruments and singers. Finally, the *cucharas* ('spoons') provided another repeating pattern accompanying the *clave*. Two spoons were played on a *cajita china* ('Chinese box'): a small box held between the legs of the player. In lieu of spoons, sticks could also be used, played on almost any surface. The *cucharas*' or sticks' part can also be referred to as the *catá* or *guagua*. *Catá* was the name used for the sticks' part played on the side of the lead drum in *yuka*, a practice that was later observed in early *rumba* ensembles. The *guagua* refers to a piece of dried bamboo on which sticks are beaten.

Rumba Antigua and *Rumba de Tiempo España*

An early style of *rumba* coalesced in the late nineteenth century in Havana and Matanzas. Now known as *rumba antigua*, meaning 'ancient' or 'old-style *rumba*,' it featured the use of household instruments or *cajones* and *claves*, which accompanied a lead singer and a chorus. The lead singer, also called *gallo* or *guía*, sang the main verse and improvised in antiphonal style with the chorus's repeating phrase. The common language was Spanish, and *rumbas* – unlike their African predecessors – were composed primarily in this language. These early *rumbas* had very short texts, often descriptive or erotic in content. A short verse or main body of the song (optional) was followed by an *estribillo* (chorus), a short phrase repeated by the chorus singers between which the *guía* improvised on the theme. Melodies were short and simple, yet were more diatonically clear than their *yuka* ancestors.

Rumbas in the *solares* were often spontaneous and included whoever was present at the moment. Often, *guías* had friendly or confrontational singing 'battles,' in which one would try to outdo the other, a practice similar to those seen in Cuban rural areas where singers have *controversias* ('controversies,' battles featuring the exchange of improvised sung poetry). The chorus comprised other singers, dancers and spectators. *Rumba* is a very participatory event, as are the musics and dances of its African predecessors. In effect, dancers and chorus singers, as well as drummers, could appear at any given moment, contributing to its spontaneity. These drummers, dancers and singers had informal musical educations, and were often *cabildo* musicians or dancers, performing religious and secular music of the various African ethnic groups (Moliner Castañeda and Gutierrez Rodríguez 1987).

The dancing featured one independent male-female couple at a time, similar to the *yuka*. Another feature it shared with *yuka* was the pursuit of the female by the male. Some scholars and even *rumberos* contend that the earliest *rumba* was in fact the *yambú* variant, which was slow, played on *cajones* and did not contain the *vacunao* found in *yuka*, yet this is not certain. A few early *rumbas* did in fact contain the *vacunao*, thus bringing into question the claim that the *yambú* is the eldest variant of *rumba* (Moliner Castañeda and Gutierrez Rodríguez 1987).

Some of these early *rumbas* with *vacunaos* are the *rumbas de tiempo España* (the colloquial equivalent of '*rumbas del tiempo de España*' or '*rumbas* from the time of Spain'), of colonial origins. They are sometimes confused with *yambú*, as both are said to be among the oldest manifestations of *rumba*. *Rumbas de tiempo España* were a set of highly mimetic dances, following descriptive and story-like texts and culminating in a *vacunao*. Some scholars contend that some of the *rumbas de tiempo España* were danced in Havana as early as the 1840s; thus, it is likely that they predate the *yambú* and are the earliest known *rumbas* (Esquenazi Pérez 2007).

Examples of *rumbas de tiempo España* still surviving today include 'Mamá abuela,' which describes the story of a schoolboy who gets in trouble with his grandmother for not wanting to go to school, and 'Lala no sabe hacer na',' telling of a lazy girl who does not know how to iron clothes or do other household chores a woman was expected to carry out. 'El gavilán' ('The Sparrowhawk') – about a farmer who pursues a sparrowhawk that ravaged his chickens – is particularly interesting. The movements of the male (the farmer hunting the sparrowhawk) are similar to those in the dance of Ochosi, one of the *orishas* (deities of the Yoruba pantheon) linked to hunting. The movements of the female, who represents the *gavilán*, are closely tied to the dances of the *arará* (referencing peoples brought to Cuba from Dahomey) and *congo* groups dedicated to carnivorous birds. The male often dances with a stick used as a gun – a phallic symbol – and the female is eventually caught or killed in the end when the hunter fires his gun at her, simultaneously executing a *vacunao*. The *rumbas de tiempo España* were structurally simple, based primarily on a single chorus phrase. Although these *rumbas* probably predate the *yambú*, it is likely that they overlapped in practice during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Yambú

The *yambú* as a style appeared by the late 1870s, representing the next step in the evolution of *rumba* (Moliner Castañeda and Gutierrez Rodríguez 1987). As *yambú* is said to be traditionally played on *cajones*, it is likely that its crystallization occurred alongside the incorporation of *cajones* into *rumba*. Even today *yambú* in its simplest form is still played on *cajones, claves* and sticks.

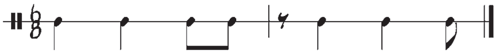
Unlike the *rumbas de tiempo España*, the *yambú* often begins with a *diana* or *lalaleo*, a simple melodic line serving to establish the tonality of the song. The *guía* begins the *diana* and the chorus responds. It is sung with nonsense syllables such as 'a la la,' 'a na na' or 'a é,' inspired by singers of Hispanic descent, whose singing often included similar syllables. In addition, the choral styles brought from Spain, represented by groups of semiprofessional choruses in Cuba, were highly influential. These influences helped establish the characteristic pentatonic scales prevalent in the *yambú*.

Following the *diana* introduction, a short verse is usually sung by the *guía*, who then introduces the *estribillo*, which is repeated by the chorus. The *guía* and chorus then alternate between the *guia*'s improvising and the chorus's repeating phrases. This section of the song is called the *montuno*, and is where dancers enter. Dancers often enter as a pair, coming into the open space in front of the drummers and *guía*, while onlookers clap, watch and sing along.

The dance in *yambú* features a male-female couple in which the male flirts with the female, but the *vacunao* is not present. The pace is slow, with fluid and elegant movements. *Rumberos* sometimes conceptualize this dance as free; the dancers have more liberty in terms of their correspondence with the *cajones* or drums as opposed to the *guaguancó* and *columbia*, where the lead drum and dancers are in constant interaction.

Columbia

The *columbia*, unlike the other variants of *rumba*, was first developed in the countryside before being brought to Havana and Matanzas. An old railroad station called La Columbia – in the rural area between Matanzas and Sabanilla – was the birthplace of this variant. This area was dominated by sugarcane fields and the cane-cutters – the largest percentage of whom were black males – were the first to cultivate the *columbia*, which they played and danced during free time. Originating in the second half of the 1880s, the earliest *columbias* in rural areas were played on *yuka* drums, along with a *catá* and *guataca* (hoe blade struck with a metal beater, such as a railroad spike). As these drums became rare due to the eventual death of drum-makers (presumably older men of *congo* descent), they were eventually repeated by *tumbadoras* (*conga* drums), while the use of the *catá* and *guataca* remained. When *columbia* was brought to urban areas, its rhythms were also transferred to the *cajones*, since not everyone had access to *tumbadoras* (Moliner Castañeda and Gutierrez Rodríguez 1987).



Example 2: Rhythm played by *guataca* or bell in *columbia*

In a genre primarily dominated by – yet not solely reserved for – males, *columbia* is perhaps the most male-oriented. This is likely due to the nature of its original environment among groups of male cane-cutters. Here, a lead singer called a *gallo* began a song with a *llanto* ('cry') which served the same purpose as a *diana*: a melodic outline of the scale. This element was a result of the influence of *tonadas campesinas*, country tunes consisting of *décimas* sung with guitar accompaniment. These were cultivated primarily by Cuba's rural white population, many of whom were descendants of Canarian settlers and worked side by side with blacks in the cane fields. In *columbia* the *llanto* is sung as a lament, using syllables such as 'o ro ro' or 'bo rom bo.' The major pentatonic scale is employed as the singer climbs to and often sustains the upper fifth degree and then cadences on the tonic note or lower fifth degree. Sometimes the chorus responds with an extended 'aaahh' on the tonic. In the earliest *columbias*, the *llanto* was immediately followed by the *montuno*. At times, short verses were added between the *llanto* and the *montuno*, sung by the *gallo*. Later, and also as a result of the influence of *tonadas campesinas*, improvised *décimas* were introduced as verses. *Gallos* sometimes 'battled' each other, each attempting to prove superior improvisation skill. In this environment they may have sung of their superior skill or of the other's inferior abilities, yet most *décimas* were descriptive, telling of fictional accounts of talking animals or supernatural events. As the emphasis lies in the level of textual improvisation, both the verses and choruses tended to have simple, repetitive melodies, with *décimas* following a standard melodic framework.

Another focal point of *columbia* is the dance. *Columbia* features a solo dancer rather than a couple (although it is possible that couples may have danced *columbia* in rural areas long ago). The dancer enters during the *montuno* and shows off specific skills, which may include rapid foot movements, acrobatic jumps or daring feats such as dancing with machetes or knives. Dancers perform solo, each trying to outdo his opponents. As the dancer performs, the *quinto*, or lead drum, outlines the movements with a combination of fast and slow slaps and tones. Some of the most legendary *rumba* dancers have proved their abilities as performers of *columbia*. One of the most famous was José Rosario Oviedo 'Malanga' (1885–1923), supposedly murdered by another jealous *rumbero* who put ground glass in his drink (Mestas 1998, 20). Although *columbia* dancing is dominated by males, some females have also left their mark in this arena. For example, Andrea Baró is regarded in the *rumbero* community as a legendary *columbia* dancer. Unfortunately, little is known about her life. She likely lived in Matanzas during the early twentieth century where she established a name for herself as a virtuoso dancer, one of the few females to do so in what is still a male-dominated arena.

Columbia is normally played on three *tumbadoras*, a *catá* and *claves*, a *guataca* or a bell. This instrumentation may have been adapted from the *yuka* drum ensemble, which also features three cylindrical, single-headed drums. Although *tumbadoras* have their ancestors in the *yuka* drums, which are from the *congos* – hence 'conga' drum – it is unclear whether the adaption of using three *tumbadoras* in *rumba* is linked directly to the *yuka* ensemble or whether it was popularized through *comparsas* (carnival groups), who used these drums in Havana's carnival celebrations. What is certain is that the use of *tumbadoras* in Havana in carnival groups led to their popularization in that area among *rumberos* in the 1920s – themselves often the drummers in the *comparsas* – who began to integrate them into their style of *rumba*. Furthermore, in Matanzas after 1910, two *tumbadoras* and a *quinto cajón* were being used in the *yambú matancero*, the stylistic variant of *yambú* played in Matanzas. By the mid-twentieth century, the setup of three *tumbadoras*, *claves* and *catá* was standard in both Matanzas and Havana, although some *rumberos* still preserved the practice of using *cajones* (Moliner Castañeda and Gutierrez Rodríguez 1987).

Guaguancó and the *Coros de Rumba*

The *guaguancó* represents the most widespread and influential variant of *rumba*. Some scholars date its origins from the 1880s in Havana and Matanzas, but it was well established by the first decade of the twentieth century (León and Urfé 196?; Esquenazi Pérez 2007). The dance represents the chase of the female by the male and the *vacunao.* Perhaps more than the *columbia* and *yambú*, the *guaguancó* is a chronicle of the *barrios*. Its texts, mode of singing, and dance reflect the social and ethnic backgrounds of its proponents. The *guaguancó* has also experienced the greatest amount of change, continually evolving and adapting to new generations of *rumberos*. Much of the history of the *guaguancó* is tied to that of the *coros de rumba*, known as *bandos de rumba* in Matanzas.

The *coros de rumba* (‘*rumba* choruses’) were large groups present in Havana and Matanzas from the late 1880s until the 1940s. They were directly descended from the *coros de clave* (or *bandos de clave*). Both the *coros de rumba* and the *coros de clave* were made up of groups of singers and percussionists tied to certain *cabildos* or *barrios* that performed Afro-Cuban adaptations of the Hispanic traditions of choral groups and *parrandas* (groups of singers and musicians who performed in the streets during times of public celebration). They specialized in singing *claves*, a genre featuring lyrical choral arrangements, accompanied by a *viola* (single-headed drum resembling a banjo without strings) and sometimes a pair of *claves* (the word ‘*clave*’ referred to both an instrument and a genre). Originating probably around the mid-nineteenth century, the *coros de clave* adapted *rumbas* into their repertoire as this genre gained popularity toward the end of the century. As the popularity of the *clave* genre subsided, these groups began to specialize in *rumba*, evolving into *coros de rumba*. The *coros de rumba* used *cajones* for accompaniment, paralleling their usage in the *solares.* Yet since these had to be played while sitting down, the *viola* was used as a rhythmic substitute while the *coros* were in transit. These groups represented an improved literary, musical and organizational development of *rumba*.

The *coros de rumba*, in the same way as the *coros de clave*, fell under the leadership of a director, who organized rehearsals and performances. The chorus was organized by voices: *primera* (main melody), *segunda* (sung a major third above the *primera*) and *tercera* (one octave above the *primera*). The third and sixth harmonies cultivated in these *coros* came from the popular use of thirds and sixths in Hispanic musical forms, and remain standard harmonies in *rumba* today. Other members had specific duties. The *tonista* was in charge of establishing and controlling the tuning of the chorus’s melodies. The *decimista* created poetic texts and *décimas* for the group, while a *censor* made sure these texts followed correct grammar and embellished their literary character. Different *coros* often faced each other in friendly or heated competitions, and each aimed to perfect its performances in order to prove superior skill. *Rumba* – especially *guaguancó*, which became the most popular variant – was enriched with more defined and complex melodies, including *dianas* reflecting the flourishes of Andalusian and gypsy singers. Rhythms became increasingly standardized and song texts became more extensive, elaborate and poetic. Themes in *guaguancó* included political attitudes, social commentary, romance and patriotism. As *coros de rumba* often had rivalries with those from other *barrios*, such as the famous rivalry between Los Roncos and El Paso Franco in Havana, *puyas* were also sung. These were *rumbas* whose purpose was to insult an opposing group and assert the superiority of the group performing them.

While *yambú* and *columbia* often feature only a *diana* (or *llanto*), a verse and a *montuno*, the format of the *guaguancó* is more complex, and was standardized by the *coros de rumba*.

DIANA – sung by the *guía*
VERSE – sung by the *guía*, or by two or more singers
DÉCIMA – sung by the *guía*
VERSE [whole or partial] – optional
MONTUNO – sung by the *guía* alternating with the chorus

The above format became one of the standard formats for *guaguancó*, although sometimes the *décima* was not included, or it comprised the verse in and of itself. Not all *rumba* gatherings relied on such organization, however.

The spontaneous *rumbas* in the *solares* continued to emphasize the event as a mutual sharing of repertoires between singers, drummers and dancers.

Singers interjected song verses one after another or collaborated in duos, postponing the *montuno* until someone saw fit to introduce it. Drummers switched places and dancers could enter informally to enjoy themselves. These *rumbas de solar* witnessed a decline in practice in the latter half of the twentieth century. Following the lead of the elevated cultivation of *rumba* by the *coros de rumba*, the second half of the twentieth century saw a rise in new professional or semiprofessional *rumba* groups.

The Political Changes of the Twentieth Century

During the majority of Cuba's republican era (1902–59), political and administrative corruption was coupled with US economic and political hegemony. US presence also manifested itself in tourism, and Cuba became a holiday playground for American elites. For both Americans visiting Cuba and those on the mainland, Cuban big bands served as cultural ambassadors. They embodied the exotic image of Cuba cultivated in tourism advertisements for Americans beginning in the 1920s. As previously discussed, during the 1930s and 1940s a stylized version of *rumba*, Anglicized as 'rhumba,' became popular among primarily non-Cuban audiences as performed by big bands. It was stylistically closer to *son* and marketed as exotic Latin dance music. Meanwhile, *rumba* as performed in the *barrios* by *rumberos* remained marginalized from the popular mainstream, which itself primarily reflected the tastes of white Cuban – and to some extent, American – elite tastes. Even during the *afrocubanismo* movement of the 1920s and 1930s, which brought into vogue artistic and musical elements of Afro-Cuban culture, *rumba* was neglected by the mainstream as vulgar and low-class, in short, *cosa de negros* ('a black people's thing') (Moore 1997). Racism was a constant presence in the public sphere in republican-era Cuba, manifesting itself in discrimination, segregation and denigration of such *cosas de negros*.

While the overwhelmingly white Cuban upper and middle classes enjoyed relative economic comfort during the republican era, the working classes, including darker-skinned Cubans, suffered from economic and social marginalization. The presidencies of Gerardo Machado (1925–33) and Fulgencio Batista (1940–44 and 1952–59) were particularly corrupt, spurring increased political discontent. In 1959, a group of revolutionary guerrilla fighters headed by Fidel Castro Ruz overthrew Batista, marking the beginning of the Cuban Revolution.

The new Revolutionary government drastically changed the social, economic and political circumstances in Cuba. Many of the new changes favored the urban working classes and rural peasants, while the elite and middle classes were stripped of their resources, which were co-opted by the government. This, coupled with decreased freedom of political expression, resulted in mass emigration of the upper and middle strata to the United States. Revolutionary ideology emphasized nationalism and a new socialist identity for Cubans, denouncing capitalism and US imperialism. During 1959 and 1960 Castro's government brought the issue of racism into public discussion and succeeded in drastically reducing institutional discrimination and desegregating public areas. Following 1960, however, Castro effectively halted public discussions on race, implementing an official color-blind policy. Race-related discussions were deemed no longer necessary; rather, they were viewed as potentially divisive. Being a true *revolucionario* (revolutionary supporter) meant being Cuban first and foremost, not white or black or mulatto.

Afro-Cuban religious and secular drumming and peasant musics considered as noncommercial representations of 'Cubanness' gained institutional support through the government's newly established Ministry of Culture. The Ministry of Culture fostered the creation of a few folkloric groups in the early 1960s such as the Conjunto Folklórico Nacional and the Conjunto Folklórico de Trinidad to bring Afro-Cuban folkloric musical and dance traditions to the public stage, including *rumba* and religious drumming. In the 1940s and 1950s, Fernando Ortiz had attempted to bring Afro-Cuban music and culture into public discussion, bringing Afro-Cuban *batá* drumming to the public stage for the first time. Yet aside from Ortiz's efforts, Afro-Cuban drumming was virtually absent from the mass media prior to the 1950s (Moore 2007). While Afro-Cuban drumming was officially supported under the Revolution, it was fostered only as a staged production. Thus, while most of the state-sponsored folkloric groups' performers were themselves Afro-Cubans intimately acquainted with many of the genres, the instrumental parts and dance choreographies were rehearsed and standardized, as well as 'refined' for public performance. Some Afro-Cubans, such as Carlos Moore, saw this as whitening and as a de-Africanization and prostitution of their music, some of which was religious repertoire (Moore 1964). Furthermore, while the government recognized the African influence evident in these musics, Marxist and color-blind ideologies stressed their place as part of national folklore, denying the right of Afro-Cubans to embrace them as part of a black identity.

As a result of the folkloric troupes, *rumba* became increasingly standardized, first on the stage and eventually among the larger community of *rumberos*. The rhythms and dances of *yambú*, *guaguancó* and *columbia*, for example, were likely increasingly codified through instruction so as to make clear their distinctiveness on stage and create a certain uniformity among performers. As both *rumberos* and non-*rumberos* would have composed the audiences of these groups, the standardized methods of performance would have likely exerted some influence not only on the performers but also on the larger *rumbero* community. While making clear distinctions between the protocols for the specific rhythmic and dance components of *yambú*, *guaguancó* and *columbia* may not have been important (and may have been mixed) prior to the advent of the state folkloric troupes, these distinctions were increasingly codified, and remain so in the early twenty-first century.

Growth in International Popularity

The *coros de rumba* began to decrease in popularity in the 1930s and gave way in the 1940s and 1950s to smaller, semiprofessional *rumba* groups which comprise the modern *rumba* ensemble. This ensemble retained the same basic instrumentation, but downsized the chorus to a minimum (often three or four singers in total). Further, due to the migration of *rumberos*, new *rumba* groups were established in areas outside of Havana and Matanzas, such as Guantánamo and Santiago de Cuba, in which *rumba* groups had been largely absent (Esquenazi Pérez 2007). *Rumba* ensembles also became more prominent in the 1960s as government-sponsored folkloric troupes brought unprecedented public exposure to Afro-Cuban drumming. These *rumba* groups, along with their performances and recordings, became the primary conduit for the continual cultivation and influential reach of this genre. Panart, the first independent Cuban record label and specializing in Cuban popular music, was a pioneer in recording *rumba* in the 1950s, bringing the genre into the commercial market for the first time.

Through these early recordings, *rumba* gained entrance into the mass media, propelling its interest not only on the island, but also beyond Cuba for the first time, inspiring new fans, for example, among Puerto Ricans in New York City. Non-Cuban *rumba* enthusiasts, a large community of which was to be found in New York City, studied and mastered the content of these first recordings (smaller *rumba* communities also later appeared in Florida and San Francisco). The rhythms, songs and ensemble organization of these recordings were imitated, leading to the creation of a base *rumba* song repertoire and standardized rhythms among non-Cubans. For these nascent *rumberos*, the recordings were the only source of *rumba* repertoire, and since it was all new to them, there was minimal significant creation or alteration of songs or rhythmic elements. Exposure to live *rumba* groups from Cuba was minimal outside the island for decades following the Revolution, due in large part to the United States' economic embargo on the island. Thus, outside Cuba the early recordings were held in high regard and emulated. The specific songs, rhythms, structures and ensemble organizations present on the early recordings became standardized outside Cuba, creating a base repertoire for non-Cuban *rumberos*. Furthermore, the dance component of *rumba* failed to gain importance outside of Cuba during this time, as exposure to Cuban *rumba* dancers outside the island was minimal until the 1980s.

One of the earliest – and among the most influential – recordings was that of Alberto Zayas's Grupo Afro-Cubano: *El yambú de los barrios*, a full-length album recorded in Havana from 1955 to 1956. While Cuban drummers such as Chano Pozo and Mongo Santamaría had already begun to bring Afro-Cuban rhythmic influences to the United States via New York City, this recording marked a new beginning in the popularity of *rumba* in both New York and elsewhere. As Cuban music had already been widely influential among the Latino community in New York City, *rumba* – as a new and intriguing genre that displayed strongly its African roots – began to gain popularity, especially among those of Puerto Rican working-class background. Further, its humble street origin, nonreligious character and percussive rhythms made it both attractive and more accessible to the marginalized Puerto Rican (Nuyorican) population in the city. This intrigue on the part of Nuyoricans was partially due to the fact that most were estranged from their own Afro-Puerto Rican heritage, which was largely absent from public discourse concerning Puerto Ricanness during the mid-twentieth century. Most Nuyoricans in this period (late 1950s to 1960s) associated Puerto Rican music with the *jíbaro* (Puerto Rican country peasant) music and *boleros* of their parents' generation. Many young Nuyoricans were thus eager to embrace *rumba*, as an alternative to both Anglo-American mainstream culture and their parents' Puerto Rican musical culture. Afro-Cuban religious drumming for the *orishas* had been present in New York before the 1950s, but was guarded and largely controlled by Cubans. *Rumba* was not guarded in this way, due to its secular character. In *rumba*, Nuyoricans found a new working-class Latino identity that celebrated blackness. Other local working-class groups – primarily African Americans, Jews and later Dominicans – joined the Nuyoricans in becoming New York's first generation of home-grown *rumberos*, with Central Park establishing itself in the mid-1960s as the most renowned site for their gatherings (Jottar 2009).

Another early and highly influential recording for the New York *rumba* community was Patato Valdés's album *Patato y Totico*, recorded in New York City and released in 1967. Valdés, a drummer from Cuba residing in New York, teamed up with fellow drummer Eugenio 'Totico' Arango and *tres*-player Arsenio Rodríguez – both Cubans – to produce an innovative recording in which bass guitar and *tres* (Cuban guitar with three double strings used in *son*) accompanied *rumba* song and drumming. The *rumbas* on this album soon became standards in the *rumbero* community outside of Cuba.

The New York *rumberos* tended to emphasize the drumming aspect of *rumba*, and this flourished as part of a larger vogue of street drumming in New York City (López 1976). The 1980 Mariel boatlift (encompassing the waves of Cuban immigrants that left Cuba via the Peruvian Embassy) saw the influx of a large number of Cubans to New York City and neighboring areas of New Jersey. Among the new Cuban arrivals were seasoned *rumberos,* such as Manuel 'El Llanero' Martínez Olivera (Jottar 2011). Before Mariel, *rumberos* in New York City had limited access to first-hand instruction from knowledgeable Cuban *rumberos*. El Llanero, among others, helped the non-Cuban *rumberos* refine their skills, corrected misinterpretations and emphasized the importance of singing as a part of *rumba*.

Rumba's influence was also felt in the realm of Cuban dance music. For example, in the 1950s *rumba* themes and elements were incorporated into the music of Arsenio Rodríguez, whose *son montuno* style was highly influential in the formation of salsa music. In the 1960s and 1970s New York City was the center of a boom in salsa music, which often featured *rumba* rhythms as part of its recorded arrangements. Through salsa recordings from New York, Cuba and other Latin American countries, and through *rumba* recordings from Cuba, *rumba* continued to grow in popularity. The genre also gained an important following of musicians in Puerto Rico, just as it had in New York.

In the early twenty-first century, Puerto Rico boasts a number of well-versed *rumba* groups, such as Rumbakuá, Yubá Iré, Los Majaderos and Rumba Raza. In New York, groups such as Caja Dura, the Central Park *rumberos* and the *rumberos* of La Esquina Habanera in Union City hold regular gatherings featuring *rumba.* Furthermore, San Francisco and other US cities, together with cities in Canada, Europe, Japan and elsewhere, also have *rumba* scenes, disseminated by Cuban musicians or taught by those who have learned from them.

In Cuba, *rumba* exerted heavy influences on popular dance music. During the popularity of the *son* from the early to mid-twentieth century, many of the most successful *son* musicians were also *rumberos* performing and composing in the genre. This trend continued throughout the rest of the twentieth century and continues today, as popular recordings feature music and musicians incorporating *rumba* rhythms and melodies. On the other hand, *rumba* has itself absorbed song repertoire and other elements from both popular music and Afro-Cuban religious music since its origins in the nineteenth century. For example, song texts from *sones* and *boleros*, as well as refrains from Afro-Cuban religious songs have been incorporated into *rumba*. Religious drumming, such as *batá* rhythms (as well as the *batá* drums themselves), and *timba*'s *bomba*-gear percussion breakdowns, have also revealed themselves in *rumba*, especially since the 1980s.

The rise in interest in Afro-Cuban music and religion in Cuba in the 1990s as part of tourism promotion increased the economic viability of *rumba*. Previous to the 1990s tourism was not a priority for Cuba. The socialist government had from its inception criticized the vulgarity and moral degradation of pre-revolutionary Havana, caused in part by foreign (largely US) tourists who treated the city as a playground of vice. Yet when faced with the fall of the Soviet Union and the ensuing economic crisis of the early 1990s – known as the 'Special Period' – the government instituted a number of economic changes. Drawing on the Chinese model, which incorporated certain capitalistic economic practices, Cuba turned to tourism as a source of sorely needed income.

In promoting cultural tourism, the Cuban government in the 1990s exploited the marketability of 'exotic' Afro-Cuban music and dance. The state increasingly promoted Afro-Cuban folkloric ensembles, who offered live shows and workshops for foreign tourists. Some groups, such as Los Muñequitos de Matanzas, were allowed by the government to tour outside of Cuba because of the high revenues they generated, which were funneled in large part to the Cuban government. Yet they needed to have proven themselves as loyal to Revolutionary ideals and thus low-risk for defecting, due to the high number of musicians and athletes that had defected during the course of the Revolution. Afro-Cuban folkloric ensembles and other musical groups continue to tour internationally in the early twenty-first century under the same stipulations.

Rumba has expanded its fan base since the 1990s to include European countries, Canada, Japan, Australia and others. Tourists in the early twenty-first century flock to attend drum classes, dance workshops and performances, and to purchase recordings. Commercial recordings of *rumba* groups have also skyrocketed since the 1990s, with both the sponsorship of the Cuban state (Egrem studios) and North American and European record labels, such as Qbadisc, Tumbao and Ace Records. These labels have not only generated newly recorded albums, but have resuscitated the early *rumba* recordings from the 1950s and 1960s. Eager fans and musicians buy recordings of Cuban groups recognized as the leading proponents of the genre in Cuba, the three most popular of which are Yoruba Andabo, Clave y Guaguancó and Los Muñequitos de Matanzas. Popular and intellectual interest in *rumba* continues to thrive in the early twenty-first century among both Cubans and non-Cubans. In 2012, *rumba* was declared national cultural patrimony by the Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba (UNEAC), an honorable distinction for the music and its performers.

Leading *Rumba* Groups in Cuba

The Muñequitos de Matanzas is likely the most renowned *rumba* group of all time, both inside and outside of Cuba. Formed in 1952 in Matanzas under the name Guaguancó Matancero and under the leadership of Florencio Calle, their earliest recordings were highly influential in the ensuing decades, and continue to be so today. The leading proponent of the Matanzas style of *rumba*, its leadership has been passed from older to younger generations of family members over the years. In the 1960s they collaborated on recordings with Los Papines, another influential *rumba* group from Havana.

Clave y Guaguancó has its origins in Havana in the 1940s under the directorship of Augustín Pina 'Flor de Amor.' This group maintained the tradition of playing *cajones* and began recording in the 1990s. Following its initial recording, the group began integrating *tumbadoras* into its setup in the style of other popular *rumba* groups, such as Yoruba Andabo.

Originally named Guaguancó Marítimo Portuario Zona 5, the group now known as Yoruba Andabo was founded in 1961 and has also remained true to the *cajón* tradition. Calixto Callava, a founding member, was the author of many of the songs recorded by the group in the 1980s and 1990s, such as 'Tawiri' and 'Tiembla la tierra' (The Earth Trembles). Yoruba Andabo also became a leading proponent of the *guarapachangueo* style of *rumba*. The *guarapachangueo* is a style of playing *rumba* invented by the group Los Chinitos in Havana in the 1970s. Intended originally as an alternative rhythmic base for use on only two drums (or two *cajones*) instead of the standard three-drum setup, *guarapachangueo* features an increased freedom and rhythmic conversation between the drums rather than the standard repeating patterns found on early recordings such as those of Alberto Zayas, Los Papines or Los Muñequitos. Pancho Quinto, one of Yoruba Andabo's drummers, adapted elements from the *guarapachangueo* to a full-size *rumba* ensemble, inventing the style of playing that combines the *cajón* with *batá* drums, with a spoon in one hand. By the end of the 1990s, the *guarapachangueo* style permeated the playing styles of many groups in Cuba, including Clave y Guaguancó and Yoruba Andabo, and it has become a standard sound in *rumba* both on the island and in *rumbero* communities abroad.

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JOHNNY FRÍAS

Salsa

Salsa is an exuberant pan-Caribbean music and dance form whose trajectory has taken it from cultural integration in the Spanish Americas to adoption by distant countries, where Latin-derived culture has been imported. Originally an urban expression born of the *barrios* in New York City, salsa emerged as a countercurrent symbol deployed mainly by Colombian, Cuban, Dominican, Panamanian, Puerto Rican and Venezuelan immigrants as a means of preserving their cultural identity within the confines of one that was foreign to them. Early salsa employed genres of the Cuban *son* rhythm group, primarily the *guaracha*, as the main vehicle of development. Its arrangements were harmonically modest but played in a more aggressive manner, with greater force at the beginning of the musical phrase, and its lyrics addressed themes articulating social violence and disenfranchisement.

The rise of salsa coincided with the growth of an economic underclass in the major cities of Latin America – cities such as Caracas (Venezuela), Cali (Colombia) and San Juan (Puerto Rico) – as a consequence of rural-to-urban migration. Resonating as it did with the prevailing social experience of the 1970s, salsa came to be embraced in the *barrios* of these cities in the absence of relevant national urban expressions. Initially considered an imported style, in the Caribbean salsa developed its own centers of production, such that by the close of the 1970s they had outgrown the New York template and two cultural loci could be identified: 'salsa of the North' in New York City and 'salsa of the South' based around the Spanish Caribbean (Rondón 2008).

The subsequent successful transnationalization of salsa and its ability to cut across national boundaries may be attributed in part to the widespread nature of the conditions that favored its early adoption, but two particular properties were also significant in these processes: a flexibility that enabled salsa to absorb and express local themes, providing regional communities with an empowering sense of ownership; and its strong connection to dance – in Latin America and the Spanish Caribbean the word 'ritmo' (rhythm), often used as a synonym of 'genre,' refers equally to the associated dance. Salsa music's functional constraint to the purpose of dance must be appreciated to understand its transnationalization worldwide; it is largely the pursuit of its associated dance as a desirable secular social activity that drives the dissemination of salsa music in the non-Latin American population. For many communities of Latin American origin and/or descent, migrant and nonmigrant, where salsa remains a deep-rooted tradition, it stays true to its original role and form as a potent symbol of cultural identity through the vernacular and folkloric motifs embedded within it.

History of the Word

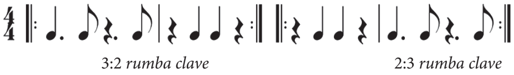
Flavor terms associated with food such as *azúcar* (sugar) and *picante* (spicy) are common in the performance of Latin popular music, as is the word *salsa* (sauce). The *son cubano* called 'Échale salsita' (Put a Little Sauce In It) by Ignacio Piñeiro and his Septeto Nacional (1933) is the first conspicuous use of the word in a musical context (Orovio 2004; Waxer 2002a). However, one of the earliest references to salsa as a stylistic label can be traced to a Radio Difusora broadcast in Caracas, Venezuela in 1962 called 'La Hora del Sabor, la Salsa y el Bembé' (The Hour of Taste, Salsa and *Bembé*), featuring the latest New York City hits from luminaries such as Eddie Palmieri and Tito Puente. Venezuela subsequently made two further historical contributions, via Federico Betancourt's album *Llegó la salsa* (Salsa Has Arrived) of June 1966: the first salsa recording by a South American band and the first such album to bear 'salsa' in its title.

Use of the word became increasingly commonplace in late 1960s New York, coinciding with the rise of Fania Records. The label deployed salsa as a marketing term, a catch-all for a variety of Cuban-derived rhythms such as *güajira*, *guaguancó*, *son*, *son montuno*, *chachachá*, *pachanga*, boogaloo and *mambo*, in a strategy to increase the accessibility of Latin popular music. Izzy Sanábria contributed much to the public acceptance of the word as Master of Ceremonies for the Fania All-Stars and as editor of the influential *Latin NY* magazine.

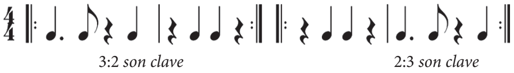
Whether or not salsa has evolved from an umbrella term into an actual genre has continued to be a matter of debate. A comparison of the *guaracha* with early salsa reveals two significant differences: a rural narrative in the former versus an urban one in the latter; and a more aggressive manner of musical interpretation on the part of early salsa. These important distinctions between salsa and its progenitors can sometimes prove too subtle for the unversed listener or non-Spanish speaker to recognize. The boundaries have been further blurred by the 'matancerization' trend in salsa of the mid-1970s, spearheaded by bandleader Johnny Pacheco, music director of Fania Records. Rondón (2008) describes 'matancerization' – referring to the style of the Cuban ensemble La Sonora Matancera (Quintero-Rivera 2010) – as a 'Cubanization' movement bent on the reclamation of older Cuban songs by playing in a conservative style harking back to the *guaracha* of the 1950s. Salsa confounds easy classification for several reasons: its rhythm pattern is capable of absorbing others; it is defined in part by its narrative; and it overlaps with prior musical forms through the practice of quotation, not in imitation so much as a means of setting a cultural anchor.

Properties of the Music

Salsa's rhythmic roots are distinctly Cuban in origin. The music is highly polyrhythmic and performers exercise the principle of cooperative musicianship, coordinated collectively through individual reference to a master rhythm which may be overtly expressed or implied. Several master rhythms exist in salsa, by far the most common being Cuba's *son clave* and *rumba clave*, although *afro 6/8* and the *cua* of Puerto Rico are also found. The word *clave* (key), derived from *clavija* (peg) (Sublette 2004), also refers to the small hardwood rods on which the rhythm is interpreted. Both *sonclave* and *rumba clave* comprise five beats played across two measures of music: three beats in one measure, called the 3-side; and two beats in the other measure, called the 2-side. ('Side' refers to the two sides of the bar line in a two-bar phrase.) Together the 3-side and the 2-side form a binary phrase, following each other in unbroken alternation (Sulsbrück 1982 (Examples 1 and 2)).



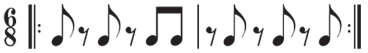
Example 1: *Rumba clave*



Example 2: *Son clave*

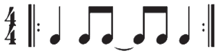
A property of Cuban *clave* is that the sides are not imposable on each other – none of the beats of one side shares the same location in the measure as any of the beats on the other side. Here we see the importance of *clave* as a rhythmic roadmap: a performer needs only hear one beat of the *clave* rhythm to understand his or her place in the timeline. *Clave*'s ability to mediate the meshing of multiple layers of regular and syncopated rhythms provides salsa with its potential for musical mutability, facilitating, along with other social and political factors, its transnationalization and cross-pollination with other musical styles (Waxer 2002a). *Clave* performs an important function when considered in tandem with the downbeat rhythm. Beats of the *son clave* and *rumba clave*3-side – on the upbeat following beat two (annotated as 2+) in *son clave*, and the upbeats following beats two and four (2+ and 4+) in *rumba clave* – sound before the listener expects them, that is, on the upbeat before the downbeat, thereby creating rhythmic tension (Dworsky 1994). Cubans refer to this as the *fuerte* (strong) side. The *débil* (weak) 2-side is rhythmically neutral with beats falling squarely on a backbeat and a downbeat. The buildup and dissipation of rhythmic tension every two measures is a crucial dynamic in salsa music.

Like the *clave*, the *afro 6/8* rhythm is a binary phrase, in which the two measures contain different numbers of beats or strokes (four and three in this case):



Example 3: *Afro 6/8* rhythm

It is usually played on the hand bell. This master rhythm can be elegantly deployed as an intermediary for transitions between *son* and *rumba clave* (Mauleón 1993). The Afro-Puerto Rican *cua* refers to the pair of wooden sticks and the rhythm which they interpret – the latter being a repeating syncopated pattern of five beats per measure, known throughout the Caribbean also as the *cinquillo* (Manuel 1995).



Example 4: *Cinquillo*

Salsa's percussion cycle begins one beat or more before that of the melody, as practitioners of Cuban rhythm conceive of songs – as do West African drummers – as coming in part-way through their timeline (Berríos-Miranda 2002). Players of melody, conversely, regard the start of the rhythm as a pickup relative to their timeline, as evidenced in Manuel's description of Afro-Cuban 'anticipated bass' (1985, 256). The tumbling effect of offset cycles, where one cycle continues even as the other ends, makes for highly propulsive music – a strategy also employed by saxophonists in Dominican *merengue* (Austerlitz 1996). Further tension and release is created in the harmony between the bass *tumbao* (bassline, encompassing both harmony and rhythm) and the piano *montuno* (vamp) within each measure of music (Mauleón 1993; Washburne 2002), enhancing the drive of the salsa groove. Music that has *fuerza* (force) and *afinque* (tightness) generates these dynamics in synchrony to achieve the functional criterion: 'the salsa that people like is the salsa that is good for dancing' (Berríos-Miranda 2002, 44).

Song Structure

Salsa's melodies and harmonies are descended from the Andalusian cadence (Manuel 2002) via the *son* as played by itinerant troubadours of Eastern Cuba around the end of the nineteenth century (Sublette 2004). The inclusion of a second trumpet in the *son* ensembles of the 1940s (Leymarie 2002) gave rise to more sophisticated brass arrangements influenced by jazz. The percussion stream is derived mainly from the Yoruba and Congolese of Western and Central Africa (Sanábria 2000). The resulting fusion, though originally a creolized cultural product of Cuba, exists as a broad range of phenotypes due to regional evolution.

Sequentially, salsa is a music of two halves – the first, sometimes called the *cuerpo* (body), is characterized by several features: European structural elements, typically an introduction followed by alternating verses and choruses interjected with instrumental refrains; percussion playing at lower energy levels in support of the lyrical narrative; and longer, complex harmonic progressions. The second half, confusingly also called *montuno* (vamp), displays the African heritage of salsa overtly: vocals shift to a *coro-pregón* (call-and-response) pattern, in which either element in the pattern might be emphasized or, alternatively, substituted by instrumental riffs; harmonic progressions contract to a vamp of two to four chords (Mauleón-Santana 1999); and percussion moves to a higher energy level. The *bongó* and bell drive a regular, insistent rhythm in which vocal, melodic and percussive improvisations can occur. During the extended *montunos* of a concert, vocalists are granted respite through interruptions by the horn or *charanga* (flute and violin) section playing mambos and *moñas*. Mambos are prearranged melodic figures often incorporating rhythmic breaks to build up tension on the dance floor, whereas *moñas* are spontaneous riffs akin to the *soneo* (improvised singing) of the lead vocal. The bass *tumbao* might also change, with the note on beat three moving to the preceding upbeat to increasing harmonic and rhythmic tension (Del Puerto 1994). *Descargas* (jam sessions) such as the legendary ones performed by Israel 'Cachao' López in 1957 are almost completely *montuno* – the *cuerpo* is just long enough to state the theme of the song before improvisations begin.

Styles of Salsa

Transnational salsa is commonly categorized under national genres in order to explore its association with national identity. There are five principal schools of salsa performance: Colombian, Cuban, New York, Puerto Rican and Venezuelan. The latter three have similar heavy rhythmic grooves, arrangements and executions of performance, compared to Colombia's light, crisp and attacking texture (Waxer 2002b). This is physically manifested in the basic salsa step which is taken late on the beat to reflect the heavy grooves, and early on the beat in the Colombian style.

Within salsa are a number of artistic movements, the most notable of which are *salsa dura* (hard salsa), *salsa pop* and *salsa romántica* (romantic salsa). Washburne cogently describes the latter as featuring 'highly polished and slick studio productions, smooth vocal quality, a controlled and refined brass sound, subdued percussion playing, the predominance of song texts featuring romantic themes, and often pretty-boy crooners as bandleaders' (2002, 119). In the gender discourse of salsa, *salsa romántica* has been feminized on account of its arrangements and sonority (Manuel 1991) and though classified derogatively as *salsa monga* (limp salsa) (Aparicio 2002), in contrast to the brashly assertive *salsa dura*, has stimulated the formation of all-women salsa bands in Cali such as Orquesta Canela (Waxer 2002c).

Although ensembles from any of the five centers might share similar lineups, the instrumental balance and the phrasing used during performance, whether recorded or live, are aurally distinctive (Valentín Escobar 2002). It should be emphasized that it is the traditions and local practices in each of these centers which have caused them to become recognized as global sites for salsa performance.

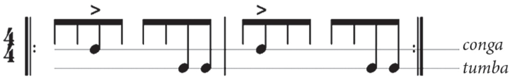
Cuba

The term 'salsa' has not been widely used on the island of Cuba, as its rise in New York as a marketing idea coincided with the severance of economic ties from the United States which began in October 1960; in Cuba, manifestations of the genre are instead referred to as *son*, *timba* or simply *música bailable* (dance music). However, the stylistic aspect of Fania's salsa concept was based on the recovery of Afro-Cuban traditions combined with jazz – a reworking of the legacies of leading figures in Cuban *mambo* and *son*greats such as Machito and Arsenio Rodríguez.

Oriente (Eastern Cuba) is widely considered the cradle of *son,* the earliest form of which, the *changüi*, dates back to the mid-nineteenth century (Leymarie 2002). Early performers of the *son* were itinerant musicians in a bardic tradition similar to Senegambian *griots*, improvising social commentary to musical accompaniment using portable instruments – guitar; *tres* (Cuban guitar); maracas; *marímbula* (bass instrument consisting of metal tongues attached to a large resonating box); and *botija* (oil jug). *Son* may have arrived in Western Cuba via members of the Permanentes (national army) (Orovio 2004), reaching its Golden Age in the 1920s.

Son's first resurgence in the 1940s assumed the form of the rhythmic *son montuno* presided over by the blind *tres* player Arsenio Rodríguez, who introduced many features of contemporary salsa: expansion of the *son* ensemble to the *conjunto* format through the inclusion of the *tumbadoras* or *congas* (Congolese single-headed drum), a piano and three trumpets (Leymarie 2002); extensive use of syncopated anticipated bass figures, and the climactic '*diablo*' (devilry) structural element as a goad to dancers. One of his enduring legacies is the ubiquitous *guajeo* or *montuno* rhythmic vamp, in which seven of its nine notes are played on the upbeats. By temporally displacing notes to the upbeats, Arsenio side-stepped the phenomenon which is now understood as 'sonic' or 'auditory masking,' where a listener will perceive only the louder of two simultaneous sounds of similar frequency (Katz 2002). The *guajeo*'s notes are located in spaces where they are least likely to be obscured; it allowed Arsenio's *conjunto* to present music with a sonic power greater than that of similarly sized rivals, more comparable to that of twenty-first-century salsa bands (García 2006). Enrique Jorrín brought about the second resurgence of *son* in 1950 with the *chachachá,* which set the trend for Latin popular music that enjoyed global appeal, propelled by dance crazes through the growth of mass media.

In the 1960s Cuban musicians sought more effective means to 'Cubanize' (Moore 2002) foreign musical ideas into *música bailable*. The result was *songo*, a rhythm which made room in *son*'s percussion for the inclusion of the trap set. The strategy was to move the open tones, normally voiced with the *conga* (medium-pitched drum) on beats four and its following upbeat, to the *tumba* (low-pitched drum).



Example 5: *Songo* rhythm

This gave the *tumbadora* player license to interpret rhythm more freely on the *conga* between these tones, while the trap set drummer played the structural accents (Quintana 2000). In the 1970s *songo* catalyzed further fusions with jazz, as well as funk, rock, rhythm and blues and rap, giving rise to Cuba's version of modern salsa – *timba*. Three members of Cuba's Los Van Van, who would later evolve into a *timba* supergroup, combined horns and synthesizers with the *charanga* format and performed at the forefront of *songo*:

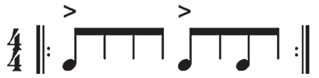
percussionist José 'Changuito' Quintero, pianist César 'Pupy' Pedroso and bandleader Juan Formell. As with the *son*, *songo* has proved to be a highly flexible rhythm. Capable of absorbing elements of Cuba's folkloric drumming traditions, *santería,* rituals the rumba complex and the Puerto Rican *bomba*, it has become a cornerstone rhythm underpinning Cuba's *música bailable* as performed by her *timba* bands, in which the freedom to improvise extends beyond individual expression to the spontaneous determination of rhythmic arrangement as a collective using *pédalos* (rhythmic gears) (Cruz 2004).

Puerto Rico and New York

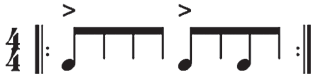
The fine tradition of brass band musicianship in Borinquen (Puerto Rico) stretches back to the early twentieth century, when friendly competition between the large numbers of municipal bands trained highly literate musicians and spawned dynasties of performers (Glassner 1995). Music-reading *Boricuas* (Puerto Ricans) formed the backbone of the Latin bands who interpreted Cuban music in New York, such as those of *mambo* stars Machito, Tito Rodríguez and Tito Puente in the 1950s. These musical sensibilities have persisted in Puerto Rican salsa, where accurate intonation, a smooth, refined timbre and a polished studio performance are preferred, as typified by El Gran Combo and Sonora Ponceña. It is impracticable to compartmentalize contributions made to salsa by resident Puerto Ricans and 'Nuyoricans' (those living in New York), given the free-flow of musicians after the Jones-Shafroth Act of 1917, which conferred US citizenship on Puerto Ricans.

Salsa has included uniquely Puerto Rican characteristics: *plena* and *bomba* drumming, the *cua* rhythm, *güira* (metal scraper) patterns derived from the *seis*, motifs from the *danza* and *aguinaldo* and sounds of the *cuatro* (Puerto Rican guitar). The Puerto Rican approach to salsa rhythm, called *afincao* (locked), is stylistically identifiable: *congas*, *timbales* and *bongó* perform as a single unit, as demonstrated in the music of Willie Rosario. By contrast, the Cuban approach of *metiendo palos* (inserting beats) allows the percussionists freedom to improvise around rhythms and accents.

New York City in the 1960s experienced two dance-driven resurgences of *son*-based music as preludes to salsa: *pachanga* and boogaloo. The primary rhythmic change in the *pachanga* was the substitution of the *tumbao moderno* rhythm, which has audible tones on beats two, four and the upbeat following four (2,4,4 +) with a *caballo,* which has audible tones on beats one, three and four (1,3,4) on the *tumbadoras.*



Example 6: *Tumbao moderno* audible tones



Example 7: *Caballo* audible tones

Thus the emphasis was shifted from the backbeat to the downbeat to create a bouncier, jauntier feel. The boogaloo distilled musical idioms from Puerto Ricans and African Americans, brought about by their cultural juxtaposition in the city, and was aptly described by *timbalero* (*timbale* player) Henry 'Pucho' Brown as 'cha-cha [*sic*] with a backbeat' (Flores 2002).

The embargo against Cuba by the United States, beginning in 1960, reduced the availability of Cuban musicians for performance and production, creating an artistic vacuum which was filled by domestic enterprises such as Alegre Records and Fania. Although Fania's salsa did draw inspiration from Afro-Cuban music of the 1940s, it was distinctly a product of the city – its lyrics spoke in hard-hitting prose of the turmoil, disenfranchisement and challenges facing inner-city life, and were underpinned by a complimentary raw sound in the horn section. The trombone assumed a 'singing' role akin to lead vocals, altering its relationship to its supporting instruments and ultimately in the music arrangements (Valentín Escobar 2002). This uniquely New York innovation was largely pioneered by Barry Rogers of Eddie Palmieri's La Perfecta and propagated by Jimmy Bosch and others. Another feature of salsa's early days in New York is the *desafinado* (out-of-tune) sound of the trombone played slightly flat to render stark relief against the background orchestration, a phenomenon common among young choristers (Alderson 1979). For some older musicians imperfect intonation is a defining characteristic of authentic Nuyorican salsa, while others prefer an accurate conservatory sound more typical of Puerto Rican salsa. In the 1980s producer Sergio George reincorporated the trapset into salsa in a development parallel to that of *songo* a decade earlier, resulting in a similar opening of musical possibilities stimulating *salsa pop*. The participation of band members on recordings became increasingly rare as modern studio production techniques such as overdubbing and reliance on session musicians became the norm. A consequence of these production centers drawing upon discretely limited pools of studio musicians is the emergence of an identifiable Nuyorican versus Puerto Rican sound.

Venezuela and Colombia

Chombos (black members of the merchant marine), bringing recordings of the Cuban *guaracha*, Puerto Rican *bomba*, New York boogaloo and later of salsa, spread music throughout Latin America via her trading ports. Salsa's arrival in Venezuelan and Colombian cities coincided with a time when its social image and expression of themes of urban life were relevant. Concerts by the Fania All-Stars in Caracas in 1974 and Cali in 1980 further cemented New York salsa's reception as a transnational style, stimulating the emergence of a common pan-Latino identity (Rondón 1980) and inspiring a new generation of musicians.

Although Colombia's passion for salsa has its roots in the popularization of Cuban *son*, it was the boogaloo that paved the way into the self-proclaimed 'world capital of salsa,' Cali. *Caleño* youths began playing 33-rpm boogaloo recordings by Joe Cuba and Pete Rodríguez at 45 rpm to suit their own style of dancing, which involved a quick shuffle on the tips of the toes in 'double-time' (Waxer 2002c). Little distinction is made between boogaloo and salsa in Colombia, as evident in the output of one of the country's top salsa bands, Sonora Carruseles. Colombia boasts its own distinct blends of salsa: Afro-Colombian elements of the *chirimía* and *currulao* from the Pacific Coast as seen in the music of Grupo Niche and Orquesta Guayacán; a myriad of Afro-Caribbean styles from the Atlantic coast in that of Joe Arroyo; the pan-Latin *cumbia* of the Latin Brothers; and the accordion-based *vallenato* of Carlos Vives. Medellin-based record label Discos Fuentes under its music director Ernesto 'Fruko' Estrada has played a central role in disseminating salsa, establishing Colombia as a major site of salsa production.

Venezuelans have also made salsa part of their national culture. Throughout the 1970s the most popular bands from New York and Puerto Rico regularly featured in the *Carnavals* of Caracas, and by 1978, on the basis of her oil wealth and the consequent rise in disposable income, Venezuela had become the principal market for international salsa (Rondón 2008). As did Colombia, Venezuela employed two broad approaches to grounding the international sound of salsa with local references: fusion with Afro-Venezuelan styles, for example in the *salsa-joropos* of Dimensión Latina; and the 'salsafication' of traditional music through a change from traditional to more salsa-like lineups and arrangements, as exemplified by Guaco's renditions of the folkloric *gaita zuliana* from Maracaibo.

On the international stage, Venezuela's salsa draws from Cuba's *son*, as well as New York's salsa, on account of the Cuban musicians domiciled there. Puerto Rican influences can also be heard, for example in the music of Salsa Mayor whose bandleader, singer and bassist Oscar D'León, known worldwide as 'El Sonero del Mundo' (The World's *Sonero*), stands out as Venezuela's greatest salsa ambassador.

Further Caribbean Salsa Sites: The Dominican Republic, Miami, Mexico and Panama

Following the salsa boom in the 1970s, several countries of the Caribbean were slower to emerge as centers of salsa production. This was because the facilities, from recording through to manufacturing, marketing, distribution and consumption, were either underdeveloped or, as was the case with *merengue* in the Dominican Republic, were dedicated to native genres.

The Dominican Republic came to be associated with salsa through Johnny Pacheco and *sonero* José 'El Canario' Alberto. Fania's music director, Pacheco, managed to incorporate the Dominican *merengue* into salsa through the shared ability of the two to express urban themes, although New York's version of *merengue* did not have the same degree of cultural grounding as the Dominican original and so remained on salsa's periphery. Nevertheless the significance of *merengue*'s impact in associating the Dominican Republic with salsa can clearly be seen – the concert commemorating the 135th anniversary of the nation's independence at New York's Radio City Music Hall on 25 February 1979 was billed as a 'Salsa Show' (Rondón 2008). The Dominican artist who has proved by far the most influential in merging the genres of *merengue* and *bachata* (another genre from the Dominican Republic) with salsa is Juan Luis Guerra, whose experimental fusions of Caribbean forms have not only found acceptance across Latin social divides, but have also garnered multiple Grammy successes – the first with *Bachata Rosa* for Best Tropical Latin Album in 1991.

Cuban music has long found a home in Mexico, from the *boleros* dramatized in Mexican cinema of the late 1920s to the *mambos* of Dámaso Perez Prado some two decades later. Singer Celia Cruz, on tour with La Sonora Matancera in 1959, chose to remain in Mexico instead of returning to post-revolutionary Cuba. She became a US citizen in 1961 and eventually joined Fania in 1973. Mexico's musical production has remained geared toward the domestic market and although Bronx-born Willie Colón, a member of the salsa boom's avant-garde, chose to domicile there, the country's role in salsa production has continued to be principally that of a finishing facility for Venezuela's music industry.

Panama's roster of salsa artists ranges from Carlos El Grande, singer with Salsa Mayor, to Henry D. Williams, writer of the salsa classic 'El Nazareno,' who recorded or toured with ensembles from the major centers. The country has been considered a site of salsa production primarily through its association with one of salsa's most iconic figures, the singer-songwriter Rubén Blades. However, the recordings which established his reputation were made for Fania in New York in the 1970s through to the early 1980s. It was Blades's coupling of his nationality with his political activism and songs of social conscience that served to locate Panama at the fore of salsa's public consciousness. The gradual increase in the country's salsa output has been obscured somewhat by the tremendous rise in popularity of reggaeton (*reggaetón*) and Panama's role in the emergence of that music.

Located on the rim of the Caribbean basin, the US city of Miami emerged as a center of production for crossover Latin pop (in *Latin Music USA*, a PBS documentary) led by influential producer Emilio Estefan Jr. from the late 1970s. The New York-based label RMM chose to record its *salsa romántica* in the city in the 1980s (Aparicio 2002). Its collapse in 2000 created a vacuum in the output of romantic salsa, which was filled by Miami's exhilic Cuban community, thereby giving Cubans direct participation in the production of Caribbean salsa. Miami's salsa output has more similarity with modern Cuban music than with that of the more established centers, on account of being the preferred destination for Cuban *timba* performers, some of whom, such as Manuel 'Manolín' Hernandez 'El Médico de la Salsa' and Issac Delgado 'El Chévere de la Salsa,' have been presented there as salsa performers.

Major Social Themes in Salsa

Salsa's origins as a music of the social underclass are reflected in the predominance of themes that are relevant to its consumers and expressed in their attitudes and opinions. The way in which salsa handles issues of gender is a prime example. Typically, the male is dominant and his thoughts and deeds are narrated in the first person. This gender positioning is directly descended from the machismo tradition, common among interpreters of the Cuban *son*, called *guaperia*. *Guaperia* is founded on the identification of the listener with the '*guapo*' (handsome man), from whom the narrative emanates. The *guapo* indulges in both smooth talking, with boasts of romantic conquests, and tough talking, which reminds his audience of his supposed ability to resolve any problem through the application of force. In the *son*, this combination was delivered with wit and guile. However, in the intervening period between the height of *son* and the rise of salsa a dramatic shift occurred in socioeconomic conditions, marked by high male unemployment and the increasing independence of women as they too became wage earners, a development which struck at the heart of a patriarchal culture where the male was expected to be the provider (Hernández 1995). *Guaperia* went from being light-hearted in *son* to being clichéd, violent, devoid of chivalry and tainted with misogyny in 1970s salsa and Dominican *bachata*. This mood was largely dissolved in the *rómantica* period of the 1980s and 1990s, and modern salsa as an international product is less overtly sexist, although tension in gender relations has nevertheless been the subject of analysis (see Aparicio 1998).

The second primary theme evident in salsa is the notion of a shared Latin identity, and here Rondón's (2008) call to distinguish between trends of cultural symbolism and those set by the music industry is relevant. Early salsa's message from the margins was a common bond linking *barrios* around the Caribbean. As salsa became increasingly accepted by, and acceptable to, the social elites, it changed from being an expression of intra-cultural resistance to being an (inter)cultural marker. This transformation was due in part to the promotion by the New York salsa music industry of the term 'Latino,' a word used in the Anglophone USA to denote those who live in the USA and are of Latin American descent. In the Caribbean, however, 'Latino' was not a term of differentiation but instead was harnessed to drive international sales of salsa by linking it to the ideal of Latin unity – a concept which resonates strongly with independence from a dominating force, as in Símón Bolivar's Gran Colombia, free from Spanish hegemony (Williamson 2003). Entire urban populations, such as the city of Cali in Colombia, in need of an expression properly reflective of their newly growing cosmopolitan identity, embraced the idea (Waxer 2002). The success of this move can be discerned by the extent to which it has become ingrained in the musical offerings of performers over time: from Hector Lavoe's 'Mi gente' (My People) in 1975, Celia Cruz's 'Pasaporte latinoamericano' (Latin American Passport) in 1993 and Adalberto Álvarez's 'Somos Latinos' (We Are Latinos) in 1995 to La Excelencia's 'Unidad' (Unity) in 2009.

Extra-Caribbean Sites of Salsa

The sounds of Cuba have long traveled beyond the Caribbean by shortwave radio. Recognizing their rhythms in the *son montuno*, West Africans have adopted it as their own, a development which has continued beyond the formation of Orchestra Baobab in Senegal to the pan-Atlantic collaborations of Africando comprising New York salsa musicians and Senegalese vocalists. The re-Africanization of Cuban-based styles has drawn new fusions with Senegalese *griot* traditions and *mbalax*, for example by Super Cayor de Dakar. Congolese-born Ricardo Lemvo is a leading proponent of modernized African-Cuban fusion, choosing the West Coast of the United States, also home to Grammy-nominated gypsy ensemble Orquesta Gitano, as his site of production.

In the early twenty-first century, the live salsa performance scene in Europe boasts a number of noteworthy musicians, including Colombian-born 'El Sonero de Paris' Yuri Buenaventura in France, who has dabbled with the sounds of Algerian *raï*, the critically acclaimed Conexion Latina in Germany, the convincing *timba* of Sweden's Calle Real and the highly original Salsa Celtica from Scotland. In Japan, where hyper-real renditions devoid of contamination by local elements are preferred, Orquesta de la Luz produced salsa's fastest-selling platinum debut album in 1990. The rise of Japanese salsa points to an important new trend only possible with transnationalization – 'the adoption of a non-Western style by another non-Western country without the intervention of North American or European influence' (Hosokawa 2002).

Beyond the Caribbean, the production and consumption of salsa differs between communities, according to whether they are expatriate Latin American or not. In the presentation of live salsa music, given the extensive knowledge base and specialist skills in language, rhythmic execution and synchrony required, it is uncommon to observe a salsa ensemble without the presence of a single Latin American. For economic reasons it is more usual to encounter salsa being 'reproduced' technologically at sites of consumption, where contrasting preferences in attitudes to recorded music are notable. Generally, Latin Americans, to whom the language and cultural symbols are identifiable, appreciate narrative and often enjoy songs with extended lyrical improvisations – the *sonero*'s art – as exemplified in recordings of live performances. Many non-Latin Americans, on the other hand, consume salsa as 'decontextualised' social dance (Skinner 2007) and to that end tend to prefer compact songs that provide more opportunities to engage with dance partners. A significant proportion are unaccustomed to synchronizing their regular dance rhythm to syncopated timelines like *clave*; they exhibit greater confidence on the dance-floor when rhythms of a regular period are pronounced, for example those interpreted by the *bongo*, bell and *güiro*.

Growth in Salsa Literature

The growth in interest in salsa in the late 1990s and early 2000s is reflected in an expansion in the literature, with styles of writing ranging from anecdote-based personal chronicles to highly researched academic studies and theses. A considerable amount of research in the ethnomusicology of salsa has been conducted by authors with significant investment in Latin American culture, for example Berríos-Miranda (2002) and Garcia (2006). Meanwhile, it is in the disciplines of social anthropology and sociology that the transnational status of salsa has been most thoroughly documented. Skinner's work on salsa in Belfast (2008) and globally (2007), and Román-Velázquez's 'The Making of Latin London' (1999) are good examples. The translation into English of texts previously available only in Spanish, most notably Carpentier's *Music in Cuba* (2002) and Rondón's *The Book of Salsa* (2008) can be read as another, albeit weaker, indicator of salsa's movement across national boundaries.

But salsa scholarship is not limited to the cutting edge of cultural research. In 2011 a burgeoning wealth of instructional material is available from webpage to printed page, in aural and visual formats, covering aspects of musicianship and dance, styles of performance, histories of development and biographies of famous artists. That these can be found in a breadth of languages confirms that salsa is a phenomenon that has grown beyond its points of origin and development in North America and the Caribbean to assume an international stature.

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LOO YEN YEO

***See also*: Salsa (Volume VIII, North America, and Volume XII, International)**

Salsatón

Salsatón (or salsaton) is a hybrid, transnational music that integrates elements and artists of two popular musical genres with strong Puerto Rican connections, salsa and reggaeton (reggaetón). These two genres are among a number across the Caribbean featuring a 3:2 *son clave* pattern over a duple meter pulse. Although they arose and grew in popularity at different historical and social moments, they share an original focus on urban themes and, later, the inclusion of romantic lyrics. Born in the early years of the twenty-first century, salsatón is the collaborative product of innovative artists from these two distinct genres and also lies therefore at the intersection between the youth associated with reggaeton and the broad range of ages associated with salsa, expressing similar concerns and identities.

Although some critics of salsatón deny it is even a genre – just as critics of salsa have claimed it to be nothing more than a marketing ploy by Fania Records, and reggaeton's detractors have denied it genre status because of its highly digitalized and technical sound – salsatón is construed by many as a unique musical form that combines the similar rhythms and themes of its two parents.

Both salsa, born in the urban barrios of New York in the 1960s, and reggaeton, arising in Puerto Rico and recognized by this name in the 1990s, have their roots in immigration and musical mixing and adaptation.

Puerto Rican and other Hispanic immigrants to the United States experimented by blending the *son* and other Caribbean rhythms to create salsa. The lyrics of this new music focused first on the harsh realities of urban life, later introducing romantic themes, in both cases reaching across national boundaries to contribute to a pan-Latin identity. Similarly, reggaeton grew out of the blending of dancehall, hip-hop and *reggae en español* (Panamanian adaptations of Jamaican rhythms to Spanish language songs during the 1960s and 1970s). Reggaeton's hallmark beat, known as Dem Bow after Shabba Ranks's 1991 hit of the same name, featured a strong emphasis on percussive elements that highlighted the bass drum on the first and third beat with the snare playing the backbeat against it (for further detail, see the entries on salsa and reggaeton). Like salsa, reggaeton's beginnings are deeply rooted in an urban thematic that, among other topics, criticizes poverty, unemployment and discrimination. Reggaeton, therefore, inherits the critical stance of the first salsas and other musical forms such as hip-hop. As in the case of salsa, reggaeton's lyrics have continued to include more romantic elements as the genre has evolved.

Salsatón's precise beginnings are blurred. An early sample of salsatón is the 2003 collaboration between *salsero* Jerry Rivera and *reggaetonero* Julio Voltio on a remake of the Frankie Ruiz single, 'Mi libertad' ('My Freedom'). The central themes of this song are common to both salsa and reggaeton: incarceration, the passing of youth, separation and an underlying sense of alienation. Although such a combination of salsa and reggaeton had not yet been christened as salsatón, the genre's basic characteristics – the blend of Dem bow and *clave*, singing and rapping, and traditional themes – are present in this song.

Various other musicians have participated in this blurring of musical boundaries between salsa and reggaeton. In 2005 Sony International released the album *Salsatón 2005*, a compilation of collaborations between artists such as Charlie Cruz and Tony Tun Tun; La India, Tito Nieves, John Eric and Nicky Jam; and Michael Stuart and Cheka. Similarly, La India experimented with salsatón collaborations on her album, *Soy diferente* (*I'm Different*), which features the salsera with *reggaetonero* Cheka in the title track, while the highly popular reggaeton star, Don Omar, collaborated with well-known *salseros* Gilberto Santa Rosa ('Los hombres tienen la culpa' – Men Are to Blame) and Víctor Manuelle ('Nunca había llorado así' – I Had Never Cried Like This). The young Puerto Rican duo NG2, whose NG stands for *nueva generación* – 'new generation' – also blended their *salsa joven* ('young salsa') with Julio Voltio's reggaeton in the remix of their popular 'Ella menea' (She Shakes).

One of the most significant examples of salsatón is Andy Montañez's 2006 album *Salsatón: Salsa con reggaetón*. According to *salsero* Montañez, a Puerto Rican musician with over four decades of experience in the music industry, producer Sergio George can be credited with the idea of recording an album blending salsa and reggaeton. Montañez invited a variety of *reggaetoneros* to collaborate with him, including Daddy Yankee, Cheka, La Sister and John Eric. The first single of the album, a collaboration between Montañez and Daddy Yankee, specifically refers to the experimental nature of fusing musical genres and generations as it traces the evolution of salsatón from *son* to reggaeton. Likewise, the single 'Salsatón,' featuring John Eric and La Sister collaborating with Montañez, directly states the goal of uniting the two genres and emphasizes that they should be joined so that younger generations can experience Montañez's style. This innovative album met with great popularity and Montañez was rewarded with a 2007 Grammy nomination for Best Tropical Album of the year.

Salsatón collaborations have continued to gain airplay internationally among tropical and dance selections. By mixing a pinch of salsa with a touch of reggaeton, salsatón has built not only on these genres' similar rhythmic bases but also on the way they have reflected a common history of realities shared by many Latinos, young and old, around the globe. Salsa and reggaeton, with their Puerto Rican origins, have contributed to the construction and diffusion of pan-Latin identities due to their initial focus on urban, quotidian themes, and later, romantic lyrics. Their fusion in salsatón is but one more link in this musical tradition that joins genres and generations of Latinos to find a shared language that expresses who they are, the moment in which they live, and the realities they face.

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JULIE A. SELLERS

Salves

Dominican *salves* are pieces of non-liturgical religious music performed before an altar or devotional icon. They take their name from the 'Salve Regina' of the Spanish medieval liturgy, though the Dominican repertoire and performance style is substantially different and not under the jurisdiction of the Church. In a variety of regional styles, most with polyrhythmic percussive accompaniment, *salves* function as the essential religious repertoire in pilgrimages, devotional celebrations for Catholic saints (*velaciones*) and *Vodú* ceremonies (the Dominican counterpart of Haitian *Vodoun*). In the eastern and southwestern provinces of the Dominican Republic, many of the *salves marianas* (to the Virgin Mary) are still performed in a manner derivative of the archaic Spanish singing of the 'Salve Regina.' However, several other distinctly Dominican repertoires, performance styles and functions for *salves* music have emerged and diffused widely in popular religion since the ending of the colonial era, forming a new Creole musical tradition. In the southern and central provinces especially, they are characterized by thorough blending of multiple African and Spanish musical influences, and openness to stylistic innovation and cross-fertilization with other local traditional music including *palos, pri-pri, mangulina, merengue perico ripiao* and work songs of agricultural cooperatives.

In the closest Dominican variant to the medieval Spanish *salves marianas*, the original liturgical text, with minor alterations or additions to fit musical phrasing, is divided between two alternating choruses according to the particular melodic setting. Often it is sung unaccompanied without conforming to a regular pulse, though hand-clapping or light percussion can be introduced. There are a few dozen melodic settings in use for singing the verses of the *Salve Regina* in this unedited and uninterrupted manner, a style known as *salves corridas.* More numerous are the repertoires of *salves con versos*, which are likely to be sung in regular pulse accompanied by percussion in distinct combinations depending on region. In these, a soloist sings the verses of the *Salve Regina* in a modified form with frequent word additions or brief expressive 'fillers,' whereas the chorus sings a fixed response, either after each single line, couplet or quatrain of verse.

Other styles of *salves* with no relation to the liturgical text dominate the tradition in the south and central regions, and are increasingly present in other parts of the country. These styles have in common improvised single verses, couplets or quatrains sung by a soloist alternated by fixed chorus responses and accompanied by polyrhythmic percussion. While more recent *salves* tend to utilize Western major and minor scales, the melodies of older repertoires are often derived from typically African sequences of intervals and pentatonic scales or may, as in the *salves corridas*, utilize ecclesiastic modes, plagal cadences and melismas characteristic of European sacred music dating from the early colonial period. These Creole repertoires include *salves* for the Virgin which do not use the *Salve Regina* text, *salves* addressing other Catholic saints, *salves* dedicated to *Vodú* deities and those treating a variety of themes of relevance to Dominican popular religion. In addition, while at the altar or in religious processions, *salves* singers introduce themes which are secular in orientation and may borrow lyrics or an entire song from recreational music genres such as *merengue.* Likewise, *merengue* singers have on occasion drawn inspiration from *salves* melodies and lyrics. Cross-influences between *salves* and recreational music have historical precedent in part due to an overlap of musicians and performance contexts between genres. For example, in *velaciones* and *Vodú* ceremonies, *salves* are frequently performed in alternation or simultaneous with other genres intended to satisfy relatively more secular interests. Depending on region and occasion, other music may include *palos*, *tonadas, pri-prí,* brass bands and *merengue típico.*

While song texts, melodic type and vocal technique also vary, regional distinctions are marked especially clearly by instrumentation and their role in the ensemble. In towns north of Santo Domingo, several round frame drums (*panderos*) and a metal scraper (*güiro*) are combined with a small lap drum (*mongó*), and a somewhat larger lead drum (*balsié*) which is set horizontally upon the ground and played with special foot-dampening and finger-gliding techniques. In southcentral San Cristóbal, the lead drum is the *tambora* (also essential to *merengue* ensembles), which is joined by at least one smaller *balsié,* and typically two or more *güiros* played with greater improvisation and rhythmic variety than elsewhere. Further west in Baní, a set of three or more unusually large *panderos* are added to the ensemble just described, and play the lead role in polyrhythmic improvisations rather than the *tambora.* Elsewhere in the east and the Cibao (north), lighter accompaniment of small *panderos,* hand-clapping and *mongó* are typical. Since the later decades of the twentieth century, a number of groups in the southcentral provinces, looking to achieve energetic effects in *Vodú* ceremonies, have been using Kongo-derived *palos* drums to provide *salves* accompaniment or have combined them with traditional *salves* percussion into one integrated ensemble. Nevertheless, in general practice, *palos* and *salves* remain distinct genres with important sonic and functional differences.

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Samba

The term 'samba' has been used in Brazil since at least the nineteenth century in many different regional contexts to refer to an equal number of distinct music genres, often related to dance forms that include the term, as well as events in which they are performed. Its possible meanings, therefore, emerge from the particular forms it may assume from rural to urban settings, along with varying emphasis on values such as community entertainment, ethnicity, social positioning, political power, social repercussion and commercial revenues. Yet, considering all these semantic possibilities, it is equally viable to think of *samba* in terms of multiple interrelationships between and beyond any circumscribed meanings.

The first known written reference to *samba* occurs in an article ('The Extravagant Taste') signed by the Catholic priest Lopes Gama in a satirical periodical published in the northeastern town of Recife, which describes the *samba d'almocreves* as being as agreeable as the *Semiramis*, the *Gaza Ladra*, the *Tancredi*, etc. (*sic*), by Rossini (*O Carapuceiro*, no. 6, 3 February 1838, p. 1). Analyzing this brief record, popular music historian José Ramos Tinhorão (2008) interprets its association with mule drivers (*almocreves*) as indicative of a possible white or mestizo lower-class borrowing from ('contamination by,' in his terms) African-derived practices such as the drum-based, belly-bump dances termed *batuque* by the Portuguese, and seen by the intellectual elites as not suitable for a civilized urban milieu (slavery was abolished in Brazil only in 1888). From then on, as shown by Tinhorão, other nineteenth-century literary references would confirm the double standard of *samba* as simultaneously referenced in African-derived, drum-based belly-bump dances held in the slave laboring haciendas and as an urban hybrid cultivated among the predominantly mestizo and black lower classes.

Origins and Historical Development

Despite all etymological and historical evidence indicating its likely origins in Southern-Central Africa (see Carneiro 1981; Machado Filho 1985), the earliest printed source for the practice of *samba* in the city of Rio de Janeiro remains an 1878 newspaper advertisement for a theatrical pantomime, 'Aladdin and the Magic Lamp,' presented simultaneously at a skating rink and a circus-theater. It asks the reader to take part in the 'Samba, ... the most authentic success of the times! The genuinely popular amusement!' (Gardel 1967, 126; author's translation). While the performance contexts mentioned may be more readily associated with white and mulatto lower-middle-class audiences, this touch of novelty may be in part attributed to broader sociodemographic changes affecting the cultural life of the Brazilian capital. With the progressive decay of the slave regime in Brazil, Rio, the country's strongest abolitionist center, became the main destination of former slaves from various provinces, many of whom spoke dialects that mixed African languages with local forms of Portuguese. Following Abolition in 1888, people of African descent made up to about 60 percent of the city's population (Mortara 1970), and most were underemployed or unemployed. The oral history of this period records the role of *samba* music and dance as creators of community bonds (eventually interchanging symbolic forms and values with Afro-Brazilian religious practices) within this heterogeneous social group whose ancestors had come from different ethnic backgrounds in Africa and mingled with distinct regional cultures in Brazil (see Borges Pereira 1970).

As was the case with every other cultural expression associated with Afro-descendants, *samba* practice was singled out as a despicable sign of backwardness that jeopardized the country's modernizing efforts, such as the 1902–28 urban reform that remodeled downtown Rio de Janeiro based on the Parisian model, and that also served as a dangerous symbol of black unity and resistance. Performances of *samba*'s percussive and syncopated music – classified in many written sources as 'noise' – and of its dance – labeled lascivious – depended on police permission and were often violently repressed.

After the 1902 opening of the first recording enterprise in Rio, Casa Edison, musical pieces described as 'samba' on the record label began to be issued commercially sometime between 1908 and 1911. The first such recording was 'Em casa da Bahiana' (In the Bahian Woman's House), an exclusively instrumental piece performed by the Conjunto da Casa Faulhaber. Recorded for the Carnival festivities of 1917 by the singer Baiano, the song 'Pelo telefone' (Over the Phone) became the first commercially successful *samba*. It had been previously copyrighted by Ernesto dos Santos (nicknamed Donga), an active participant in early-century *samba* gatherings held in Afro-Brazilian enclaves of Rio and also a part-time professional musician who played banjo and guitar. His achievement, however, was soon shadowed by accusations of plagiarism made by a number of co-participants in the same *samba* reunions, a controversy that ultimately split the community. Another allegation commonly made to deflate the claim of 'Pelo telefone' to be the first recorded *samba* is that the music itself, the rhythm in particular, has stronger associations with *maxixe*, a popular turn-of-the-century ballroom genre. Controversies notwithstanding, the success of 'Pelo telefone' initiated the systematic commercial exploitation of the term 'samba' by local record companies. The earliest *samba* hits followed the 'Pelo telefone' model closely: (1) the characteristic *maxixe* rhythmic pattern of sixteenth note/eight note/sixteenth note in a 2/4 measure; (2) the vocal style emulating lyrical singing; (3) accompaniment by a single guitar or piano, or, over time, small ensembles of two guitars, *cavaquinho* (four-string guitar), one wind instrument and almost inaudible percussion. This model was explored by some of the first exponents of Carnival music in the 1910s and early 1920s such as pianist Sinhô (nicknamed the King of Samba), Caninha and Alfredo Vianna (Pixinguinha).

By the late 1920s various changes were appearing on recorded *sambas*, notably: (a) instrumentation with a wind section and percussion instruments, the latter being typical of the popular practice; (b) a multipart rhythmic structure, with the voice and each of the accompanying instruments following its own distinctive, interlocking patterns, the instrumental ones largely developed around an ostinato figure; and (c) a vocal style that sounded more colloquial, contrasting the emulation of lyrical singing observed in earlier recorded *sambas*. The new style, also known as 'samba batucado' (thus referring to its percussive nature, from the verb *batucar*, meaning 'to play percussion'), was largely made possible through the introduction of sound recordings in Brazil around 1928, and became the hegemonic form of recorded *samba* for decades (Araujo 1992; Sandroni 2001). The prototypical *samba* songs in this style were recorded by white middle-class singers such as Francisco Alves and Mário Reis and composed by lower- or lower-middle-class blacks and mulattos such as Ismael Silva, Bide and Armando Marçal, all of whom belonged to a newly created type of Carnival association, the so-called 'samba schools.' Their lyrics depicted the songwriters' everyday lives, in which involvement with *samba* was one of the rarely available forms of social participation and mobility. In this context, the theme of the *malandro*'s (rogue's) search for a better life would acquire enormous importance. Born tired because his father had literally worked to death, with no money but with a passion for fine clothes, drink and pretty women, the *malandro* praised the easy bohemian life, in which words such as job or work were taken as insults.

The first significant white composers to write songs in this idiom and to live by its values, such as Noel Rosa, faced the disapproval of their own class as they became publicly associated with the *samba* world. Despite the persisting stigma, however, the number of white middle-class *samba* composers and singers (among the latter, the Portuguese-born Carmen Miranda) increased, helping to make *samba* a national success through records, radio and, beginning in the late 1930s, movies. This phenomenon is concomitant with the proliferation of hybridized forms of *samba* not meant for carnival, such as *samba-canção*, *samba-fox* and others.

The dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas (1937–45) centered its politico-economic strategies on two basic objectives: overthrowing the landowning oligarchies and consolidating the hegemony of industrial capitalism; and building a sense of national consciousness vis-à-vis the previously predominant politics focused on petty regional interests. The regime soon perceived the importance of *samba* in Brazilian popular culture but had, of course, serious problems with song texts praising the *malandro* way of life, which reconciled poverty and privation. Through articles in government-run periodicals and rules for state-sponsored *samba* competitions, these policy makers attacked the 'transgressive' song texts as dated, and urged the *sambistas* (samba practitioners) to use their lyrics to foster both a sentiment of national pride and a passion for hard work.

The *sambas* in tune with this patriotic appeal were no longer presented as stemming from an 'underdog culture,' but rather as distinguished symbols of the New State (Estado Novo). In this State, racial or social prejudices should have no place – in official terminology, Brazil should be a 'racial democracy' in which a man or woman should ideally be valued upon his/her hard work and 'civic consciousness.'

Musically speaking, the *sambas* of the Estado Novo in question are by no means different from their predecessors, particularly in the rhythmic rendition of the melody based on the elusive *malandro* prosody. This similarity lent a relative ambiguity to the meaning of the new lyrics. One may take as an example the song 'Vai trabalhar' (Go to Work), recorded by Aracy de Almeida in 1942. The singer reprehends her partner for being a *malandro*, living in the *samba* world all day long while she pays her dues washing clothes. The climax comes at the end of the song, when she urges him: 'Você tem que cooperar/è forte, pode ajudar/Arruma um emprego/Deixa o samba e vai trabalhar ("You must co-operate/You're strong and may help me out/Get a job/Leave the samba and go to work").' Taken at its literal meaning, the song seems overly moralistic, abiding by the principles of the New State, although its policy makers would certainly be tolerant of *samba* as, perhaps, a form of weekend leisure. However, the singer's deliverance – emphasizing each syncopation in a slow tempo, and using the *malandro*'s characteristically nasal vocal timbre and offbeat prosody – subtly suggests that she might even come to endorse her partner's choice if it were not for their daily difficulties in earning a living.

Raised to the level of a national emblem (the same status as coffee production at the time, and, later, of football [soccer]), *samba* began to play an important role in the so-called Good Neighbor policy developed during wartime by the US State Department's Office of Inter-American Affairs. That agency invested heavily in colorful Hollywood musicals that caricatured its 'happy and sensuous' neighboring Latin American countries. Despite its often adverse repercussions in Latin America itself, this idealized 'Latin fetish' formula captured minds and imaginations all over the world and made Brazilian singer-turned-actress Carmen Miranda one of Hollywood's hottest – and often said to have been the best paid – female show business stars of her era. Miranda frequently appeared in the role of a professional dancer-singer in nightclubs, usually wearing an extravagant costume and an exotic head-dress filled with bananas. Her repertoire initially consisted of the same Brazilian genres that she had performed before settling in the United

States: marches, *choros* and, notedly, *sambas*. The latter, according to newspaper coverage, were perceived as 'the' major symbol of her nationality. Singing in Portuguese, she confronted show-business entrepreneurs who pressured her to sing in English, but in the end she became successful largely due to her exquisite trademark combination of stylized *samba* singing and dancing. Despite its tortuous inspiration, the blend of caricature and sensuous exoticism that constrained Carmen Miranda's stereotyped roles in film seems to have been transgressive enough to force the Puritan mind to be more tolerant, while simultaneously outlining an acceptable model of Pan-American unity that congregated the exotic 'banana republics' under the modernizing US leadership.

Attempts to co-opt the *samba* of Rio de Janeiro have achieved mixed results. On the one hand, *samba*'s transgressive potential as an emblem of the oppressed, associated with its Afro-Brazilian roots, played a relevant role during the military dictatorship (1964–85), when many *sambistas*, such as Zé Keti, Paulinho da Viola and Elton Medeiros, took stances against the miserable living conditions and political repression of the poor. On the other, further developments in popular music – such as the remodeling of *samba*'s musical structure, worked out by *bossa nova* musicians beginning in the 1950s, and the 1990s boom of *pagode* music (initiated among lower-middle-class *samba* practitioners) – have strengthened the symbolic power of *samba* among Brazilians in general, while simultaneously raising concerns about its deviation from previous patterns. Even in the twenty-first century, when *samba* stands as a 'neutral' commodity in the world's entertainment market in that it is cultivated by people of heterogeneous social and ethnic backgrounds, its potential for transgression is not totally impossible. After all, a number of critical *sambistas* such as Leci Brandão, Martinho da Vila, Noca da Portela, Nelson Sargento and Nei Lopes were still active and influencing newer generations in the early twenty-first century, as exemplified by artists such as Teresa Cristina, Marquinhos de Osvaldo Cruz, Martinalia and others.

Nevertheless, the symbolic efficacy of the elevation of Rio's *samba* to the status of a national emblem is undeniable. To many Brazilian citizens from other regions or cultures, this association may seem arbitrary or even absurd, but to the *sambista carioca* (*samba* practitioner of Rio) it is a matter of pride. The latter tends to see this music as a strong representation of Brazilian culture, and often as the only cultural icon able to stand against other nations' musical emblems. This very status, however, can lead the *sambista* to despair, when he/she can no longer recognize in the media's spectacular forms of *samba* any of the values cultivated in his or her own backyard.

The Role of *Compositores de Samba'*

A careful consideration of the role of songwriters (*compositores*) and the making of *samba* songs in the specific context of Rio de Janeiro raises issues concerning: (1) the backgrounds and resources that a would-be *compositor* draws upon when conceiving a *samba*; (2) what differentiates and legitimizes a *compositor* within the so-called *samba* world; and (3) intersections with other stylistic formations within the broader field of popular music in Brazil.

Although it is today a widely naturalized category, it is not clear when the term *compositor* began to be applied to songwriters of popular music in Brazil. A not-so-speculative hypothesis holds that the label's first use was concurrent with the emergence of the so-called popular music market by the turn of the twentieth century. In any case, the general denomination *compositor de samba* was already in currency by the late 1920s to refer to market-oriented and/or formally untrained songwriters in all imaginable genres. The term *compositor de samba* is best translated in this context as a songwriter whose production is identified with the *samba* world; he or she is simply called *compositor* by insiders. The 'songwriter' usually has no formal training in – or, perhaps more properly, has a different way of formally approaching – the body of knowledge that academia either implicitly or explicitly legitimates as the canons of 'music,' and his or her craft is to create songs or, in his or her own terms, *sambas*.

The suffix '-writer' is in this case a bit problematic. *Compositores* rarely write down their lyrics, relying on memory alone, although this process is gradually being replaced by sound recording as a form of fixing both lyrics and melodies. One might argue that the appropriation by *compositores de samba* of the designation 'composer,' a term generally used to denote a specialist with formal training whose final 'works' may well include songs, is an example of convergent strategies of legitimation, although one could equally define their role as sound *bricoleurs*, who eventually combine sound with words.

Many *compositores* are formally associated with a single *escola de samba* (literally, *samba* school; *escolas de samba* are carnival associations, created among the lower classes in Rio beginning in the late 1920s, whose official parade competition later became the centerpiece of the tourist season in the city; in the twenty-first century, virtually all social classes and even foreign visitors, participate). In a *samba* school, *compositores* usually belong to either the *ala dos compositores* (literally, composers' wing) or to the *velha guarda* (literally, the old guard), an honorary institution of older composers populated by *samba* school members. The *ala* consists of fully active composers, the majority of whom are between their 20s and 40s in age. Traditionally, the rules of *alas de compositores* demanded the presentation of at least one *samba* every two years. Each *ala* holds regular meetings – including the one that defines the rules of the *samba-enredo* contest – and also organizes various fund-raising activities (e.g., raffles and parties). Its membership is largely constituted by lower-class and lower-middle-class males. In many but not all instances, members of the *alas* live within or have strong ties with the base community.

In major *escolas de samba* (e.g., Portela, Salgueiro and Mangueira), the *velhas guardas* host the emblematic *compositores*, those whose long-standing contribution to *samba* in general and to their *samba* schools in particular is widely acknowledged among *samba* practitioners. Being typically of relatively advanced age, they are regarded by their base communities as examples of wisdom. Due to their disagreement with certain paths taken by their particular *samba* schools or by *samba* in general, a considerable number of *compositores* have made a point of distancing themselves – physically at least – from the *samba* world. In these cases, however, some degree of relationship with the founding community is nonetheless maintained.

It is unanimously believed that these *compositores*' specific ability is innate, whereas one becomes a specialist in the other aspects of kinetic/acoustic labor termed *samba* (i.e., dancing, drumming and singing) through learning and practice (Leopoldi 1978; Araujo 1992). Such unique aptitude would primarily involve a sensitive attunement to human affairs, from everyday to unusual, from worldly to metaphysical and so on. The composer casts his or her themes in a certain light, be it humorous, emotional or critical, which is perceived as usually escaping the common man or woman and which, once unveiled, finds its most effective expression in song. The *compositor* is then a relatively powerful figure within a referential universe centered on the production of a body of songs, no matter how poor or humble his or her background may be. Given their unique stance, *compositores* hold a peculiar position within the *samba* schools (Leopoldi 1978). In a not so distant past, they were regarded by the base communities as among their most sensitive and articulate representatives, their power being often instrumental in voicing the ensemble of values and eventual demands endorsed by those communities (Goldwasser 1975; Leopoldi 1978). Simultaneously, however, their respective agency takes place within a concrete set of conditions, including the need to constantly navigate the constraints, deceptive or not, of financial opportunities in the entertainment market. Thus, their catalyzing mode of insertion in such a process, that is, as essential and uniquely gifted producers, stands out as a potential indicator of emerging trends whose significance may eventually transcend the microcosm in question.

An aspect to be highlighted in a study of *samba* songwriters' accounts of their composition process is the importance of the lyrics/melody relationship. In spite of their choreographic component, *sambas* seem to be understood by their composers as a danceable song form in which the melodic rhythm is relatively free from strict dependence on certain choreographic standards (Araujo 1992). Simultaneously, the accompanying instrumental rhythms comprise a certain stock of formulas, more directly articulated with similarly formulaic dance steps.

Thus, in creating a *samba* song, the songwriter follows prosody standards of the Portuguese language as spoken in his/her own context, adapting it to the stock of formulas of melodic rhythm, always referenced in the instrumental (usually percussive) rhythm. In fact, the relationships between the melodic rhythm and the instrumental rhythm constitute one of the main aspects of *samba* efficacy, as manifested in performance. Like the rhythm, the pitch collections found in *samba* melodies also follow patterns that are more or less recurrent.

Samba Subgenres

The definition and differentiation of diverse subgenres within the realm of *samba* is a noticeable concern for *sambistas*. Songwriters are expected to know and explore these subgenres well, writing songs in all subgenres, to enhance their prestige. There are, however, disagreements concerning taxonomy, even among the social authorities in the *samba* universe. There are also cases in which a composer's musical output contradicts his/her own formal or stylistic definitions.

General characteristics pervading all possible *samba* subgenres may be summarized as follows:

1. The performance involves a choice between one singer, alternation of soloists, an exclusively choral rendition and alternation between soloist and choir; choral singing is always in unison.
2. The singing is juxtaposed with a multipart instrumental structure, involving a stock of relatively standardized rhythmic and timbral

ostinato patterns, usually played by or evoking a given stock of percussive instrument-types (e.g., *tamborim*, *agogô*, *pandeiros*, *chocalhos*, *cuíca*, *caixa-de-guerra*, *tarol*, *repique* and *surdos*).

3. A stock of rhythms stimulates and interacts with the *samba* dance, although the strict relationships between the two have diminished over the years.
4. Certain rhythmic cells played by percussion instruments perform a strong generative role (sometimes a long ostinato, in other passages just a fragment), affecting the melodic rhythm of the song.
5. Recurrent melodic leaps of fifths, sixths and sevenths are employed.
6. Melodic stress recurrently appears on a sixteenth-note anticipation of the downbeat in 2/4 measure, while the instrumental accent appears on the second beat of each measure.
7. Poetic structure comprises an unfixed number of syllables per verse.
8. A relatively relaxed singing style is used, with recurrent use of falsetto.
9. The guitar and *cavaquinho* are consistently employed for melodic or harmonic as well as rhythmic support, contrasting with the use of flute, clarinet and mandolin as melody instruments only.

A tentative typology of the main subgenres of commercially recorded *sambas* includes: *samba-de-quadra* (or *samba-de-terreiro*), *samba-enredo* and *partido alto*.

Samba-de-quadra or *Samba-de-terreiro*

This *samba* type is presented publicly during *samba* school rehearsals or a musically oriented social gathering, some of which are held in the *samba* schools' rehearsal yards. Before the construction of stable structures for rehearsals, such events happened in unoccupied land slots, the so-called *terreiros*. In rehearsals, a *samba-de-quadra* was often sung as a warm-up before the *sambas-enredo* (see below) for Carnival. *Samba-de-quadra* songwriters sometimes performed the vocals themselves, solo or accompanied by a choir, while at other times another singer was used, quite often one whose prestige might enhance the chances of a song's social acceptance or commercial recording. The accompaniment consisted typically of a variable percussion ensemble plus *cavaquinho* and guitar.

The success and longevity of a *samba-de-quadra* would depend fundamentally on the immediate empathy it evoked among participants at a given event. Accordingly, several of these *sambas* were not premiered directly within the *samba* schools, but in smaller private social gatherings outside their realms. They were sung in the *samba* school rehearsal yards only after they had been learned by many *samba* school members. This method also is used for the selection processes of Carnival *samba-enredo*.

Sambas-de-quadra were composed all year round and several became extremely successful as commercial recordings. However, since commercially released *sambas-enredo* started breaking sales records in the 1970s, the time reserved for the presentation of *sambas-de-quadra* has diminished dramatically. Many *samba* school administrators eventually alleged that *sambas-de-quadra* were not 'lively' or 'enthusiastic' enough, thus disappointing, or even irritating the paying audience at modern *samba* school rehearsals.

The lyrics of *sambas-de-quadra* focus on a wide variety of themes, from love to social criticism, metaphysical allusions, or praise of public figures and many other subjects. In terms of style, they may also vary enormously, from good-humored narratives to lyrical evocative samples.

Sambas-de-quadra typically consist of two sections, the first usually sung by a choir (mixed or, more often, female) and the second by a soloist. There are not, however, strict rules regarding the appropriate number or gender of vocalists, allowing a plethora of possibilities for structuring the vocal performance.

In many *sambas-de-quadra*, the first section tends to be predominantly diatonic, devoid of the 'difficult' chromatic passages that are more typical of the second section. It is interesting to notice that composers, whenever asked, acknowledge that the first section of their *sambas-de-quadra* appeal more directly to their audiences – something that perhaps may be credited to the diatonicism of this section and to its frequent rendition by collective singing, somehow asking one more voice (the listener's) to join in.

While the production of *sambas-de-quadra* has not ceased – and, in fact, remains intense – they tend to be identified simply as *sambas* and presented in a less ritualized way.

Samba-enredo

Sambas-enredo are the songs composed specifically for the *samba* schools' pageant competition in Carnival. The origins of the *escolas de samba* are much debated. One of the most popular explanations traces them back to the first of such associations (of a noncompetitive character, however) to publicly assume such a descriptive name, the Escola de Samba

Deixa Falar, around 1928 (for other explanations, see Raphael 1980). According to Deixa Falar cofounder Ismael Silva, the term was originally a suggestive reference to a teachers' preparatory school located near the meeting place of the *samba* school's founders, in the Estácio neighborhood.

Whatever its origin, the designation 'escola de samba' was progressively adopted by similar Carnival groups in subsequent years. Beside this shared descriptive denomination, each *samba* school bears its own distinctive name, usually derived from its sociogeographical base. The name may refer to either a specific community or to a more encompassing unit such as a neighborhood or even a city within the Greater Rio metropolitan area. For example, some names allude to the *morros* (hills) of Rio, the hillside residential areas densely inhabited by the lower strata of the population (e.g., Estação Primeira de Mangueira, Império Serrano). The *morros* are also stigmatized by the term *favela* (often translated into English as slum), drawn from one of the first such dwellings appearing by the turn of the nineteenth century. Both *favela* and *morro* are terms equally charged in common discourse with the negative connotations of precarious or unbearable living conditions, poverty, marginality and violence. Their respective ethnic or social formations are accordingly subsumed under stigmatizing categories such as *favelados* (a discriminatory term for *favela* dwellers). Despite being 'factually explainable' (i.e., commensurate, for instance, with the immediately visible predominance of blacks in the lower social strata or with the striking substandard quality of life within *favelas*), such stigmata presuppose foregoing any critical search for historical and political determinants in the pursuit of social differentiation.

Some of the distinctive *samba* school names refer to larger areas within neighborhoods with an overwhelming majority of proletarian or low-income residents (e.g., Mocidade Independente de Padre Miguel, Caprichosos de Pilares). There are also more or less explicit references to other cities within Rio's metropolitan area, such as Nilópolis (e.g., Beija-Flor de Nilópolis) and Niterói (e.g., Unidos do Viradouro). In exceptional instances, a *samba* school may be named after a street (e.g., São Clemente) or bear no sociospatial reference whatsoever (e.g., Em Cima da Hora, which means 'on time').

Such distinctions notwithstanding, in virtually all cases a low-income, predominantly Afro-descendant constituency is at the root of a *favela*. For example, even in scarce cases in which a group is named after a relatively differentiated neighborhood (e.g., Unidos da Tijuca), its largest and most involved constituency certainly comes from underprivileged enclaves within that area (the nearby Morro dos Macacos in the example mentioned), where the ethnic contour of the division of labor in Brazil is once again reaffirmed. Consequently, expectations of a good result in the competition are often mixed with largely frustrated hopes for a positive projection of those communities in the public sphere, and desires for the open paths to fulfilment of their pressing necessities (e.g., an end to discrimination, better living conditions and socioeconomic uplifting).

One key aspect of Carnival preparation in every *samba* school is the yearly competition aimed at the selection of one *samba-enredo*, a *samba* song related to the plot to be developed through its costumes, floats, etc. This is carried out through an internal contest among each *samba* school's *compositores,* which may involve about 30 songs and which usually comes to an end by October or early November. After the last *samba* school has chosen its *samba-enredo*, all the winning songs are released on a commercial CD compilation containing that year's plot-based *sambas*.

Sambas-enredo are authored either by individuals or, more commonly, by teams, which may comprise up to about eight people. Since the 1970s and the commercial success of *sambas-enredo* on record, however, there have been allegations that several participating team members are incapable of collaborating even slightly in the composition of a *samba*. Their inclusion in a team may be due to factors such as their ability to publicize a song or their close connections to influential people.

The song themes are either chosen by the *carnavalesco* (pageant director) alone or by the so-called Carnival commission, which usually includes the pageant director, and they are summarized in a synopsis of the plot (*enredo*) distributed among all the *compositores*. The song text of a *samba-enredo* is based on this synopsis, where the *compositores* find references to the highlights of the plot, including important figures, selected events and places, as well as its main ideas. The songwriters are then supposed to treat the material freely, but a pointed reference to these highlights is expected.

After obtaining the synopsis, the *compositores* start working on their respective songs, either individually or in partnership. A deadline is set for registration in the internal competition for each *samba* school. As soon as their *sambas* are completed, each of the individual participants or teams submits a recording (initially a tape, nowadays a CD) containing the song and begins to promote it through all available means.

These may include printed lyric sheets, performances at social gatherings in and around the community, radio or even television performances, homemade CDs and the internet.

As an illustration of this process (Araujo 1992), in the 1989–90 Carnival, one major *samba* school's internal competition took place between mid-August and mid-October 1989; the composers had received the synopsis about two months in advance. Thirty-four *sambas* were registered in time, a procedure that involves providing one typed copy of the lyrics and recording a guitar-and-voice version of the *samba* on an 'official' cassette tape. One hundred and sixteen people were listed as *compositores* of these *sambas*, the majority of whom were in partnerships consisting of as many as seven people. Only one woman participated as songwriter that year, as a member of a team of five.

All *sambas* receiving grades of six or under were eliminated in the first round. The same occurred in the following two rehearsals with those *sambas* receiving eight or under and nine or under, respectively. Only four songs 'survived' these three stages of elimination and remained in the competition until the final selection of the winning *samba-enredo*.

While this selective process takes place internally in every *samba* school, several backstage maneuvers are typically made, from the more subtle and peaceful to more transparent and forceful ones. A general slang term for all these activities, describing in particular those considered unfair, is *armação* (literally, 'building up'). Not unusually, *armação* charges are raised by upset competitors and the results are forcefully contested, leading to disputes with unpredictable results.

Immediately after the winner is proclaimed, there comes a period in which *compositores* largely avoid the *samba* school grounds. According to insiders, this commonly occurs due to resentment and/or to avoid violent confrontations based on fresh memories of dissent that would disturb the preparation process. Accordingly, all the competing *sambas-enredo* with the exception of the winning one fall little by little into oblivion. Only after a brief interruption of rehearsals for Christmas and New Year's festivities do the *compositores* start to return to the *samba* school grounds in significant numbers. From then on, those who return (some will not) are, as much as any other member dedicated to their particular *samba* school's victory in the pageant.

Simultaneously, the chosen *samba-enredo* is worked out in rehearsals until all school members can sing it over and over again, as flawlessly as possible. Because they will take an active part in the pageant, they must be prepared to sing this *samba* uninterruptedly for at least 90 minutes (about 30 full repetitions). As observed at the same major *samba* school in 1989–90, highlighted above, after the internal contest was over, about half an hour of each of the following three rehearsals was dedicated to listening to and learning the winning *samba*. One individual sang it repeatedly into a stage microphone, accompanied by a single *surdo-de-marcação* (the lowest-pitched frame drum) played from the *bateria* (percussion ensemble) box. Thousands of *samba* school members remained standing on the dance floor, not dancing, listening attentively during the first rendition and trying to follow the lead singer during the repetitions, as they progressively memorized a growing number of passages. Since this process takes place simultaneously with the commercial recording and release of the compilation CD containing all major *samba* schools' respective *sambas-enredo*, by mid-November the *samba* was already confidently sung by a vast majority of people attending the rehearsals. From this point on, to know the *samba* well became a crucial, socially pervasive symbol of commitment to that particular *samba* school's quest.

Sambas-enredo are primarily distinguished from other subgenres, as already pointed out, by their thematic and contextual foci as well as by the dynamics of their production. Equally subject to qualitative diversity have been the formal aspects of these *sambas*. Generally speaking, two mutually influential trends are observed. The first one prevailed almost absolutely over the period between the seminal mid-1930s production and the late 1960s, characterized by slow-to-moderate tempo historical narratives in relatively extended poetic form, more adventurous, eventually modulating harmonies, and more frequent use of melodic chromaticism. The second trend, already identifiable in a few *sambas-enredo* of the 1950s, was consolidated after the massive sales and success of the 1971 *samba-enredo* 'Festa para um rei negro' (Party for a Black King), composed by Zuzuca for the Salgueiro *samba* school. As its general distinguishing features, one might highlight: the faster *tempi*: the relatively more compact poetic structures; new, not necessarily historical plots; and the incisive use of diatonic harmony and melody – all features present in other types of commercially successful popular music. This latter trend came to dominate *samba-enredo* production in Rio and also led this *samba* subgenre to dominate the diffusion and sales of Carnival-oriented songs in general. Despite their relative differentiation, however, since the 1970s there has been feedback between these two trends.

Partido alto

This denomination, meaning 'high party' or eminent group, is currently used in Rio to refer to songs comprising a usually compact refrain (from two to four lines of text fitting a symmetrical melodic line, in many cases spanning four or eight measures), sung either by a choir or in responsorial alternation with improvisation by one or more soloist singers. In the early twentieth century this type of song form was eventually called *partido alto* or simply *partido*. Both designations may also name a performance of such songs.

Partido alto cultivators in general, but particularly its expert text improvisers, are singled out as *partideiros*. These improvisers are often *compositores* in the sense explained above, although a number of *partido alto* specialists refrain from identifying themselves as such.

The existence of homonym practices in the State of Bahia and the decisive role played by Bahian migrants in forging an Afro-Brazilian cultural field in Rio de Janeiro by the turn of the twentieth century strongly suggests that, at least initially, the *partido alto* of Rio had a strong Bahian background, either transplanted or slightly adapted in the new context.

The improvisatory practices in early twenty-first century *partido alto* may either encompass melody and text or, in stanza-like form, may be restricted to the text alone. Even in the latter case, however, slight melodic alterations may and often do occur during the elaboration of a new improvised stanza. The improvised text may be related to the fixed part; when it does not, its content is virtually free of restrictions. Common topics in the improvised section include the everyday life of the poor and its many hardships, any aspect of an ongoing performance (e.g., a charming dancer, the good and plentiful liquor being served), or love affairs. The *partideiro*'s verbal fluency, swing (the equivalent Portuguese terms *ginga* and *balanço* are often used in this context), irony, humor, wit and sharply critical worldviews score high marks in the evaluation of participants.

Performances of a *partido alto* have no prescribed setting, and they typically take place at informal gatherings of all sorts (e.g., private parties, bars). Any relatively small accompanying ensemble drawn from common *samba* practices may be employed, but the consistent use of hand-clapping (sustaining a given rhythmic cycle) somewhat distinguishes a *partido alto* performance from those of the other subgenres discussed above. In fact, *partido alto* is frequently sung against handclaps alone.

It is also worth noting that, since *partido alto* made its way to commercial recordings in the late 1960s, in particular through the sales of composer and singer Martinho da Vila, only a small and select sample of so-called 'improvisation' is ever included (usually three or four stanzas). Often, a single individual may pre-compose all the 'improvised' sections. A *partido alto* song with identical text may be performed on different occasions.

Miscellaneous *Samba* Subgenres

A number of other denominations expand the variety of subgenres associated with the label 'samba,' many of which imply the creation of hybrids in connection with other local musical styles (e.g., *samba-canção* and *sambaião*) or international ones (e.g., *sambolero* and samba jazz). Although the creation of such hybrids is more characteristic of the sphere of pan-stylistic songwriting outside the *samba* world, it is by no means uncommon to find *sambacompositores* trying their skills at producing hybrids. Both the amount and quality of this inter-stylistic borrowing (i.e., the distinct modes of working it out) varies from case to case, and sometimes in the work of a single composer.

The *Samba Bateria*

Since *samba* is definitely shaped by time concepts, rhythmic aspects are at its center. This may be exemplified by the role that the *bateria* (percussion ensemble) plays in a *samba* school. A good *bateria* performance not only enlivens the other members but is also largely responsible for the achievement of a harmonious balance between the singing, the dancing, and, in the competition, a smooth flow of the *samba* school body through the pageant competition floor. But what aspects ensure a 'good performance' for insiders? First, it should be tightly coordinated, rhythmically speaking. This is a highly demanding task, considering the average number of players per *bateria* (about 300) and the variety, on the one hand, of instruments involved (about 10 different sets of instrument types), and of their interlocking rhythmic patterns on the other. Secondly, the *bateria* should set the proper mood between containment and euphoria. Tempo as well as timbre and intensity are key factors for producing such a climate. A third object of insiders' evaluation, not readily perceivable by outsiders, consists of distinctive rhythmic cells played by certain instrument sets. These cells provide cues at given passages of the song and help to prevent problems with the singing of the thousands of pageant participants. Given the spatial gap between the different wings and between the wings and the *bateria*, slips such as lack of coordination or even misplacement of song sections are easily made. A good system of cues should help to keep the singing lively and tight, and may end up being eventually emulated by rival *samba* schools in subsequent years.

Competence and gender stand out as the two most visible criteria of differentiation among *bateria* members, the former being more readily acknowledged as such by insiders. Tacit perceptions hindering female participation, while persisting, might well be on the verge of losing their largely undisputed status in the twenty-first century. Competence appears more sharply defined in the distinction between *mestres* (master percussionists) and *batedores* (literally, beaters or players). *Mestres* typically are required to master all the different instruments in the ensemble, although in a few cases they may acknowledge their limited skills on one or another instrument. Their main function is to assist the *bateria* director (*diretor de bateria* or *primeiro mestre*, i.e., first *mestre*) during rehearsals. A *mestre* may lead an instrument set until a certain consistency is achieved, replace the director conducting portions of the rehearsal, or simply stand by, critically watching a performance. During the Carnival competition, the director conducts the *bateria*, while each assistant master leads his or her designated set. The *bateria* director, however, is not only supposed to master all instruments (he or she gives the ultimate directions to each instrumental set with the corresponding instrument in hand), but also has to demonstrate outstanding leadership abilities. Beyond a strong personality and solid musicianship, he or she should exhibit charisma emanating from a deep involvement within the *samba* world.

Whenever the position is vacant, a new director is appointed by the school's president, often after consultation with other players and respected *mestres*. As consensual as it may sometimes seem, the final choice may be contested either overtly or, more characteristically, through gossip.

A director's tenure may last a lifetime or only a handful of years, depending on several factors, but mainly on the *samba* school's administration and personal health. In the first case, he or she is usually lured by another *mestre de bateria*.

Not only *samba* school members, but virtually anybody considered proficient in their instrument of choice may ask for a chance or be nominated by a third party to join the *bateria*. Whenever either of these occur – and such requests are made much more often than positions become available – the potential member may be asked to join the *bateria* for one or two rehearsals, during which he or she is evaluated by the *mestres*. The director-master, however, has the last word. All members are expected to parade, and their total number is generally prescribed at about 300. Circumstances such as sickness, unexpected trips or, not unusually, imprisonment (a recurrent event in the lives of the underprivileged in many situations of extreme inequality) lead the actual number of pageant participants to vary. Sometimes, despite a lack of available positions, the director-master may decide to include a few new *batedores* for one reason or another. If, for instance, they have proven mastery of their respective instruments, their participation may reinforce a section that the director feels is in need of more volume or consistency. Social origins are varied, but there is a predominance of players who either live or were raised in and around the vicinity of the *samba* school. As all schools are strongly tied to poor residential areas, this means that the majority of players come either from the lumpen-proletariat or else from unskilled, low-paid sectors of the working class, many of the latter shifting back and forth between the formal and the so-called informal sector of the economy. But one will occasionally find representatives of intermediate or even upper strata in a *bateria*, as a side effect of the aforementioned transformations involving the field of the *escolas de samba* from the 1960s onward. Accordingly, it is unusual to spot clerks, public workers, foreign professionals, physicians, lawyers or middle-class rock musicians amidst *bateria* players.

Within the *bateria*, a correlation exists between professions and their corresponding social status and the ethnic division of labor that characterizes Brazilian society in general. Therefore, blacks and mulattoes usually constitute the majority in the lower social ranks, while a 'whitening effect' is felt in the progressive upgrading toward the middle and upper classes. Social and ethnic origins alone, however, are not empowering assets within a *samba* school section, where a single mistake by an individual member during a performance can produce total disarray. The question of competence is far more relevant in determining the downplayed yet existing hierarchy within the *bateria* (see below). Still, at given points in time, social/ethnic origins may play a significant role in aesthetic or stylistic turns.

The *bateria ala* (wing) is largely a male domain. Males are noticeably predominant with relatively few spots occupied by women. Although the first known example of a female participant – Dagmar da Silva Pinto, who played *reco-reco* (scrapper) and *chocalho* (rattle) in the Portela *samba* school – comes from the 1940s, only by the last two decades of the twentieth century did female participation in *baterias* increase significantly. Mestre Tião from the Unidos de Cabuçu bateria, for example, reported that, in 1980, he had dismissed the only two women participants. Shortly afterward, however, he noticed the male players' growing indifference toward the smaller handheld instruments known as *miudezas* (i.e., minutiae, small handheld percussion), such as the *chocalho* and the *tamborim* (small frame drum). He then reconsidered the matter and even began to encourage female players to take those instruments up. In 1989 and 1990 Unidos do Cabuçu had 30 women members (the record number among all *escolas*), most of whom were in the *miudezas* section.

Conclusion

Samba has played and still plays a key part in cultural debates on race relations, identity and social power in Brazil and abroad, not to speak of its many and analytically interesting music and dance structural aspects. Therefore, multidisciplinary scholarship on the subject will certainly continue to expand, adopting new approaches, uncovering new data and shedding light on the intricate aspects of both its national and international scopes.

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SAMUEL ARAÚJO

Samba-canção

Samba-canção emerged around the end of the 1920s in the context of the Brazilian musical theater and was characterized by the expression of a sentimental mood similar to that of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century *modinhas.* The first recordings of *samba-canção* were issued soon after its emergence, as early as 1928, but the first turning point in the consolidation of the genre was to come in the same year with the great success of the song 'Linda flor,' by Henrique Vogeler and Luís Peixoto, performed in the musical theater play *Miss Brasil*, and recorded the following year by singer Araci Cortes (Tinhorão 1986), one of four recordings made within two years (Thompson 2002).

Contemporary journalist and music researcher Marisa Lira (cited in Tinhorão 1986) defines two basic features of *samba-canção* that separate it from the *samba* song-and-dance genre: a slower tempo (decreased from ca. 100 quarter notes per minute to ca. 80) and the melodic characteristics of *modinha* (wide melodic leaps, emulating operatic models). Tinhorão, however, argues that Lira may have overemphasized the links between *modinha* and *samba-canção* and suggests that the latter may have developed simply as a rhythmically interesting song form performed outside of Carnival season. Tinhorão's point is supported by an analysis of selected recordings of *samba-canção* made by major radio star Orlando Silva between 1935 and 1940. As opposed to the polyrhythmic *samba* song comprising several interlocking ostinato patterns (a Carnival season trademark), the typical rhythmic framework of *samba-canção* in this sample is contributed by the *pandeiro* (tambourine), which plays the only remaining pattern of the Carnival *samba* alone. The tempo is indeed somewhat slower than the tempo of Carnival *sambas*, but undoubtedly livelier than in sentimental songs in general.

Beyond this point, the future of *samba-canção* became closely tied to that of *bolero* in Brazil, which first became popular there in the 1930s, paving the way for the first Portuguese-language versions of mainly Mexican *bolero* lyrics recorded by Brazilians. By the 1940s *boleros* in the Mexican style were written and sung by Brazilians (see Santos et al. 1982), both as a ballroom genre and as a sentimental song type for private listening. The production of new, Brazilian-made *boleros* increased dramatically from 1941 onward, and included the eventual proliferation of genre names such as *bolero-canção*, suggesting the development of hybrid forms. This popularity, however, faced strong criticisms from sectors whose ideological discourses defended 'appropriate Brazilian music.' One researcher of Brazilian popular music, for instance, argued that the late-1940s fusion of *bolero* with *samba-canção* was responsible for the overshadowing of the latter in the national musical scene (Tinhorão 1986). This argument assumed: (1) the only difference between post-1940s *samba-canção* and the Latin American *bolero* was semantic; and (2) the importance and popular prestige of *samba-canção* simply vanished after its presumably integral assimilation of *bolero* patterns.

By the 1940s Brazilian *bolero* and *samba-canção* had become barely distinguishable practices in textual, musical and social terms. A few common aspects in the production and consumption of both genres may have eased the merger: (a) the contents of their texts, typically dealing with love impasses, anger, privation and humiliation, but also with social mobility in ambiguous ways; (b) the fact that both genres were popular as ballroom dance genres in medium-to-slow tempo and duple meter; (c) their prestige at a time when ballroom dancing was widespread in Brazil, cutting across more rigid class and/or ethnic boundaries; (d) their common instrumentation, using either orchestral settings or a small ensemble of guitar(s) and light percussion. In the guitar ensembles, the *requinto* came from the Mexican *bolero* while the *cavaquinho* was emblematic of Brazilian *samba-canção*. Similarly, the use of congas brings to mind standard *bolero* patterns, while the *pandeiro* indicates a *samba-canção*. This latter distinction, however, is often blurred, since congas and *pandeiro* are played together in some performances.

Best-selling recording stars of the 1940s and 1950s such as Dalva de Oliveira, Nelson Gonçalves, Ângela Maria and Anísio Silva typically sought to follow the dramatized performance style of international *bolero* stars such as Gregorio Barrios, Pedro Vargas or Lucho Gatica. This dramatized style has continued to be very popular in Brazil into the twenty-first century, despite the negative reactions of music critics and many trained musicians who have come to regard it as a form of sentimentalism and nostalgia or even as a pathological demonstration of bad taste in music, employing terms to classify it such as 'dor-de-cotovêlo' (heartache, 1960s), 'cafona' (kitsch, 1970s) or 'brega' (another term for kitsch, used from the 1980s on). But despite all ideological arguments invoked against it, the wide popularity of the *bolero*/*samba-canção* connection, in all its ambiguity, has persisted as a visible social fact. Evidence is provided by the repertoires of Brazil's best-selling recording stars, that is, romantic singers – such as Cauby Peixoto, Ângela Maria, Roberto Carlos, Waldick Soriano, Altemar Dutra and Nelson Ned – or the so-called *sertanejos* (the Brazilian equivalent of US country music) – Chitãozinho e Xororó, Milionário e José Rico, Zezé di Camargo e Luciano and many others. Moreover, as these artists' recordings in Spanish from the 1970s now reach fans of 'Latin music' in other parts of the world, songs with a *bolero* flavor 'made in Brazil' somehow reinforce the genre's global reputation today.

In addition to these popular recordings, a sophisticated *bolero*/*samba-canção* practice developed in affluent nightclubs of the 1950s (with songwriters such as Dolores Duran and Antonio Maria), drawing upon more complex harmonies and with more elaborate texts that evoked a certain sense of bohemian detachment from mundane life. This vogue may perhaps be explained, on the one hand, by the successive influences of bebop and, particularly, cool jazz, driving Brazilian musicians little-by-little into similar performance styles and, on the other, by the increasing textual and musical sophistication found in popular *sambas-canções* such as those written by Lupicínio Rodrigues (Araujo 1999).

The sophisticated nightclub version of *samba-canção* produced a considerable impact on younger songwriters of the mid-1950s, such as Vinícius de Moraes, Antonio Carlos Jobim and Johnny Alf, later known as the creators of *bossa-nova*, and it further developed the careers of João Bosco, Nana Caymmi and many others.

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SAMUEL ARAÚJO

Samba de Roda

Samba de roda is a general name used to designate a set of folk musical and chorographical practices found in different regions of Brazil. The most popular and still widely practiced *samba de roda* tradition is, however, that found in the northeastern state of Bahia, especially in its region called Recôncavo. Bahian *samba de roda* has many locally specific names such as *samba corrido*, *samba-chula*, *samba de barravento* and *samba de viola,* corresponding to particular styles that, in spite of sharing many constitutive traits, present some variations in terms of form, instrumentation and dance organization.

Historical records since the seventeenth century make reference to elements of this Bahian tradition that is considered one of the main sources from which urban *samba* was later (i.e., in the late nineteenth century) developed in Rio de Janeiro.

As its name directly suggests, *samba de roda* is performed with a group of (traditionally, female) dancers forming a circle (*roda*), in the center of which solo dancers take turns. As in many other Afro-Brazilian forms of round-dance, when the solo dancer ends her performance she invites another person from the circle to take her place in the center with a characteristic movement of the belly (*umbigada* – literally meaning: navelpush).

The musical instruments used in Bahian *samba de roda* performances are different combinations of hand percussions and drums (simply depending on what instruments are available) – the *pandeiro* (tambourine) and the *prato-e-faca* (a plate scraped with a table knife) being the more traditional ones. In some specific forms of *samba de roda,* a central instrument is the five double-string guitar called the *viola.* A smaller and handcrafted type of *viola,* called the *machete,* was common in the past. This instrument is nowadays very rare, being substituted by the industrialized *viola* (used throughout the country), a *cavaquinho* (ukulele-like, four-string guitar) or a guitar. Musical instruments, however, are not indispensable to a performance of *samba de roda*. It is in fact common for it to be performed with the singing accompanied only by handclaps repeating characteristic rhythmic patterns in ostinato.

The singing of *samba de roda* is syllabic and organized in a call-and-response form (a soloist singing the call – sometimes called *chula* – and all the participants singing the response – in some places also called *relativo*). The verses are sung in unison or in parallel thirds. The basic harmonic accompaniment, if an instrument such as a *viola* or a *cavaquinho* is used, is made of alternating dominant and tonic chords.

Samba de roda is performed on a great variety of social occasions both sacred and profane. Among the former, it is practiced within the context of Afro-Brazilian religious rituals (the different forms of *candomblé*) and during Catholic festivals, highly influenced by Afro-Brazilian beliefs and practices (such as the *festa de Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte* [Our Lady of Good Death festival] in the town of Cachoeira). Within *candomblé*, different forms of *samba de roda* (usually defined by specific names such as *samba de caboclo* and *samba de marujo*) represent the appropriate music for the ritual dance of some types of spiritual entities not pertaining to the African-derived pantheons (*caboclos* [Amerindian spiritual entities], *boiadeiros* [cowboys] and *marujos* or *manos* [sailormen]). *Samba de roda* is also often performed after the end of *candomblé* ceremonies, marking, in a relaxed and joyful mood, the return to a profane dimension. On these occasions, *samba de roda* songs and dance are usually accompanied only by handclaps, since the use of the sacred drums is allowed only for religious performances.

Samba de roda is also very commonly performed by *capoeira* practitioners at the end of their danced martial performance.

In 2005, ratifying the claim made by local cultural organizations, UNESCO declared Bahian *samba de roda* a 'Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity.' While this important international recognition acknowledges it only as an ancient tradition deserving to be preserved, *samba de roda* has always been very alive and dynamic. It has influenced other musical practices and, adopting new elements from the global popular music industry, has successfully entered the regional and national markets. Since the late 1970s its rhythm and melodic construction have been incorporated by *blocos afro* into a powerful new formula that changed the Bahian black Carnival. During the 1990s *samba de roda* groups with catchy melodies and lyrics, sensual choreographies and pop music instrumentation (such as 'É o tchan,' 'Terra samba' and 'Harmonia do samba') achieved a huge national success. This new style called 'pagode baiano,' in spite of its current decreased national appeal, continues to be still very popular in Bahia in the twenty-first century.

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VINCENZO CAMBRIA

Samba-Reggae

Samba-reggae is a style of drumming and percussion characterized conceptually and musically by an intention on the part of the *blocos afro* – Afro-centric Carnival organizations in the city of Salvador da Bahia, northeast Brazil – to reclaim Afro-Brazilian sounds and practices. *Samba-reggae*'s rhythm was created by the *blocos afro* in the early 1980s. Built upon a dialogue between drumming and percussion instruments and vocals (*samba-reggae* did not begin to see the incorporation of melodic instruments until nearly a decade after its appearance), it gained both national and international renown and took on particular resonance because of the social and ideological context in which it was generated.

The term '*samba-reggae*' first arose in 1986 to describe the specific musical style of the *bloco afro* Olodum and was broadened to include the closely related drum and percussion music of other *blocos afro* after that. The first recording of what is now generally considered to be *samba-reggae* was Ilê Aiyê's *Canto negro* (1984). The style first penetrated Brazil's national music market with the 1987 release of Olodum's *Egito, Madagascar.*

The Role of *Blocos Afro*

The *blocos afro* who were responsible for originating *samba-reggae* are cultural units standing in solidarity with black people and culture, their activities traditionally centring on the preparation for and participation in Carnival. They arose around the end of the 1970s and the early 1980s in Salvador da Bahia. The first *bloco afro* was Ilê Aiyê, founded in 1974, with membership limited to people of African descent, a controversial challenge to Brazil's ideal of a racial democracy (Crook 2009, 212). Their participation in the 1975 Carnival would have a permanent impact on Salvador's Carnival, leading to numerous other *blocos afro* being formed shortly thereafter. Olodum was founded in 1979 and in 1983 was joined by master drummer Neguinho do Samba (1955–2009), one of the most influential figures in the history of *samba-reggae*. He developed some of *samba-reggae*'s classic rhythms and was the originator of the practice of playing the *repique* (lightweight tom-tom) with two long, thin sticks, later to become the norm in *samba-reggae* music.

Blocos afro were conceived as sites where ethnic issues could be brought to the fore and their members could consciously express their condition as blacks, which they did through an elaborate aesthetic system celebrating Africa in a variety of ways. Based in various neighborhoods around the city, the movement of blacks within the spaces created by the *blocos afro* can be generically viewed as a 'reinvention of Africa.'

The *blocos afro* paint their images of Africanness primarily through the incorporation of Afro-Brazilian religious elements into their music and performances. In particular, the vast repertoire of the Bahian *candomblés* (Afro-Brazilian religious organizations) serves as a rich source of material, adapted for secular use by the *blocos afro*. The basis of their music is drumming and percussion, which in the *candomblé* temples is performed on the *atabaques* (tall, freestanding wooden hand drums). Taking cues from mythical narratives, the song lyrics deal with the history of the African people. Another important factor in the conceptualization of the lyrics is the use of expressions in African languages. The names of the *blocos afro* themselves –Ilê Aiyê, Olodum, Ara Ketu, Muzenza, Malê Debalê and so forth – are, for the most part, derived from Yoruba phrases or, less often, Bantu ones.

The presence of *candomblé* can also be seen in the dances of the *blocos afro*. In accordance with the African tradition of the inseparability of music and dance, the *blocos* recreate the dances of the Orixás (*candomblé* deities). In the *candomblés*, it is through dance that the Orixás are incarnated, taking on characteristics relating to their respective origin myths and telling the story of how society is organized. Within the *blocos afro*, these ritual dances are stylized and freely interpreted.

Another aesthetic feature setting the *blocos afro* apart is their attire, to which they pay great attention. Carnival costumes are designed based on specific parade themes and these are almost always related in some way to African peoples. In addition, raffia fibers and conch and triton shells are used, and hair is creatively styled; these characteristics serve to augment further the sense of Africanness.

The *blocos afro* articulate an Afro-Bahian aesthetic and their activities are indicative of an important shift:

the production of black culture in Brazil, built upon the increasing popularity of its percussive aspects, moving beyond its traditional contexts such as *candomblé*, *capoeira* and Carnival and into the realm of the media, forming a narrow bridge into the music industry and the production of *axé-music*. The pivotal factor in this process is the invention of *samba-reggae*, the rhythm of the *blocos afro*.

Musical Characteristics

The drums used by the *blocos afro* are membranophones of various types and sizes. A *samba-reggae* ensemble, which can include up to 300 drums, is arranged in the following way: a set of Cuban-style *timbales* for the *mestre* (leader); in the front row, three *repiques*; in the middle row, a *tarol* (shallow snare drum), a *timbau* (tall conical hand drum) and the *surdos* (bass drums) including one *marcação de uma* and two *marcação de duas*; and in the back row, two *surdões* (large bass drums). The leader uses the *timbales* to conduct the entire band; the *surdões* in the back row lay down the base of the rhythm, supported by the *marcação de duas*, who follow the *marcação de uma*; the *tarol* or snare drum provides the base for the *repique*, which in turn provides the base for all other instruments in the band; and the *timbau* is an independent instrument emphasizing improvisation. The recordings of Ilê Aiyê provide a good illustration of *samba-reggae*'s percussive style in its original form.

By the early 1990s many groups were including melodic instruments in the ensemble: the keyboard, which defines the song's melodic structure, the guitar, which functions in much the same way as the *repique*, and the saxophone, which embellishes the arrangements with ornamental solos. The groups also include bass, though in a rather intermittent manner, implying that the bass does not seem to have a specific function within the ensemble; structurally, *samba-reggae* can do without the bass in any case since its low notes are easily drowned out by the power of the *surdões*. A typical arrangement is one in which the drumming group leads on foot, followed by a sound truck carrying the amplified singer and melody instruments. A good example of the transformation of the *samba-reggae* aesthetic with the introduction of melodic instruments is Olodum's 1993 recording *O movimento*.

A Hybrid Aesthetic

Samba-reggae's hybrid aesthetic is the result of the intermingling and re-enactment of various cultural manifestations present in the Atlantic area that originated in and served as a refuge for the African diaspora. The genre is the product of these cultural and informational exchanges, and its references can be pinpointed.

The primary wellspring of *samba-reggae* lies in the musical resources of Bahia itself: the sacred rhythms of *candomblé* and the musics of various secular cultural practices, which came together in the context of Bahia's Carnival, as a result of an interweaving of *candomblé* and the urban *sambas*. According to Crook (2009, 214), *samba* was slowed down and made to sound more syncopated and relaxed to infuse it with greater Africanness.

Another important reference point is Africa, which has always been seen by black Bahians as a permanent and accessible store of information and source of inspiration. Exchanges with African countries were vital not only as a means of expanding the musical resources of the black groups who invented the genre, but also for the tracing out of various 'Africas' fundamental to the imaginary of the *blocos afro*.

Samba-reggae also references the Caribbean. Cuban music was heard in Salvador, mainly via recordings and the radio, as of the 1950s and significantly influenced local percussionists. In the 1970s Salvador, the city with the largest black population in the world outside Africa, embraced reggae as the diaspora's main vehicle for communication. Idols such as Bob Marley and Jamaican symbols and attitudes were adopted there. The genre's very name is a clear indication of this cultural hybridity. To understand fully the incubation of *samba-reggae,* however, it is necessary to look to the United States and to the soul music of musicians such as James Brown and the Jackson Five, and to the Black Power slogans celebrating ethnic pride and evoking an idealized image of black people. The struggle of blacks for a better position within American society did not pass unnoticed by the *blocos afro*.

With this mix of aesthetic and political-ideological references, the Carnival output of the *blocos afro* went beyond musical expression: it became an entire social movement. *Samba-reggae* stood as a powerful tool for political activism and became the main source of cultural capital for the *blocos afro* in their struggle, through aesthetic means, for equality between blacks and whites in Bahian-Brazilian society.

Since the early 1980s *samba-reggae* has moved thousands of young people to attend *blocos afro* rehearsals in order to sing, dance and contribute to the reaffirmation of the strength and beauty of Afro-Bahian culture. However, the mobilization of the black community is not solely due to the attraction of *samba-reggae* band rehearsals. Many other activities taking place within the communities also play vital roles. Much work is done in offering educational opportunities, even on a digital level, to both children and adults in the form of courses, seminars and workshops in music and dance, where children's drum and percussion groups are formed and Afro-Bahian choreographies are created. The more structured organizations also offer other activities such as classes in *capoeira*, a Brazilian art form combining music, dance and martial arts and viewed as a legitimate expression of black culture, and in theater where black authors can receive training.

Further Developments

According to Crook (2009, 221), the success of Olodum's *Egito, Madagascar* helped to increase dramatically the coverage of Salvador's Carnival in the national media. Pop groups in Bahia, such as Reflexu's and Banda Mel, soon began laying electric instruments over *samba-reggae* rhythms adapted to drumset. In the early 1990s *samba-reggae* beats were instrumental in the development of a new hybrid genre of Brazilian pop music called *axé-music*. Daniela Mercury's 1991 *axé-music* album *Daniela Mercury* featured the song 'Swing da cor,' marked by liberal use of *samba-reggae* rhythmic support. This song was a national hit and it, along with Mercury's second album *O canto da cidade* (1993), propelled the music of the *blocos afro* to the national Brazilian mainstream.

This style of music has also penetrated into the realms of international pop and world music. Olodum stands as a good example of this. They appeared on Paul Simon's song and video 'The Obvious Child' in 1990, then in 1995 on Michael Jackson's song and video 'They Don't Care About Us.' The collaboration with Paul Simon marked the entrance of *samba-reggae* into the international music sphere and launched Olodum's international touring career, which has continued to this day. Their 1997 album *Liberdade* includes songs in English and Bambara and an integration of the band's signature drum and percussion with electronic sounds. Another artist achieving international recognition is Margareth Menezes, who toured at length with David Byrne in 1989–90. *Samba-reggae* has been featured in compilations of Brazilian music put out by world music labels. Many drum and percussion bands in cities around the world taking their cues from Brazilian styles feature *samba-reggae* as one of their core rhythms.

Samba-reggae is delineated as much by traditional Brazilian percussion as it is by international references received through the media and through the networks of the people of Salvador. The city's connection to the cultural and political output of the black Atlantic diaspora only continues to increase.

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GOLI GUERREIRO (TRANSLATED AND WITH ADDITIONS BY MONA-LYNN COURTEAU)

Sanjuanito

The *sanjuanito* or *sanjuán* is a song-dance genre of pre-Hispanic origin popular throughout the highland region of Ecuador. In the northern highland province of Imbabura, the *sanjuanito* is performed during the Inti Raymi festivity (summer solstice), which coincides with the Roman Catholic feast day on 24 June for Saint John, after whom the genre is named. Indigenous peasants thank the *Pachamama*, or Earth Mother, with music, dance and food for the harvest she has bestowed. Because there are musical similarities between the *sanjuanito* and the Peruvian *huayno*, some scholars believe that the former is derived from the latter. Both musical genres have a lively character, binary meter, pentatonic-based melodies and prominence of the minor mode. The *sanjuanito,* however, differentiates from the *huayno* in the moderate use of syncopated rhythms and proliferation of four sixteenth-note rhythms, both uncharacteristic of the *huayno*.

There are two types of *sanjuanito*: the indigenous *sanjuanito* and the *sanjuán de blancos* (*sanjuán* of white people), also known as *sanjuanito mestizo* (mixing of indigenous and Hispanic cultures). They diverge in musical structure, uses, functions and social context. The former is an instrumental piece played in ritual contexts with two indigenous cane flutes (considered male and female instruments in the Andean cosmovision). They play short heterophonic melodies, which are repeated with slight variations to the accompaniment of a *bombo* (double-headed bass drum played with a mallet). Participants dance in circles around the musicians on the eve of Saint John's Day. The *sanjuanito mestizo* is more elaborate in structure (a binary form, usually with sections formed by eight-beat phrases). The instrumentation may include guitar, accordion, violin, *rondador* (a single-row Ecuadorian panpipe) or flute. The lyrics are sung in Spanish and/or Quichua.

In the area of Cotacachi in the province of Imbabura, *sanjuanitos* are played on an indigenous harp without pedals, often referred to as a diatonic harp because it is tuned to one particular scale. A *golpeador* (beater) marks the beats on the soundboard with the hands. Afro-Ecuadorian ensembles from the Chota Valley, province of Imbabura, also perform *sanjuanes* with guitars and a *bomba* (two-headed drum performed with bare hands). Very popular in this region is the *banda mocha*, a brass-band-like ensemble formed by guitars, gourds used as vocal resonators, orange leaves played with the lips, transverse flute, *pingullo* (vertical cane flute), *bombo*, *güiro* (scraper) and snare drum. Pan-Andean ensembles made up of various types of panpipes, *quena* (a notched-end flute), guitars, *bombo* and *charango* (a small high-pitched lute with a round back) include *sanjuanitos* in their international repertoire of Andean music. Otavaleños (indigenous people from the northern highland town of Otavalo), who are known as the 'Andean entrepreneurs' (Meich 2002) for their ability to sell their textiles, handcrafts and music in Europe and the United States, have popularized the *sanjuanito* in folkloric renditions for pan-Andean ensembles. Prominent groups from this region include Charijayac, Ñanda Mañachi and Grupo Peguche. Other renowned Ecuadorian ensembles in the 1970s were Los Huayanay and Jatari.

The *sanjuanito* is also danced to as a folk dance in non-ritual contexts such as the *baile de cintas* (ribbon dance). A tall pole with colorful ribbons hanging from its top is placed in the center of a square. In the choreography, the participants dance in circles in such a way as to weave the ribbons in a braid, and then move in the opposite direction to unweave the ribbons. All instruments usually play the same melodic line and the harmonization is based on simple chord progressions (I-V-I).

Sanjuanitos mestizos were very popular in the first half of the twentieth century, as demonstrated by the numerous music scores for military bands found in the Fondo Musical Vaca, a music archive of the Banco Central del Ecuador. An urbanized version of the *sanjuanito* has entered the national music anthology. National music performers from the highland region, such as Dúo Benítez-Valencia and Hermanas Mendoza-Suasti, recorded *sanjuanitos* in the 1940s and 1950s for Discos Granja. The performances on these recordings were arranged for acoustic guitars and sometimes also the accordion. In the 1980s the *sanjuanito* was modernized with arrangements for electronic instruments and percussion. These renditions, pejoratively called *chichera* or *chicha* (indigenous corn beer) music for their association with indigenous people and their social contexts, are popular among rural peasants and the urban poor.

With the massive exodus of Ecuadorians to Europe and the United States in the late twentieth century, the *sanjuanito* has acquired national and international visibility among Ecuadorian migrants living abroad. Ecuadorian popular singers produce and disseminate this music through radio and television programs on VHF channels. New indigenous artists, such as Ángel Guaraca and Bayron Caicedo, sing the new *sanjuanitos* that they write to the accompaniment of recorded tracks. By contrast, music bands such as Rock Star and Star Band perform live music. Los Conquistadores, a group from the city of Ambato, had enormous success with a modern cover of the song 'Mi conejito' (My Little Rabbit) in the early 2000s. With *double entendre* lyrics and a catchy melody, this *sanjuanito* became a hit song performed by soloist singers, music bands and a variety of ensembles. Producciones Zapata and Producciones Calle were the pioneer recording companies commercializing this style of 'people's music' in the 1970s and 1980s. With the advent of more affordable production equipment, both music bands and soloist singers have begun selling independent recordings at their performances.

Academic composers such as Segundo Luis Moreno (1882–1972), Luis Humberto Salgado (1903–77), Corsino Durán (1911–75) and Gerardo Guevara (b. 1930) have stylized and inserted this dance in their nationalist works for piano and orchestra, especially in the Ecuadorian Suite (a medley of Ecuadorian national dances). Salgado composed his 'Sanjuanito futurista' for piano, combining the pentatonic melodies and rhythmic patterns of the traditional *sanjuanito* with the dodecaphonic technique. Salgado considered this piece as the highest expression of musical development in Ecuador, referring to the transition of music from tritonic scale (three tones, typical of indigenous music in the Amazon region) to pentatonic (five tones) to diatonic (seven tones) to the chromatic scale (twelve tones). Other cyclic works by Salgado that incorporate the *sanjuanito* are the *Symphonic Variations for Orchestra* and *Ecuadorian Symphony* (Symphony No. 1), whose first movement is a *sanjuanito* written in a sonata form, following the classical structure of the first movement of the Viennese symphony.

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KETTY WONG

Sarandunga

Sarandunga is a three-part complex of Afro-Dominican music and dance performed for the late-June celebration of San Juan Bautista in the southcentral city of Bani. The instruments and rhythms of *sarandunga*, and the organization of the black *cofradia* (religious brotherhood) of San Juan Bautista in Bani, are unusual in the Dominican Republic, likely due to greater West African (Dahomey) influence in this city when compared to stronger Congo-Angola presence elsewhere in the country. In addition to accompanying all-night dancing and festivity, music is performed in a morning processional to a river where water rituals are held. For the virtuosity and gracefulness of its dances, and the distinct religious syncretism of its associated rituals, *sarandunga* has attracted attention of local scholars and folklore presenters, although to date available documentation is slim.

The three small drums of *sarandunga,* also called *tambores de San Juan*, are played along with two metal scrapers (*güiro/guayo*) and voices. The drums are double-headed with goatskin, held vertically between the knees while seated, and played on the upper drumhead with the hands. One *tambor* is slightly larger and lower sounding than the others, but unlike most Afro-Dominican drumming, the most extensive improvisation is performed on one of the *tambor chiquitos,* whereas the *tambor grande* is designated for establishing rhythmic groove and guiding the ensemble. The improvisatory part is characterized by the sharp timbre of slapping the drumhead. In the supporting parts, resonating open tones and dampened drum presses are most common. With the exception of processional music, *sarandunga* is played at a rapid tempo and voices typically alternate solo and chorus every two to four beats.

There are three characteristic rhythms in *sarandunga,* each associated with a different repertoire of songs, two of which accompany dances, and one for the processional and special altar rituals. The latter is the *morano,* a Spanish-style religious romance with African-like chorus response and accompaniment by *tambores*. It is played in a medium tempo triple-meter rhythm, and in improvised order the soloist sings traditional quatrains of six-syllable verses, separated by a repeated quatrain refrain. Especially in the *morano,* texts speak descriptively and reverently of San Juan Bautista, water symbolism and the origins and lineage of the religious brotherhood. The somewhat slower and less frequently performed of the two dances is the *jacana*, which is meant to showcase the older veteran dancers and important members of the brotherhood. Most of the danced songs, however, are played to a third and fastest rhythm which has no special title, but is sometimes called *capitana* both in reference to the female 'captain' of the festivities and to a song in the repertoire. In most of the danced repertoire, the solo vocalist fills the lines with floating phrases and the chorus sings over vocables or just a couple of words.

The dance is a symbolic pursuit dance derivative of the *kalenda*, a dance associated with courtly social structure documented in Hispaniola since the late seventeenth century which demonstrates both Congolese and Spanish influences. *Sarandunga* dance is the most virtuosic of several Afro-Dominican dances derivative of the *kalenda*, including *baile de palos* and *baile de congo.* The *sarandunga* dancing incorporates more turns and footwork similar to the Spanish *zapateo*.

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Saya

Saya is a traditional Afro-Bolivian generic system made up of song, dance and music, related to other equally ancient African forms such as the *tundiki* and the *nsaya*. It has been documented from the sixteenth century to the present mainly in the area of Yungas, Department of La Paz, which is a stretch of forest between the valleys that descend the eastern slopes of the Andes and extend to the Amazon basin. In the present era, *sayamoderna* (modern *saya*) has constituted part of the repertoire of neofolkore groups such as Los Kjarkas, an ensemble which is considered one of the most genuine representatives of Bolivian identity (Céspedes 1993). In 1991 the ensemble released the album *Tecno Kjarkas*, which included compositions oriented toward the mixing of sonorities and genres in the search for a more commercial, danceable and modern style that they called 'tecno andino.'

Saya is a representative expression of the *zambos*, an ethnic group resulting from the hybridization of the cultures of the Aymara and African-American peoples who occupied the lowest social-cultural rank in the complex and heterogeneous process of South American *mestizaje*. The *saya negra* (black saya) had a magic ritual meaning linked to the ancient dances of sexual initiation, and fecundity has influenced the *sayamoderna* and the *saya de caporales*. According to Rigoberto Paredes (1977), during the last century dark-skinned and indigenous mestizos viewed this practice as a rite of passage to puberty. Given the appropriateness of the licentious dance, the community acknowledged the new social status of the youth who participated by saying 's/he has danced.'

The function of *saya* was essentially to communicate, and as such it carried the imprint of the *griots* and the talking African drum. The Afro-descendants preserved their social organization through music, song, dramatic performance and dance, all these expressions symbolizing an ancestral hierarchical order. This hierarchy is also represented in the placement and beats of the three drums: the major, the medium and the small, or *gangingo*. The *rascas* – scrapers (also known as *guancha* or *req' o req'o*) – and the rhythmic pattern of the rattles complete the exclusively masculine instrumental formation of the *saya*.

The main protagonist is the *caporal*; he demonstrates his authority by dancing with a whip in his hand. Currently this figure is represented by the leaders and rank chiefs who hold power within the *saya*, called *fraternidades* (fraternities). Meanwhile, the women form a circle and sing in the characteristic sub-Saharan style, call-and-response, *a cappella*, mid-pitched with nasal intonations.

The genre is shaped by class, race, ethnic and nationality conflicts. Colonialism imposed the use of the Spanish language for the stanzas, and the *sayamoderna* also retains the peasant outfit of Aymara and Hispanic influence worn by the *zambo* slaves in the rural estates. Added to these elements is the *criollo* Andean instrumentation (*quena*, *zampoña*, *wancara* and *charangos* with electro-acoustic devices), which in folklorized versions of the *saya* has justified the perception of popular musicians that it is a folkloric genre. This folklorization, which is achieved through the introduction of Andean instruments, is a choreographic-musical expression that forms part of the repertoire which has been legitimized by the state and the public (audiences and consumers) as being 'national music.' Discourses about the dance, rhythm and sonority of *saya* highlight the genre's involvement in the process of construction of a Bolivian national identity; it is a sign of 'Bolivianness.' (For an example of a performance of *saya* which begins in a traditional way, with drums, whistles and voices, and becomes 'folklorized' by the introduction of Andean instruments, see Los Kjarkas' performance [1] of 'Saya morena' in YouTube listing below.)

During the 1990s the Yunga communities (of Chicaloma, Coroico, Mururata, Chijchipa, Coscoma, among others) organized themselves into movements aimed at reclaiming black identity and culture. For example, the *Movimiento Cultural Saya Afroboliviano* (founded in 1988) produced music recordings and videos and contributed in this way to its recuperation and dissemination in educational settings, in national and European festivals.

The lyrics of *saya* recall the hardships endured by the *zambos* in the past, since they were the ethnic group most severely affected by violence and exclusion. Frequently, the words include a refrain paying homage to General Isidoro Belzú who abolished slavery in the middle of the nineteenth century. The rhythm of *saya* is linked to the traditional Andean *huaynos* (of picaresque character or of Carnival) known as *huaynos sayanos*, which are the basis of the *caporales*, a very popular genre in Peru, Bolivia and Argentina that displaced the authentic representatives of the Afro-Yunges *saya*. (see *caporales* entry.)

Los Kjarkas, a group adored by Bolivians, made *la saya de caporales* fashionable in Bolivia in the 1990s and known internationally. In its popular urban version, the dominant elements are the call-and-response singing, the *criollo* Andean instruments combined with percussion, whistles, *güiros* and electronic effects. Other national musical groups such as Sayanta, Tupay, Yara, Los Kory Huaras, Amaru, Grupo Femenino Bolivia, Proyección and Iberia have also participated in the process of hybridization of *saya* that has taken place, highlighting the romantic dancing qualities, recreating the costume and the choreography with performances and dramatized scenes, in line with the requirements of the music recording industry for its widespread massive and mass-media commercialization and the aesthetic of the entertainment industry. (For a performance in the hybridized style of *saya moderna*, see Los Kjarkas' performance [2] of 'Saya morena' in YouTube links below.)

Gilka Wara Céspedes (1993) researched an emblematic case of generic mutation. 'Llorando se fue' (She Left in Tears) (recorded by Los Kjarkas as a *saya*, without any major commercial impact) was plagiarized and recorded as a *lambada* in 1989. Translated into several languages, it broke the record of sales and traveled around the world by being marketed as tropical music for discotheques. (For further information, see *lambada*.)

As a consequence of constant migratory movements, Peruvian and Argentine groups have emerged, interpreting traditional and modern 'remixed' *sayas* (mixed with the basic elements of techno music) and making the genre suitable for consumption within the Bolivian community by means of radio broadcasting stations and community or private dance halls.

Itinerant vendors also sell illegal or pirated recordings and videos in various digital formats that are accessible to the popular sectors of the region.

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Los Kjarkas. 'Saya sensual': http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_XsQ8a6WfB0&feature=related.

NANCY M. SÁNCHEZ (TRANSLATED BY CRISTINA FUERTES GOTH WITH PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

Seis

Seis (which literally means 'six') is a body of Puerto Rican song and dance that, like its close relative *aguinaldo*, is one of the backbones of Puerto Rican *jíbaro* or peasant music. Though much about its origins is obscure, *seis* appears to have originated as a liturgical dance, later developing into the multiplicity of sung and danced variants that exist in the twenty-first century. Such is the breadth of music that the term covers that, in the words of Malena Kuss, 'the semantic field of the *seis*… exceeds the boundaries of genre in the totality of its vocal and choreographic manifestations' (2007, 152). *Seis* is performed with a basic instrumentation of Puerto Rican *cuatro*, guitar, *güiro* and *bongó*. In earlier times Puerto Rican *tiples* (small chordophones), *bordonúas* (a type of bass guitar) and *güícharos* (güiro), as well as *vihuelas* and maracas were used. The development of the *seis* occurred mainly in the isolated communities of the mountainous regions of Puerto Rico, where the *jíbaro* lived. (*Jíbaro*, a pejorative term given to peasants for their alleged ignorance due to lack of schooling, for their rustic manners, postures and speech, as well as their reduced contact with urban areas, is nevertheless an icon of Puerto Rican national culture.)

History

Much of the history of Puerto Rican music is incomplete and imprecise, due to a lack of documentation and the absence of specialists during the time in which traditional music was gestating. In addition, in the first centuries of colonization, visiting chroniclers were not interested in the music – Puerto Rico was not a *virreinato* or a capital of economic importance until the nineteenth century. Fernando Callejo Ferrer, writing about the Catholic church (1971 [1915]), asserts that, 'in having associated with them [i.e., the churches], around that time (1515–1898), all the manifestations of human knowledge, and most importantly the artistic ones, it is logical to infer that the church was also the cradle of the musical art of Puerto Rico' (36).

Seises trace their origin to the liturgical dances that were part of the celebrations of Christmas and Corpus Christi that still exist in places such as Seville, Spain (Very 1962). According to Noel Allende Goitía (interview with author), in the eighteenth century even the most advanced churches did not have enough pews for the entire congregation; thus, only distinguished or rich parishioners and their families were allowed to sit, while the rest participated in the mass standing. When upbeat service music was played, the standing congregation would naturally move to the rhythm and dance. In the argot of the Catholic Church at the time, 'seis' referred to the ensemble or children's choir that carried the treble lines (soprano and alto) during service music. *Seises* were also danced in traditional events such as those of the Saltarines de Cádiz.

The 'seises' (boys and girls, or young female slaves whose movements were more sensual than those made by children) and their music were very well liked, so much so that the bishops in their written communications with the Holy Church often ordered the elimination of this music due to the disturbance that it would incite during masses. Church musicians were amateurs of darker complexions; only the *maestros de capilla* (chapel masters) were educated and salaried. Their instruments included *chirimías* (double-reed wooden instruments similar to the oboe), *pífanos* (fifes), *vihuelas de mano* (*vihuela* of five to six courses played with the fingers), *arpas de mano* (small harps) and small percussion instruments; in some rare cases an organ, bow instruments or other types of instruments were available. In the nineteenth century, through the military bands that visited Puerto Rico, band instruments became available to these musicians. Writing in 1691 to the King of Spain, the bishop of Puerto Rico, Fray Francisco Padilla, offers a detailed description of what troubled the clergy:

> The fathers of the Dominican Friars have complained to me that the dances occurring during Christmas Eve in the Cathedral degenerate into an annoying noise toward the morning. Your Highness knows that in Peru we also have those dances; the practice comes from Spain, and it is important to proceed cautiously so as to avoid causing any harm to religious sentiment. On a large rug, six children [the choirboys, called *seises*] danced religious dances; they were dressed in white and crowned with flowers. Next to the altar was a musician, dressed in black, playing a harp. [After the priest dismissed the mass], two men dressed in black, with guitars, replaced the harpist at the side of the altar. Six young mulatto girls, around fifteen years old, took positions on the rug before the altar, dressed in white gauze, crowned with flowers and holding tambourines in their right hands. The mulattas began to dance to the music of the guitars; their movements were correct, but a voluptuous and sensual air permeated the crowd there. When the dance and the *villancicos* ended, the audience applauded. At the end of the offering, the people gathered in different places inside the temple to dance *fandanguillos con zapateados* (stamping *fandanguillos*). (Coll y Toste 1928, 175–8; quoted in Allende Goitiá 2006, 137–8)

Allende Goitía goes on: 'Subsequently, according to Coll y Toste, the bishop issued an order forbidding the dance in the church' (2006, 138).

A widely accepted theory is that after the ban *criollos* could not remain silent and inactive, and continued this tradition of dance and music outside of the church, especially in the more isolated regions, haciendas and homes where the opportunity to celebrate any church festivity using 'religiosity and the mandate' as an excuse to organize a dance was never ignored. At that time the *rosarios cantaos* (sung rosaries) and the *promesas* or *velorios de reyes* were celebrated just as they are today. Custom dictated that after these celebrations were over, all iconography must be hidden from view before dancing commences. Festivities would go on until the small hours of the following morning. This tradition continued until at least the end of the 1970s. (From interviews with musicians, singers, families and other mountain residents, conducted by the author between 1990 and 2005.)

A church mandate urged cities, towns and communities to offer religious representations in the form of plays – a fact that reveals the development and the exchange of genres between the Americas and Europe. There are a few examples of European chapel masters and composers who assimilated rhythms, dialects and songs belonging to local *indianos* (colloquial name given to Spanish immigrants in America;

a pejorative or an admiring term depending on the context) and black communities, immortalizing them in written form as a testament to this phenomenon. Among these musicians we find Gaspar Fernández (1566–1629), a Portuguese composer and organist at the cathedrals of Guatemala and Puebla, Mexico, who collected and composed black and Nahuatl music; Antonio de Salazar (c.1650–1715), chapel master at the cathedrals of Puebla and Mexico City in Mexico, who was born in Spain and became one of the most important composers of the Mexican *virreinato*; and Ignacio de Jerusalem y Stella (1710–69), an Italian-born composer and violinist residing in Mexico.

The assimilation of local musics by Europeans coincided with the introduction of plays from the Spanish *Siglo de Oro* (Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca, among others) and the emergence of the sung *décima*, especially in the *Autos sacramentales* (theater works on religious subjects that, in addition to acting and drama, also featured song and dance), which were well received among *criollos*, *peninsulares* and *mestizos*.

What we know of *seis* in the nineteenth century comes largely from the book *El gíbaro*, by Manuel A. Alonso (1849), which helped to disseminate and popularize the genre throughout the island, where the level of isolation of most communities was high (see also Aguinaldo). *Seises*, *cadenas* and other dances became favorites among the *jíbaros* (not so for city dwellers, who preferred *danzas* and *fandangos*). In his discussion of Alonso's book, Alvarez (2001) writes:

> The other group of dances classified as *bailes de garabato* were *jíbaro* dances – that is, our peasant dances. The *garabato* was and still is a wooden hook used by farmers to cut using a machete, and the symbol of the peasant working class. Among these dances were *fandanguillo*, *sonduro*, *cadenas*, *caballos*, and *seis*. Although Alonso mentions that the preferred dance during the first half of the nineteenth century was the *cadenas*, by the second half of the century *seis* had become the preferred dance among *jíbaro* communities … [t]he *seis* is the Puerto Rican musical genre with which the octosyllabic *décima* is sung.

The *Décima* as Hallmark of *Seis*

The poetic form most commonly linked to *seis* is that of the *décima*, which originated in Spain and was brought to Latin America by soldiers, sailors and others and became part of the oral tradition. Consisting of stanzas of ten octosyllabic lines, *décima* became popular in Puerto Rico both as a written and an improvised form.

According to official documents, by 1824 *décimas* were being improvised for the nuptials of kings, for birthdays and for carnivals, as evidenced in the collected works of educated poets in the nineteenth century. But it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that the *décima* became the principal form, with many Puerto Rican poets, among them Virgilio Dávila, Luis Llorens Torres, Ángel Pacheco Alvarado and others, publishing *décimas*. In the rural areas, meanwhile, the *décima* and the *copla* had become the most important form of expression of the *jíbaros* living in the mountains. By the end of the century the *jíbaros*, regardless of the illiteracy that was commonplace, could make, recite and improvise *décimas*, surprising many of the literate and educated people who came into contact with them. J. Aldon Mason (1918) collected over 1,000 *glosas* (initial quatrain and four *décimas*, ending with each line of the original quatrain).

Between 1910 and 1942 the vast majority of the recordings of *seises* with *décima* poetic texts were made by Puerto Rican musicians in New York. Often the text expressed patriotic or protest sentiments, something that was not permissible in Puerto Rico itself because of political censorship.

Instrumentation

In *El gíbaro* the author writes that in earlier times *seises* utilized *tiples*, *cuatro antiguo*, *bordonúa*, *vihuelas*, maracas and *güícharo*. Modern day instrumentation consists of Puerto Rican *cuatro*, guitar, *güiro* and bongó, although many ensembles incorporate *congas*, *timbales*, bass, flutes and piano. Many recordings made between 1930 and 1960 also featured a trumpet, clarinet, *pandereta* (a single-headed, handheld frame drum used in *plenas*) or accordion. The Puerto Rican *cuatro* has been the principal instrument associated with *seis* (see Laureano 2001). The best period for the recording of *cuatro* and *jíbaro* music was between 1950 and 1970, when the outstanding interpreters showed off their talents. For example, in 1963 the US label Ansonia recorded the LP *Los decanos de los cantores* by Natalia Rivera and Chuito el de Bayamón, widely recognized as an outstanding recording of both *seises* and *aguinaldos*.

Radio arrived in Puerto Rico in 1922, but it was not until the 1930s that it became affordable and therefore accessible. A Sunday programs called *Las Industrias Nativas* (Native Industries) aired for the first time in 1922 and became the first show on which the Puerto Rican *cuatro* was played; the show featured more *jíbaro* music in the 1930s, creating popular performers out of figures such as *cuatrista*

Ladislao Martínez (Maestro Ladí), singers Chuíto el de Bayamón, Chuíto el de Cayey and Natalia Rivera, as well as guitarist Felipe R. Goyco (Don Felo) and Claudio Ferrer on the *güiro*. In New York, a large colony of Puerto Ricans performed *seises* in multiple venues in the city, aided by radio stations. Something very similar happened in Puerto Rico, where in addition to programs featuring *jíbaro* music, the news featured *trovadores* improvising on the day's events discussed on the radio. But the invasion of rock, pop and Latin music (salsa) was strongly felt in the country and tempered the younger generation's interest in the instrument and in *jíbaro* music. Thanks, however, to the efforts made by the Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña (ICP) and of Dr Francisco López Cruz from 1965 on, the instruction of and performance on the Puerto Rican *cuatro* became widespread. With the advent of the *nueva canción* movement across much of Latin America, interest in *seis* was renewed, with the incorporation of elements from rock, pop and salsa. In addition to the mass use of the Puerto Rican *cuatro* by the ICP, the new sounds of ensembles such as Alborada (Danny Rivera and friends), Haciendo Punto en Otro Son, Moliendo Vidrio, Ráfaga and Roy Brown y Aires Bucaneros incorporated the *cuatro* and *seises* into their soundscapes.

Types of *Seis*

In Puerto Rico there exist more than 150 different types of *seis*, each type taking its name from a function, dance, place, person or other association. The best known, and one of the oldest, is *seis chorreao*. With a harmonic structure of I-IV-V7-V7, it is among the most festive of the styles and is found in parallel with old music such as *chaconas*, *guarachas*, *gallardas napolitanas* and *jácaras* (see, for example, Antonio Valente (1530–85), 'Gallarda Napolitana' with *vihuela*, recorded by Jordi Savall and Hespérion XXI). This *seis* is the first individual type to be named as such in Alonso's *El gíbaro*. It is also mentioned as being very popular around 1880 by Callejo Ferrer (1971 [1915]). *Seis chorreao* was the first *seis* to appear in notated form, under the name 'Canto jíbaro' in the 'Aires del país' suite by Juan Morel Campos (1893). This piece includes the most popular melodies at that time. In the early twentieth century violinist and dance music composer Julián Andino and his Orchestra used the *seis chorreao* as an opening and closing theme in its dances, adding a part of the *seis zapateo*.

The *seis chorreao* was recorded as early as 1909 on Edison cylinder recordings by Puerto Rican artist soprano Gracia López (with Jorge H. Santoni); a year later, Orquesta Cocolía, led by Domingo Cruz also recorded a *seis chorraeo* for Columbia in San Juan, Puerto Rico (composed by Julián Andino), as did the duet Parrilla y Carrillo (accompanied by *bordonuas*, *tiple* and *güiro*). This *seis* also appears in the cylinder field recordings made by J. Alden Mason (Puerto Rico 1914–16), and in the Victor recording of the Orquesta Tizol that features the piece 'El valor' by Julián Andino, who also plays and improvises on the violin (San Juan, Puerto Rico 1917; the piece is very similar to 'Canto jíbaro' in Morel Campos's 'Aires del país' [1896]). Los Jardineros recorded several versions of the *chorreao* for Okeh between 1927 and 1939.

As the oldest style, *seis chorreao* has many variants, and many stages of development can be identified up until the 1930; the phenomenon of regional isolation caused each area of the island to mold a different version of the same *seis*, until radio began to bring some standardization. The following *seises chorreaos* present the same harmony: 'Fajardeño,' 'de Bayamón,' 'Marumba' or 'Sucu- sucu,' 'de Andino,' 'de Pepe Ornéz (tintillo),' 'Zapateo,' 'de Ceiba' and 'de Oriente,' among others. The *seis chorreao* continues to be performed today without many changes since the day it was first mentioned in Alonso's book.

'Seis del Dorado,' 'Borinqueño,' 'de Comerío,' 'con décima,' 'de la Serranía' and 'tierra adentro' all have a i-iv-V7 harmonic structure. In the minor mode, some, like the *seis con décima*, are favorites among the *trovadores*, especially when improvising *décimas*. This can be seen in some of the recordings by Los Jardineros (1927–39) and Canario (1927).

Seises aguarachaos (meaning *seises* that are similar to *guarachas*) are *seises* with syncopated accompaniment with the strong accent on the fourth beat. Their standard harmonic progression is I-V7. Examples are 'Mariyandá,' 'Tumbao,' 'Seis son,' 'Seis Villarán,' 'Viequense' and 'Cante Jondo de Vieques.' Other traditional *seises* include 'Mapeyé,' which was originally a dance, and 'Enramada' (after the dance); both feature the 'Andalusian cadence' (i-VII-VI-V7). (Several sources involved with the Ballet Folklórico Areyto de Puerto Rico have suggested to the author that these dances have a different step from those mentioned previously, and present a marked African influence.)

Two other types deserve a mention. *Seises creados* (created *seises*) include 'Antillano,' 'Canto Serrano y Villarán' (Chuito el de Bayamón), 'Pampero y Gaucho' (Luisito Morales), 'Tango y Montebello' (Arturito Avilés), 'Yumac' (Nerí Orta), 'Celinés' (Germán Rosario), 'Seis cimarrón' (Juan Ortíz, 'El Indio de Bayamón') and others. *Seises importados* (imported *seises*) are *seises* that adapt musical genres from elsewhere. These genres include *joropos* and *llaneras*, *cantos veracruzanos* (introduced into Puerto Rico by the singer Ramito), *milongueros* (based on 'Los ejes de mi carreta' [The Axles of My Wagon] by Atahualpa Yupanuqui and adapted by Luis Miranda), *puntos cubanos*, *seises morunos* (Moorish *seis*), etc.

Seis Today

Through the years *seises* have lost their connection to dance, which now can only be found in folkloric dance companies in Puerto Rico. What has remained strong is the sung part of the *seis* as well as the improvisational practice. Every year new albums are recorded with performers and *trovadores* of peasant music; *trovador* competitions are abundant in various regions of the island, and television and radio campaigns use *seises* in their advertisements.

Trovadores offer classes specifically for children – *trovadores* such as Luis Daniel Colón, Arturo Santiago Obrador, Omar Santiago and Luz Selenia Tirado are among those who work for the continuation of the *seis* and *décima* tradition. In addition, many public schools and municipal institutions have emphasized the importance of incorporating *trova* instructions into their projects.

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ORLANDO LAUREANO (TRANSLATED
BY PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

Seú

The Seú is a harvest ritual that emerged on Curaçao during slavery. Due to shortcomings of climate and poor soil conditions, Curaçao never became a true plantation island, but, rather, a lucrative slave depot. Of the many Africans who passed through this depot from 1662 to 1863, only some 2,300 remained behind, quartered within the *landhuisen* ('plantation houses') located on the grounds of estates they served. With rainfall infrequent and crop-growing difficulty, the colonizing Dutch found it hard to feed this population and allotted enslaved Africans small plots of land within plantation grounds upon which they were expected to grow their own food. The Seú ritual evolved as a vehicle for ensuring successful harvests, performed prior to planting and again at harvest-time.

Finding traditional Seú in contemporary Curaçao is rare – the ritual has since evolved into a commercialized event, culminating with a parade in the city of Willemstad on Easter Monday. Participants dance the traditional *wapa*, a rhythmic, shuffling dance utilizing movements mimicking the act of planting and harvesting. Traditional dress is expected: women wear bright-laced dresses with colored scarves tied around their waists, often carrying produce-laden baskets on their heads; and men don white shirts and white pants, with colorful handkerchiefs tied around their necks.

The songs in contemporary Seú include a rich tradition of work songs, sung in *Seshi* (a variant of the local Creole language *Papiamento*) or *Guene* (a mixture of Afro-Portuguese dialects of the African west coast). Many of the instruments remain loyal to traditional origins. The conch or *kachu* (cow's horn) continues to open each song, which, as was believed during slavery, could incite the ritual entrance of agricultural deities. The *chappi*, too, remains prominent. Indigenous to Curaçao, this instrument is made from the metal end of a common garden hoe, struck with an iron bar. Considered a symbol of life and fertility, the *chappi* would play the distinct Seú rhythm (an eighth note followed by a quarter note, another eighth note, and two quarter notes), which served as accompaniment to enslaved laborers marching around the garden.

Traditionally, a water drum was used. Called *seú*, it made specific use of a wooden wash tub, which was filled about three-quarters full of water, and on top was floated a large calabash half. With the tub serving as resonator, the calabash was hit with two pieces of wood with small pieces of cloth tied to their ends; or it was tapped with the fingertips. The overall tone of the drum was quiet, its timbre muffled and somewhat indistinct. With the practice of Seú banned during slavery, the water drum emerged as a popular choice among ritual participants. Today, however, the *barí* is preferred, a barrel drum integral to the *Tambú* ritual. Unlike the *seú*, a special harness could be attached to the *barí*, enabling it to be worn by drummers and played as part of the parade procession.

By the early 2000s the Seú, now organized through the Curaçao Department of Culture, had vastly grown in popularity, involving over 2,500 participants and attracting audience numbers equal to – or even surpassing – those in attendance at Carnival.

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NANETTE DE JONG

Shanto

Guyanese musician Bill Rogers (Augustus Hinds, 1906–84) is credited with the creation of the term 'shanto' during the late 1920s. A conflation of shanty and calypso was intended to mark the distinctiveness of a popular Guyanese style. The term 'shanty' referred to work songs, especially those created by Guyanese of African ancestry who worked in the extractive industries in Guyana's hinterland industries – gold mining, timber cutting, charcoal burning and balata bleeding. The term 'shanto' was also a deliberate effort to resist the 'indiscriminate use of the word calypso to label every style of West Indian composition' (Hinds 2008, 30).

Shanto is a distinct product. Bill Rogers described it as 'an improvisation of words and music with an Afro-West Indian beat with satirical comments on people, events and things … accentuating colloquial language and [distinctively Guyanese] topics' (ibid., 30). Stylistically, shantos have very long lines and more verses than the Trinidadian calypso.

During the 1930s the 'bargee/bhagee' beat became synonymous with shanto. Sometimes the terms were used interchangeably. According to Gordon Rohlehr:

> The beat of the Bhagee was very infectious, and the major dance bands all played it during intermission, when people would dance to it and sang the ditties. It was also played at the end of dances, resembling in this respect the leggo in Trinidad of the same period, which came after people had danced the Lancers, Waltz, Fox Trot and Charleston. (1990, 144)

Bill Rogers was the most versatile and productive composer and performer of shantos. Many of the shantos he composed during the early 1930s commented on the social and economic conditions that the poor and working-class population was experiencing in urban British Guiana. He became the first Guianese to sign a recording contract and in November 1934 he recorded 28 songs for RCA's Bluebird label in the United States. Among them were 'The West Indian Weed Woman' (which provided an almost exhaustive list of British Guianese ethno-botanicals and their curative and restorative attributes), 'Bhagee' and 'Ugly or Pretty Woman.'

'The West Indian Weed Woman' became a hit during the first international calypso wave of the 1930s and was re-released in the 1950s, the 1970s, and again in the late 1990s. Harry Belafonte and singers in the Bahamas, Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad have also covered the song. 'Bhagee' was not only a recipe for preparing that variety of 'Calloo' ('Buy four cents of the caterpillar bush/Buy a penny coconut oil …'), it could be seen, like P.M. de Weever's 1901 song 'Me Cawfee in de Mawnin,' as a contemporary commentary of the prevailing diet and conditions of working people during the depression era.

Rogers' dexterity with the East Indian culinary practices and Hindi came from growing up in multiracial Charlestown, a ward in south Georgetown. Also recorded in 1934 were 'Sugar, Cent a Pound,' 'Kingston Dead Cow' and 'Silver Bangle Dipped in Gold.' 'Sugar, Cent a Pound' spoke about the sale of sugar salvaged from a schooner that sank at a local wharf, while 'Kingston Dead Cow' reflected on the speed with which the carcass of a cow, which had drowned in the Demerara River near Kingston, was butchered and distributed. Both recordings were commenting on the cost of food and the extremes to which poor people went to get them. 'Silver Bangle Dipped in Gold' was a commentary on the dress styles of urban women, especially the pretentious use of imitation gold jewelery. Rogers's 1934 recordings represent an incisive reflection on the issues that dominated Guyanese society during the late 1920s and early 1930s.

Bill Rogers was not the only composer and performer of shantos in British Guiana during the early 1930s. Among the other more popular figures were Joe Coggins, Zeda Martindale and Ralph Fitz Scott. Gordon Rohlehr has also identified Cyril Lamprey, Johnny Murray, Papsi Corrica, Bandula, Red Ants, Lall and Ezekiel as other performers (1990, 142). Shantos were performed in rum shops, at dances, during vaudeville shows, and starting with Rogers's recordings in 1934, some were released on international record labels such as Bluebird, Decca and Okeh.

Shantos have served as 'searchlights' and 'loudspeakers' illuminating and commenting on what was transpiring at all levels of the society – in the high places, on the middle rounds of society and, to quote Rohlehr, with the 'bedraggled proto-proletariat existing at the rotting edges of the society' (1990, 145). The songs of Coggins, Martindale and Scott are incisive explorations of the intersection of urban and hinterland British Guiana during the 1930s. Joe Coggins's 'Me an Me Neighbor Don't 'gree' commented on the rags-to-riches-to-rags cycle that so many of the hinterland workers, especially those who worked in the gold and diamond field – pork-knockers – experienced during the 1930s. Zeda Martindale's 'Captain Put Me Ashore' was also about pork-knockers. In this shanto, he refers to a Barbadian contract worker expressing fear as he experienced the awesome rawness of the rapids and waterfalls that had to be surmounted to reach the gold and diamond field. By the

1950s the song became known as 'Itanamie' and has a prominent place in Guyana's repertoire of folk songs. Ralph Fitz Scott's 'Bush Woman Come to Town' provides a list of the graphic names of some of the hinterland prostitutes.

The shanto style also traveled beyond Guyana. Bill Rogers was a touring performer and toured Dutch Guiana, Trinidad, Barbados, the United States and Canada during the 1930s. Rohlehr has argued that Roger's shanto style, 'his feel for the dramatic situation, and his talent for narrative … and his employment of long lines crammed with words and syllables and his extended choruses … fed into the musical and lyrical collective unconscious of the Calypso world to become a definite influence on [Trinidadian calypsonians such as Lord] Melody' (1990, 144). This influence is also evident in the compositions and styles of Lord Beginner and Lord Caresser.

In the early twenty-first century the shanto continues to be recognized as a distinct Guyanese genre and an annual Shanto Competition is held during Mashramani (the celebration of Guyana becoming a republic). Since the1990s the dominant performer has been 'Young Bill Rogers' (Roger A. Hinds), the son of the late 'Bill Rogers' (Augustus Hinds).

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VIBERT CAMBRIDGE

Ska

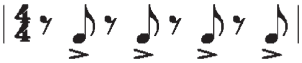
Ska (pronounced 'skya' by many Jamaicans) first emerged as a musical and dance style in the late 1950s and early 1960s in the Kingston, Jamaica area. This was a time when the working class and the poor were increasingly attracted to Rastafarianism, and all levels of society were excited at the prospect of independence after over 450 years of colonial rule. The result was a general exploration and assertion by Jamaicans in many ways of who they were and where they came from, expressed as an inward-turning celebration of Jamaican culture and 'blackness' (Witmer 1981, 113).

Local musicians responded to this *zeitgeist* by creating ska – a 'modern' sound with traditional roots, combining elements from US R&B, jazz and rock with Jamaican folk and religious musical practices. The modern qualities include the use of contemporary popular song structures, solo and group vocal styles influenced by US R&B vocalists and an instrumental approach strongly rooted in R&B of the late 1950s/early 1960s with a touch of jazz and rock. The traditional qualities include a rhythmic, melodic and body movement style strongly influenced by Jamaican Pukkumina/Revival practices, and the use of Jamaican folk hand percussion. The fusion of these two approaches resulted in a synthesis that was viewed by Jamaicans as a new, locally created up-tempo approach to R&B dominated by Jamaican traditional elements that reflected the optimism and perspective of a new country emerging after 400 years of Colonial rule.

Ska bands adopted specific features from jump blues, US R&B, jazz and rock, especially their rhythmic and timbral approaching which blues harmony and melody were predominant. The biggest influence from Jamaican folk and religious musical practices was the emphasis on consistent offbeat accents, which Jamaican musicologists label 'afterbeats' – discussed below. These musical accents were found in mento (a Jamaican folk music that combines Anglo-Celtic melodies and harmonies with syncopated bass lines and accompaniments that employ strong afterbeat accents – discussed below) and Pukkumina/Revival (a syncretic blend of Christian religious practices with West and Central African ones, including music and movement elements along with occasional hand drums). The ska dancing and movement style was initially strongly rooted in Pukkumina/Revival rituals and was also intertwined with the emergence and characteristics of the musical elements of ska.

Origins, Etymology and Main Characteristics

Because of poor documentation and conflicting accounts by participants (Katz 2003, 1–63), ska's precise musical origins are difficult to establish, but there is documentation that the style and the term 'ska' emerged around 1959 in Kingston recording studios, and was in common usage by 1961 to refer to a musical and dance style (Barrow and Dalton 2001, 4). Although there is no authoritative definition of 'ska,' the most compelling one is that it was an onomatopoeic word used by musicians and producers to describe its characteristic afterbeat, accents (i.e., short sounds between main beats) (see Example 1) usually played by guitars, keyboards and/or horns.



Example 1: Afterbeat accents

Because of its frequent conflation with 'upbeats' and 'backbeats,' however, the term 'offbeats' is considered problematic by Jamaican musicologist Garth White and American musicologist and reggae bassist Luke Ehrlich, who suggest using 'afterbeat' for the consistently accented sounds between beats in Jamaican folk, religious and popular music (White 1982b, 38; Ehrlich 1982, 55). Afterbeats, which are typically louder and heavier than sounds on the beats, sustain the harmony from the previous beat, rather than anticipating the harmony of the following beat. (See 'Reggae' entry for further discussion.)

Ska's other predominant musical characteristics include features shared with African-American R&B and late-1950s rock 'n' roll in terms of instrumentation, rhythmic approach and vocal style. Ska ensembles employ jazz- and/or R&B-style instrumentation (piano, acoustic/electric guitar, acoustic bass, drum kit and a horn section including saxophones, trumpets and trombone). A swing or shuffle style is most frequently used, with beats often subdivided simultaneously in both two and three parts by different instruments (similar to the rhythmic approach of mid-1950s rock 'n' roll recordings such as Elvis Presley's 'Jailhouse Rock' [1957] and Chuck Berry's 'Rock and Roll Music' [1957]). Similar to R&B and rock arrangements, ska backbeats (heavy second and fourth beats in a 4/4 meter) are consistently accented much more strongly than beats one and three, but because ska drummers often play backbeats with synchronized snare drum and bass drum, the result is a much louder and heavier sound than in R&B. An additional uniquely Jamaican drumming approach is a frequent omission of the bass drum on beats one and three, in contrast to R&B and rock drummers who almost always play the bass drum on these beats. Bass lines are usually performed on acoustic bass and consist of quarter-note jazz-style walking bass lines that stress each beat along with occasional phrase endings and accents that emphasize afterbeats. Ska tempos are usually brisk (c. 120–30 beats per minute). In terms of vocal style and arrangements, ska songs are sung most often by a solo vocalist (sometimes with harmony vocals) in a style that synthesizes melodic, rhythmic and timbral elements from African American R&B, gospel and rock with a Jamaican rhythmic orientation that emphasizes afterbeats and places extra weight on backbeats.

Ska displays a number of rhythmic, melodic, harmonic and corporeal elements that are rooted in Jamaican folk and religious musics. The afterbeat and strumming style of ska guitar, and the occasional afterbeat orientation of bass patterns are strongly influenced by banjo/guitar and rhumba box rhythms in mento – a Jamaican folk music that synthesizes melodic, harmonic and structural elements from traditional European folksongs and Christian hymns (with a melodic and rhythmic orientation rooted in West African secular and religious music). Musicologists such as White (1984) and Ehrlich (1982) have labeled ska's rhythmic style as a 'neo-African' polyrhythmic orientation because of its derivation from Jamaican musics such as Buru, Jonkonnu (a Jamaican neo-African tradition featuring fife and drums that synthesizes elements from West African harvest festivals and traditional British Mumming traditions practiced during the Christmas season, a combination of parading, miming, fife and drums – Ryman 1984a, 1984b; White 1984, 63–4; Wynter 1970) and nyabinghi. These styles are all rooted in the musical practices and West African folk and religious retentions of Jamaican Maroons since the mid-sixteenth century (Carty 1988; Ryman 1983). Ska's melodic, harmonic and rhythmic style is also derived from quadrille, Revival hymns, Jamaican work songs and singing game songs, in which sonic and corporeal elements are often intertwined, strongly influenced by Revival afterbeat handclapping patterns and 'trumping' movements (explained below). The resulting sound-movement gestalt creates strongly felt, but often silent (or weakly sounded) beats coupled with sonically heavy afterbeat accents.

Most analysts of Jamaican culture (Barrow and Dalton 2001, 35–47; Bradley 2000, 61–4; Carbone 2007; Hebdige 1987, 51–61; Katz 2003; Reckford 1977, 9–13 and 1998; White 1984, 64–5) prioritize Rastafarianism in ska's development. While Jamaican dancer and scholar Cheryl Ryman (1983, 149) affirms that the Rastafarian influence on the development of Jamaican popular music cannot be overstated, a few other scholars, such as O'Gorman (1986, 160–1, 1987), argue that claims regarding the Rastafarian influence are exaggerated and, in some instances, inaccurate. Ska innovators, however, insist that nyabinghi – Rastafarian music and rituals – was central to ska's birth (McCarthy 2007, 167). Oswald 'Count Ossie' Williams, a Rasta drummer who was the prime originator of the nyabinghi musical style, performed at many private and public gatherings in West Kingston's Trenchtown area. Many Jamaican jazz musicians (including members of the Skatalites, the 1960s studio band that played on many early proto-ska and ska recordings) attended or participated in these performances and cite Ossie's experiments blending jazz with nyabinghi and other Jamaican musics as a main inspiration for the Jamaicanization of American R&B (Clarke 1980, 53–4; Foehr 2000, 88–91; Katz 2003, 33–4, 38–9, 59; Reckford 1977, 1998; White 1982b, 39; 1984, 57–8, 62–4).

Caribbean/Latin characteristics (primarily rhythmic elements from *bolero*, *rumba*, *merengue* and calypso grooves and patterns) appear occasionally in ska, especially in bass and percussion parts. Examples may be found in instrumental recordings by the Skatalites and their members (Carbone 2007) such as '(Music Is My) Occupation' and 'Latin Goes Ska' (Skatalites 1964), 'Mesopotamia' (Skatalites 1964), 'Bongo Tango' (Roland Alphonso 1964) and 'Phoenix City' (Roland Alphonso 1967).

Many of the earliest ska records were based on, or were local variations of, US R&B recordings of the late 1940s to the mid-1950s, adopting the rhythmic orientation of artists such as Dave Bartholomew, Fats Domino, Rosco Gordon, Louis Jordan, Little Richard and Professor Longhair and the vocal approach of Sam Cooke, the Drifters and Jackie Wilson. Because of these origins, some analysts conclude that ska was merely an imitation of US R&B, but others (Bilby 1995; Barrow and Dalton 2001, 6–29; Bergman et al. 1985, 22–3; Chang and Chen 1998, 22–9; McCarthy 2007; White 1984, 62–4; 1998, 18) argue that its Jamaican and Caribbean features indicate a substantially different aesthetic orientation from R&B, especially when dancers' and musicians' body movements are also considered.

Proto-Ska (Early Ska)

Ska's initial creators were mostly Jamaican dance band and jazz musicians and record producers guided primarily by the aesthetic preferences of members of the lower classes who frequented DJ dances run by companies that became known as 'sound systems' (Barrow and Dalton 2004, 11–18; Davis 1982; Stolzoff 2000; Veal 2007). The most popular musics at sound system dances were US jump blues and New Orleans R&B. With the rise of rock 'n' roll in the mid-1950s, many US R&B artists (e.g., Jackie Wilson, the Drifters and Sam Cooke) adopted a more lush style, and the availability of up-tempo, rhythmic R&B dance-oriented records diminished in Jamaica. The most successful sound system operators (e.g., Clement 'Coxsone' Dodd, Arthur 'Duke' Reid and Prince Buster [Cecil Campbell]) hired Jamaican jazz and commercial musicians to create recordings in the older R&B style to play in the dance halls. Many of these musicians were Rastafarians who earned their living playing Jamaican folk musics (e.g., mento, Buru, Jonkonnu, Pukkumina/Revival and nyabinghi) and foreign hit songs at local dances, in clubs and in tourist resorts in urban centers. They learned to play foreign hits from American recordings and local and US radio stations – whose programming was dominated by Top 40 record charts – or from US sheet music and stock dance band arrangements. Initially, Jamaican-tinged R&B recordings – many of which were instrumentals – (known as 'Jamaican Blues,' 'half-blues,' 'Blue beat,' 'Jamaican rock,' 'Jamaican Boogie' or 'Jamaican R&B') were only pressed as acetates for use by DJs. When ska became mainstream in the early 1960s, some of these early recordings were mass-produced and sold commercially.

Jamaican boogie recordings allowed musicians to experiment in the studio, sometimes resulting in a Jamaican variant of R&B that became more popular at Sound System dances than US R&B. Because these experiments ultimately led to ska, Jamaican musicologist Garth White (1982b, 38) calls these R&B variations 'proto-ska.' The most popular proto-ska artists (and representative songs) were vocal recordings, such as Laurel Aitken's 'Boogie In My Bones' (1959), Theophilus Beckford's 'Easy Snappin' (recorded

1956, released 1959), Wilfred 'Jackie' Edwards's 'Tell Me Darling' (1960), Owen Gray's 'Midnight Track' (1962) and the Folkes Brothers' 'Oh Carolina' (1960). Although most proto-ska recordings used the same instrumentation, vocal approach and song style as US R&B combos, Jamaican musicians often added some or all of the Jamaican and Caribbean characteristics listed above. The most prominent added traits were stronger afterbeat accents and heavier backbeats than those utilized in US R&B. 'Oh Carolina' also features the polyrhythmic nyabinghi drumming of Oswald 'Count Ossie' Williams, a Rastafarian musician, which is atypical for the proto-ska style. Although some artists later also emphasized more pronounced Jamaican and neo-African features in the rocksteady and reggae styles which developed out of ska between 1966 and 1969 (e.g., Prince Buster's 'Hard Man Fe Dead,' Lee Perry's 'People Funny Boy,' Toots and the Maytals' 'Six And Seven Books of Moses' and 'Sweet and Dandy,' Burning Spear's 'Door Peep' and Bob Marley and the Wailers' 'Rastaman Chant'), some analysts (e.g., Bilby 1995, 158; Chang and Chen 1998, 25; Roberts 1998; White 1982a, 1982b, 1982c, 1984, 1998) believe that most proto-ska recordings were the result of musicians' cultural preferences, rather than deliberate attempts to create 'a new style.' Many musicians heard similarities between R&B afterbeats and those found in Jamaican musics, and they 'Jamaicanized' R&B while adding other local touches. The results were pleasing to both the musicians and their audiences at a time when all things Jamaican were embraced and celebrated, with independence looming on 6 August 1962.

Mainstream Jamaican Ska

By the time Jamaica became independent ska had become a mainstream style, due to several synchronous factors. In 1959 radio station JBC (Jamaican Broadcasting Corporation) went on the air with a mandate to promote Jamaican culture. By 1961, with the advent of cheap transistor radios, 90 percent of households in urban centers and 66 percent of those in rural areas had radios (Bradley 2000, 92). After many proto-ska and early ska records received airplay on two shows hosted by bandleader Sonny Bradshaw, sales soared. Because of this exposure, within two months the Top 30 was dominated by Jamaican releases (Bradley 2000, 89). Most of the earliest ska recordings that were popular hits were in a relatively rough and unpolished style. As their popularity rose, ska songs were increasingly incorporated into the repertoire of established Jamaican mainstream dance bands such as Byron Lee and the Dragonaires, whose audiences were primarily middle and upper classes. These upper-class renditions were much more homogeneous in nature, with refined and polished productions and arrangements, and smoother rhythms.

Although there were many ska songs with conventional romantic popular themes, such as Stranger (Cole) and Patsy (Todd)'s 'When I Call Your Name' (1963), Derrick and Patsy's 'Housewives Choice (aka) You Don't Know' (1961), the Gaylads' 'Whap Whap' (1963) and Jiving Juniors' 'Sugar Dandy' (1962), overall, the ska repertoire was extremely eclectic. Some songs celebrated Jamaica's independence and identity, notably Jimmy Cliff's 'Miss Jamaica' (1962), Lord Creator's (Kenrick Patrick) 'Independent Jamaica' (1962), Derrick Morgan's 'Forward March' (1962) and Byron Lee and the Dragonaires' 'Jamaican Ska' (1964). There were ska arrangements of non-Jamaican hit songs, traditional folksongs, mento and even children's songs. Some of the non-Jamaican ska covers include Baba Brooks's 'Watermelon Man' (1963), Byron Lee and the Dragonaires' 'Sloopy' (1964) and Carlos Malcolm and the Afro-Jamaican Rhythms' 'Bonanza Ska' (1964). The biggest ska hit was Millie Small's 'My Boy Lollipop' (a Jamaicanized version of US artist Barbie Gaye's 1957 R&B hit) recorded in 1964, which sold over 7 million copies worldwide. It was recorded in England, featuring a large British swing band, and arranged and produced by noted Jamaican guitarist Ernest Ranglin. The resulting style was closer to the smooth mainstream ska stylings of Bryon Lee and the Dragonaires than the rougher approach taken by the Skatalites.

Ska-styled folksongs and mento hits include Baba Brooks's 'River Bank' (1963) and 'Sly Mongoose' (1964), Carlos Malcolm and the Afro-Jamaican Rhythms' 'Rucumbine' (1963) and Eric 'Monty' Morris's 'Sammy Dead Oh' (1964). Morris also had a hit with a ska arrangement of the nursery rhyme 'Humpty Dumpty' (1961). Given the significance of religion and spirituality for the average Jamaican in the early 1960s, ska songs with religious sentiments, biblical references or a philosophical orientation were quite popular, including Clancy Eccles's ska treatment of a Revival hymn, 'River Jordan' (1964), Jimmy Cliff's 'King of Kings' (1963), Delroy Wilson's 'Lion of Judah' (1963), Desmond Dekker and the Aces' 'Honour Your Mother and Father' (1963) and Prince Buster's 'Wash Wash' (1963).

Former proto-ska producer and newly elected Minister of Culture Edward Seaga promoted ska as Jamaica's national music because of its blending of traditional Jamaican elements in a modern new style. With a background as a folklorist, he felt that ska (as both a music and dance style) was an ideal symbol of

Jamaica as a vibrant new country open for business that was ready to take its place on the world stage. In 1964 the government produced a promotional film (*This is Ska!*) which was shown at the 1964 World's Fair in New York and which featured many top ska artists performing live, as well as a professionally choreographed demonstration of ska dancing. After Seaga encouraged upper-class society bands such as Byron Lee and the Dragonaires, Carlos Malcom and his Afro-Jamaican Rhythms and the Eric Deans Orchestra to add ska to their live performances and recordings, ska became popular with Jamaican middle and upper classes.

Main Architects of the Ska Style

While the earliest participants in Count Ossie's jam sessions disagree about the initial architects of the ska style, the following producers and musicians created the most influential proto-ska or ska recordings (Katz 2003, 1–64). Many influential ska producers were also DJs, such as Prince Buster (who was also a singer/songwriter), 'Coxsone' Dodd, Arthur 'Duke' Reid and Tom ('The Great Sebastian') Wong. Other notable producers include Chris Blackwell (who produced 'My Boy Lollipop' and later all of Bob Marley and the Wailers' internationally successful 1970s recordings), Leslie Kong, Byron Lee and Edward Seaga (later the Prime Minister of Jamaica between 1980 and 1989).

Many instrumentalists made important contributions as studio musicians and in live concerts. The Skatalites was the premier ska ensemble that played on the majority of ska recordings, working for all of the above producers at different times, with saxophonists Roland Alphonso, Cedric Brooks, Tommy McCook and Lester Sterling and trombonist Don Drummond contributing many original instrumental compositions, often featuring nyabinghi rhythms. Notable ska instrumentalists also include bassists Lloyd Brevett (whose style became an influence in the rocksteady era 1966–8), Cluet Johnson (who played on most of the proto-ska recordings) and Byron Lee (who introduced the electric bass to Jamaica in late 1965). Prominent drummers were Arkland 'Drumbago' Parks and Lloyd Knibb (probably the most versatile Jamaican drummer, who was fluent in all Jamaican folk, Caribbean and Latin styles, as well as rock and funk). Other influential ska musicians include electric guitarists Lynn Taitt and Jerome 'Jah Jerry' Haines; keyboardists Gladstone 'Gladdy' Anderson and Jackie Mittoo; hand percussionists Noel 'Zoot'/'Skully' Simms and Arthur 'Bunny' Robinson who often emphasized nyabinghi rhythms along with trombonists Vin Gordon and Rico Rodriquez (who moved to England in the early 1960s and became a member of UK ska band the Specials in the late 1970s) and trumpeters Baba Brooks (who specialized in ska versions of mento songs), Alphonso 'Dizzy' Reece and Johnny 'Dizzy' Moore.

The following recordings were significant ska hits between 1964 and 1966 (usually with backing supplied by the above instrumentalists): the Maytals' 'Pain in My Belly' (1965), Derrick Morgan's 'Blazing Fire' (1965), Prince Buster's 'Al Capone' (1965) and the Wailers' 'Simmer Down' (1964) and 'It Hurts to Be Alone' (1965).

In 1964 Coxsone Dodd opened Studio One, the first major Jamaican recording studio, and he established a house band (the Skatalites). Most of the Skatalites were graduates of the wind band program at West Kingston's Alpha Boys School, where they learned traditional European classical and military band music, contemporary big band and popular styles, and acquired reading, ensemble and improvisational skills. Many graduates became professional musicians and joined swing, military and/or jazz bands; most also performed in Jamaican religious and/or mento groups. These experiences generated technical fluency in, and aesthetic understandings of, neo-African, Jamaican, Latin American, Caribbean, European and African-American practices that allowed them to synthesize these musics into new Jamaican styles (Witmer 1987, 19, McCarthy 2007, 43). In addition to providing backing accompaniments for many recordings during the ska era, the Skatalites also had a number of their own hit recordings: 'Eastern Standard Time' (1964), 'Ball of Fire' (1965), 'El Pussycat' (1965), 'Guns of Navarone' (1965) and Don Drummond and the Skatalites' 'Man In The Street' (1965).

British Ska in the Early to Mid-1960s

Spearheaded by 'My Boy Lollipop,' ska became popular in the British Jamaican diaspora, notably in the London area, where it was also embraced by the mod subculture (Hebdige 1987). The Skatalites' and Prince Buster's recordings were especially popular, and Buster moved to England and collaborated and recorded with British R&B keyboardist/vocalist Georgie Fame. In 1967 two ska singles appeared on the British pop charts: Prince Buster's 'Al Capone' and the Skatalites' 'Guns of Navarone.' This strong reception created a British market for live performance and record sales, and a steady stream of imported Jamaican records and British ska recordings. Because local British records were released primarily on the Blue Beat and Island labels, 'Blue Beat' became a nickname for ska in Britain. Other Jamaican musicians (such as trombonist Rico Rodriguez) either emigrated to England or spent considerable time there.

Ska Dancing and Jamaican Movement Style

When introduced in the early 1960s, ska was also a dance style – of which there were three types (Wynter 1970, 47). The first consisted of movements derived from Pukkumina/Revival rituals and folk dances which all possess sonic and corporeal afterbeat accents. This type of ska dancing involved the transplantation and transformation of traditional religious forms into something modern and urban. In the same way that traditional West African secular and religious music and related movements were often similar, if not identical, Jamaicans also generally did not distinguish between the two, nor did they find this blending of the secular and the religious strange or offensive (O'Gorman in Johnson and Pines 1982, 42). The basic ska posture was derived from Pukkumina/Revival movements: torso bent forward, sometimes almost horizontal, with one leg placed forward and slanting outward. Arms were held straight out, moving backward and forward with loosely doubled fists pumping down and up, while the head and shoulders jerked forward and backward; this was called 'trumping.' When the torso was raised and straightened, the weight was shifted to the other leg, which was moved forward.

Other movements originated from the riding and whipping part of a Jonkonnu movement called Jockey's Dance. The arms were bent from the elbow, and the fists were held in the front as if holding 'reins.' The entire body also moved forward and back in a jogging motion. With bent knees, this 'riding' motion was controlled primarily from the pelvis. One hand went behind to 'whip' one's horse, swinging suddenly and dramatically forward to crack the whip, after which the 'riding' resumed (Ryman 1984a, 1984b; Wynter 1970).

Finally, dancers incorporated many movements from domestic activities such as washing clothes and bathing (Reckford 1998, 237). Jamaican dance expert Cheryl Ryman (1983, 149) sees a Buru influence in many ska movements, and folklorist Mike Alleyne (1988, 118) notes that the folk ska dance style was sometimes called 'footsy' or 'legs' because of the way some dancers vibrated their legs and feet. This movement style is visible in many West African dances and also in movement routines by African American performers like Earl 'Snake Hips' Tucker and James Brown.

The second ska dance style was a choreographed version of Pukkumina/Revival and folk movements created by professional dancers hired by the Jamaican government to create a Jamaican version of 'The Twist' as part of Seaga's plan to present a distinct Jamaican cultural identity to attract tourists and investors to Jamaica. Compared to the folk style, this choreographed style (seen in *This is Ska!*) was extremely restrained, simplified and repetitive (White 1984, 75). The third ska dance style blended the folk and choreographed versions, along with steps from R&B dances, including Jive, and the Twist (Davis and Simon 1977, 103).

End of the Ska Era and Later Manifestations

The ska era ended around 1966 due to several synchronous factors (McCarthy 2007, 211–2, 257–9). In late 1965, during a sharp economic downturn, the Skatalites disbanded. Most producers utilized smaller ensembles that employed a looser, more polyrhythmic, neo-African approach to accompany a new dance called the rocksteady, whose movements required a slower, less frantic style. Although ska never vanished completely, after reggae emerged in 1968 it appeared less often in Jamaican artists' live performances, and rarely on their records or in the dance halls.

However, in the mid-1970s ska experienced a resurgence in England when British youth embraced it during a period of high unemployment that also produced punk, a stripped-down back-to-basics rock style. Many British punk bands (e.g., the Specials, Madness, the Clash and the English Beat) played cover versions of early Jamaican ska hits. Some also wrote original songs that combined punk and ska, and sometimes reggae. Compared to Jamaican ska, British ska (often nicknamed Two-Tone after the record label shared by many of its artists) retained strong afterbeat accents (although fewer overall), but employed faster tempos, smaller ensembles (usually with only one or two horns), more prominent guitars, a bass and drum style with strongly accented first and third beats (Hebdige 1982). Although Two-Tone was more popular in Britain than in the rest of world (at this time), it experienced a revival during the third wave of ska resurgence.

The late 1980s and early 1990s saw a third ska wave, when some US punk bands played in a style similar to that of the Two-Tone groups (e.g., Goldfinger, Let's Go Bowling, Save Ferris, the Mighty Mighty Bosstones, No Doubt, Operation Ivy, Rancid and Sublime). However, by the mid-1990s, when the Seattle Grunge sound became the dominant commercial sound, third wave ska decreased in popularity.

In the twenty-first century ska has maintained its popularity in select foreign and nonmainstream markets, suggesting that a fourth wave is possibly underway. Since 1988 Japan's Tokyo Ska Paradise

Orchestra (modeled after the Skatalites) has achieved massive Asian popularity with a mix of cover versions of early ska hits and original ska compositions. They have also achieved some worldwide success, with their ska arrangements of video game theme songs such as 'Pedorazu (the Tetris theme)' and 'Black Jack,' from the PlayStation 2 game *Sly Cooper and the Thievius Raccoonus.* There have been new ska fusions such as 'salska,' a mix of salsa and ska by groups such as La Ruda from France, and 'skakakore,' a synthesis of ska, rap and hardcore by Puerto Rican and Latin American artists such as Mexico's La Maldita Vecindad y los Hijos del Quinto Patio who fuse ska with *chachachá* and *bolero*. Third wave-style 'skacore' has also been adopted by dozens of US Christian bands such as Five Iron Frenzy and Insyderz. Since ska has been popular for almost 50 years, and enough time has passed since the third wave for a new generation to discover its frantic energy, it may be just a matter of time before ska becomes mainstream once again.

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ROBERT WITMER AND LEN McCARTHY

Soca

Soca is a style of popular dance music that emerged in Trinidad and Tobago in the 1970s and went on to become the dominant form of dance music in that country, particularly during the annual Carnival. The goal of the musicians who were involved in the development of soca was to reinvigorate the Trinidadian calypso and make it more interesting in terms of its rhythm and musical structure. Innovation has continued to be a feature of the music. Soca was also a response to musical imports from North America, as well as to other Caribbean musical genres that were becoming hugely successful abroad, particularly reggae. Soca emerged at a time when adventurous musical fusion had become the norm in Trinidad and Tobago, and its emergence coincided with Trinidad's oil boom years (1973–80) and the optimistic atmosphere that resulted from the citizenry's increased standard of living and purchasing power. Since the late twentieth century artists from other parts of the West Indies, particularly Barbados, have made important contributions to soca.

Calypso has always embraced a range of singing styles, but soca represented a significant departure in terms of rhythm, tempo and instrumentation. It was the lyrics of soca, however, that attracted the greatest controversy. Soca and related varieties of 'party music' in Trinidad have consistently generated severe criticism from academics, journalists and, more broadly, an older generation of Trinidadians, because in their view it does not have 'meaningful' lyrics. Ultimately, it is a type of party music in which the verbal artistry of calypso is replaced by hook-driven verses and choruses, and led by flashy and sexy lead singers, who command their audience to 'jump up,' 'take a wine,' 'free up,' 'display,' 'breakway,' 'charge,' 'get on bad' and, generally, 'make bacchanal.'

The Development of Soca

One of the key innovators of the soca music style was the calypsonian Lord Shorty (Garfield Blackman, later Ras Shorty I), along with his musical arranger, Ed Watson. In many interviews, Shorty said that calypso was 'dying' and he wanted to renew and reinvigorate calypso in order to compete with foreign dance music such as reggae, funk and soul (Guilbault 2007, 1723). Shorty expressed the desire to blend Indian and African rhythms, suggesting to Ed Watson that he add East Indian percussion instruments, particularly the *dholak* and *dhantal* of Hindu folk and popular music, to his musical arrangements. Shorty called his new style 'sokah' in order to emphasize the Indian contribution, and introduced it to the world with his song 'Indrani' in 1973. In addition to the 'Indian rhythms,' this song and others of the same period are clearly influenced by Hindi film music, which was broadcast on local radio stations for short periods each day (Niranjana 2006, 1412). These innovations were met with negative criticism from both the Afro-Creole and Indo-Trinidadian communities. Afro-Trinidadians felt that Shorty was ruining the calypso, and Indo-Trinidadians assumed that 'Indrani' was meant as a parody of their culture (Guilbault 2007, 173).

Shorty responded by asking Watson to change his arrangements and transfer the Indian rhythmic patterns to the drum set, iron and congas of the calypso rhythm section. The result was the album *Endless Vibrations* (1975). At the same time, journalists writing about Shorty's music changed the spelling from sokah to soca, assuming that Shorty was blending soul with calypso music. Since Shorty did not protest, the new spelling became standard. The new sound, which along with the extra percussion foregrounded the bass, Hammond B3 organ and electric guitar, earned Shorty a devoted following of fans and awakened the interest of other musicians. Although initially resistant to Shorty's innovations, older calypsonians such as The Mighty Sparrow (Slinger Francisco) and Lord Kitchener (Aldwin Roberts) realized the popularity of the soca sound, and wrote compositions in the new style. One of the most successful soca songs during this early period was Lord Kitchener's 'Sugar Bum Bum,' arranged by Ed Watson and released in 1978 (Guilbault 2007, 173–4).

As soca became more popular, Shorty became disillusioned with the Trinidadian music scene, changed his name to Ras Shorty I and with his family started creating faith-based music. Mixing soca and gospel, Shorty named this style jamoo, meaning 'Jah music.' Following his death in 2000, Shorty's children, most notably his eldest daughter Abbi Blackman, and sons Eldon, Sheldon and Issac Blackman have continued his legacy.

Thanks to the large populations of West Indians in North American cities such as Toronto and New York, and in the British Isles, soca quickly came to international attention. Ironically, perhaps, the best-known soca song of the 1980s was 'Hot Hot Hot,' recorded by the singer Arrow (Alphonsus Cassell), who was from Montserrat, not Trinidad. The song was later brought to the attention of American audiences by the novelty singer Buster Poindexter (David Johansen). This success opened the way for other artists in foreign markets, particularly for the winner of the 1986 Trinidad road march (the competition held during the carnival parade) David Rudder, via his album *This is Soca*. Interestingly, Rudder developed a style of soca that is more socially conscious than that of his contemporaries, and he has remained an artist who does not feel bound to the conventions of the Trinidadian music scene.

By the early 1990s soca had become the most common form of music in Carnival fêtes and the preferred form of music to accompany mas bands (mas is the term for masquerade in Trinidad and Tobago) on Carnival Monday and Tuesday. A turning point occurred when the calypsonian Super Blue (Austin Lyons) won the road march three years in a row (1991–93) with an energized form of soca featuring faster tempos, instructions to dancers and shorter call-and-response vocal phrases and melodic hooks. This is the 'jump and wave' music that came to dominate Carnival dance music. In 1993 the Soca Monarch competition was instituted as a way to offer a platform for this distinctive style of calypso, which had not fared well in the state-run Calypso Monarch competitions. Hosted by the Caribbean Prestige Foundation, with financial support from various corporate enterprises, the Soca Monarch has grown from a local event into an international contest.

By the late 1990s several notable soca artists were no longer competing in Soca Monarch or other recognized song competitions. Among them were David Rudder and Machel Montano, who focused instead on building international careers. As a result, Rudder and Montano have become the most commercially successful recording and performing artists in the early twenty-first century Trinidadian music scene, and have even collaborated with each other on several projects. While Rudder has created a unique style that resists easy classification, Montano is an innovator who works with many different artists and in every style of soca, from ragga to rapso to chutney. At various times, Montano has worked with artists from other parts of the Caribbean, including Shaggy, Beenie Man, Buju Banton, Wyclef Jean and reggaeton artist Pitbull. In 2011 Montano decided to make a comeback and competed in the International Soca Monarch competition, which he won along with the road march competition that year.

The last decade of the twentieth century saw the emergence of the 'soca diva.' Female singers have always been an important part of soca bands as frontline singers, but in 1999 one of them, Sanelle Dempster, finally won the road march with 'the River.' Other important female artists include 'soca queen' Alison Hinds, who is from Barbados, Denise 'Saucy Wow' Belfon, Destra Garcia and Super Blue's daughter Faye-Ann Lyons, who won the road march competition in 2003 and 2008 with 'Display' and 'Get On.' Although the International Soca Monarch competition has a number of women who compete, the award of first prize to Faye-Ann Lyons in 2009 marked the first time that a woman had won the top prize.

Stylistic Features

Like its parent genre, calypso, soca is flexible in terms of its instrumentation, rhythmic framework and musical form. The main feature that distinguishes soca from other forms of calypso is that it is intended as an upbeat dance music that encourages audience participation and enjoyment. Although nearly all soca songs have a lead vocal, the vocal line typically works as another instrument to enhance the polyrhythmic texture and 'groove' of the musical arrangement. The contemporary sound of soca is due in large part to the particular tastes of individual arrangers and bandleaders, who include Leston Paul, Errol Ince, Frankie McIntosh, Wayne Bruno and Pelham Goddard.

The instrumentation for live soca performances regularly features what Trinidadians call a 'brass band.' The name comes from the horn section of the ensemble, which typically includes one or two saxophones, trumpets and trombones. Over time, keyboard instruments have come to replace the horn lines, and some 'brass bands' have no brass at all, while others have band members who switch between brass and other instruments. The rhythm section of a soca band includes electric guitar, keyboards, drum set and bass. As in reggae, the bass player plays a very active role in the ensemble. Depending on the tastes of individual bandleaders and arrangers, acoustic percussion such as congas may be included. A band's frontline singers are typically chosen both for their vocal talents and their physical attractiveness and stamina, as a typical night during the Carnival season may include performing at three or four fêtes before morning comes.

On sound recordings, many arrangers use electronic keyboard, drum machines and other digital technology in place of brass players and drummers. The primary reason for this is that songs have to be produced quickly and inexpensively to ensure radio airplay by the start of the Carnival season. This has led to complaints regarding the disposable nature of the songs, and the fact that audiences will settle for 'fast food music,' when artists could be producing more substantial and creatively interesting music. In some cases there has been a movement toward creating 'riddims' – in the same fashion as Jamaican reggae – over which several different singers record vocals for a song compilation. This is not universal and seems reserved for certain producers such as Machel Montano and Chinese Laundry (Tony Chow Lin On).

The flexibility of song structure found in calypso is found also in soca, but unlike in the older form, shorter verse and chorus structures predominate. There also tend to be far fewer verses than in the type of songs sung in the calypso tent, and these verses tend to be shorter in length, usually four to eight lines. Musical 'hooks' and 'riffs' play a major role in soca.

In the more fast-paced songs, artists often seek to add a musical surprise in the arrangement. There might be a new musical bridge unrelated to previous material. Hooks and melodies from different types of popular songs are common and help draw the audience further into the musical performance, as for example in 'Nah Going Home' by Barbadian singer Biggie Irie (2007), the chorus of which is based on that of U2's 'I Still Haven't Found What I'm Looking For.' This practice of musical quotation is controversial, but seems to add to the success of particular soca songs.

Throughout the 1990s further experimentation created new variations on soca music. Jamaican dancehall had gained enormous popularity among Trinidadian youth, who called it 'dub.' This led to the development of ragga soca, which is characterized by a slower tempo and a vocal delivery similar to that of dancehall, and which offered Trinidadian artists a way of competing with the Jamaican sound. Chutney soca also emerged during the same decade, reformulating Shorty's innovative blending of East Indian music and instruments such as the *dholak* and *tassa* with Afro-Creole musical expressions. Most chutney soca artists are Indo-Trinidadians, and hence more accepted by the Indo-Trinidadian community. However, several Afro-Trinidadian artists have experimented with chutney soca, most notably Machel Montano and Denise Belfon.

Soca Lyrics

Soca places far more emphasis on call-and-response than do other forms of calypso. A typical song has a series of memorable choruses or choric lines that the audience can sing in response at appropriate times. Often these choric responses are local expressions (and this may be the actual title of the song): 'Display,' 'Ent,' 'Yeah Right,' 'Follow the Leader,' 'Dust Dem,' 'Get to Hell Outta Here,' 'Clear de way,' 'Nah Going Home' or 'Pack Yuh Bags.' When calypsonians sing in social commentary mode, their songs tend to have a predictable verse/chorus structure. Soca sets up an entirely different structure of feeling. While most soca songs do have verses, there is more emphasis on choruses or choric lines that involve the audience in a musical dialogue with the performers. Though there are repeating musical units, the effect is additive because there is usually more than one chorus. Soca artists such as Super Blue and Machel Montano tend to perform tunes that are a series of choruses, with hardly any verse at all.

Alongside the creation of original verses and choruses, it has become common in soca to use quotations from preexisting musical sources. Material might be drawn from another popular song ('can you feel it, can you feel it, can you feel it,' 'every step you take, every move you make') or a children's game song ('there's a brown girl in the ring, tra la la la la') – even an old-time calypso ('old lady walk a mile and half and she tailaylay'). Singers are the choreographers of the fête and of the Carnival mas band – the crowd follows their energy and vice versa. In live performance, the frenzy of the crowd inspires the singers to improvise new choruses and commanding new dance moves to match the energy of the crowd. The result is an intense call-and-response arrangement that helps people to do and feel the same thing at the same time – to have the same experience and sense of community through a continually unfolding musical structure. One could say that the true form of soca is live performance, and that sound recordings are merely a way for audiences to become familiar with the songs before they experience them live.

The critique of soca offered by aficionados of 'true calypso' (who can often be found airing their views in the local press) is that these 'wine and jam' songs are bringing the culture down, celebrating decadent bodily display rather than elevating the mind. What lyrics there are, they say, are little more than aerobics instructions, or else vastly unsubtle descriptions of male-female sexual interplay. Defenders of the style point out that Carnival has always had both songs for the mind, such as social commentary calypsos, and songs for the body, which move people during Carnival fêtes, or down the road in the celebration of Carnival masquerade.

In the early twenty-first century, soca refers to a complex of styles, in addition to the aforementioned ragga soca and chutney soca. Older songs, such as 'Endless Vibrations' and 'Sugar Bum Bum' tend to be regarded as 'back in times music' (oldies). 'Power soca' refers to a style that has a very fast tempo (160 beats per minute or higher) with 'command' lyrics that engage dancers with different dance instructions. This style seems to be a direct response to Carnival mas. Mas on Carnival Monday and Tuesday is accompanied by big trucks that follow masqueraders on the road – with a soca band and lead singers sitting or standing on top, encouraging their mas band to wine, jump and wave, and show their enthusiasm, thus winning points with the judges. A contrasting style, called 'groovy soca,' has a moderate tempo (100–120 beats per minute) with lyrics that address a variety of topics, from Carnival itself to romance and sexual interplay. In 2008 the International Soca Monarch competition began to showcase both power soca and groovy soca, crowning a monarch in each of these two categories. Women have been more successful in the Groovy Soca Monarch competition, with Michelle Sylvester winning the top prize in 2004 and 2005, and Faye-Ann Lyons winning in 2009.

Diffusion

In addition to Trinidad and Tobago, soca is also found in Barbados, Grenada, St Vincent and the Grenandines, St Lucia, Antigua and the French Antilles, particularly Martinique and Guadeloupe. The Caribbean diaspora in North America and the United Kingdom also embraces soca as a key symbol of homeland and its annual Carnival celebrations. Since the 1980s soca music has also found success outside the West Indian market in North America and the United Kingdom. Some hit songs include 'Hot Hot Hot,' recorded by the singer Arrow and later Buster Poindexter, 'Tiney Winey' by Byron Lee and the Dragonaires, 'Dollar Wine' by Colin Lucas, 'Follow the Leader' by Soca Boys (originally recorded by Nigel and Marvin Lewis) and 'Who Let the Dogs Out' by Baha Men (originally sung by Anselm Douglas). Thus despite its critics, soca has come to dominate the dance and party music of Carnival in the West Indies and its diaspora and in certain cases has reached worldwide audiences.

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HOPE MUNRO SMITH

Son

Originally a nineteenth-century rural form played by poor Afro-Cubans from the east of the island, *son* became an urban dance music emblematic of Cuban national identity in the first decades of the twentieth century. It is often claimed to be the one Cuban musical style that demonstrates equal amounts of Hispanic and African influence. According to eminent Cuban musician and musicologist Odilio Urfé, the *son* is 'el exponente sonoro más sincrético de la identidad cultural nacional' (the most syncretic, sonorous symbol of national cultural identity) (Orovio 1992, 456).

In terms of instrumentation, the *son* has been developed in different orchestral formats over the years, from duet and trio to the larger *sexteto*, *septeto*, *conjunto* and *sonora* formations, but the emblematic instruments are *tres*, *maracas* and *bongo*. Traditional *son* is characterized by a *clave*-based rhythmic-melodic organization (*clave* is a 5-note syncopated ostinato that serves as a rhythmic organizing principle for all instrumental parts in *son* and *son*-related styles; see Example 1 below). A refrain or *estribillo* is sung over a repeated pattern called a *montuno* or *guajeo* played on the *tres* guitar (a Cuban guitar with three sets of double strings) with an accompanying pattern called *tumbao* on string bass (both organized around the *clave*), *maracas* and a bongo *martillo* (hammer) pattern (see Example 4 below). The open *montuno* section, which normally comes after an introduction and verses, features a vocal soloist called a *sonero* who improvises *pregones* (vocal improvisations), collective *coros* (vocal choruses), as well as trumpets playing *inspiraciones* (short improvised phrases), riff-like *mambo* and *diablo* figures and solos.

As a form *son* has lent itself well to other styles and instrumentations and continues to be influential in the early twenty-first century, not so much through its original orchestration styles but rather through its pervasive influence on other Cuban popular musics, salsa and other Caribbean and Latin American musical forms worldwide. There is therefore a '*son* aesthetic' where the *clave*-based patterns called *montuno*, *guajeo* and *tumbao* all align with the percussion to support the vocalists and soloists while maintaining a danceable beat.

Origins

There has been much speculation about the origins of Cuban *son* but the general consensus is that it evolved in the late nineteenth century in the eastern part of the island known as Oriente. Robin Moore (1997, 89) notes that little is known about these earlier rural forms of *son* and that the genre's transition from a rural eastern form to a working-class urban form in Havana in the 1920s remains poorly documented to date. Moore also notes that *son* is related to other eastern regional forms such as *changüi* and *sucu-sucu* (Moore 1997, 89). *Son*'s relationship to these regional varieties is explored in more depth in the work of Benjamin Lapidus (Lapidus 2008) and Juliet E. Hill (Hill 2008). Some scholars (León 1974; Lapidus 2008) view *son* as part of a complex encompassing a variety of regional 'folk' styles such as *changüi, nengón* and *sucu-sucu*, while others view these folk styles as parallel to rather than part of the *son* style. Most accounts of the origins of *son* mention that, in Oriente, small bands made up of *tres*, guitar and singers, called *bungas*, played at country fiestas (*guateques*) performing *estribillos del monte* or refrains from the mountains (Robbins 1990, 185). These groups consisted of Afro-Cuban working-class musicians who worked on farms during the day and performed at fiestas by night. The early *son* bands of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries developed from these *bungas,* adding the *bongos* and the *botija* (side-blown jar) or *marimbula* (large, resonating, wooden box with metal prongs) to the formation. The *botija* and then later the *marimbula* performed the bass role before the double bass took over in popularity in the later *son* bands of the 1920s (Sublette 2004, 341). Played by Afro Cubans who also performed *rumbas* and sacred forms such as *Santería* and *Abakuá*, *son* (as with the *bungas*) was associated with lower-class, black Cubans and, until recordings promoted the style in the 1920s, *son* remained a marginal form viewed by the white ruling classes (and by some members of the black middle classes) as threatening and subversive (Moore 1997, 95).

The rural *son* spread to other parts of the island via troops from Oriente traveling across the country during the various wars of independence that raged on and off between 1868 and 1902 (Gott 2004). Thus *son* began to be played in urban settings such as in the *solares* (tenement blocks occupied by poor Afro-Cuban workers). Blanco (1992, 9, cited in Moore 1997, 3) notes that soldiers were deliberately placed away from their home towns in the first decade of the twentieth century, following American military intervention in 1908. For example, the renowned *tres* player Isaac Oviedo, according to his son Ernesto Oviedo (cited in Miller 2011), learned *tres* from a *tresero* from Santiago de Cuba who had settled in Matanzas after the wars of independence. Additionally, in the first part of the twentieth century a rural exodus occurred in which many musicians left the countryside to find work in Havana, as did Isaac Oviedo who moved to the capital in the 1920s with his *son* band Septeto Matancero (*Roots of Rhythm* DVD, 1991). This second wave of migration was also due to socioeconomic factors as many farms either were destroyed or bought up by foreign companies during the Wars of Independence, with agricultural workers forced to seek alternative employment in the capital Havana and other urban centers (Moore 1997, 92).

Son developed from these smaller rural groups into the urban *sexteto* and *septeto* formats of the 1920s and 1930s (and then later into the *conjunto* and *sonora* bands of the 1940s and 1950s). While the lineups were augmented, the musical elements characteristic of the *son* style (*clave*, *tumbao*, *montuno*, *guajeo* and *estribillo*) remained constant. How and why these changes in instrumentation occurred is still the subject of conjecture, but other musical forms have been shown to have contributed to *son*'s development. For example, vocal-based genres such as *coros de clave* (Afro-Cuban choral ensembles) and *trova* (a related working-class song tradition from Oriente favoring the *bolero* style) are connected to *son* in terms of lyrical content, use of guitars and vocal delivery. Due to racial prejudice against the use of percussion, *trova* songs were often more acceptable than the more dance-orientated *son* bands with their percussion-driven, 'clavecized' aesthetic. While all early *son* styles featured vocals, guitars and hand percussion (usually *clave* and *maracas*), the *bongos* (a double-headed Afro-Cuban hand drum) were not always used in the earlier *son* groups prior to the 1920s because they were viewed as 'primitive' and deemed immoral by many due to their association with Afro-Cuban religions. Hand drums were even banned by law for a time by the Menocal administration during the second decade of the twentieth century (Moore 1997, 96). According to Urfé (in Orovio 1992, 457) *son* from Oriente arrived in Havana in 1909, brought by soldiers from the Ejército Permanente (Permanent Army). The Trío Oriental, a group from within this army comprised of the three musicians Guillermo Castillo, Carlos Godínez and Ricardo Martínez, went on to form Cuarteto Oriental with the Havana-based *bongo* player Alfredo Boloña. This group then developed into the larger *son* ensembles Los Apaches (1913–18), Sexteto Habanero (1920) and Septeto Boloña (1923) (Robbins 1990,186).

Related Styles

Sublette notes the influence of *rumba* in the *bongo* performances on the early *son* recordings of the 1920s, remarking that many *bongoceros* were also *rumberos* and practitioners of Afro-Cuban religious music. Similarly he notes the influence of the *coros de clave* in conjunction with the sacred music of *Santería* on the *son* vocal style (Sublette 2004, 363–4). In the early part of the twentieth century the song-based *trova* tradition from Oriente used two voices (*voz primera* and *voz del segundo*) and this vocal style was also adopted in the *son*. This form of vocal performance continues to be influential in *son* and salsa formats today, with male tenor voices preferred. *Trova* songs were performed without *bongos* and the romantic *bolero* style of song was favored in *casas de la trova*, whereas *son* was played primarily for dances at fiestas. The main difference between *trova* and son, therefore, is that the former is guitar and vocal-led music intended for listening with a focus on strophic form while *son* music involves an augmented lineup including bass and percussion (*bongos*, *maracas* and *clave*) due to its primary function as dance music. Many musicians performed both *trova* songs and *sones* and the genres are closely related, with recordings in the first two decades of the twentieth century featuring small groups either from the guitar and vocal-led *trova* tradition from Oriente (as exemplified by Trío Matamoros), or *son* groups initially performing without a *bongo* player (as exemplified on the *Out of Cuba* recording compiled by the British Library Sound Archive, 2004). According to Ernesto Oviedo, when he was performing *son* in his father Isaac Oviedo's band in the 1940s and 1950s, *son* musicians from Oriente's *casas de la trova* (*trova* clubs) preferred *son* performed without *bongo* in contrast to the more percussion-based Havana *son* bands (Miller 2009).

Trova, like *son*, originated in Oriente in the nineteenth century before spreading to the rest of the island through the same patterns of migration mentioned earlier. Composer, guitarist and singer Miguel Matamoros, however, was invited to Havana from Santiago de Cuba by a prominent politician in the Zayas administration in the 1920s in order to perform at high society parties known as *encerronas* or 'lock-ins' (Moore 1997, 100). This custom of rich white Cubans such as the Bacardí and Lendoya families (Muguercía 1985, 70) hiring *bungas* and *son* bands for private parties was prevalent both in Oriente and Havana during the 1910s (Robbins 1990, 185). Trío Matamoros performed and recorded percussion-light *son* and *bolero* songs and performed a more *trova*-influenced *son* than the *sextetos* and *septetos* in the late 1920s and 1930s. Their *trova*-style singing, combined with *son montuno* performance using *maracas* and *clave* accompaniment, made them ideal for radio diffusion rather than live performance, where, without amplification, they could not compete with the louder *sexteto* and *septeto* formats (Sublette 2004, 368). Matamoros's most famous compositions are the classic *son* numbers 'Lagrimas negras' (Black Tears) (recorded in Havana in 1931) and 'Son de la loma' (*Son* of the Hill) (recorded in New York in 1928), which continue to be played by *son* and *charanga* groups today. Similarly, another singer of the time, Antonio Machín, rose to fame through recordings made in New York and disseminated throughout the United States and Europe in the 1930s.

Son Sextetos and *Septetos*

The 1920s saw the rise of the *sonsexteto* and *septeto* and their popularity was due in large part to the fact that US record companies (Victor, Brunswick and Columbia) were recording *son* groups in Havana (using portable studios) or in New York studios extensively at this time and were disseminating this style of *son* music internationally. Victor and Columbia record companies had started to make field recordings in Havana as early as 1904 (Quintana 1954, 65), initially recording stage artists, opera stars and dance orchestras (Moore 1997, 102). Brunswick was the first company to be interested in recording *son* groups in the mid-1910s, recording the Boloña *sexteto* between 1916 and 1918, with Victor and Columbia following suit (Moore 1997, 102). One of the first *son sextetos* to be recorded by Victor Records in Havana was made in 1918 and consisted of members from the groups Los Apaches and Cuarteto Oriental. This band is listed by Victor as Sexteto Habanero Godínez and would later become known as Sexteto Habanero in 1920 (Sublette 2004, 335–6). The *sexteto* format consisted of *tres*, guitar, *maracas*, *bongos*, *clave* and vocals; the *septeto* added the trumpet. Later *son conjunto* groups of the 1940s added more trumpets to the formation due in part to innovations by bandleader Arsenio Rodríguez, but also because of the growing popularity of US jazz bands on the island. *Son* became popular throughout Cuba due to the recordings and radio broadcasts initially of Trío Matamoros, Cuarteto Machín and early *sextetos* and *septetos* such as the Sexteto Habanero and Septeto Nacional de Ignacio Piñeiro among others. There were 62 radio stations in Cuba in 1933, with the first nationwide radio station broadcasting from 1922 (Moore 1997, 103). During the 1920s and 1930smass media exposure of *son* via the phonograph and the radio led to a gradual acceptance of *son* by all of Cuban society and the new *sexteto* and *septeto* bands became particularly popular at this time, both in Cuba and internationally.

Arsenio Rodríguez and the *Son Conjunto*

One of the most important figures in the development of *son*, Arsenio Rodríguez, known as 'El Ciego Maravilloso' (The Blind Marvel), was a blind bandleader, arranger, composer and also arguably the most famous *tres* player of all time – an innovator in terms of instrumentation, composition and *tres* technique. It is impossible to discuss *son* without mentioning his name.

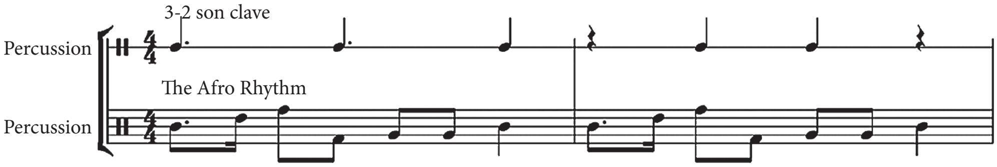
Rodríguez moved from Güines to Havana in 1926 and performed with various *son* bands before setting up his own group Septeto Bóston in 1928. In 1933 he joined the Septeto Bellamar (later becoming its musical director) and performed at *academias de baile* like the Sport Antillano (Garcia 2006, 33–4). These dance academies were associated with prostitution; middle- and upper-class white men paid for 'dance instruction' there from mulatta women. While these venues were stigmatized, many important *son* musicians played in them and useful contacts were formed, particularly in the area of recording contracts (Garcia 2006, 34). As a teenager Rodríguez had studied *tres* 'en la calle' (in the street) with Sexteto Habanero's *tres* player Carlos Godínez and with Isaac Oviedo but later developed his own distinctive style. Initially playing rough working-class venues in Havana in the late 1920s and 1930s he established his *conjunto* 'Arsenio Rodríguez y su Conjunto' in 1940, recording for RCA Victor in the same year. From then on his fame spread through his live performances and radio broadcasts on stations such as Mil Diez. His band later formed part of 'Los Tres Grandes' or 'The Big Three' promoted on Havana's Radio Salas in the late 1940s. The three bands, which regularly performed for live studio audiences, were Arsenio Rodríguez y su Conjunto and two *charanga orquestas*: Arcaño y sus Maravillas and Melodías del 40.

In the 1940s Arsenio Rodríguez transformed the *septeto* into a *conjunto* with the addition of piano, two (then later three) trumpets and *congas*, and he infused the *son* with musical and lyrical references to Afro-Cuban culture. While other bands added piano and an extra trumpet due to the influence of *charangas* and jazz bands respectively to their *septetos* in the late 1930s (Septeto Gloria Cubana was the first *conjunto* to incorporate the piano, according to Blanco [1992, 34]), Rodríguez was the bandleader who most popularized the new lineup through his performances, recordings and radio broadcasts. The addition of the congas represented the more Afro-Cuban *rumba* element of the *conjunto* and Rodríguez's band was renowned for a particular *estilo negro* or 'black sound' and a hard-driving *son montuno* style. The term *conjunto* was initially used to refer to any type of *son* group but as Arsenio's band popularized the *conjunto* format in the early 1940s the term came to be used to describe *son* bands with the specific *conjunto* lineup, which now included in its entirety two (later three) trumpets, *tres*, piano, two vocalists doubling *maracas* and *clave*, *bongos*, *congas* (*tumbadoras*) and bass. According to Eddie Zervigon Cuban *charanga* flautist and bandleader of New York-based Orquesta Broadway, any 1940s band that featured 'accompaniment' in the form of either violins or saxophones was known as an *orquesta* and ones without were known as *conjuntos* (Zervigon 2012).

In addition to changes in lineup and performance style, Rodríguez was also a prolific composer of *sones*, *afrocubanos* (Afro-Cuban-influenced *son*) and *guaguancos* (in this case *rumba*-influenced *son*). Angry at the racial prejudice he faced in Cuba (where high society venues maintained policies of hiring all-white bands and cabarets and radio stations such as CMQ refused to broadcast his *conjunto*), he infused his *son montunos* with an Afro-Cuban aesthetic that contrasted many of the exoticized recordings of *son* popularized by the US record and film industry of the 1930s and 1940s, with lyrics that referred to African religions and Afro-Cuban street slang (see Moore 1997, 109–13 for a more in-depth analysis of the cultural scene in Havana between 1920 and 1940). Rodríguez're-Africanized' and 're-appropriated' stylized Afro-Cuban elements from the vernacular theater to produce a *son* infused with a Cuban form of black pride.

Rodríguez revolutionized *son* through his compositions and arranging style, where the texture and tempo of a *son* was gradually increased in the manner of an Afro-Cuban *Santería* religious ceremony. A *son*'s climax was created by a *cierre* (break) introducing trumpet *moñas* (improvised riffs) to increase the intensity and create what Arsenio called his '*diablo*' section.

Rodríguez's composition 'Bruca manigua' (Harsh Land) remains a staple of *son* repertoire today and exemplifies his musical and lyrical references to Afro-Cuban culture. For example, in 'Bruca manigua' he juxtaposes the Afro rhythm (see Example 1) with



Example 1: The Afro Rhythm or *Tango-Conga* pattern with *clave*

clave, and includes references to the Afro-Cuban *Santería* religion (Garcia 2006). Moore refers to this pattern as a *tango-conga* pattern used in the stylized *comparsas* (street parade music) of the popular theater (*teatro vernáculo*) in the 1920s (Moore 1997, 73).

Alongside Spanish, Rodríguez uses 'neo-bozal' (a form of Creole Spanish used by African slaves), Kikongo and Abakua African languages to recount the hardships of an African slave in Cuba: 'Yo son Carabalí (I am Carabali), negro de nación (black man of a nation [from Africa]), sin la libertad (without freedom), no pue'o vivi' (I cannot live), Mundele cabá, (white man finished off), con mi corazón, (my heart), tanto maltráta, (so mistreated), cuerpo ta'furi eh (they kill the body).' According to Sublette, *fuirí* means 'death' and *mundele* means 'white man' in both Kikongo and Abakuá languages (Sublette 2004, 444–6). Thus Rodríguez's use of words in African languages together with Afro-Cuban references in his *sones* can be seen as the coded expressions of a black underclass (Moore 1997, chapter 4).

Rodríguez went to the United States in 1947 in the hope of having an operation to restore his eyesight, and although this did not happen he performed there and returned several times before moving to the United States permanently in 1952 (Garcia 2006). He then performed regularly at New York's Palladium throughout the 1950s. His composition 'Bruca manigua' was performed and recorded in New York in 1937 by the Xavier Cugat orchestra, although many of the Afro-Cuban references would not have been understood by international audiences of the time. In fact, middle-class Cuban listeners would also not have understood the Afro-Cuban references, protests and *double-entendres* hidden in Arsenio's music.

Rodríguez's compositions have been recorded by numerous artists including a 2004 tribute recording of his works by trumpeter Guajiro Mirabal of Buena Vista Social Club which covers many of his best-known works including 'El reloj de pastora' (The Shepherdess's Watch), 'Para bailar el montuno' (To Dance the Montuno) and 'Apurruñenme mujeres' (Embrace Me, Women) among others (*Buena Vista Social Club*, 2004).

While Rodríguez's *tres* playing was groundbreaking, his pianist Lili Martínez equally transformed the role of the pianist in the *son conjunto* with his virtuosic soloing. Martínez was the first pianist whose live performances were described with the complimentary term 'alambres dulces' (sweet strings), an accolade previously reserved for guitarists' solos, according to Radio Cadena presenter Arsenio Depestre (Miller 2011; also see Garcia 2006). When Rodríguez moved to the United States in 1952, one of his trumpet players, Félix Chappottín took over Rodríguez's band and renamed it Chappottín y sus Estrellas. Chappottín was also influential in the development of the *son* in the *conjunto* format having started his career in Septeto Habanero. His composition 'Yo como candela' remains a staple of the *son conjunto* repertoire today although he is mostly acknowledged for being one of the most important trumpet innovators in Cuban music (Davies 2003, 79–80).

An offshoot of Rodríguez's *conjunto* format is the *sonora*. *Sonoras* such as Laíto y su Sonora and La Sonora Matancera are characterized by smoother brass lines played at a lower pitch than the traditionally high *tessitura* of the *conjunto* trumpets. Sonora Matancera, initially a *sexteto* formed in 1924 transformed into a smooth-style *conjunto* in the 1940s and its sound became influential in Cuba and also in the United States when the band moved there in 1960 (Orovio 1992, 460).

Musical Characteristics

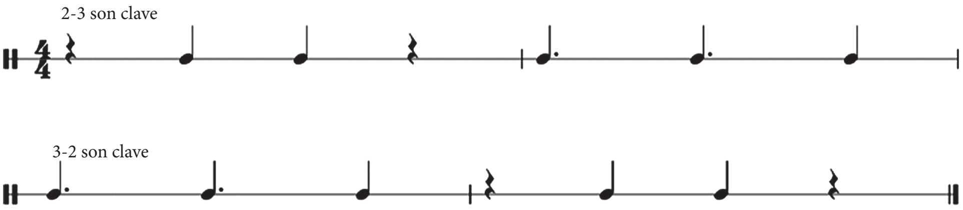
While the *son*'s orchestral formats have changed over the years, certain aspects of the music have remained constant. The form, for example, typically consists of two parts: an introduction and verse section featuring a composed introductory part of four or eight bars followed by several sung verses sometimes featuring a middle eight and chorus before the *montuno* section of the second half. The *montuno* section is the open part of the arrangement where the *estribillo* or refrain (also known as *coro*) and responsorial improvisations take place. Improvisations in the open *montuno* section are initially taken by the vocalist as *pregones* (vocal improvisations), followed by trumpet *inspiraciones* (short improvised phrases). Longer solos are then taken by lead trumpet, *tres*, piano or *bongos*, depending on the arrangement and *son* band formation. The *son montuno* style as opposed to *son* style usually has a shorter introduction and truncated verse section (or sometimes no verses at all) with a focus on the open *montuno* section with its vocal call-and-response and instrumental solos.

Lyrics in the *son* range from daily life commentary to *pregones* (street vendor cries), *bolero*-style love songs (where *bolero* percussion patterns often mix with *son*), gossip, satire and risqué *double-entendres*. Although *pregón* was a separate style in the nineteenth century, the term is now used for a certain style of vocal improvisation in the *son* or for particular tunes with lyrics that use street vendor refrains. 'El manicero' (The Peanut Vendor) for example, is often described as a *son-pregón* as it is built around a peanut vendor's words. *Pregones* are very typical of Cuban culture and often appear as short vocal improvisations or as *coros* and refrains. The *guaracha*, although also previously a separate form developed from the nineteenth-century *teatro bufo* (Orovio 1992), has largely the same musical elements as *son* although the tempo is a little faster. It is now defined by its lyrics which are deliberately humorous as in the case of the famous *guaracha* 'Maria Cristina me quiere gobernar' (María Cristina Wants to Govern Me) by Ñico Saquito, which is about a hen-pecked husband who will do anything for love except have a bath.

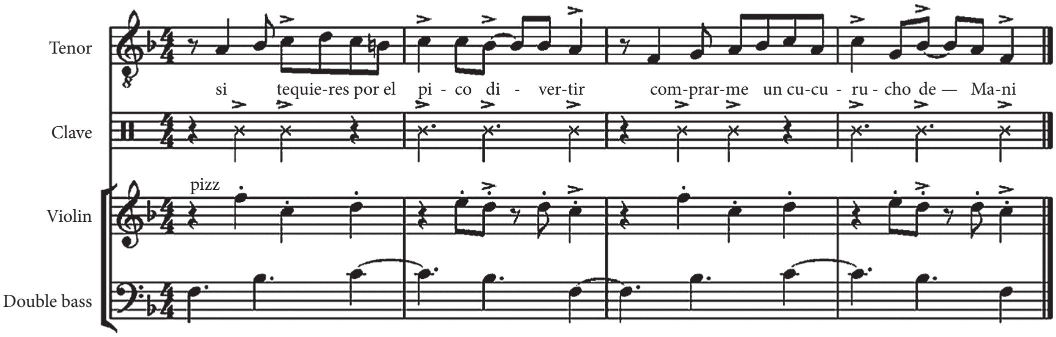
Son melodies and rhythms are organized around a two-bar *clave* rhythm. In *son* the *clave* is often played on two *clave* sticks whereas in other lineups the *clave* pattern tends to be implied rather than actualized. The *clave* can be played in two directions (described as 2-3 and 3-2, with the numbers referring to how many strokes are heard per measure in the first and second measures) and it is common for verses to be in 3-2 and for the later *montuno* sections to be in 2-3 *clave* (see Example 2).

Even the vocals conform to accentuations in this organizing rhythm, as exemplified by the following musical example of 'El manicero' where the 'and of 2' on the 3-side of the *clave* (known as the *bombo*) is emphasized in all parts in the second and fourth measures (see Example 3).

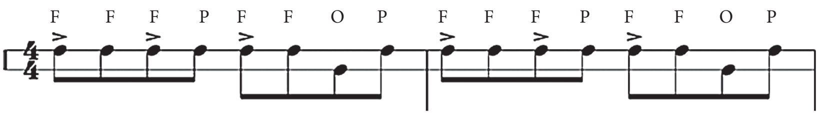
In terms of instrumental roles, the *maracas*, *bongos* and *clave* form the percussive base over which the *tresguajeo* (which can also be referred to as a *montuno* or *tumbao*), piano *montuno* (in the *conjunto*), guitar and bass *tumbao* are played; these patterns all align around *son clave* to form one melodic-rhythmic unit. The *bongos*, in addition to playing a fixed *martillo* pattern may add embellishments and fills, particularly in the *montuno* section, whereas the *maracas* and *clave* maintain the same patterns throughout. The *bongos* pattern is shown in Example 4 below.



Example 2: 2-3 *clave* and 3-2 *clave*


Tenor
Clave
Violin
Double bass
pizz
si tequie-res por el pi - co di - ver-tir com-prar-me un cu-cu - ru - cho de — Ma-ni

Example 3: 'El manicero': vocals outlining *clave*



Key to hand strokes is F = Fingers, P = Palm, O = Open.
Upper Stave = smaller 'macho' (male) drum, lower stave = larger 'hembra' (female) drum

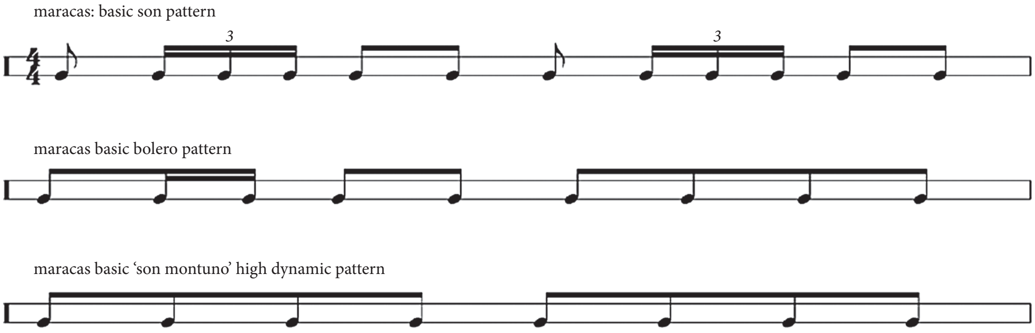
Example 4: The *bongos martillo* pattern

Due to the close relationship between *trova* and *son* as mentioned earlier, maracas often use *bolero* patterns in *sones*, as in Example 5 below.

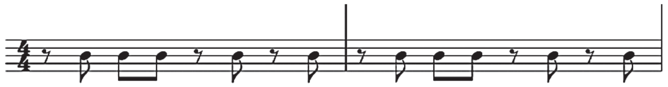
The guitar has a more subtle accompanying role. Contrasting its freer interpretive role in the verses section it often plays chords on the offbeats in the *montuno* section (see Example 6).

The trumpets play melodies on the introductions and codas, along with composed backing figures under the vocalist's lines during the verses. Trumpets also play figures called *mambo* or *moña*, often of 8 or 16 bars duration, which are precomposed or improvised phrases employed in order to increase intensity and bring the song to a climax (Arsenio Rodriguez referred to these as *diablos*; see Garcia 2006, 47). An example of this occurs in 'Mi son mi son' by Lili Martínez as performed by Chappottín y Sus Estrellas (Cuni 1999). The trumpet *mambo* in Example 7 is repeated amidst a shortened vocal *coro* at the end of the arrangement as the lead trumpet breaks away from this figure with short *inspiraciones* bringing the piece to an exciting finish.

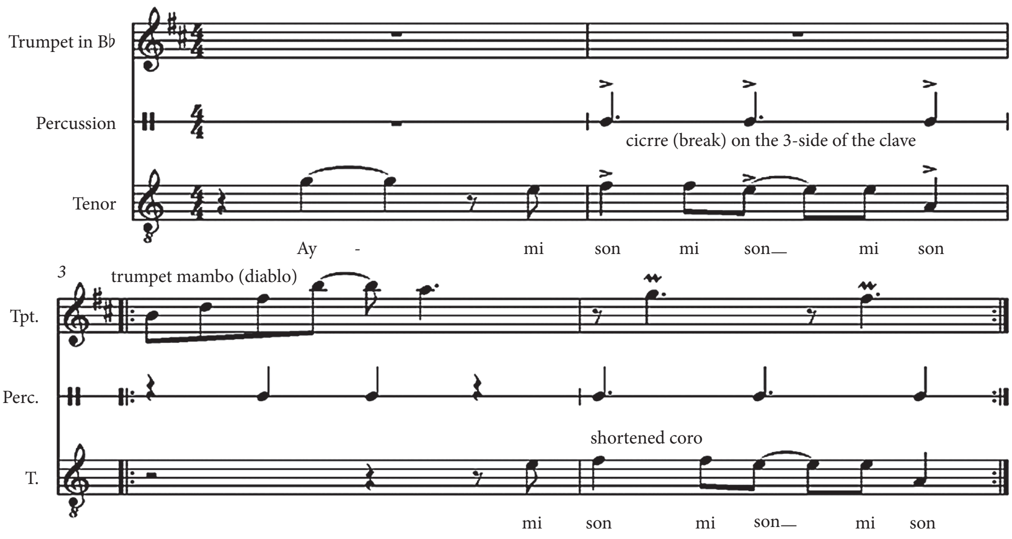
The term *montuno* is used to describe both the second part of a *son* form and the *clave*-governed piano and *tres* patterns. The *tres* pattern is also referred to by musicians as a *guajeo* or a *tumbao* and sometimes


maracas: basic son pattern
3
3
maracas basic bolero pattern
maracas basic 'son montuno' high dynamic pattern

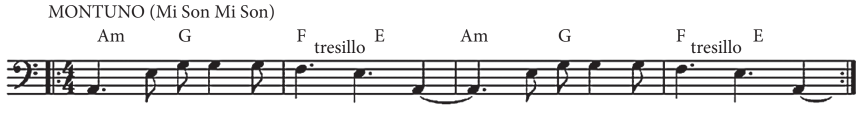
Example 5: The *maracas* in *son* and *bolero-son*



Example 6: Basic *son* pattern for rhythm guitar

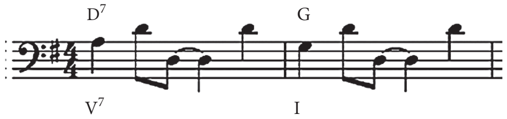

Trumpet in B♭
Percussion
cicrre (break) on the 3-side of the clave
Tenor
Ay - mi son mi son mi son mi son
3
trumpet mambo (diablo)
Tpt.
Perc.
shortened coro
T.
mi son mi son mi son

Example 7: A typical trumpet *mambo* from 'Mi son mi son.' (author's arrangement)

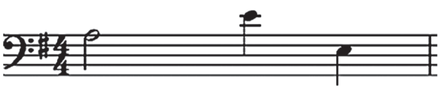


Example 8: The specific *tumbao* from 'Mi son mi son' with *tresillo* and anticipated bass

the piano *montuno* is also referred to as *guajeo*. Thus Cuban musicians often refer to *clave*-governed patterns as *tumbaos*, *guajeos* or *montunos*. Most commonly the term *tumbao* is used to refer to bass or *conga* patterns, *montuno* for piano patterns and *guajeo* for *tres* or violin figures. Various bass line patterns or *tumbaos* are used in *son,* from the well-known *tresillo* and anticipated bass line to the more square *bolero* and more springy *guaracha tumbao* (see Examples 8–10).



Example 9: The *guaracha*-style bass *tumbao*



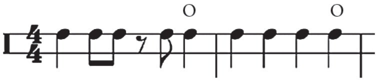
Example 10: The basic *bolero*-style *son tumbao*

In practice these patterns are combined and embellished according to specific arrangements.

The Influence of *Son* on Other Dance Band Formations:

The piano had been used for some time in the *charangas francesas* (dance bands made up of five-key wooden flute, three violins, piano, double bass, *conga*, *güiro*, *timbales* and vocalists) before it was added to the *son conjunto*. These *charanga* dance *orquestas* originated at the turn of the twentieth century and continued the *danzón* repertoire of the nineteenth-century *orquestas típicas* (brass, woodwind and strings-led town bands). The piano had a major improvising role in *charanga orquestas* such as the one led by pianist Antonio María Romeu in the 1920s and 1930s and many *charanga* pianists joined *son conjuntos* in the 1940s, adding *charanga* elements to the *son* style. Similarly, as the *son* gained more popularity, the *charangas* in turn were influenced by *son* to include an extended *montuno* section, *tresguajeos* transferred and adapted to the violins and increased solo opportunities for the flute in the *montuno* section (from the 1930s onward).

Also, the *estudiantina* groups of Oriente (originally a late nineteenth-century group made up of itinerant student musicians) fused the *orquesta típica*'s *danzón* with the *son*, using the *baqueteo* pattern of the *danzón* as a substitute for the *son clave* rhythm (Example 11).



Key: O = Open sound

Example 11: 3-2 *danzón baqueteo* **(**featuring the *cinquillo* five-beat pattern in the first bar)

The *estudiantina* fused elements from the *son* and the *danzón* using timpani *criollo* (similar to the *charanga timbales*), *claves* (often playing the *danzón baqueteo* pattern), two vocalists, trumpet, *maracas* (or *güiro* from the charanga lineup), *tres* and guitar.

Throughout the course of *son*'s development other popular dance band formats such as the *charanga*, the '*mambo*' big bands of Pérez Prado and Benny Moré, and the Cuban-styled jazz bands, were also performing. All these formations incorporated *son* elements to a large extent from the 1930s onward. *Charangas* performed *danzones* in the first part of the twentieth century and then, due to the influence of *son* and Afro-Cuban religious musics, developed a new style of *danzón* called *danzon de nuevo ritmo* in the late 1930s. This new *danzón* featured an extended *montuno* section, vocal *coros* and longer improvisations, as in the *son conjunto* arrangements. Performing alongside these *charanga* dance bands were Cuban 'jazz' bands that played not only US jazz styles but also foxtrots, *danzones*, *chachachás*, *boleros* and *sones*. Music of the vernacular theater and cinema also influenced the repertoire of these *son*, *charanga,* big band (*bandas gigantes*) and 'jazz' dance bands, and all the while the influence of Afro-Cuban music (secular *rumba* and religious *Santería* and *Palo Monte*) subtly pervaded all of these musics. The *son* surpassed the *charangas* in popularity in the 1920s and 1930s with the *mambo* big bands of Pérez Prado later eclipsing the popularity of the *son conjunto* for a time in the 1940s. The *charanga, son conjunto, banda gigante* (Cuban big band) and Cuban jazz bands of the 1940s eventually came to play each others' styles (*son, son montuno, bolero, mambo, pachanga* and so on) and *sones* are now played by practically all Cuban dance band formations. *Son* classics such as 'Pare cochero' (Stop, Coachman), 'Son de la loma' and 'La Negra Tomasa' ('Bilongo') are equally known as *charanga* classics, and 'Bilongo' is also a staple of many salsa bands. Groups such as Orquesta Casino de la Playa and Orquesta Cosmopolitan performed big band arrangements of *son* numbers throughout the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s and singer Benny Moré and his Banda Gigante probably did more to popularize the *son* in big band form than any other artist. Benny Moré, known as the *Bárbaro del Ritmo* (the barbarian of rhythm), attained legendary status in Cuba and Mexico where he performed with Pérez Prado's band before leading his own *banda gigante* featuring *son*, *bolero* and *mambo* styles.

The musical flexibility of *son* has enabled it to join with other styles such as the *bolero* and the *cha-cha-chá* to form hybrid styles such as the *son-cha*, *guajira-son* and the *bolero-son*. Benny Moré performed in a variety of big band and *conjunto* formats (Orquesta de Mariano Mercerón, Conjunto Benny Moré, Orquesta Rafael de Paz and Orquesta de Pérez Prado) whose repertoire included hybrid varieties of *son* such as *guaracha-mambo*, *guajira-son*, *son montuno*, *guaracha afro*, *montuno-mambo* and *afro-mambo*. Thus although distinctions can be made between styles such as *son*, *son montuno*, *bolero*, *danzón*, *chachachá*, *mambo* and *rumba*, these boundaries are more fluid than definitions and histories of these styles have often suggested. The same Cuban musicians performed *rumba*, *danzón* and *son* in different bands, performing at high-class cabarets and hotels one night, and then black social clubs, beer gardens (such as La Polar and El Tropical), lower-class *academias de baile* (dance schools) or informal *rumbas* (Afro-Cuban parties where *rumba* was danced and sung) in *solares* (tenement block housing) the next. Both Benny Moré and Carlos Embale, for example, were adept at performing both *son* and Afro-Cuban *rumba* and an Afro-Cuban sensibility pervades all their *son* performances. Other famous Cuban *son* singers who felt at ease in both big band and *conjunto* formats include Miguel Cuní, Carlos Embale, Pío Leyva (a *guarachero*) and Manuel Licea (Puntillita). Carlos Embale was a singer with Trío Matamoros, Septeto Boloña and Septeto Nacional and many traditional *son* musicians like Embale were also practitioners of Afro-Cuban syncretic religions such as *La Regla de Ocha* (*Santería*) or *Palo Monte*.

US *Rhumba* Craze

The term *rhumba* (even when spelled without the 'h') was used in the United States to refer to a 1930s craze for commercialized *son* forms that were unrelated to the Afro-Cuban *rumba* genre. In addition to the *sextetos* and *septetos* such as Sexteto Habanero, recorded by RCA Victor, and Ignacio Piñeiro's Septeto Nacional, recorded by rival company Columbia Records, *trova*-style and big band *son* were also recorded. These records not only sparked the *r(h)umba* craze but created a surge in sales of Cuban music (records and sheet music) internationally. While RCA Victor was present in early twentieth-century Cuba, the majority of the recordings occurred in New York, where Cuban artists such as Rita Montaner and Machín were featured alongside famous hotel bands of the day such as Xavier Cugat and his Waldorf Astoria Orchestra, Vicente Sigler y su Orquesta and Don Azpiazu's Orchestra (Miller 2006). The *son-pregón* 'El manicero' by Moises Simons was recorded by Trío Matamoros (1929), Antonio Machín (1930) and Rita Montaner (1928) and became widely known. Machín sang it in Don Azpiazu's Orquesta, a famous big band of the day which performed in large hotels in both Havana and New York, and RCA Victor recorded their version of 'El manicero' on 13 May 1930 (Díaz 2002). An exoticized image of Cuba based around Machín's rendition of 'El manicero' and a dubbed version of the song by Mexican actress Lupe Vélez in the 1931 Hollywood film *Cuban Love Song* helped create a vogue for all things Cuban in the United States, Latin America and Europe (Sublette 2004, 399–402). The tourist industry in Havana, particularly during US prohibition from 1920 to 1933, also helped popularize Cuban *son* (Moore 1997) with Americans attending cabarets and stage shows featuring Afro-Cuban performers. While recordings of *son sextetos* and *septetos* alongside more *trova*-style *son* groups such as Trío Matamoros were famous outside of Cuba, they also continued to be popular within Cuba through live performances and radio broadcasts. Their international popularity led to *son*'s gradual acceptance by Cuba's ruling and middle classes, with Afro-Cuban elements (such as the *bongos*) gradually deemed more acceptable in dance band formations.

There are various theories as to why this wave of popularity for Cuban *son* was renamed *rhumba* in the United States. James Robbins (1990, 188) has put forward the idea that the later addition of the *congas* to the *son conjunto*, an instrument associated with the Afro-Cuban *rumba*, is possibly why *son* was promoted as *rhumba* in the United States. It is more likely, however, that *sones* were called *rumbas* due to the references in *sones* to the secular *rumba* and to Afro-Cuban religions such as *Palo Monte* and *Santería* (Moore 1997, chapter 4). Additionally, exhibition dancers in the hotel and club cabarets of Havana incorporated aspects of Afro-Cuban dance such as the *conga* and the *guaguancó* into their stage acts (Moore 1996, chapter 6). The above facts may therefore have contributed to this confusion over the terms *rumba*, *rhumba* and *son*. While the 1920s *Afrocubanismo* movement (valorizing and idealizing Afro-Cuban art forms) had its parallel in the Harlem Renaissance, much of the *r(h)umba* craze presented an exoticized and stylized version of Cuban culture which catered to United States and European audiences. *Son* was to develop in a different, less essentialized way within Cuba itself, however, through the innovations of Arsenio Rodríguez and his new *son conjunto* in the late 1930s and early 1940s.

The *Son* and Salsa Controversy

When Arsenio Rodríguez moved to New York in the early 1950s the term 'salsa' had yet to be invented. It was only when United States ties with Cuba were severed following the 1959 revolution that musical exchanges between Cuba and New York ceased to be two-way, with the US-imposed economic embargo coming into force in the early 1960s. Nevertheless, Rodríguez undoubtedly influenced the development of salsa in New York as his *conjunto* formation was used as a template for many of the earlier bands of the 1950s and 1960s. Puerto Rican bandleader Eddie Palmieri, for example, took the *conjunto* format and approach but initially substituted trombones for trumpets in his first band La Perfecta. In an interview in 2006 for the University of Wisconsin-Madison's radio station, Eddie Palmieri maintained that this choice of instrumentation was due to the fact that in the 1950s and 1960s all the best trumpet players of the style were already taken by the Palladium *orquestas* such as those of Tito Puente and Tito Rodríguez. Eddie's brother, pianist Charlie Palmieri, who had his own *charanga* band, La Duboney, described La Perfecta as a 'Trombanga' as it used the trombones in a similar way to the *charanga* violins as a riff base for the improvising five-key *charanga* flute (Berríos-Miranda in Waxer 2002). This trombone and flute-led *conjunto* came to represent a distinct New York flavor which was also taken up by NuYoricans Ray Barretto, Willie Colón and Manny Oquendo with his Conjunto Libre. Prior to these developments in the 1950s and 1960s, however, Cuban musicians had already been working in the United States since the 1920s and 1930s. In the 1940s, for example, Machito and his Latin jazz ensemble were playing *mambo* and percussionist Chano Pozo introduced Cuban rhythms into Dizzy Gillespie's Latin jazz band.

In 1964 the New York Fania record label was created by Dominican-born bandleader Johnny Pacheco and lawyer Jerry Masucci and they coined the term 'salsa' to market their own brand of Latin music (Steward 1999, 61). As a marketing term often applied to Cuban music, this has led to arguments over definitions of Cuban *son* and salsa and over ownership rights. There are obvious similarities between *son* and salsa in terms of *clave* organization, *montuno* section, improvisation styles, *mambos* and *moñas* but the execution and lyrics of salsa are different in that they deal with aspects of life in the barrios of New York rather than Cuba. New York also produced a harder-edged, faster tempo style of Cuban music, particularly after the embargo took place, as Latin musicians catered to a very different, mixed Latino audience. The influence of African-American music also accounts for harmonic differences, as, for example, the Cuban *mambo* over a dominant seventh V7 became a V7-IV progression in the New York *charangas* (Miller 2012). Most agree that Cuban *son* lies at the root of salsa but that it has been modified and adapted as musicians in the United States, particularly in New York in the 1960s and 1970s adapted it and made it their own. From New York, salsa spread to Latin American countries, becoming a transnational genre (Waxer 2002).

The *Son* in Post-Revolutionary Cuba

Since the revolution the government has supported traditional *son* in terms of salaries for musicians and the continuation of traditional *son* bands via *empresas* (state-run employment agencies) such as Empresa Benny Moré and Empresa Ignacio Piñeiro. Septeto Nacional is still active today with different personnel, as is Conjunto Chappottín y sus Estrellas. However post-revolution *nueva trova* and music with more overt political messages were initially the more favored genres (Moore 2006) as dance music was viewed as decadent and linked to pre-revolutionary times. A *son* revival band, Sierra Maestra, was set up by Juan de Marcos Gonzalez in the late 1970s in order to revive and update the *son* repertoire. The band continues to tour abroad, in 2010 featuring outstanding young virtuosic *son* trumpet player Yelfris Valdés. Since the 1960s Los Van Van has taken elements from *son* and *charanga* and fused them with rock, funk and other 'foreign' styles, paving the way for *timba* bands in the 1990s who similarly fused a *son* aesthetic (*montuno* and call and response) with more cosmopolitan styles. *Sonero* Adalberto Álvarez in Son 14 and in his later group Adalberto Álvarez y Su Son has updated the *son* to include both salsa and *timba* influences. The *timba* style was most popular in 1990s Cuba and, while related to Los Van Van'sstyle, *timba* combines elements from *son* and salsa but also incorporates

African-American forms such as rap and funk. Kevin Moore describes this change as 'salsa with attitude' (Moore 2010, 13).

A *son* revival of a different sort occurred with the Buena Vista Social Club phenomenon of the 1990s when the group Buena Vista Social Club was formed by Juan de Marcos González and American producer/guitarist Ry Cooder for a recording project and film of the same name. The band was formed through a reassembling of veteran Cuban musicians from the dance band era such as singer Puntillita from the big band Orquesta Julio Cueva, pianist Ruben Gonzaléz from the *charanga* Orquesta América and Arseñio Rodríguez y Su Conjunto, guitarist and singer Francisco Repilado (aka Compay Segundo) from the duo Los Compadres, singer Omara Portuondo from Cuarteto d'Aida and trumpeter Guajiro Mirabal, a stalwart of Cuban big bands such as the Riverside Orchestra of the Tropicana. The success of the film and recording has led to many younger musicians performing this repertoire for tourists in Cuba but has not led to any real evolution in style.

In the early twenty-first century the preferred musical genre among younger Cubans is reggaeton, while older Cubans still prefer more traditional *son* and *charanga* music. There has been a backlash against the success of Buena Vista Social Club mainly from within Cuba which relates more to the political arena than to the music itself (Moore 2006, 132). Regardless of political ideology, most acknowledge that the musicianship and warmth of these musicians is part of the project's success and it has raised the profile of Cuban *son* once again on the world stage, introducing many younger Europeans to traditional Cuban dance music styles for the first time.

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SUE MILLER

Son (Mexico)

Sixty percent of Mexican folk music, according to Mexican folklorist Vicente T. Mendoza (1894–1964), is derived from the music performed in *tonadillas* (also, *tonadillas escénicas*), local theater pieces that were popular around the turn of the nineteenth century (Mendoza 1956). In the mode of the Italian intermezzo, the *tonadilla* was a short dramatic work that offered the opportunity to perform local songs – generally termed *sones* – and to dance local dances. *Sones* were Spanish in form and local in flavor. They were created in the poetic molds of *coplas*, *seguidillas* and other stanzaic forms favored in Spain. Their content spoke to the interests of local people, embodying the perspective of mestizos (people of mixed race and culture) and *criollos* (Creoles of European heritage, but born and raised in New Spain, as pre-Independence Mexico was called). The mestizo *son* was the product of the New Spain experience, born of the blend of peoples from markedly different cultural regions of Spain, Africans of many backgrounds brought as slaves and indigenous people from dozens of cultures and language groups.

Etymologically, the term '*son*' comes from the Latin word '*sonus*,' meaning a 'concerted noise which we perceive with the sense of hearing, especially that which is executed with art or music' (Sheehy 1979, 18). Through the years '*son*' has come to mean the music for a popular dance or the dance itself, strictly instrumental music or simply a particular tone pitch (ibid., 18–21).

Description

The word *son* as applied to music in Mexico has been vague and general as well as precise. Spanish dictionaries from Mexican colonial times (1521–1810) define it as 'sound' or in a musical context, 'tune' In 1766 a document from Spanish Inquisition records suggested a honing of the word's meaning in Mexico to denote musical songs or dances of local people, as they condemned 'El chuchumbé' as a lewd and lascivious song and dance of the period that contributed to the corruption of public morals (Sheehy 1979, 23). Presumably, the source of offense was sexual innuendo and suggestive dance movements. The innate rebelliousness of the *son* likely contributed to its popularity, particularly as dissatisfaction with Spanish rule and as home-grown expressions aligned with the growing hunger for independence. A decree emitted by the Holy Inquisition against the same *son* was sufficiently ignored by the locals that the authorities were forced to announce another one in 1779.

While *son* came to signify specific musical traditions in other countries as well, such as Colombia, Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Guatemala, in Mexico it assumed the most central and widespread role in folk music of the nineteenth century and most of the twentieth. By the early nineteenth century, *son* had come to mean folk melodies. In the early twenty-first century the national corpus of *sones* might be distinguished in purpose, form, style and repertoire along two lines. The more marked division is between indigenous and mestizo *sones*. Indigenous song and dance contributed to the making of mestizo *son*, but also produced its own *son* tradition, which is central to ritual events. Music called by the European-derived word *son* is central to these ritual events across a wide swath of indigenous communities. In keeping with the events to which they are linked, these *sones* tend to be simple in form, lengthy and repetitive. A *son* may be a single short melody or a pair of short melodies repeated over and over. Often, several or many *sones* may be strung together, with the change from one to another marking a shift in the ritual dancing to which the *sones* are tied. Ritual *son* performance may be lengthy, perhaps half an hour or more.

Within mestizo *son* the main differentiator is region of origin. Many culturally distinctive regions emerged out of the colonial experience of *mestizaje* (racial and cultural mixing), reflecting geographical barriers and transportation routes, the social ties of local economies, period of settlement, social isolation, local cultural antecedents and so forth. In general, the *son* is more rooted in regions settled during colonial times, particularly those located in the wide central area stretching from the Gulf of Mexico in the east to the Pacific in the west. A regional *son* tradition might have its own signature instrumentation, playing techniques, singing style, repertoire and performance settings. The majority of mestizo *sones* are marked by vigorous rhythms appropriate for couple-dancing and exhibit a triple-meter feel, spiced with *hemiola* rhythmic ambiguity, called *sesquiáltera* in the colonial Spanish world. Most are strophic songs with sung verses based on *coplas* (poetic stanzas of four to six octosyllable lines and simple rhyme schemes such as abcb) alternating with instrumental introduction and interludes. Men tend to dominate *son* performance, though women's participation has increased in modern times in several *son* traditions.

After the Revolution (1910–17) Mexico embarked on a program of unifying the country through developing and teaching canons of regional folklore performance traditions. Beginning around 1921 Education Secretary José Vasconcelos, for example, promoted a cultural nationalism which included the performance in public schools of the 'Jarabe Tapatío' (known to many as the Mexican Hat Dance) from the western state of Jalisco (Pérez Montfort 1994). From the 1930s through the 1950s, the burgeoning industries of radio, film, recordings and television privileged certain regional *son* traditions over others. As Mexican society underwent a massive shift from rural to urban, some regional *son* styles were encouraged by folk movements or by successful local folk economies.

Types of *Son*

The most prominent of Mexican *son* traditions by far is that of the *mariachi* ensemble, which performs a variety of regional *sones*, particularly the *son jalisciense*. The *mariachi* ensemble is associated with the Bajío region of Mexico which includes the states of Jalisco, Michoacán and Nayarit, and the modern ensemble emerged in the first half of the twentieth century from localized traditions in these regions. As *mariachi* musicians migrated to Mexico City and made their way into commercial recordings, radio and film, the *mariachi* ensemble evolved to appeal to commercial and urban tastes. Films in particular cemented the image and sounds of the *mariachi* in the public's mind as an emblem of Mexican national character and heritage. The elegant suits (called 'trajes de charro'), large-brimmed *sombreros* and macho image became the standard. The instrumentation expanded to eight or more musicians playing violin, trumpet, *guitarrón* (six-stringed bass guitar), *vihuela* (five-stringed guitar with a spined, convex back) and standard six-stringed guitar. The singing took on an operatic, bold, bel canto sound, in keeping with the training of the actor-singer movie stars the *mariachi* accompanied, such as Jorge Negrete and Pedro Infante. Groups such as Mariachi Tapatío and Mariachi Vargas de Tecalitlán produced recordings of *sones* that were played on the radio, in films and in live performances. In the 1950s Vargas and several other Mexico City-based professional groups produced successful long-playing albums of *sones*, helping establish a broadly popular repertoire of them. Folkloric dance groups seized on certain *sones*, in particular 'El son de la negra' (The *Son* of the Dark-Skinned Woman), as standards, establishing its primacy in the national folk music canon.

The southern coastal plain of the eastern Gulf state of Veracruz is home to the *son jarocho*. *Jarocho* is the term given to the region's people, perhaps deriving from colonial militia carrying *jaras* 'clubs,' although its origins are a matter of some dispute and other meanings have been suggested (see Sheehy 1997, 47–8; Pérez Montfort 1995, 160–1). José María Estévez, in *El museo mexicano* of 1843–46, wrote of *sones* performed at dance parties called *fandangos* (Sheehy, 1979, 36) and in the 1907 novel *Pajarito* (1907), by the Tlacotalpan native Cayetano Rodríguez Beltrán (1866–1939), '*fandango*' is defined as a '*baile de tarima*,' a dance performed on top of an overturned wooden box or crate; the *tarima* causes the sounds of the hammering footwork to become amplified. According to Pérez Montfort, 'during the construction of Mexican independence [the *fandango*] acquired a dimension that mixed certain local tendencies with the first nationalist songs [and] served as a way to affirm one's own need for belonging – whether it be to the *mestizo* or the *criollo* societies – in rejection of the *gachupín*, or foreign, culture.' Thus the *fandango* played an important part 'as a *mestizo* contribution in the forging of local values, in opposition to the cultural hegemony that the Spaniards had achieved' (1991, 44–5).

Older contemporary musicians speak of informal gatherings in small towns and ranches, with local people strumming guitars called *jaranas*, playing countermelodies or solos on the guitar called *guitarradeson* (also, *jabalina* and *requintojarocho*), a larger plucked guitar called *leona*, a diatonic harp with 32–36 strings, a *pandero* (tambourine) in the area of Tlacotalpan and other instruments. In the 1940s and 1950s *conjuntos* *jarochos* were featured in popular films, on radio and recordings, and in cabaret shows in Mexico City performing stylized versions of *sonjarocho* tailored for urban audiences. Harpist Andrés Huesca, performing with his brother Víctor, and Lino Chávez and his Conjunto Medellín, both commercially successful in Mexico City, were emblematic of this urban *sonjarocho*, which had enormous impact on *son* performance back in Veracruz. These musicians often shortened *son* performance to fit the standard three-minute record band length, streamlined the instrumentation to harp, *requinto jarocho*, and the largest of the *jaranas*, and occasionally added guitar.

Beginning in the late 1970s Gilberto Gutiérrez, his brother Ramón and his group Mono Blanco helped spark an urban folk music movement known as the *jaraneros* (*jarana* players). Its followers returned to the tradition's deepest roots and incorporated nearly abandoned instruments such as the *quijada* 'donkey jawbone' rattle, and *mosquito* (miniature *jarana*). They eschewed the urban 'Lino Chávez' style and invited elder rural musicians to perform with them. At the turn of the twenty-first century, swelling interest in the African component of Mexico's cultural past cast additional attention to the *son jarocho*, highlighting the historical concentration of African slaves in the region and the proximity to Afro-Caribbean culture.

The *son huasteco* was another regional tradition that made its way into the popular media and public consciousness during the *costumbrista* (adhering to regional customs) vogue of the 1930s through 1950s. It takes its name from the geographical region known as La Huasteca, overlapping the states of Tamaulipas, Veracruz, San Luis Potosí, Hidalgo and Puebla. A trio of instruments provides the core of the *son huasteco* sound: violin, *jarana* (also, *jarana huasteca*) and *huapanguera* (also, *guitarra quinta*). The violin plays fixed melodies associated with a particular *son* and may improvise extensively between sung portions. The *jarana* and *huapanguera* are strummed in a percussive fashion, hammering out a driving, triple-meter rhythm suitable to dancing called *zapateado* (from *zapato*, shoe). Singing style is distinguished by its high tessitura and occasional falsetto breaks that embellish the vocal melody. Singers, usually following the five- or six-line *copla* poetic form, may improvise texts reflecting the performance circumstances at hand. The dance preferably takes place on a resonant, raised, wooden dance floor or *tarima* (the same term as used in connection with *son jarocho* to refer to a wooden box). The term *huapango*, thought to derive from the Nahuatl word cuauh-panco, meaning 'on top of the wood,' may apply either to the dance event (similar to *fandango* elsewhere) or to the *son huasteco* itself. A distinction is made between *huapango* and *son huasteco*; while *son huasteco* implies the more fluid *son* with improvised verses and violin interludes, *huapango* tends to refer to composed pieces with fixed texts and instrumental melodies. Elpidio Ramírez, known as 'El Viejo Elpidio' (Old Man Elpidio), and Nicanor Castillo and others who followed their example contributed to the stylistic and commercial transformation of the *son huasteco* by composing and copyrighting Huastecan-style *huapangos*, bringing broader public recognition to the *sonhuasteco* through their recordings and media appearances.

The west Mexican *tierra caliente* ('hotlands') region overlaps portions of the states of Michoacán and Guerrero and is home to two *son* traditions. In Michoacán, the *soncalenteño* (also, *son planeco*) is a strophic song with each sung section commonly consisting of a changing *verso* ('verse') followed by a repeated or less changing *estribillo* ('refrain'). Singing may soar into an extraordinarily high pitch range. The *conjunto dearpa grande* ('large harp combo') accompanies the *son* and consists of harp, two violins and two regional guitars. The *arpa grande* ('big harp') is a large diatonic harp with around 36 strings played by a standing musician. The harpist plucks the low-pitched strings vigorously with one hand and plays melody in the upper strings with the other. Two violins perform in parallel thirds or sixths with little vibrato and little or no improvisation. The guitars that provide the *son*'s chordal and rhythmic drive are the *vihuela* – similar to, but often smaller than, the mariachi *vihuela* – and the *jarana* (also, *guitarra de golpe* 'struck guitar'), a flat-backed, deep-bodied, five-stringed guitar. While the *conjunto de arpa grande* with its style of *son* is historically related to the *mariachi* ensemble in sound and repertoire, in the early twenty-first century it is a 'country cousin' of its more urbanized neighbor. Remaining rooted in rural regional life, it continues to enjoy popularity and commercial viability among *calenteños*.

The Guerrero portion of the *tierra caliente* is the origin of the *son calentano*. Less prominent nationally than the styles of *son* mentioned above, it nevertheless is an important cultural marker and a part of the national folkloric canon of regional traditions. Since the near disappearance of the local diatonic harp during the twentieth century, the *son calentano* has been performed by an ensemble sometimes called *conjunto de tamborita*, comprising a *tamborita* (small two-headed drum played with two sticks), violin, *guitarrón* and guitar (e.g., a five-stringed *vihuela* or six-stringed guitar). Violin playing may include improvisation along with fixed melodies associated with certain *sones*. The group's repertoire includes *sones*, *gustos* and *chilenas*. *Sones* tend to be the most rhythmically vigorous and improvisatory of the three. *Chilenas* derive from the Chilean *cueca*, brought to the region in the mid-nineteenth century.

Bandas, bands of brass, woodwind and percussion instruments, have taken on a number of regional characters since their rise to prominence in the second half of the nineteenth century, and most include *sones* in their repertoires. Among the most prominent are the *banda sinaloense* from Sinaloa state, the *tamborazo zacatecano* of Zacatecas, and the many indigenous *banda* traditions (such as Zapotec, Mixtec and Chinantec) of Oaxaca and neighboring states. While the Mexican *son* is rooted in regional *mestizo* tradition and indigenous ritual life, the rise and omnipresence of electronic media and folk music movements have propelled the *son* to national and international arenas, in which it plays the role of a marker of regional identity in a national folkloric canon or a significant niche in the much broader repertoire of professional musical groups.

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Son de los Diablos

El son de los diablos is an Afro-Peruvian 'devil' dance. The practice was documented in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially by the watercolor paintings of Peruvian artist Pancho Fierro (1807–79) (Palma 1935). By at least the nineteenth century blacks in *cofradías* (organizations affiliated with the Catholic Church) masqueraded as devils in Cuasimodo and Corpus Cristi processions inherited from Spain. After the Church banned devil characters in 1817, *el son de los diablos* resurfaced in Carnival's secular street celebrations (Fuentes 1925 [1867]; Tompkins 1981, 256–8).

In certain neighborhoods during Carnival, groups of eight to ten costumed *diablos* marched in *cuadrillas*, led by a *diablo mayor* who wore a large mask and carried a whip, and accompanied by musicians. Fierro's paintings depict a harp, plucked guitar-type instrument*, cajita* and *quijada*. The *cajita* is a small wooden box with a hinged top, suspended from the player's neck by a rope. The player alternately opens and closes the top of the *cajita* and hits its side with a stick or bare hand. The *quijada*is the jawbone of a donkey, horse or mule. It is alternately hit with the fist, causing the molars to buzz in their sockets, and scraped or struck with a mallet or stick. By the twentieth century the harp had been eliminated (Jiménez Borja 1939; Santa Cruz 1970a, 41). According to Nicomedes Santa Cruz, at one time the *diablos* wore bells, adding percussive jingles (1970a, 41).

In the early twentieth century *cuadrillas* marched through the streets in formation, bending and straightening their bodies while moving their shoulders and waists to the strum of the guitar. The *diablo mayor* kept the dancers in line by cracking his whip. *Diablos* danced a *zapateo* (Peruvian tap dance) for spectators in exchange for money and/or bottles of rum (Jiménez Borja 1939). *Cuadrillas* also performed narrative choreographic figures including the Departure from Hell, the Lost Devil and various cross-shaped formations (Jiménez Borja 1939; *Son de los diablos*, 1988). By the late twentieth century, staged performances usually included a *zapateo* contest.

The status of *el son de los diablos* during the twentieth century is unclear. Some maintain that the practice ended in the 1920s (Santa Cruz 1963, 1970a, 41; Tompkins 1981, 260), but Jiménez Borja (1939) affirmed that the dance survived in the Cocharcas neighborhood in the late 1930s, and former *diablo* mayor Pedro 'Chumbeque' Joya remembers dancing with his *cuadrilla* until 1958 (*Son de los diablos* 1988).

In 1956 Peruvian folklorist José Durand revived *el son de los diablos* for the debut performance of his Afro-Peruvian revival group, the Pancho Fierro company (Feldman 2006, 26–42). To recreate the musical accompaniment, Durand consulted with three former *diablo*s: Manuel 'Manucho' Mugarra, Cecilio Portugués and Pedro Torres. Guitarist Vicente Vásquez elaborated upon the fragments these consultants remembered, and an entire musical accompaniment was created, beginning with an all-*quijada* prelude (Santa Cruz 1970a, 25). Variations of the resulting accompaniment were used in subsequent performances (Tompkins 1981, 267–8). *Cajita* and *quijada* patterns combine to create a characteristic percussive 'swing' feel, exhibiting a duple pulse with internal subdivisions somewhere between two- and three-beat groupings. The associated guitar melody contains hemiola-like phrases (see Feldman 2001, 73; 2006, 36; Tompkins 1981, 267; León Quirós 2003, 167).

There is disagreement regarding what, if any, song was performed to this accompaniment before the revival. The Pancho Fierro company performance featured a song that José Durand had learned in childhood (see his documentary *El señor de la jarana*, 1979), with lyrics about a monkey. This song dated from 1850 according to Durand, and the chorus contained vocables that aligned exactly with the traditional parts for *cajita* and *quijada* (Tompkins 1981, 268). However, some later recordings of the music employed vocal cries but no lyrics, while others use a *festejo* song called 'El son de los diablos,' composed by Fernando Soria and Filomeno Ormeño after the street performances had ceased, with lyrics that describe the Carnival dance. Jiménez Borja's detailed description of the street procession and its music (1939) does not mention any song, and ex-diablo mayor Pedro 'Chumbeque' Joya remembered yet another song (*Son de los diablos*, 1988).

Since the Pancho Fierro show, *el son de los diablos* has reemerged as staged folklore and street theater. Prominent black Peruvian artists, including Victoria Santa Cruz and Perú Negro, staged it in the 1970s, and Lima's Movimiento Francisco Congo worked with Chumbeque and Grupo Cultural Yuyachkani to reconstruct the street procession for Carnival from 1987 to 1990 (R. Romero 1994, 322; *Son de los diablos*, 1988). In 2000 several schools and professional companies in Lima performed the dance, and members of Grupo Teatro de Milenio and Yuyachkani taught the children of rural El Guayabo to perform it as part of a cultural outreach program.

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HEIDI CAROLYN FELDMAN

Son de Pascua

The *son de pascua* (literally, Easter *son*) is a short, joyous piece originally intended to be played during Christmas holidays at Catholic churches in Guatemala, where Easter embraces not only the celebrations of Christ's resurrection, but his nativity also. It is a type of *Ladino son* (instrumental pieces created by Guatemalan *Ladinos* – the mestizo Spanish-speaking population of Guatemala) which uses rhythmic and melodic elements borrowed from traditional Mayan Indian *marimbasones,* but stylized and regularized to conform with Western taste.

Sones de pascua are the earliest *Ladino sones* known to date. They arose toward the middle of the eighteenth century within the Catholic Church, being played by instrumental chamber groups usually consisting of two violin parts, string bass and horns. The first cultivators of the genre were the organist Mateo Álvarez (fl. ca. 1750) and his disciples Ventura Portillo (b. 1751), Narciso Trujillo (fl. ca. 1780) and Vicente Sáenz (1756–1841). These *sones* appeared at a time when Mayan Indian *marimbas* were being accepted inside churches, thus allowing them to influence Guatemalan sacred music. The same influence is also evident in some Christmas vernacular *villancicos* of the time, by Raphael Antonio Castellanos (d. 1791), chapel master at the Guatemalan Metropolitan Cathedral from 1765 to 1791. (The *villancico* was a popular Spanish form consisting of a refrain and various stanzas adopted by New World composers for use in church for diverse occasions of the liturgical year). In order to capture the color of Indian music, Castellanos also incorporated into his *villancicos* indigenous pre-Hispanic Indian instruments such as the *Xul* (cane flute) and the *tun* (slit drum).

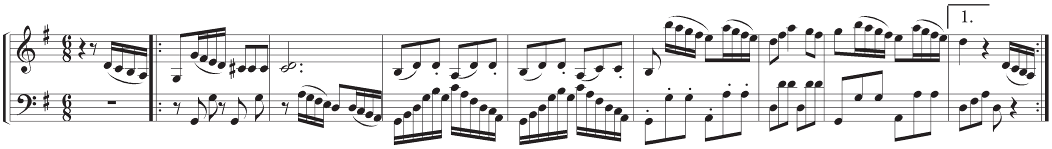
By the end of the eighteenth century, still in the colonial period, *sones de pascua* had acquired an educational function. Due to their simplicity and short length, they were ideal pieces to help apprentices to learn music and to prepare them to play divertimentos (more extended and difficult instrumental pieces in the growing classical style). They were also used as models to train beginners in composition.

Toward the beginning of the nineteenth century the *Ladino* population took *sones de pascua* out of the church, where they gained acceptance as dance music at parties and as a music to play while strolling in the evening, complete with profane lyrics. The development provoked scandal among the conservatives. In reaction, Eulalio Samayoa (1770–1855), a defender of scholasticism and of purity in sacred music practice, also considered a pioneer symphonist in the Americas, wrote a series of *sones* in classical style which came to be regarded as the most sophisticated examples of the genre (Example 1). These pieces were also played in the cathedral to commemorate the Virgin Birth. Samayoa's *sones* show characteristic *hemiola* and accompaniment patterns of the traditional *son*, using vivid 6/8 or 3/8 meters, enriching the harmonic content and melodic interest by the inclusion of secondary dominants, full cadence progressions and giving the bass leading passages in a classic and graceful style.

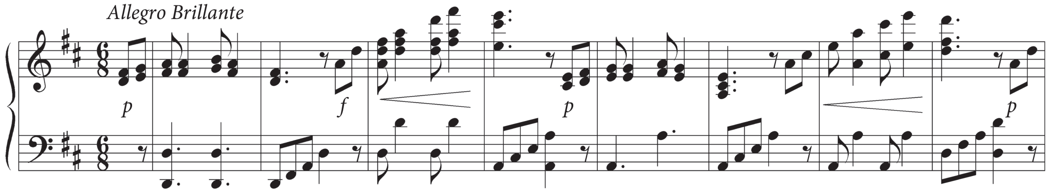
Other representatives of the genre in the mid-nineteenth century were Juan de Jesús Fernández (1795–1846), who produced collections of *sones de pascua* that have great grace and local flavor, Jose Antonio Aragón (fl. ca. 1847) and Remigio Calderón (fl. ca. 1850.) The conductor and composer José Escolástico Andrino (d. 1861) took the practice to the neighboring country of El Salvador, where it was continued by his disciple Rafael Olmedo (1837–97) at the end of the century.

By that time a renewal of *son de pascua* had taken place in Guatemala as a consequence of the increasing *Ladino* interest in the *marimba*, which had evolved locally from its simple diatonic form to the double chromatic *marimba*. This improvement made possible the expansion of the *marimba* repertoire, not only through the arrangements of international piano saloon music but also of local piano and orchestral *sones*, which were well received by the Guatemalan public.

Among the composers who wrote piano *sones de pascua* that were popularized by *marimba* ensembles is Anselmo Sáenz (fl. ca. 1860), a pioneering promoter of opera in Guatemala. He composed the *son El pavo* (The Turkey) which became popular as far afield as Paris and London. The violinist and composer Salvador Iriarte (1856–1908) wrote a collection of *sones de pascua.* Among the most popular are *La Nochebuena* (Christmas Eve) and *La enhorabuena* (The Congratulation) (Example 2). These festive *sones,* written in 6/8 meter, exhibit more elaborate melodies in binary structures, preserving in a pure form the national desire to entertain and add color to Christmas and New Year celebrations in the first years of the twentieth century. In the early twenty-first century they continue to be played by chromatic *marimba* groups and at private homes hosting Christmas processions called *posadas*, to celebrate the birth of Jesus.



Example 1: Eulalio Samayoa, *son* fragment (© 2002, Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala (USAC). Reprinted by permission)



Example 2: Salvador Iriarte. *La enhorabuena* (The Congratulation). *Son de pascua* (excerpt). (© 2008, Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala (USAC). Reprinted by permission)

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IGOR DE GANDARIAS

Son Jarocho

The *son jarocho* is a music and dance tradition from the southcentral, or *Sotavento*, region of the state of Veracruz in Mexico. Within this *son jarocho* area several subregional styles exist, largely distinguished by instrumentation, tempo and rhythm. Along the central coast, in and near the city of Veracruz, quick tempos with lively rhythms are performed by an ensemble principally made up of harp and *jaranas*; a bit further south, in the town of Alvarado, the *requinto jarocho* is usually used instead of the harp; and the *pandero* (tambourine) is practically synonymous with the town of Tlacotalpan. Further south, in the Tuxtlas region, slower tempos, sedate rhythms and *jaranas* of many varying sizes are almost exclusively performed.

With a few prominent exceptions, the *son jarocho* is characterized by ambiguous 6/8 meters with 2 against 3 *sesquiáltera* rhythms, predominantly tonic-subdominant-dominant harmonic structures, strophic forms with abba textual organization, descending and symmetrical melodic shapes, antiphonal singing, and instrumental introductions and interludes. Vocal timbre is distinctively nasal, pieces are sung syllabically and, as a means to denote endings, the last stanza is frequently sung in unison. The dance, or *zapateado*, alternates between soft foot movements and hard pounding on a wooden *tarima* (platform).

The origins of the term '*jarocho*' are greatly disputed. '*Jara*' may have come from an Arabic word meaning 'arrow' or 'spear' – the Colonial military in Veracruz used spears as weapons; the suffix '*-ocho*' would have had a pejorative significance. Another possibility comes directly from the Spanish; in certain parts of Spain a '*jarocho*' was a loud and insolent person. Later, the term came to refer to the illiterate peasants of the *Sotavento* countryside; currently, it is used to distinguish anyone from the area of a simple and generous nature.

The roots of *son jarocho* most likely begin with Spanish music and dance forms, particularly those imported from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Andalusia that were adopted and adapted by locals. This Spanish influence quickly mixed, however, with other elements, especially from Afro-Caribbean culture, to produce a unique musical hybrid along the Mexican Gulf coast which would lead to the *son jarocho* style.

With respect to repertoire, travelers from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries made mention of traditional *sones* that continue to be popular among twenty-first-century musicians and dancers. *Sones* such as 'El palomo' ('The Dove'), 'Los enanos' ('The Dwarves'), 'La petenera' (roughly meaning 'The Impertinent One'), 'El butaquito' ('The Little Easy Chair'), 'El trompito' ('The Little Toy Top'), 'El durazno' ('The Peach') and, particularly, 'La bamba' (perhaps an Africanization of the word 'banda,' meaning 'The Sash') are found in the writings of Frances Calderón de la Barca, José María Esteva, Antonio García Cubas and Guillermo Prieto (see Sheehy 1979; also Kohl 2007). Observations on the music and dance made by these and other authors could easily be mistaken for contemporary descriptions of the tradition.

The mid-twentieth century saw an increase in importance of the *son jarocho* through political and commercial influences. The *veracruzano* Miguel Alemán, president of Mexico from 1946 to 1952, conspicuously used *son jarocho* ensembles throughout both his political campaign and his presidency. About the same time, the music was included in several films, including Ismael Rodríguez' *Los Tres Huastecos* and Walt Disney's *Los Tres Caballeros* (originally, *The Three Caballeros*); in radio broadcasts, such as those produced by Raúl Hellmer for Radio UNAM; and in commercial recordings, such as those produced by Peerless Records. In addition, the early US rock 'n' roller Ritchie Valens had a hit with his version of 'La Bamba' in 1958. The *son jarocho* reproduced in many of these productions, however, is today considered part of a political and commercial establishment which does not represent the original cultural or musical nature of the tradition.

The latter part of the twentieth century saw a resurgence in the southern subregional styles which continues to this day. Groups such as Mono Blanco and Son de Madero, among others, have searched for more culturally and personally authentic expressions of *son jarocho* which have led them to use certain musical instruments such as the *quijada* and *marimbol* as well as to emphasize other characteristics like slower tempos and more relaxed rhythms. Ironically, this exploration has sometimes resulted in stylistic innovations with the inclusion of saxophone, Cuban percussion and other musical elements from classical, jazz and popular music.

Recordings of recent interpretations of *son jarocho* can be found on labels such as Urtext, Corason Records and Folkways, and also government-sponsored institutions such as the Instituto Veracruzano de Cultura and the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and several independent labels.

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RANDALL C. KOHL

Son Nica

The *son nica* is a folk-rooted popular music genre based in the lowland region of southwestern Nicaragua where the majority of the nation's population resides. It is almost always sung and, however many instruments might be included in the performing ensemble, the guitar is featured to bring out the principal characterization of the genre: a triple meter with the guitar playing a sharp staccato downbeat followed by two fully strummed ones. The overall effect is a somewhat evenly accented triple meter, for the strong attack of the first beat is offset by the silence for most of the beat from dampening the strings, and the less accented second and third beats ring out from the full strumming on open strings.

Reflecting Nicaragua's relatively small size within Latin America, urbanized popular music emerged within the context of a media that developed much later than in larger national economies. As a result, popular music in Nicaragua – and indeed the rest of Central America – was strongly influenced by a type of Mexican cultural sub-imperialism that substantially inundated the region with the type of music promoted by Mexico's cultural industry to represent that nation, most notably the *canción ranchera*. This musical form found little competition from the embryonic Nicaraguan radio and record industry. The near monopoly of availability of recordings of *canción ranchera* was reinforced by the domination of Mexican cinema, which entered its golden age around the 1940s and which featured multiple *canción ranchera* musical interludes. The impact of Mexican styles into the 1950s is shown by the songs of Tino López Guerra, the most popular composer of that decade whose output is nearly indistinguishable from other *canciónes rancheras*. What became known as the *son nica* was a deliberately created nationalist response to this situation that can be traced to one musician, Ramón Arnoldo Zapata Zúniga, known as Camilo Zapata (1917–2009), who in 1934 composed 'Caballito chonteleño' (Little Horse from Chontales), the first of a string of songs with the genre's identifiable traits. As the genre became popular, the current title of *son nica* became fixed – a conscious choice, as *son nica* pioneers viewed Nicaragua as approximating the size of one of the cultural areas of Mexico and therefore deserving its own *son* or stylistic form, much as the region around Jalisco in Mexico has the *son jaliciense*, Vera Cruz the *son Jericho* and so on.

To achieve this musical emblem of local culture, Zapata borrowed selected stylistic features from the repertoire of the *marimba de arco* trio, a diatonic 22-keyed *marimba* always played with guitar (and smaller *guitarilla*) accompaniment. The music of the *marimba de arco* trio offered several advantages as a foundation for a localized popular music form, but foremost among them was that it provided the accompaniment for the principal folk dance centered around Masaya, a major city in the populous lowlands. Part of the appeal of the *son nica* is its relationship with the *marimba de arco* music as a touchstone of tradition for southwestern Nicaragua. *Marimba de arco* musicians are identified as *indigos*, a slippery classification that is as much based on class as on ethnicity, and a 1940s urban mestizo folklore movement in Masaya promoted the *baile de la marimba* (dance of the marimba) as an indigenous-based 'national dance.' Zapata's choice of musical traits resonated and benefitted from this nationalist movement. In addition to the strumming pattern of the guitar in the *marimba de arco* trio, Zapata's compositions are almost entirely in major keys with almost no use of minor chords. Such a preponderance of major tonality is a marked feature of the Nicaraguan *marimba*'s folk dance repertoire, but it is fairly unusual in Mexican and Latin American music. The melodic contour of *marimba de arco* pieces inspired the melodic shape of many of Zapata's songs. Finally, many *son nica* songs, especially those by Zapata, include a quick repetition of words in passages of compressed rhythmic activity. These sections imitate the *zapateado* sections in *marimba de arco* pieces that accompany rapid heel-to-floor dance movements in the folk dance. These musical traits (see Scruggs 1999, 2002) combined with lyrics that referred to particularly Nicaraguan characters and situations and used a vernacular Spanish typical of Nicaraguan vocabulary.

Zapata's songs achieved an unprecedented level of acceptance throughout the southern lowlands and enjoyed a certain degree of exposure throughout the rest of western Nicaragua as well. Not having a strong singing voice, Zapata only sporadically recorded himself, but his compositions were made famous by other groups, beginning with the original Trio Monimbó in the mid-1940s. The interpretations by a visiting Paraguayan group in 1969, Los Zorzales Guaraníes (The Guarani Thrushes), remain quite popular despite the salient sound of their wholly un-Central American harp. In the 1960s Zapata's continued *son nica* output was joined by contributions from singer-songwriters such as Victor Manuel Leiva (1925–95), and especially Jorge Isaac Carvallo (b. 1931) and Otto de la Rocha (b. 1936). Carvallo's and de la Rocha's individual compositions and their recording and performance collaborations, their most notable recording being their commercially successful 1971 LP *Nicaragua canta*, effectively cemented the *son nica*'s status as Nicaragua's most commercially lucrative and socially emblematic song form. The hit song, 'Posol con leche' (Posol, a corn-based drink, mixed with milk), updated the *son nica*, with Carvallo moving to an electric guitar and the addition of a chromatic non-Nicaraguan *marimba* (the latter played, however, very much in the *marimba de arco* style by an 'indio' Masayan, Alfronso Flores [known as Tun Tun]). Written by musician and important entrepreneur Luis Felipe Andino, the song was released on his own label around 1970 on the LP *Viva Santo Domingo*, and the lyrics describe the raucous annual saint's day celebrations in the capital city, Managua. The song's tempo is slightly faster than normally used in the folk dance and de la Rocha shouts out in the recording '¡Bailelo!' (Dance to it!), part of a successful fusing in this and other songs of *son nica* rhythms with urban dancing and more frenetic movements and abandon. The *son nica*'s acceptance was further deepened by the immense popularity of songs by Carlos Mejía Godoy later in the 1970s, beginning with the 1973 album *Cantos a flor de pueblo* (a play on words that roughly means 'Songs That Emanate, and/or Are Obviously From the Regular People') that contained several songs of enduring popularity.

It was at this height of popularity of the *son nica* that an open debate erupted around it. Carvallo accused Mejía Godoy of betraying appropriate national song form by overstepping stylistic boundaries. He cited the song 'Alforja campesina' ('Peasant Saddlebag') from *Cantos a flor de pueblo* for being too fast and prominently using a minor key, bringing it therefore too close to Mexican style. Mejía Godoy simply responded that perhaps the song was not a *son nica*, but maintained the appropriateness of the various styles on his first album and his next one, *En la calle del enmedio* (literally, 'In the Back Alley,' which also connotes 'letting oneself go' or 'ignoring convention'). Carvallo's insistence that the *son nica* was the only correct vehicle for genuine Nicaraguan singer-songwriters was implicitly rejected by the nation's musicians who increasingly drew from a wide stylistic palette within Latin America. For example, the only new political group able to record under Somoza, Grupo Pancasán, included just two *son nica* songs out of eight on their second album, *Vamos haciendo la historia* (We Are Making History) (1980), and one of those, 'Adelante Nicaragua' (Forward, Nicaragua), clearly borrowed from Carlos Mejía Godoy's 'Alfora campesina' in its alteration between major and minor tonalities. Carvallo's argument that the *son nica*'s correct parameters had been violated was, however, tacitly accepted, for songs identified as *son nica* have rather strictly adhered to the characteristics that Camilo Zapata's songbook established.

The *son nica* received one last boost in popularity during the first euphoric years of the new Sandinista-led government in 1979. The celebration of cultural markers viewed as traditional, such as the mushrooming of neighborhood and semiprofessional Dance of the Marimba groups, both increased the *son nica*'s popularity and furthered a process of its folklorization. The success of Carvallo and de la Rocha in the 1970s and Carlos Mejía Godoy soon afterward marked the apogee of the *son nica* as a popular musical form that was considered current and was used at least to some extent for popular dancing. For national musical artists from the mid-1980s onward, the *son nica* has essentially played the role of a traditional song form that complements their more innovative and cosmopolitan repertoire that mostly draws from other Latin American and global styles. Among many examples, on his popular album *Solo sueños* (Just Dreams) singer-songwriter Luis Pastor uses the *son nica*, with synthesized *marimba* in parts, on the song whose lyrics speak directly to Nicaraguan identity, 'Somos Nicas' (We Are Nicaraguans) (Pastor n.d.[1999].) Camilo Zapata received multiple honors from the 1980s onward, including collaborative recordings of his songs (*Abridores de caminos* [Trailblazers]; *Se hace Camilo al andar …*) and is now widely known as The Father of the *Son Nica*.

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T. M. SCRUGGS

Sones Guatemaltecos

Sones guatemaltecos (Guatemalan *sones*) constitute a sizeable and varied body of traditional ritual and dance music pieces, which originated in Guatemala during the colonial period of the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. They exhibit a mixture of Indian, European and African elements, whose function, structure and specific characteristics depend on the ethnic, geographic and musical components of the cultural context in which they are practiced. There are two main group types of Guatemalan *sones*: the traditional (Mayan Indian) *son,* widespread around the country (the Mayan civilization, one of the most highly developed ancient cultures in the world, flourished between 1500 BC and 1450 AD in Guatemala, Honduras and México; by 2010 Indians constituted 40 percent of the Guatemalan population, with 21 linguistic groups, each culturally differentiated, living mainly in poor rural areas); and the *Ladino son,* which is derived from the first, being created and practiced by *Ladinos* (the mestizo Spanish-speaking population, who live mainly in urban areas).

Mayan Indian Son

These anonymous pieces, historically tied to Mayan Indian cultures, are also called regional or ancient *sones.* They are transmitted orally by older generations mainly within family environments. Their antiquity is a consequence of the survival and continued re-elaboration of pre-Hispanic Mayan cultural elements through the Catholic tradition that was imposed by the Spaniards at the time of conquest. An African contribution came later in the form of *marimbas*, which were brought to Guatemala via the African slave trade in the sixteenth century, and were adopted by Indians.

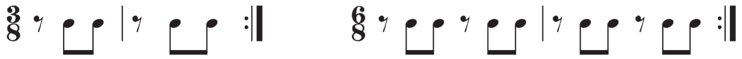
Traditional *sones* are performed at annual religious and festive celebrations in different villages, following the Christian or Mayan calendar. On religious occasions they are charged with spiritual and ritual significance, serving as vehicles of communication with God and the ancestors. Elsewhere, they are played for ceremonies, processions and traditional dances, but also during festive celebrations in private homes, where they perform ritual or entertainment functions according to circumstance.

The wide assortment of Indian *sones* has not been thoroughly studied. Its variety comes from the multiplicity of musical ensembles and the particular ethnic group that plays them. *Marimba* groups are the most popular. Indians play *marimba de tecomates* (gourd *marimba*) and diatonic *marimba de cajones* (*marimba* with wooden box resonators). The first uses calabashes as resonant boxes, each tuned to its own pitch, while the latter uses wooden oblong boxes as resonators. Among the *Q'eqchi'* group in the Verapaz region of the central highlands, some *marimbas* have resonators made of bamboo. The number of musicians ranges from one for the *marimba de tecomates* to three or four for the *marimba de cajones*. In a group of three, one plays the bass, a second the harmonic accompaniment and the third, the leader of the group, takes the melody.

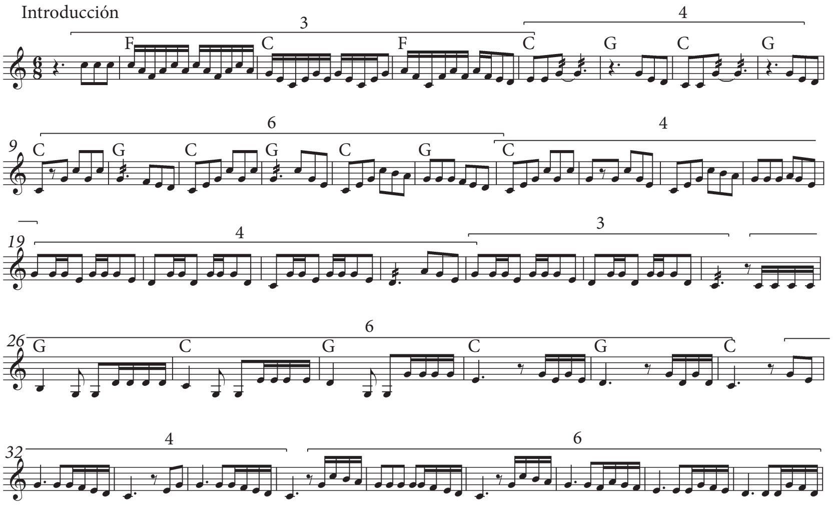
Traditional *marimba sones* are organized, under European influence, using tonal principles of construction, that is, diatonic melody, homophonic texture and accompaniment based on simple harmonic triadic progressions (tonic–dominant). Rhythmically, they often use *sesquialtera* patterns (3/4 and 6/8 simultaneously) between melody and accompaniment, and simple triple or compound double meters. A frequent accompaniment pattern, either in 3/8 or 6/8, shows the bass and the chords playing a single rhythmic figure, omitting the strong beats (Example 1).

The particular musical style of traditional *sones* not only depends on these structural parameters but also relies on the timbre of the Guatemalan instruments and the way they are played. As with its African models, the Guatemalan *marimba* makes a buzzing sound (called *charleo*), created by the vibration of a thin membrane made of pig's intestine, which is fastened with beeswax to a hole at the bottom of each resonator. In addition, the instrument's tuning, even though diatonic, usually does not fit into an absolute reference, allowing microtonal pitches.

Details of the musicians' performance are usually dependent on the type of occasion and the ability of the leader to introduce variations. The musical form is always open-ended and is characterized by a series of variations on a given scheme, the total length of which depends on the ritual context. One common feature is the breaking of regular structures, as can be observed in the *son* 'Cinco Pesos' practiced among the *Kaqchikel* group from Sololá (a province in the western highlands) (Example 2). It is a succession of phrases of different lengths, predominantly in pairs (the second a varied repetition of the first), with occasional extra repetitions or single phrases. Variation is also shown in the beginnings of phrases and in shifting chord progressions (i.e., from I, I, V, V to I, V, V, I or vice versa).



Example 1: Common rhythmic accompaniment patterns in traditional *marimba son*



Example 2: Son 'Cinco Pesos' (excerpt). Marimba Alma Sololateca: Victoriano Jiatz, Manuel Jiatz and Mario Jiatz. (*Music from Guatemala*, 1999. Vol. 1, Track 1)

Vida Chenoweth in her study of *K'iche'marimbasones* at San Jorge la Laguna, a village in the Sololá area, affirms that the asymmetry of form and flexibility of duration shown by the pieces she studied are governed by the leader's decisions (Chenoweth 1964, 80–2).

Some instruments that are used to play traditional *sones* have pre-Columbian Mayan origin, such as the *tun* (slit drum), apercussion instrument made of a hollowed-out tree trunk with two vibrating tongues played with two rubber-tipped mallets, producing two different pitches. Among the *Q'eqchi'* the *tun* appears in combination with the *Xul or Xolb*, another pre-Columbian instrument which is an end-blown open flute of cane. In many regions of the country the *Xul* is extensively used to play traditional *sones* in company with a *tamborón* (big drum).

In contrast there are string ensembles, such as the *Zaraband* group from the *Q'eqchi'* area, who use local, handmade versions of the colonial prototypes of European string instruments. They are the *rabe*, a rustic, three-string violin played with a loose, horsehair bow smeared with resin, the *guitarrilla,* a small, fretless guitar having the half of a calabash as a resonating box and the *arpa*, a wooden harp with around 30 strings made from fishing cord, suspended over a wooden resonating box that serves also as percussion instrument. It is beaten with a cloth-padded stick by an extra musician. The violinist holds his instrument against his chest using a non-vibrato, predominantly *détaché* (separate bows) playing style. He occasionally uses double strings, one kept open as a drone while the other takes the melody. Frequently, these traditional *sones* consist of repeated phrases in simple, rounded, binary form or chains of phrases repeated over and over on a simple harmonic frame, including I, IV and V degrees.

Another common Indian ensemble that plays sones is the duo of *chirimía* (a local shawm of Moorish origin introduced by the Spaniards at the time of conquest) and drum. It occurs in the western highlands, where important groups of *K'iche,' Kaqchikel* and *Kanjobal* people live. The ensemble usually accompanies the *Conquest Dance* (a warlike drama dance depicting the fight between Indians and the conquering Spaniards, ending with the Indians' forced submission to the Christian laws). There is a special *son* for every character participating in the dance. Here, Indians distinguish between *sones* to dance and *marches* to walk. The drummer usually plays a rhythmic formula in a fixed meter (ranging from three to six beats per measure) in a loose tempo. Superimposed upon that rhythm, the *chirimía* plays a fluid diatonic melody outlining tonic and dominant harmonies, varying its pace between the limits of free rhythm, with suspended movement on certain notes, and a fixed pulse that eventually coincides and communicates with the drum. Some notes of the melody are out of tune. Matthias Stöckli has verified that the desire to use irregular, free and loose rhythmic, tonal and pitch relations is a consistent pattern of musical behavior in traditional *chirimía*–drum ensembles. Furthermore, these non-Western canons are reproduced in different cultural Indian contexts, separated from each other by long distances (Stöckli 2005, 86–8).

Ladino Son

Ladino sones are pieces created and performed by *Ladinos,* who use rhythmic and melodic features of Mayan Indian *marimba sones* but stylize them, adjusting them to absolute pitch, and imposing regular phrases and metric schemes according to the taste and practice of Western music. The first *Ladino sones* heard were *sones de pascua* (Easter *sones*), intended to be performed at Christmas time. (In Guatemala Easter refers not only to celebrations of Christ's resurrection but to his nativity also). They arose in the mid-eighteenth century within the sphere of the Catholic Church.

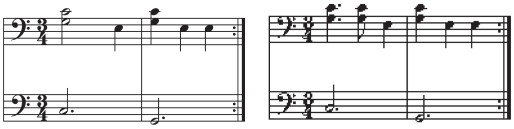
Later in the eighteenth century the keyboard *son galante* (gallant *son*) emerged. This refined and graceful *son* was used alongside minuets and fandangos by the Guatemalan colonial bourgeoisie in their baroque dance tradition, as well as for learning music. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, at the time when the popularity of salon music and dance reached its peak, the *son galante* developed orchestral variants that competed with waltzes and mazurkas in ballrooms where the capital's upper classes entertained themselves.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century the *marimba* increased in popularity among the *Ladinos,* who developed the simple diatonic *marimba* into the chromatic double *marimba* in Quetzaltenango (the country's second city, located in the western highlands). This improvement not only opened the way for the salon piano repertoire to be played by *Ladino marimba* groups but also, with the government support, enabled a nationalistic flag to be hung on *marimba* music, leading to an expansion of *Ladino sones*. The leaders of this movement were the members of the Quetzaltequian families Hurtado, Bethancourt and Ovalle (hegemonic families of *marimba* players during the first half of the twentieth century in Guatemala.) The *marimba* became the Guatemalan national musical instrument in 1978.

Since the 1930s *Ladino* radio stations and *Ladino* schools have promoted *Ladino sones* as the authentic

Guatemalan *son*, a notion that has become popular even in Indian contexts. Their influence and acceptance by indigenous musicians has produced a creative refluxus or flowing back, generating intermediate expressions that have transcended national borders, as is illustrated by the work of Antonio Malín, an Indian composer from Jacaltenango (in the northwest of the country) whose *marimba sones* partake of both Indian and *Ladino* features, going back and forth between local and national feelings.

Two principal types of *Ladino sones* are distinguishable, mainly on the basis of tempo. The slow one called *son típico* (typical *son*) has melancholic melodies in 3/4 meter and a characteristic rhythmic accompaniment pattern made up of bass and harmony combinations (Example 3). Quicker tempos result in lively *sones* known as *Sones Chapines* in 3/8 or 6/8 meters. These use the same rhythmic patterns, reduced by half. Both types use regular phrases and diatonic melodies in simple binary or ternary forms. Basic chord progressions (I, IV and V degrees) are also common.



Example 3: *Ladino son* accompaniment patterns

Another type of *son* played by chromatic *marimba* groups is the *Barreño,* which is characterized by two alternating sections. The first, in 3/4 meter and a moderately quick tempo, has a particular arpeggiated accompaniment figure similar to an Alberti bass, while the second, in 6/8 meter and a quicker tempo, uses regular accompaniment patterns.

The golden age of the salon music repertoire, with its rich variety of *sones* played by chromatic *marimba*s, occurred in the early twentieth century. By mid-century it was in public decline, being gradually replaced by commercial music repertoires from the United States and other Latin American countries, promoted by the mass media. In the early twenty-first century, the practice of *Ladino marimba sones* is maintained mainly through *marimba* groups and school programs supported by the government.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century both the Mayan Indian and *Ladino sones* have been used as a nutritious source of inspiration for piano and symphonic works. From the 1970s to date they have been incorporated into electro-acoustic compositions.

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IGOR DE GANDARIAS

Spouge

Spouge is one of two indigenous musics of the island of Barbados. While tuk music has its history in slave society, spouge music was the creation of an individual twentieth-century musician, Dalton Bishop (Jackie Opel). Musicians have often remarked that spouge is reggae played backward, but its shuffling offbeat created by the snare and foot drum on the contemporary trap set gives it its distinctive signature. It spread from Barbados to the eastern and southern Caribbean during the early to mid-1970s, but remained predominantly a local music associated with the Independence movement of the late 1960s and 1970s.

Dalton Bishop was born in the island of Barbados during the 1930s. He changed his name to Jackie Opel when he migrated to Jamaica in 1962 in search of a more fertile cultural environment in which to pursue his career, one which would allow his talent to be better appreciated and nurtured. In Jamaica he performed with the legendary Skatalites, and recorded with Coxsone Dodd's Studio One. He became a leading performer of ska music, influencing younger emerging artists, including Bob Marley.

When Opel returned to Barbados in the late 1960s, he introduced audiences and musicians to the new rhythm which he had developed in Jamaica, and which he called spouge. Musically, the music of spouge sits somewhere between reggae and calypso in terms of its overall inflection. The main instruments are the repetitive cow bell, the strumming guitar, the lazy bass and the lilting offbeat snare pattern. Spouge soon gained popularity and over time it was played by many local combo bands, including the Blue Rhythm Combo, the Troubadours, the Checkmates, the Organisation, Flatbush, Super Eight, the Dynamics and the Sandpebbles. Spouge found an even longer lifeline in gospel music, Joseph Niles and the Gospel Comforters being its main exponents. It was also popular throughout the eastern Caribbean, as well as in Guyana in the southern Caribbean. In Barbados it depended on radio for its dissemination, but a relatively active entertainment sector and the presence of a healthy number of combos and performing musicians made sure that the music was heard at social and cultural functions during its heyday.

By the mid- to late 1970s interest in spouge music started to wane. Among the various reasons that have been suggested for this the main one is that the music was monotonous and so could not sustain interest, hence the radio stations did not support its dissemination any further. The criticism is not entirely fair. Although spouge is defined by formulaic, repetitive treatment on key instruments like the cowbell, drums and guitars, there were in fact several interpretations and variations within the music during the 1970s. The group called Draytons Two performed what was known as raw spouge, Cassius Clay's brand was called dragon spouge, and the Caucasian group, the Sandpebbles, played a pop-inflected type of spouge. Other reasons for its decline included: its originator, whose idiosyncrasies were hardly embraced by the mainstream, the heavy dependence on covers and the failure of most composers to create original spouge lyrics, the worldwide impact of disco music and the DJ, together with the replacing of live bands by sound systems, and the absence of a critical tradition to support the kinds of practices being undertaken in the island as it emerged from centuries of unbroken British colonial rule. By the mid-1980s spouge music was a thing of the past, a music of nostalgia. It was to be heard mostly during the month of November when Barbados celebrated its Independence Day.

During the 1980s some attempts were made at revitalizing the music, but these achieved only limited success in terms of stimulating national interest. Richard Stoute's 1985 single 'Mr. Rich Man' was said to have sold fewer than 100 copies. Recordings such as the 1990s *Spouge Revival* album, reissued 1970s music by the regional pressing and publishing company West Indies Record Limited (WIRL) and fusions with soca by Tony 'Commander' Grazette failed to realize substantial results. There were calls for spouge music to be included in some big way into the tourist-oriented Crop Over festival, but these suggestions were not entertained at the official level of government, where the Crop Over festival is controlled.

Spouge has remained submerged in some of the other forms of popular music that come out of Barbados. There are noticeable traces in the work of selected artists such as Gabby and Red Plastic Bag and producers such as the Grammy-nominated Nicholar Brancker, Eddy Grant, Chris Allman and Darron Grant. It is not absolutely clear what percentage of this spouge fusion is deliberate, or how much of it springs spontaneously from individuals who were influenced by the Barbadian sound of the 1970s.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century there was continued lobbying for some form of national spouge festival, but there were very few substantial attempts to release spouge music. The influential WIRL company sold the rights to its large catalogue of Barbadian music, which included a healthy number of spouge recordings, to a North American interest. Subsequently, there were reissues of older spouge recordings, for example the 2003 *Spouge Recollections* album featuring, among others, the Draytons Two. The 2002 National Cultural Foundation (NCF) compilation album *Spouge Alive* represented the most ambitious project for revitalizing spouge in the early to middle years of the decade. The album was criticized by some for its noninclusion of a greater number of authentic spouge acts, and for its inclusion of the spouge fusion of newer and younger artists, leading some spouge practitioners of the 1970s and some aficionados to complain that the album was not really a spouge album. The album did not perform particularly well in terms of sales or airplay, even though it sought to capture traces of traditional spouge, while projecting a new sound for the future.

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CURWEN BEST

Steelband Music

The steel pan (or simply pan, also referred to sometimes as steel drum) was invented in Trinidad around 1940 by young men from poor neighborhoods in Port of Spain who used it to play in Carnival percussion bands. Through competition between rival neighborhoods, steelbands developed quickly into melodic ensembles that could play diverse repertoires. Following Trinidad's independence from England in 1962 the steelband was promoted as a symbol of Trinidad's national culture, and became popular around the world. Although its status as 'popular music' is debatable according to some criteria (since it has not had significant dissemination on recordings and radio and is first and foremost a community music phenomenon), the steelband developed in close association with calypso and other Trinidadian popular styles, and the steel pan has been used in a variety of recorded music in many different parts of the world.

Steelband Beginnings

Steelbands first took shape in the late 1930s through the substitution of metal containers for the bamboo stamping tubes of the *tamboo bamboo* ensembles that provided music for the lower-class Carnival. This was done by young men who sought to distinguish themselves from older bamboo players and to outdo their rivals during competitive music-making and display. One band that was widely remembered for this innovation was Alexander's Ragtime Band (formerly the Newtown Boys Bamboo Band), which came out on the road with all-metal instruments for Carnival in 1939. Other accounts point to less public beginnings for the steelband as early as 1935, but there is no clear evidence that metal bands in the 1930s featured melodic pans. A number of accounts suggest that the first melodic pans were tuned around 1941, just as a wartime ban on Carnival began, and developed in relative obscurity until public performances resumed at the end of the war. In March 1946 the playing of several popular melodies on a steel pan (including 'God Save the Queen,' 'Ave Maria' and several calypsos) was unequivocally documented in newspaper reports of Winston 'Spree' Simon's performance at the first postwar Carnival celebration.

The playing of such recognized melodies distinguished the steelband from earlier percussion ensembles, and made the steel pan the first Afro-Trinidadian instrument that was widely acknowledged by the dominant classes to be musical. Drums, *tamboo bamboo* and tin pan bands that preceded the steelband did not play 'music,' that is, as this word was understood in colonial Trinidad in 1940. Despite public alarm caused by the noise and frequent violence that erupted between rival steelbands, panmen took encouragement from the new recognition for their musical achievement, and in their enthusiasm to impress they learned to play a wide variety of repertoires, including calypso, mambo, film songs, pop music and 'classics' (European art music).

The ambition to prove the instrument and to show up rival bands drove rapid changes in steel pan tuning in the 1940s and 1950s. Early steel pans featured just three or four notes, pounded up with a broomstick from the inside of a paint can, biscuit drum or other metal container. High-pitched 'ping pongs' (named for the sound they made) were accompanied by lower-pitched pans such as the 'tenor kittle' that was tuned with the notes of a major triad; and in the late 1940s Neville Jules, tuner for the Trinidad All Stars, created a 'tune boom' that could play three or four bass notes. As the number of instruments in contrasting registers expanded, so did the number of notes on a single pan, until Invaders' tuner Ellie Mannette created a fully chromatic ping pong. Lower-pitched 'background' pans (including tune boom, grumbler, *cuatro* and guitar) were limited to a few large notes, since each player could carry only one pan while walking on the road. With the advent of stage instruments tuned in multiple sets around 1950, however, background pans also became chromatic. In 1956 North Stars' tuner Anthony Williams created wheeled racks to take his chromatic bass pans on the road and other steelbands followed suit thereafter, playing the same instruments on the road and the stage.

The modern steel pan is made from the bottom of a 55-gallon oil barrel pounded into a concave shape, tuned in sets that range from a single tenor pan, to double seconds and triple guitars, to bass sets that comprise as many as 12 individual barrels, and are played with rubber-tipped mallets that enhance the bell-like sustain of the notes. The names of modern steel pans also reflect the ambition of steelband musicians to have their instruments taken seriously: the ping pong has become the tenor, the boom has become the bass and other pans have taken names such as guitar and cello.

Social Transformation of the Steelband

During the late 1940s and 1950s middle-class participation transformed the social and cultural status of pan. This transformation was dramatic both for its speed and for the deeply ingrained prejudices that were challenged in the process. Fear of steelbands had its roots in European fears of 'African' expressive culture, especially its unruly public manifestations during Carnival dating from the emancipation of slaves in 1838. The development of the steelband also coincided with World War II, during which American troops were stationed in Trinidad, and many steelbands took their names and their combative spirit from American war movies and westerns: Desperadoes, Bar 20, Tripoli, North Stars, Casablanca, Destination Tokyo, Invaders, Renegades. Despite the real problem of steelband violence, however, some progressive middle-class Trinidadians promoted the steelband as a distinctive local art form and encouraged the panmen's musical efforts.

One of the most formative encounters between panmen and formally trained musicians took place in the Trinidad All Steel Percussion Orchestra (TASPO), whose musical director was a Barbadian police band director, Lieutenant Joseph Griffith. TASPO was formed in 1950 by a Government Steelband Committee to promote cooperation between panmen from rival neighborhood bands. Their performance at the Festival of Britain in 1951 brought rave reviews from the English press and new opportunities for the steelband at home, including a new steelband category in Trinidad and Tobago's annual Music Festival. The Music Festival not only encouraged steelbands to expand their repertoire of classics, but also gave them more opportunities for feedback from formally trained musicians, including judges.

In addition to such advisory roles, a more active form of middle-class participation in steelbands emerged in the early 1950s, when boys from some of Port of Spain's most prestigious schools began to form their own groups. These so-called 'college boy bands' were at first discouraged by alarmed parents and school teachers. But their popularity surged in the wake of TASPO's success and they quickly became the darlings of middle-class Trinidadians, who hired them to play at fêtes and danced behind them on the road at carnival. College boy bands such as Dixieland and Silver Stars lowered the barriers to middle-class participation in the public carnival, and steelband fever swept across a broad social spectrum in the 1950s.

The 1950s also saw the beginning of gender integration in pan, a less prominent development than the college boy phenomenon, but one that presaged dramatic changes to come. With few exceptions, women in the 1950s played in all-female bands, the most popular of which was Girl Pat Steel Orchestra, which began rehearsing in the home of a middle-class school girl named Hazel Henley in 1951. Girl Pat found a niche playing for a variety of social and cultural events, including Beryl McBurnie's dance shows at the Little Carib Theater, government functions and fundraisers. Many members of Girl Pat played piano and read music and contributed in some degree to the band's arrangements. This musical expertise gave Girl Pat an advantage, and also made middle-class girls in general useful to the established steelbands as competition adjudicators, arrangers and coaches.

Since the 1970s steel pan training in the schools, combined with formal ties between school and community bands, has resulted in an infusion of young, educated pannists into the established steelbands in Trinidad. It is common in the early twenty-first century for students to learn first in their school steelbands and then to join established community bands, often making this transition while they are still in school. Participation by schoolchildren has transformed the rough and tumble culture of many panyards, though the degree of participation by schoolchildren varies significantly from one band to the next. In general, however, the ranks of community steelbands in Trinidad are increasingly filled by young people, many of them women, who were introduced to steel pan in their schools.

Steelband, Calypso and Panorama

In the early 1960s, with steelband violence on the wane, the steelband surpassed brass band music in popularity to become the heartbeat of carnival for lower- and middle-class Trinidadians alike. While calypso music was also an important carnival tradition, it was still enjoyed mainly in live performances at calypso 'tents' (the term that was still used at the turn of the twenty-first century for theaters and other buildings that replaced the actual tents that housed early twentieth-century calypso shows); and calypsonians were eager to augment their reputations through 'road marches' that the steelbands rendered for dancers on Carnival day. In this regard, some people were dismayed by the diversity of the steelbands' repertoire, especially the fashion for 'bomb' tunes, which were arrangements of classical music, film music and pop songs in carnival dancing style. Calypsonians, led especially by Lord Kitchener, responded by increasing the formal and harmonic complexity of their songs to make them better suited for instrumental arrangement. In this way the steelband had an important influence on calypso music.

A concerted effort was also made to pressure steelbands to play calypso, especially through the Panorama steelband competition, which began in 1963 at the first post-independence Carnival. The rules of Panorama required steelbands to play calypsos from the current year, in order to integrate the Carnival arts and display a distinctively Trinidadian culture at the national festival. Steelbands responded with elaborate arrangements that were very different from those they played on the road for dancers. Pan Am North Stars' arranger Tony Williams, for example, used key changes (modulation) and theme and variation form in his winning arrangements for the first two Panoramas. In the wake of North Stars' success, other arrangers – including Bobby Mohammed (Cavaliers), Clive Bradley (Desperadoes), Earl Rodney (Harmonites), Ray Holman (Starlift) and Jit Samaroo (Renegades) – added new ideas to generate a distinctive set of musical conventions for Panorama, including theme and variation, modulation, harmonic substitutions, breaks and jams (passages in which exciting rhythmic and melodic licks are played over a repeating bass line and chords). In this way steelband arrangers found ways to innovate within the constraints of the Panorama competition, and continued to integrate musical ideas from non-calypso repertoires.

The time required to rehearse an elaborate 10-minute Panorama arrangement took its toll, however, on the ability of steelbands to play for Carnival fetes and masquerade. Adding to this, the steelbands' dominance on the road was challenged in the late 1970s by DJ trucks, flatbeds carrying massive speakers that play recorded music at earthshaking volume. As the new purveyors of the road march, DJ trucks exerted a different musical influence on calypso, and especially on a new type of music called soca. Soca songs dispensed with the long narrative texts of calypso (as had many road marches even before soca), stressed rhythm and studio sound effects, and used catchy call-and-response choruses that invited Carnival revelers to participate. This emphasis on rhythm and participation harkened back to older Carnival music traditions, and indeed to the early days of the steelband; but soca provided little harmonic and melodic material for modern steelbands to work with, and its overpowering bass sounds, as experienced through DJ truck speakers, were an attraction that steelbands could not hope to match. The advent of DJ trucks and soca music thus undermined the role of steelbands on the road and caused them to turn most of their attention to Panorama.

These developments also contributed to the growth in popularity of the 'own tune,' the practice of steelband arrangers writing their own compositions for Panorama. An early precedent for this was set in 1972 by Starlift's arranger Ray Holman, who recorded his own composition, 'Pan on the Move,' as a song so as to comply with the rules of the competition, then arranged it for steelband (the only commercially available recording was the Starlift steelband version). With the advent of soca music's more limited harmonic variety this strategy gained more appeal, and it caught on widely when Phase II Pan Groove won Panorama in 1987 and 1988 with own tunes by arranger Len 'Boogsie' Sharpe. In the 1990s the line between own tunes and calypsos became blurred, as steelband arrangers often had their original compositions recorded by popular singers such as Super Blue, Denyse Plummer and even the Mighty Sparrow. While the requirements of Panorama differ from the requirements of calypso and soca, these repertoires still overlap, as steelband own tunes are recorded by calypso and soca artists, and some of those artists continue to pitch their songs to steelbands.

International Spread of Steelband and Soloists

Following the invention of the steel pan in Trinidad in the early 1940s, the steelband spread to other countries. By the early 1950s steelbands had sprung up in Antigua, the US Virgin Islands and elsewhere in the Caribbean. The steel pan was also popularized by the US Navy Steelband, which was founded in Puerto Rico in 1957 and appeared on the Ed Sullivan Show in 1958. Ellie Mannette played an important role in the spread of steelbands in schools in the United States after he moved to New York in 1967, and eventually founded the University Tuning Project in 1992to train players and tuners at the University of West Virginia. Community steelbands have also spread along the paths of Trinidadian emigration, in cities with large Caribbean populations such as New York, Toronto and London, where they participate in Trinidad-inspired Carnival celebrations and steelband competitions. Traveling Trinidadian steelbands and pannists have also sparked interest in the steel pan in non-Caribbean communities. Tuner and player Ralph Richardson, for example, helped to build a large network of steelbands in Switzerland, beginning in the 1970s. Similarly, Rudy Smith inspired a significant steelband scene in Sweden. The steelband has taken root in Australia, Japan and Taiwan as well.

One of the forces driving the international spread of pan is the professional ambition of Trinidadian pan soloists whose living depends on performing and teaching internationally. From the earliest days of the steelband there have been talented individuals who made a reputation as soloists, such as Carleton 'Zigilee' Constantine, whose name is recorded in Lord Kitchener's 1946 calypso, 'The Beat of the Steelband.' In the 1950s and 1960s players such as Emmanuel 'Corbo Jack' Riley (Invaders) or Belgrade Bonaparte (Southern Symphony) thrilled panyard audiences with virtuosic improvisations played over full steelband accompaniment. Those who aspired to solo careers, however, had to look outside Trinidad for year-round work. These have included: Othello Molineaux, who made groundbreaking fusion recordings with Jamaican pianist Monty Alexander and US bassist Jaco Pastorius in the 1980s; Earl Rodney, whose tasteful steel pan work graces calypso recordings by Lord Kitchener and others from the 1970s and 1980s; Rudy Smith, who has performed extensively in Scandinavia since the 1970s and made a number of jazz steel pan recordings; Robert Greenidge, who played the pan solo on the extended version of Grover Washington Jr.'s 'Just the Two of Us' in 1980, and who has played regularly with pop singer Jimmy Buffet since then; Ken 'Professor' Philmore, who does frequent performances and workshops internationally; Ray Holman, who taught at the University of Washington as visiting artist in the late 1990s, does numerous school and university workshops, and recorded his own solo CD; Ron Reid, who taught at the Berklee School of Music in Boston and has recorded two excellent solo steel pan CDs; and the most prodigiously gifted pan soloist, Len 'Boogsie' Sharpe, who performs and arranges internationally extensively and has made a handful of recordings. Credit is also due to US pannist Andy Narell, whose innovative recordings from the 1970s onward blended Caribbean styles with jazz and helped create a niche for pan on radio and in the international recording industry. A younger generation of steel pan soloists includes Liam Teague, who teaches at Northern Illinois University, and others who may be poised to make an impact on popular music internationally.

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SHANNON DUDLEY

Suripop

Suripop (or SuriPop) is the name of a biennial songwriting contest in Suriname intended to foster local talent. Since 1982, the year the contest was first held, the term Suripop has become more broadly associated with particular musical characteristics and with music created with a national audience in mind.

Through this competition, a genre of distinctly Surinamese popular music was able to take root. Because the genre developed partly in response to the format and ideals of the contest, a description of the former necessarily includes background information on the latter. The Suripop song festival, organized by the Stichting ter Bevordering van Kunst en Kultuur in Suriname [Foundation for the Advancement of Art and Culture in Suriname], emerged seven years after Suriname gained independence from the Dutch in 1975. It was developed in an effort to strengthen the body of shared national culture and to nurture local talent. Suriname is remarkably diverse, with sizeable Hindustani, Creole, Chinese, Maroon and Javanese populations that remain socially and culturally distinct. In Suripop, performers and listeners have had an alternative to music with a strong affiliation with an ethnic subgroup, or music imported from Europe, the Caribbean, the United States and elsewhere (despite stylistic connections with some of that music).

The Suripop festival and competition are held biennially in Paramaribo, Suriname’s capital city. Initially, it was held every year, but after 1984 organizers decided to hold it every other year because of the cost. At the culminating event of the festival, the finalists perform live and the winner is announced. The contest takes place over several months: for Suripop XV in 2008, songs were submitted in March and the winner was announced in August.

Contest applicants hail from all of Suriname’s major ethnic groups. They are able to compete more than once, but are discouraged from applying several years in a row in order to encourage newcomers. All entries are kept confidential. From the applicant pool, a selection committee chooses 12 finalists, who are all given a cash prize, professionally recorded and included on a Suripop compilation album. Videos and singles of these finalists are then distributed to local TV and radio stations in anticipation of the announcement of the winner at the Suripop festival several months later. Although Suripop songs are featured on the TV and radio all year round, during the competition the recent song submissions are featured so that the public is familiar with the contest entries by the time the final decision is reached. All finalists receive cash compensation in exchange for song royalties; second- and third-place winners receive a larger amount, and the winner receives the largest cash prize and the Jules Chin a Foeng trophy. This trophy, made for the competition by Suralco (the Surinamese division of the Alcoa aluminum company), has become the symbol of the competition and festival, and is featured on the cover of every Suripop compilation.

Songs tend to emphasize shared elements of Surinamese culture and subject matter that is widely applicable across the population. They are intended to appeal to a multiethnic listenership and a diversity of ages as well. While a Suripop song will occasionally be in Dutch or English, the majority are sung in Sranan, a widely spoken Surinamese Creole language. Popular song themes include romantic relationships, the beauty of the natural landscape, or a broad social message. (For instance, in Bromki fu Tamara, a popular Suripop single composed by Claudia Heide and Simone Blitin, the overall message is to support younger generations – 'the flowers of tomorrow need time to grow.') Songs are often highly sentimental, diatonic, mid-tempo, with a relatively thin rhythmic texture. They share many stylistic characteristics with pop ballads in Europe or the United States, including vocal techniques, melodic tendencies and song form. Although the above features have stayed relatively consistent throughout the competition's history, there are a number of Suripop songs that do not conform to all these characteristics. For example, the 12 2008 finalists included two up-tempo dance songs ('Perres Perres Pindas' and 'Mi Dushi'), a song with a religious message ('Opo Wiki Kari'), and a song performed in English by a trio of female vocalists ('A Song of Life').

The Suripop competition is first and foremost for songwriters, with a secondary focus on the singer. The instrumental accompaniment is not given as much consideration by the judges, in part because not all applicants have access to the same resources and also because of the emphasis placed on the words. Synthesized backing tracks are common. Although the prizes are awarded to the song's composer rather than the performer, a number of singers have become associated with this type of music and have helped solidify a Suripop sound. These include Patricia van Daal and Powl Ameerali. Women and men both compete as songwriters and singers. Notably, a higher proportion of women are involved in Suripop than in many other popular genres within the country, possibly because Suripop is a studio-based music, free from the rigors of touring or any disreputable association with local nightlife.

In addition to the compilation CDs issued at the conclusion of every competition, a 10-year compilation of favorites was issued in 1992 and a 'Best of Suripop' album was released in 2004. The accumulation of final entries since 1982 now constitutes a considerable body of music, and many of the earlier Suripop hits are still broadcast regularly. Beyond these recordings, however, there are many other songs that are popularly classified as Suripop. Some of these may have been contest submissions that did not make it to the final round of competition, while others are created independently of the competition but termed Suripop because they are intended for a Surinamese audience and they share stylistic similarities with songs entered in the competition. It is difficult to distinguish the official entries from those that were created independently of the competition because song entries are kept confidential, and only the dozen finalists have their songs circulated with a specific affiliation with the festival.

The characteristic shared by all Suripop songs is that they are intended for a national audience, and thus how a song is distributed also plays a part in how it is classified. Suripop and local media channels have a symbiotic relationship that fosters a national ethos, despite the enduring social and ethnic distinctions that have made it so difficult for such a diverse population to cohere. By playing Suripop songs and music videos, a television or radio station can enhance its reputation as serving a specifically national audience; likewise, a song may become associated with a national audience and a Suripop aesthetic if it is aired on a program that regularly plays Suripop songs. In a country where ethnic groups remain distinct from each other, Suripop is one of the most successful efforts to create a shared form of popular entertainment.

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CORINNA CAMPBELL

Surjapop

Surjapop, an acronym formed from *Surinaamse-Javaanse pop* (Surinamese-Javanese pop) and pronounced sur-ya-pop, is a genre of popular music of the Javanese diaspora in Suriname and their secondary diaspora in the Netherlands. It first emerged in the early 1970s in and around the capitol city of Paramaribo. Other names for *surjapop*, used more commonly in the past, are *pop jawa* (which has come to be used more for Javanese pop from Indonesia) and *suripop jawa*, which is to be distinguished from the separate phenomenon of *suripop*.

To understand better the social significance and aesthetic development of *surjapop*, one must consider its emergence within the context of a number of converging historical factors. The growth in the urban migration of Afro-Surinamese Creoles which followed emancipation in 1863 and their subsequent replacement with the massive influx of Asian indentured laborers – starting with Chinese (over 2,500 brought from 1853 to 1870), then Hindustani British Indians (over 34,000 from 1873 to 1916) and finally Javanese (nearly 33,000 from 1890 to 1939) – resulted in a situation in which over 40 percent of the colony's increasingly diverse, multiethnic and politically opposed population of 385,000 were living in greater Paramaribo in the early 1970s. *Surjapop* emerged around the time of Suriname's independence in 1975 as part of a growing cultural nationalism, initiated by the Creole Wie Eegie Sanie movement in the 1950s, which coupled the desire for a democratic independent nation free from colonial servitude with the potential of mass-media technologies in ways that would allow non-Dutch cultural expressions and ideas about self-determination to be heard and respected.

For Javanese, the cultural nationalism expressed through much of the early *surjapop* was fraught with tension between maintaining a Javanese identity inextricably tied to ideas of tradition/history and embracing a Surinamese identity (dominantly Creole) and a future-oriented role in shaping the new nation. In their experiments to create a modern sound that was both Javanese and Surinamese, early Javanese bands such as T-Group-75, Astaria Combo, the TS Combo and Irama Aslie, fronted by singers such as Marlene Maridjan, Ragmad Amatstam, Oesje Soekatma and Eddy Assan, drew from three major influences: Javanese pop from Indonesia, Surinamese Creole *bigi poku* and US rhythm and blues, each significant in their own way to Surinamese-Javanese identity politics.

From their first arrival in Suriname, the indentured Javanese commemorated their homeland by maintaining traditional Javanese customs, language, dances and music, and most had planned to return to Java. Beginning with the postwar resumption of oceanic trade in the 1950s, they imported recordings of traditional *gamelan* and *kroncong* as well as the latest modern music from the newly independent Indonesia. Javanese businesses and organizations bought time on radio stations to broadcast Javanese music and promote their products and objectives. As flights to Suriname became more regular and affordable in the 1970s, organizations raised funds by arranging concerts for pop artists from Indonesia such as Koes Rini, Ervina, Titiek Sandora, Moechsin, Mus Mulyadi and Waldjinah to perform in areas of Suriname with concentrations of Javanese.

Thus, while developing a modern popular music which maintained a Javanese identity, it is not surprising that the Surinamese-Javanese drew much from the pop of their Indonesian-Javanese contemporaries, including the same *pop jawa* genre label. This early Javanese pop combined a slow-to-medium tempo 4/4 rock or 16-beat, filled in with *kroncong*-style rhythmic content ('and-2-and,' 'and-4-and'), with simple harmonic progressions, R&B-style bass patterns, and melodies and themes derivative of *langgam jawa* (a Javanese adaptation of *kroncong*) and *lagu dolanan* (light-hearted Javanese songs). Early hits such as Maridjan's 'Kembang Melati' (1978) and 'Abote Djandjie' (1978) are imitative in melody, arrangement and *langgam*-esque style of the songs of Mus Mulyadi and Waldjinah.

Other contemporary hits, such as Amatstam's 'Hallo Paramaribo' (1979), Maridjan's 'Odjo Nglarake Ati' (1978) and Assan's 'Oen Egie Denki' (1979), embraced the more clearly Surinamese-identified Creole *kaseko* style, while Amatstam's 'Mi Lobi Sranan' (1979) pronounced love for Suriname in a slow R&B style. However, whether these *surjapop* prototypes drew more heavily from Indonesian, Surinamese Creole or American influences, whether they were sung in Javanese or Surinamese Creole languages, or whether they addressed sentiments of love or topical social issues, they were more than industrial moves to capitalize on newly affordable/available mass media technologies and electric instruments. They were youthful statements of Javanese-Surinamese pride in a modern idiom – contentions of Javanese ability to move beyond the traditional *gamelan*, *terbangan* and *kroncong* music associated with old-fashioned, conservative, traditional Dutch subjects clinging to an allegiance to Java. They were assertions of Javanese desire to modernize, embrace Suriname as their own and participate in the newly independent nation as Javanese Surinamers.

Around the same time that *surjapop* was developing in Paramaribo, masses of Surinamers (over 140,000 during the 1970s), a significant number of them Javanese, emigrated to the Netherlands. They established sizeable communities in Rotterdam, Amsterdam and The Hague, proffering both an extended market audience and promotional capital for *surjapop*. Many of the accomplished Javanese musicians, such as Ngoesman (Oesje) Soekatma, Ragmad Amatstam and Eddy Assan, emigrated to the Netherlands and were able to develop *surjapop* further there. For those in the Netherlands, the emotional content of songs that mattered most was their connection to Suriname. However, their departure from Suriname was felt as a 'brain drain' by aspiring musicians.

During the 1980s civil war and heightened, even violent, ethnic tensions slowed cultural production in Suriname and Javanese youth gravitated more toward the American and European hard rock and pop broadcast on MTV. While *surjapop* bands continued to perform at private parties, this was a low point in their visibility. The effect of this turbulent period was to undo some of the nationalistic solidarity by reinforcing ethnic differences.

In the 1990s, as the sociopolitical climate stabilized, a second generation of young Javanese musicians formed bands such as the Kasimex House Band, Music Lovers, Musical Youth, Smooth, Final Step and Mantje's House Band. A younger generation of musicians was also invited from Indonesia, beginning in 1996 with Didi Kempot, who was an immediate success among Javanese-Surinamers both young and old with his simple Javanese poetics and upbeat sound influenced by *campur sari* (a genre of modernized *gamelan*). Kempot inspired the new generation of Javanese musicians and reinvigorated *surjapop*. The founding of Radio Garuda in 1996 and subsequent establishment of three other Javanese-owned, operated and patronized radio stations in Paramaribo (Mustika, Percaya and Bersama) further promoted the development of *surjapop*.

These Javanese-Surinamese bands not only continued the *surjapop* tradition into the twenty-first century but also diversified their repertoire, mastering more danceable styles such as salsa, soca, reggae, *merengue*, *zouk* and reggaeton. At first covering the latest Caribbean hits, they eventually blended aspects of these various styles to make songs with Javanese lyrics, confounding strict stylistic definition of the *surjapop* genre. As these bands have become the most stylistically versatile bands in Suriname, their audiences and opportunities to tour abroad have expanded.

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SATHYA BURCHMAN

Swing Criollo

Swing criollo is a popular dance form in Costa Rica, in which the dance steps of US swing are adapted to Colombian *cumbia* music. Emerging in the 1960s in the popular suburban dancing spots of major cities, including the capital San José, it followed a long-established tradition of fusions between United States and South American forms in a Central American country known for such cultural interactions.

The precise origins of *swing criollo* are unclear, as its components have been part of the musical spectrum in Costa Rica since the early days of radio broadcasting in the 1920s and 1930s, when both US swing and Colombian *cumbia* were being programmed by the Costa Rican radio stations from the very moment radio was established in the country. Despite the coexistence of these musics on the air, no evidence of connections being made between the two can be found until at least two decades later. A broadly accepted hypothesis affirms that *swing criollo* began to emerge in the 1950s, when Costa Rican truck drivers who had driven to the United States introduced swing dance steps to dance halls in Costa Rica. It is also possible that this experience had been reinforced by Hollywood movies, shown in Costa Rica, showing the swing dances in the United States.

Swing criollo took root in the urban dance halls and centers of the lower reaches of Costa Rican society, known as *ollas de carne* (meat pots)), after a type of soup of peasant origin, widely recognized as a folkloric icon. The analogy with the dance halls where *swing criollo* flourished might have been a reference to the perception that these events attracted certain loose sexual approaches. In due course the dance became adapted to wider sectors of Costa Rican society, but by the 1970s *swing criollo* was being labeled as common and associated with the mob, to the point that in some dance halls signs clearly warned: 'swing dancing forbidden.' (For a fascinating insight into the dances and social reaction to them, see the 2003 documentary by Gabriela Hernández, *Se prohibe bailar swing* [Swing Dancing Is Forbidden]).

Swing criollo does not have its own particular local music; there is no music produced in Costa Rica that works as a counterpart for the dancing of swing steps. Most of the repertoire takes the form of *cumbias* from Colombia or Mexico. In other words, *swing criollo* is a particular form of dancing the *cumbia* but has not developed as a local musical form.

One consequence of this situation is that the lack of a local music for *swing criollo* dancing produces a sense of alienation: the local product has to depend on outside intervention, in the form of Colombian and Mexican music, and this prevents it from fulfilling its potential. That said, some twenty-first-century musical groups such as Rialengo Taboga Band and Cantoamérica are including original *cumbia*-type music in their repertoires which could eventually be part of the music for *swing criollo* and could help to reduce that feeling of alienation.

The Dance

It is evident that what is danced in Costa Rica has not been taken systematically from US swing dancing. Rather, it is an adaptation, a recreation and a reinvention of the original forms, transformed via the popular creativity of the spontaneous dancers. A brief description of the dance form could be: partners hold one hand while they execute a series of quick steps, almost jumping rhythmically on each foot in turn, then releasing one hand to hold the other, while making turns. The man starts with the left foot and the woman with the right. On the third beat of the music the hand is held, combined with a little hop. The original swing steps have been enriched or substituted by those of *cumbia* and even salsa.

In musical terms, US swing and Colombian *cumbia* show a similar metric rhythmic structure (4/4) and the patterns in the *cumbia* rhythm carried by the congas are very similar to those carried by the snare drum in swing. Also, the patterns of the *güiro* in the *cumbia* are similar to those executed by the cymbal in swing. Such similarities led to easy adaptation of the dance movements and encouraged the formation of the hybrid dancing style.

Swing Criollo Today

The common repertoire of a typical *swing criollo* event may include artists such as Chuco Pinto, Los Españoles, Chon Arauza, Sonora Dinamita, Cumbia Kings, Los Vázquez, Hugo Blanco or Los Sonor, among others. The main promoter of this popular dance, and icon of *swing criollo*, is Ligia Torijano. Ligia has succeeded in exporting Costa Rican *swing criollo* to many places in the world, including the United States, Asia and Europe, and has dedicated over 30 years to the promotion of *swing criollo* in Costa Rica itself. In 1997 she founded her company La Cuna del Swing, with which she has toured in Costa Rica and abroad. Torijano's mission to keep alive this dance has led her to teach youth and adults all over the country by means of dancing centers and dance schools.

Despite its 50-year history *swing criollo* is still in the process of consolidation. It continues to be a favorite dance of those sections of society with lower incomes, and its appeal extends to some middle-class people, including university students and intellectuals.

In a country still in the process of reviewing its identities and the roles of the different social and ethnic groups within those identities, any forced inclusion of all classes under the banner of a national dance remains problematic.

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MANUEL MONESTEL

Takirari

Takirari (or *taquirari*) is a musical genre and a dance of the eastern region of Bolivia that includes the departments of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Ben and part of Pando. The origin of the genre is uncertain. According to José Díaz Gainza (1977), it is derived from an earlier musical expression that was deeply embedded among the Guaraní indigenous people. In the nineteenth century this music spread among the farmlands and mixed with *criollo* (Creole) and mestizo dances ('*saraos*') that were accompanied by *pífano* (fife) and *tamboril* (snare drum). In the early twentieth century the *takirari* took hold in villages and towns, undergoing a new hybridization process that led to its emergence as the popular modern form known today.

The rhythmic structure of *takirari* – in 2/4 with widespread use of syncopation – is used as the basis for other popular songs and it is related to the *wayño* (*huayño*), *carnavalito*, *cumbia* and Bolivian romantic song among other genres characteristic of the border zones shared by Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil and Paraguay. The boundaries between *wayño*, *carnavalito* and *takirari* are not always clearly defined. Depending on the context, a piece can be assigned to any one of these generic denominations. In folkloric festivals as well as in Carnival celebrations in the Puna zone and in the Quebrada de Humahuaca in Argentina these three genres are presented as a potpourri to encourage the audience to join in collective dance. The fluid boundaries between the genres evidence the flexibility acquired by the modes of interpretation of this regional repertoire. The three genres share a duple rhythmic base and the reiteration of a rhythmic pattern (an eighth followed by a sixteenth), but while in the traditional and anonymous *wayño* and *carnavalito* heterometric rhythmic phrases and Andean pentatonic scales predominate, *takiraris* – created for mass consumption in Bolivia and Argentina – may be structured upon mestizo modes derived from the Andean pentatonic scale, or may also present melodies in major or minor mode responding to European influences. Although its formal structure is free, *takirari* can have two or three repeated melodic sections. In most *takirari* instrumental arrangements, the *wayño* and *carnavalito* influence can be identified by the rhythmic pattern played on either the *wancara* or Creole *bombo* and the side-drum.

The mestizo origin of *takirari* is evidenced by the instrumental ensemble, which features contributions from Andean and *criollo* culture, and from the jungle plains of the 'nación camba' (camba nation – a term coined by the multiethnic *criollo*, mestizo and indigenous population of eastern Bolivia that has historical, political and ideological connotations linked to separatist feelings in the region, which clamors for its autonomy and national power within the democratic frame. Camba is also used as a nickname for the place of birth and for the folk music expressions of the *criollos* of Santa Cruz de la Sierra; in addition, it can be used to refer to people of African descent [from Angola] who were brought as slaves starting in the seventeenth century in the tropical regions of Bolivia and Paraguay).

Stylistic differences are evident between the Argentine and the Bolivian *takirari*. For example, the texts in Bolivian *takirari* allude to the landscape and culture of the tropical region where they exist, while Argentine *takiraris* describe scenes from the Carnaval de la Puna Jujeña (Carnival of the Puna region of Jujuy). Nonetheless, the themes in both often depict romantic situations. Even though the instrumental combinations are diverse, the melodic design and sonority are unmistakable features of the genre. Its traditional instrumentation includes *quena*, *charango*, guitar or accordion, mandolin, violin and voices with accompaniment by percussion instruments including bongo, *cabasha* (a gourd that is shaken or rubbed), maracas or *güiro*.

The tempo of the *takirari* dance can be either fast or moderate. The dance is performed by independent embracing couples with free choreography and figures similar to those of the *wayño*, combining a dragged, measured step with a light, almost tiptoed one and abrupt movements from the hips. The costumes worn by the dancers in staged presentations consist of *tipoy* (long, shiny, Guarani indigenous costume) with flowers on the head for the women. Men wear a white shirt, ankle-length trousers and a wide hat. The *takirari* character is cheerful and sentimental.

The performance style popularized by Bolivian singer Gladys Moreno, which featured solo singing, orchestra and choirs, was established as a canon for the modernized versions of *takirari* of the 1960s and 1970s. This style of performing the *takirari* lies at the intersection between the melodic and the folkloric: during successive processes of musical hybridization the genre incorporated attributes from other regional genres such as the *huayno*, and from circum-Caribbean musics that seem to have influenced the taste of producers from multinational labels and of the public in Latin American countries. The *takirari*, which until then was perceived as a folkloric genre, fused itself with foreign rhythms and sonorities – for instance, in 'Quise darte' (I Wanted to Give You) by R. Becerra the singing became more sensual, resembling the romantic repertoire commercially catalogued as 'tropical' music; the percussion and brass sections were enlarged; and the instrumental contracantos (i.e., a type of descant or additional voice) emulated the melodic patterns of the *ranchera mexicana* ending the song with its characteristic *cha-cha-chá.* Similarly, in the famous *takirari* 'Viva Santa Cruz' by Gilberto Rojas one can recognize the sonority of a *morenada*, a traditional Andean genre.

In relation to the words of the modern songs, romantic lyrics stand out, frequently interspersed with passionate reciting in the manner of *telenovelas* performed by duets, as demonstrated by 'Perdóname' (Forgive Me), interpreted by Gonzalo Hermosa and Eva Ayllón on Los Kjarkas' 1997 album *Por siempre* (For Ever). Lyrics may also evoke the tropical landscape as in 'Oh, Cochabamba querida!' (O Dear Cochabamba!) by Jaime del Río, considered a regional anthem. The lyrics of the popular 'Sombrero de saó' (Straw Hat) by Pedro Shimose, recorded by Gladys Moreno in 2004, make reference to stereotyped characteristics attributed by the *kollas* to the *camba culture* – laziness, shamelessness and so on. (The term 'kolla' refers to the person who is self-ascribed as belonging to the original peoples of Qoyasuyu – that is, to the south region [one of the four dominions] of the Tawantinsuyu, commonly known as the Inca Empire. 'Kolla' also refers to the culture that maintains ancestral Andean traditions and preserves the use of Quechua language; in their construction of identity *kollas* differentiate themselves from *criollos* and *gauchos* as well as from the *camba*.)

The *takirari* 'Los Reyes Magos' (The Magi) of the *Misa Criolla* (Creole Mass) by Ariel Ramírez (1964), in which the Magi offer *arrope* (syrup), honey and a poncho of alpaca wool to the baby Jesus, was used on TV commercials. There the image of Saint Balthazar (the *Cambá* Saint) refers to the popular Afro-Argentine cult that existed in the colonial era and still continues in the province of Corrientes.

On records, *takirari* shares space with other genres, and can also be used as the base for romantic ballads as well as *folclore*. The numerous musical groups, players and composers who have cultivated the genre in Bolivia and Argentina include William Centellas, Gilberto Rojas, Percy Ávila, Antonio Pantoja, Gladys Moreno, Alfredo Coca, Los Kjarkas, Tupay, Guisela Santa Cruz, Zulma Yúgar, Gladys Moreno, Ernesto Cavour, Jaime Torres, Chango Rodríguez, Horacio Guarany, Los Nocheros, Los Tekis, Llajtaymanta, Ensamble 2 and La trama.

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NANCY M. SÁNCHEZ (TRANSLATED BY PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ AND ZUZANA PICK)

Tambora

In northern Colombia, traditional chants and dances intertwine in a genre known as *baile cantado* (chanted dance), generally performed by a vocal soloist (*cantador* or *cantadora*), a mixed choir, a percussion ensemble and danced by one couple. *Tambora* and *bullerengue* are two of the best-known chanted dances. Besides their differences in context, all the dances differ from one another in certain instrumental and formal aspects, but primarily in the rhythmic patterns performed.

Tambora is an ancestral tradition observed by inhabitants of Loba, a region located around the banks of the Magdalena River at the intersection of Cesar, Bolivar and Magdalena departments. This land was originally populated by Chimila and Malibu Indians, and during the Spanish Colonial regime Africans, brought to the Americas as slaves, left an indelible mark, as they did in much of Hispanic America. Under the influence of a long Spanish domination, villagers of Loba used to celebrate Catholic religious feasts with *tambora*, from Saint Catherine's Day until Epiphany, thus making it a Christmas celebration, a tradition that has been continued in some villages. Like other forms of traditional music, *tambora* has also been performed in secular contexts, with narrative and descriptive lyrics of everyday live experiences, related to the 'amphibian culture' described by Orlando Fals Borda (1986), where land and water conditioned peasants' way of living, in a geographical area known as the Mompox Depression.

In this context, *tambora* is a polysemic term used to designate the celebration itself, the music and dance performed in it, the choral and percussion ensemble, and the most common rhythmic pattern played along certain chants. It may also refer to a cylindrical, double-headed drum played with two thick drumsticks, one of which strikes the drumhead while the other hits the wooden side. This drum is also found in many other types of Colombian music, and has probably given its name to the whole event. Thus the same generic term, *tambora,* is used to indicate the repertoire to be played and danced at a particular celebration.

The *tambora* ensemble is an orchestra comprising a solo singer, a mixed chorus and at least two percussion instruments: *tambora* and *currulao*. The *currulao* is a conical, single-headed drum, played with palms and fingers, similar to other drums found in the Colombian Caribbean region. Along with handclapping it is also possible to use *tablitas* (small boards) to accentuate the pulse of the music, and the *guache*, a tubular metal cylinder with dried seeds inside producing a special sound when shaken. This last instrument has replaced the maracas used in the past.

A solo *cantadora* or *cantador* sings the melody, the choir responds with handclapping and the percussionists play repetitive rhythmic patterns. These patterns are known as *golpes* or *toques*, and they identify the many different rhythmic variants found in this music. The most common ones are: *tambora* (also known as *tambora tambora* or *tambora golpeada*), *tambora alegre*, *tambora redoblada*, *berroche*, *guacherna* and *chandé*.

The dance is usually performed by a single couple. The woman maintains a moderate posture, with her body straight, face upright, one arm extended holding the low part of the *pollera* (long skirt), while the other rests on the waist. The man, wearing a hat '*concha 'e jobo*,' follows her with open arms. He leans forward a little and bounces from side to side, making free and sometimes exaggerated movements, following the woman, simulating courtship and exciting the crowd. In certain chants the couple mime the lyrics. *Tambora* rhythms (*golpeada, alegre* and *redoblada*) are danced in the same way, with a constant circular or spiral movement, except during the *abozao*. In this section, which takes place either at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of the piece, both dancers stay still facing each other while chorus and percussion shorten the rhythmic cycles by half. The *berroche* does not include the *abozao* section and is danced in a freer manner, with a frontal position, and circular and linear movements. The *guacherna* and the *chandé* differ from other rhythms in that their pulses have a ternary subdivision. Neither of the two uses the *abozao* section. They are usually performed while the orchestra goes around the village looking for musicians, alcoholic beverages or money to go on with the feast. However, they may also be performed in one specific area, in which case the dancers face each other and change places every once in a while in a movement called the 'eight.'

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GUILLERMO CARBÓ

Tambú

Tambú is an African-inspired music and dance ritual that developed during slavery on the islands of the Netherlands Antilles. Although Bonaire and Aruba lay a certain amount of claim to the Tambú, in the modern era it is most often associated with the island of Curaçao, the largest of the Netherlands Antilles. Through the centuries, Tambú has experienced multifarious reincarnations – transformations that in the end not only transcended but eclipsed what was presumably the ritual's African-centered archetype. It has stepped up to fill a diversity of social roles and purposes both sacred and secular. As sacred ritual, Curaçaoan Tambú evolved into an avenue for facilitating the worship of deities and affording communion with ancestors. On the secular side, Tambú became tantamount to an oral newspaper, a medium for the documentation of local news and gossip, and for its dissemination to the island's distant corners. More recently, the continuing evolution of Tambú has produced a legendary Curaçaoan New Year's event through which the bad luck perceived to have accrued during the previous year may ostensibly be driven away. During the so-called Tambú Season, Curaçaoan youth revel in what they have come to consider party music.

Whatever its function, sacred or secular, Tambú maintains the same performance practices. Typically, it is announced by a lead singer (*pregon*), who calls people to the ceremony with a short, declamatory *a capella* introduction (*deklarashon introduktorio*). The Tambú that follows may be said to reflect a binary form, consisting of two main sections: the *habrí* and *séru*. During the *habrí*, the *pregon* communicates the performance-specific Tambú message while the audience and chorus keeps quiet, paying their undivided attention, careful not to miss even a word. The second section, or *séru*, commences with a hand wave or vocal call from the *pregon* to let audiences know they are now free to dance and join in. Dancing with one heel grounded in place, participants utilize the toes of the free foot to stomp rhythmically, enhancing the already complex *séru* rhythmic line.

The modern Tambú drum or *barí* ('barrel') is made from pieces of wood glued into a cylinder shape, its top spanned with sheepskin. It is played with a closed hand technique, while at least two iron instruments (known collectively as *herú*) are also played. During the *habrí* section, performance protocol dictates that the *herú* serve as timekeepers while the *barí* drummer is free to improvise. In the *séru*, however, these roles are reversed. Now the *barí* is expected to maintain the downbeat while the *herú* provide quick, repetitive triplet phrases interspersed with episodes of improvisation. The most commonly used *herú* is the *chpapi*, an indigenous instrument made from the metal end of a garden hoe, which, hit repeatedly with an iron bar, has its origins in the harvest ritual Seú.

Although Tambú's binary form connotes, on one hand, a definite structural symmetry, its actual phraseology seldom maintains a uniformity of length. Instead, asymmetrical phrases generate pulse rhythms that more precisely conform to the rhythmic speech patterns of the local creole language, Papiamento, with Tambú's intervallic relationships and modal melodies reflecting the common tonal inflections of spoken Papiamento.

With a rising number of Curaçaoans migrating to the Netherlands, commercialized parties featuring Tambú have become increasingly popular overseas. Fueled by the Netherlands' growing cultural diversity, the Dutch Tambú parties emerged alongside Turkish, Moroccan and Surinamese parties as part of a trend among Holland's ethnic youths to organize get-togethers by and for a single ethnic group. The Dutch Tambú parties have continued to widen in scope, however, with contemporary singers who live in the Netherlands composing Tambú texts that expressly convey the challenges specific to the Curaçaoan migrant experience.

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NANETTE DE JONG

Tamunangue

Tamunangue is a secular music and dance cycle that takes place in a folk religious context in the Western State of Lara, Venezuela. It is connected with the adoration of Saint Anthony. This genre has hardly figured in the commercial music industry context, but it is considered to lend prestige to the repertoires of *grupos de proyección* (popular organized staged folk groups) due to its humorous, eye-catching character. In addition, *tamunangue* sometimes is adopted by artists who perform Latin American *canción de protesta* (protest song) and arranged for popular orchestras.

The term *tamunangue* has been disseminated by scholars and journalists, and it derives from the name of a particular drum of the Lara region. Nevertheless, the genre's original name is *sones de negros* (literally, musical expressions of black people).

Since the 1940s, when a particular aesthetic presentation style developed, the female participants in *tamunangue* usually wear long, wide and flowery skirts or dresses. The men complete their attire with a hat. Since the 1980s both men and women carry a wooden stick. Before entering the dance, the performers, two by two, arrange their sticks in the sign of the cross before the image of Saint Anthony. In this way they indicate their willingness to sacrifice themselves in order to serve him.

Before the dance cycle, the performers customarily hold a ceremonial wake for the saint, singing polyphonic *salves* and praying. Next they perform *La Batalla* (The Battle), an elegant and skillful game played by two men with sticks. In the meantime the other participants sing 'Adoration of Saint Anthony.' Now begins the *tamunangue* dance as such. They always follow the same sequence: *Yiyivamos*, *La Bella*, *La Juruminga*, *La Perrendenga*, *Poco a Poco*, *Galerón* and *Seis Figureao.* These pieces may be categorized into types with musical and choreographic similarities. One type (*La Bella*, *Galerón*, *Seis Figureao*) is sung by consecutive duos in two voices and danced by successive couples in free choreography; only in the *Seis* are the figures of the three participating couples coordinated. In the other type (*Yiyivamos*, *Juruminga*, *Perrendenga* and *Poco a Poco*), a soloist singing partially improvised texts is answered by a chorus. The independent dance couple translates the often humorous songs into movements and actions, generally linked to the peasants' work and lives.

The music is performed on instruments characteristic of the Lara region. Chords are performed by an ensemble of strummed stringed instruments of the lute family featuring frets along the fingerboard: the *cinco*, *mediocinco*, *requinto* and *cuatro.* These instruments differ in size, number of strings and tuning. All play basically the same fundamental harmonies and ternary rhythms, and each instrument contributes its unique sound to the composite variety of timbres. The string ensemble is accompanied by a large skin drum, played by one player with the hands in a horizontal position, while another musician strikes the drum's wooden body with two sticks. Another drum, this one double-headed, is played with two drumsticks, accompanied by a pair of maracas shaken in one hand.

Some theories (Guss 2000; Gonzalez 1993; Aretz 1970 [1956]) support the idea that the historical dance of the Christians and Moors was reinterpreted in the *tamunangue*. In Latin America, people consider Saint Anthony to be black, in spite of his Caucasian appearance, because of his role in the fusion of the races. So he must defeat a horde of unfaithful invaders and create a new type of people: the mestizo. In this sense all seven dances of the *tamunangue* represent not only an ethnic conflict between black and white, but also a matter of power and domination, where all wild and indomitable phenomena can be civilized and domesticated (Guss 2005, 209). For instance, in the dances a foal becomes an obedient horse, the ground yields fruits and the woman pleases the man.

In the early twenty-first century, Saint Anthony's devotees have been growing in number in Venezuela, especially in urban environments and among the middle classes. These devotees conserve the tradition of organizing complex meetings to keep their promise to the saint by playing, singing and dancing *tamunangue.*

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KATRIN LENGWINAT

Tango

The word 'tango' describes a dance, a song and a purely instrumental music form. It was born and developed in the Río de la Plata area and its two most important cities, Buenos Aires (Argentina) and Montevideo (Uruguay), but the center of its activity has always been Buenos Aires. It originated in a process that culminated at the end of the nineteenth century, shaped by different elements: the musical activity of black slaves on the Atlantic coast of South America and the modifications that they made to European music; other genres including the American *tango* (*tango americano*), the *habanera* and the *milonga*; and popular music melodies of Argentina. *Tango* built upon these influences but was new in its rhythm, structure and melody.

One of *tango*'s most original aspects is its choreography. *Tango* is danced by a couple in a close embrace, with *quebradas* (swaying hips), *cortes* ('cuts,' pause or interruption in the movement) and more or less consistent choreographic figures, combined and performed in a totally improvised form.

Any *tango* can be danced, whether it is a song or instrumental. A large number of *tango* pieces of instrumental origin later included lyrics and many others were composed with lyrics, or began with lyrics around which music was composed. *Tangos* with lyrics are often called *tango canción*, though this denomination does not refer to a specific subgenre of *tango.* Some others are called *tango romanza*, when they are predominantly instrumental and melodic, and *tango milonga*, when they are more rhythmically oriented.

The history of *tango* may be divided into five stages:

1. The *Guardia Vieja* (Old Guard), from its origins to 1920. This stage comprises the *tango*'s beginnings and its consolidation as a differentiated genre. In this stage, the *tango* was strongly based in its place of origin and also spread worldwide by traveling musicians and later by recordings;
2. The *Guardia Nueva* (New Guard), from 1920 to 1935, in which *tango* made a qualitative leap due to its melodic, harmonic and interpretive development and in which different interpretive schools arose;
3. The Golden Age, from 1935 to 1955, in which a large number of high-level orchestras appeared and the popularity of *tango* dancing and of its performers, singers, instrumentalists and bandleaders was enormous. The most significant developments took place in the 1940s.
4. The *Nuevo Tango* (New Tango) period, from 1955 to 1985. This stage began with the avant-garde movement, but the decline of the traditional genre also took place. The common denominator of the genre in these years was a great struggle between the traditionalists and the avant-garde led in an almost univocal form by Astor Piazzolla, along with a general process of decay and diminished popularity that only began to change in the mid-1980s.
5. The rebirth of *tango*. From 1985 to the early twenty-first century there was a renaissance of activity and new *tango* styles and musicians emerged.

The Old Guard: Origins to 1920

It is very difficult to ascertain with accuracy the origin of *tango*. Various elements contributed to a process that took place during the latter years of the nineteenth century, leading eventually to the emergence of a genre that was given the name 'tango.' The single work in the musicological field that explores thoroughly all the precedents that converged into *tango* is the *Antología del Tango Rioplatense, Vol. 1* (ATR-1) (Novati 1980), carried out by the Instituto Nacional de Musicología 'Carlos Vega' of Argentina, which is followed in this article to explain the origins. This work treats both Montevideo and Buenos Aires as a single geographic area. No serious study can be carried out on *tango* without bearing in mind this research, either to follow it or to criticize it. The research centered on the analysis of a sample of 700 sheet music pieces and over 500 recordings (78 rpm faces), widely representative of the genre until 1920. The sheet music samples dated from almost 1890 to 1920, when *tango* was already established as a genre, so analysis was not able to display the process of its origin, but rather the traits that the new genre presented in its notated form.

There is no precise documentation of the nineteenth-century process that resulted in the development of *tango* in the Rio de la Plata area (in Buenos Aires and Montevideo). The diverse elements mentioned in ATR-1 concerning the origins of *tango* are: the music of Africa; the musical activity of black Argentinians; the *tango americano* and the *habanera*; the *tango español* or *tango andaluz*; the *milonga*; the folk and popular melodic themes and phrases of Argentina. There is some documentation to support theories regarding the influence of the *tango americano* and *habanera*, *milonga*, and folk and popular melodies and music of Argentina, while claims regarding the influence of Andalusian, African and black Argentinian music have proved more difficult to support with tangible evidence.

Given the lack of substantive evidence, there has been some debate regarding the possible influence of African-derived music on the origins of *tango*. Musicologists who analyzed *tango* music and dance around 1900, when *tango* was already popularized, did not find what they considered to be African traits (cf. ATR-1), and scholarly investigation has produced no documented evidence of African roots. Musicologists Carlos Vega (2007 [1966], 32) and Jorge Novati (1980, 2) are among those who do not consider the *tango* to be of African origin. Further, historical documentation in sources such as newspapers, traveler testimonies and police reports is limited to descriptions of the modification of European patterns such as, the transformations that the *contradanza* underwent in Cuba (Carpentier 1972, 142), which gave origin to what was alternately called *habanera*, *tango american*o or simply *tango* (Novati 1980, 2–5).

Because of the relatively low number of Afrodescendants in Argentina and the historical processes whereby black Argentinian culture has been marginalized, it may be argued that the absence of documentation of black influences is to be expected and does not necessarily mean there were no black influences. While the number of blacks in Argentina is much smaller than other regions of North and South America, there were times when the black population of the city of Buenos Aires reached 10 percent. In Montevideo, by comparison, by the early nineteenth century the black population was 50 percent. The slave trade began in Argentina in 1590, and 35,000 enslaved Africans were brought between 1590 and 1790 (Novati 1980, 2). However, by the first half of the nineteenth century black and Creole populations diminished, due to the decrease in slave traffic as well as the death of blacks serving in the army (Lobato and Suriano 2000, 93; 208). The first national census in 1869 did not report the ethnic composition of the population, which led to black invisibility and obliteration of black Argentinian culture in the hegemonic discourse (Cirio 2008). The cultural activities of Afro-Argentinians did not cease during this period, but they remained in home-based, private practices that currently are very difficult to recover.

Thus, the idea of the African and/or black Argentinian origin of *tango* is broadly supported in non-academic publications. One serious, but unconfirmed, theory regarding the possible influence of black music of Argentina on the origins of *tango* was that in Buenos Aires certain pieces named *candombe*, of African derivation, are similar melodically and rhythmically to *milonga* and early *tango* (Old Guard), and thus may be predecessors (Cirio 2007). Coriún Aharonián (2007, 68) affirms that the music of black slaves probably influenced *tango*'s origins, at least in Montevideo. In fact, Goldman (2008) studied documents of Afro-Uruguayan societies from the period between 1870 and 1890 in Uruguay and found documentation of the presence of Uruguayans of African descent in the environments where the *tango rioplatense* was later born, and he noted that music and dance that emerged in the 1870s shared traits with what decades later was consolidated as *tango rioplatense*. The thesis of African origin may also derive from the fact that the word *tango* (or *tambo*) was related from very early times to musical practices of blacks in the Americas. The term's use has been documented from Rio de la Plata to the Gulf of Mexico with a similar meaning: lodging, sale, party and meeting.

Regarding influence from Andalusia, Argentinian musicologist Carlos Vega developed a hypothesis that holds that a certain Andalusian *tango* gave birth to the Argentinian *tango*. The authors of ATR-1 consider this hypothesis poorly documented and invalid, although the ATR-1 authors accept many of Carlos Vega's other findings on *tango* (Kohan 2007). Much of Vega's work on *tango* was unpublished, though accessible in the files of the INM at the time, but has since been published (Aharonián 2007).

Pablo Kohan (2007) argues that Carlos Vega favored the idea of the Spanish origin of *tango* because he supported a pro-Hispanic trend (promoted by official sectors that sought to build Argentine national identity with strong links to European models) that was growing at the beginning of the twentieth century in Argentina as a reaction against massive immigration. Vega's theory, stressing the Spanish origins of Argentinian social dances and minimizing the influence of the music and dance of local populations, is located in the process of the establishment of the emblems of Argentine nationality that began after 1930 when *tango* had already reached its status as a cultural symbol of Argentina (Garramuño 2007).

The elements for which documented evidence has been clearly identified in the process of the creation of the genre are: (a) the *tango americano* or *habanera*; (b) the *milonga*; and (c) the motives and melodic popular airs of the Rio de la Plata area.

Tango americano or *habanera* originated in the *contradanza*, a music-and-dance genre of European origin that came to the Americas with French and Spanish settlers and had developed its own Cuban form by the turn of the eighteenth century. From the *contradanza* came the *habanera* (also called *tango*, but not yet the *tango* of the Rio de la Plata region), with African influences. The *habanera* returned as a novelty to Europe, where it took the name *tango americano*. This *tango americano* spread widely in Spain and the Americas beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century. In Europe, it bifurcated into two genres: the *habanera* (a ballroom dance by an embracing couple) and the *tango americano* (spread mainly in the theater), which had no specific choreography.

The *habanera* in its European ballroom dance form came from Europe to Rio de la Plata in the first half of the nineteenth century, in two variants: (a) a ballroom dance consecrated in Paris and (b) a version that spread among the popular classes in marginal dancing venues (mainly brothels). This latter version came by ship across the Atlantic, mainly from Cuba to Montevideo, Uruguay, brought by sailors and passengers. Its choreographic style was characterized by a 'broken' (*quebrado*), hip-shaking style of dancing and a close embrace. This *habanera*, which is considered to be one of the sources for the origin of *tango*, did not disappear with the emergence of the Rio de la Plata *tango*, but it did not survive for long.

The *milonga* already existed around 1880 as a musical entity in its own right both in Argentina and Uruguay. The word was also associated, in both Argentina and Uruguay, with danceable music or a place for dancing, and it was regarded as music of the *compadrito* or lower-class person (inhabitant of the urban outskirts). The *milonga* was a dance of the popular classes with no ballroom version. Several of its features were adopted by *tango*: the displacement of accents, the beginning of themes on upbeats, and the brief and descending melodies. Also, the *milonga*'s choreography was in the broken (*quebrado*) style. The *milonga* spread through the popular theater (*género chico*), by means of the *payadores* (vocalists who improvised a recitation or singing with guitar accompaniment) who used it as background for their lyric improvisations. At the circus it was the favorite genre to accompany satirical texts. Around 1890 it was already mentioned in dictionaries (Granada 1890, 282) as dance and as song. It was in vogue until toward the end of the nineteenth century and later it endured as a folk genre in the countryside.

Finally, traditional motives were commonly used, providing evidence of *tango*'s character as collective cultural asset. These elements include rhythmic designs, melodic movements, cadences and folk melodic airs. The denomination of *tango criollo* appeared but the difference between the latter and other *tangos* was purely nominal.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century *tango* was well developed as an emerging genre and presented the following musical aspects: the *habanera* rhythm in the accompaniment (dotted eighth note, sixteenth note and two eighth notes) and elements of 'broken' rhythm (rests, syncopation, displacements of accents and upbeat phrases). From the listener's perspective, these characteristic elements were typically employed as unexpected rhythmic devices. The characteristics of early *tango* can be appreciated in the compilation of recordings published in the ATR-1 that includes recordings from 1907 to 1920. Some interesting recordings also are kept in the Lehman Nietsche collection of the Berlin Museum (García 2006). Once established as a genre, *tango* developed following its own logic. Its distinctive choreography contributed greatly to its dissemination, both in Rio de la Plata and abroad. The history of *tango* as dance began in the early years of the twentieth century. By that time *tango* was already popular, described in Rio de la Plata newspapers as a fashionable piece in Carnival dances. The *habanera* still was present, but soon thereafter fell into oblivion. The seriousness of the dance (sometimes confused with sadness) became a well-known characteristic.

In addition to the Carnival balls, the dance was practiced beginning around 1890 at recreational societies with their own orchestras called *rondallas* (comprised of *bandurrias*, violin and guitar). In brothels, music was performed by the early great pianists/composers of *tango*, including Manuel Campoamor, Rosendo Mendizábal, Alfredo Bevilacqua and Enrique Saborido. *Tango* was also found in restaurants or summer resorts, where it was danced at night with small ensembles, in the dance halls (*academias*) where customers paid to dance and at rather sordid dancing venues in the Palermo district.

Beginning in 1901 there was a profusion of *tango* sheet music for piano published in Buenos Aires, coinciding with the import of pianos and mechanical playing machines (cylinders and discs). Between 1905 and 1910 *tango* was described as a common practice and the first criticisms of its social atmosphere appeared, characterizing it in newspapers and magazines as lewd and libertine, when commenting on the dance at Carnival. Other dances, including *habanera*, polka, mazurka and *cuadrilla*, disappeared. *Tango* choreography underwent a double change: it was simplified for the common people, and it became more difficult as a contest dance.

Tango groups began to include the *bandoneón*, a type of German concertina named after its creator, Heinrich Band. The *bandoneón* arrived in Argentina around the 1880s and was included in *tango*'s accompanying instrumental ensemble, the *orquesta típica*, between 1905 and 1907. In 1907 the first recordings of *tangos* were performed by military bands and *tango* singers (not exclusively devoted to the genre), generally singing simple lyrics of costumbristic, humorous or picaresque type. The first recorded orchestral *tangos* were performed by quartets with *bandoneón*, violin, flute and guitar, such as the Greco Orchestra that in 1910 made the first recording of an *orquesta tipica criolla*: the *tango* 'Rosendo.' The international companies that recorded *tango* in these years were Columbia and Victor. Local labels included Atlantic, Era and Phono D'Art, among others.

Tango's first international diaspora occurred between 1900 and 1914, resulting from *tango* dancer Casmiro Ain's demonstrations in Paris and London in 1903 and the subsequent arrival in 1907 of the first Argentine *tango* musicians to Paris to make recordings for the 'Argentine market (Villoldo and Gobbi). At the time, *tango* was viewed by Europeans asseductive because of its dance style, not its music. Dance academies were founded in Paris and the aristocratic circles of the city become enthusiastic promoters of the genre, although the dance was subjected to several modifications in order to make it more 'decent.' In 1910 *tango* entered the aristocratic Paris dance halls, brought by performing artists of *varieté* and music hall and by young Argentine elites. Beginning in 1912 *tango* was very popular, and between 1913 and 1914 there was a true 'tangomanía' in Paris. Soon dance teachers proliferated there. In Paris, musicians and publishers preferred to write their own *tangos*, and the first written codifications of *tango*'s dance appeared in Paris.

With the prestige of victory in Paris, *tango* began its journey through the great capitals and cities, including Rome, London, Tokyo and New York (Pelinski 2000; Savigliano 1995). World War I imposed a break, but in 1919 the *tango* fashion reappeared with renewed energy in Europe. Due to the Parisian success, after 1911 the practice of *tango* became widespread in Argentina, through sheet music, dance books, records and dancing teachers. The Buenos Aires elite felt compelled to learn it and to answer for its acceptance or rejection. New ensembles appeared, including those of Eduardo Arolas and Roberto Firpo, and the pianola entered the country.

Beginning in the early twentieth century, *tango*'s musical form was divided in 95 percent of cases into three sections of 16 bars comprised of four phrases each. The third section was also called *trio*. The different sections displayed neighboring tonalities, whereas the rate of harmonic change was quite slow and concentrated around the tonic, dominant and subdominant, with secondary dominants. At first only a few *tangos* were sung, because *tango* was mainly a dance. Therefore melodies were ample and not fit for singing, frequently structured with arpeggios. *Tango* is musically defined by the motive; the mere stating of a motive represents in advance the character of a *tango* piece. The motives include accents that contrast with metric convention, entrances on the upbeat and syncopation.

Around 1915 the choreographic panorama of *tango* was formed by three subspecies: the *tango criollo*, whose basic characteristics were improvisation and invention along with a variety of figures; the smooth (*liso*) *tango*, which altered the *tango criollo* by suppressing figures; and ballroom *tango*, the product of local systematizations with European influences.

Around 1920 quartets with *bandoneón*, guitar, flute and violin were modified. Piano replaced guitar, winds disappeared and the groups increased their number, sometimes to six members.

In the Old Guard period groups did not play written arrangements. Performance practice involved playing according to previous agreements between the musicians. Sections were repeated without variation as many times as necessary to fill the three-minute time allotted for recordings. During this stage there were no differentiated styles and more or less all ensembles played in the same way.

Toward the end of the period some gradual changes took place. The rigid 2/4 formula of dotted eighth note, sixteenth note, two eighth notes, began to alternate with the uniform beat of four eighth notes in 4/8 (that would be standardized in just a short time), although *tango* was still written in 2/4. On the other hand, some melodies narrowed their scope and new melodic designs appeared that set the conditions for the vocal *tango* (Kohan 2010).

The New Guard, 1920–35

During the New Guard period, *tango* matured as a form and distinct stylistic and interpretive schools emerged. By 1920 Orquesta Típica Select, led by bandoneonist Osvaldo Fresedo, inaugurated a more modern sound that announced a new style, exemplified in recordings such as 'Don Esteban' (Sir Steven) and 'El taura' (The Brave Man), which was already being developed by Eduardo Arolas (see, for example, the Arolas recording 'Moñito' [Little Bow]). Recordings from this period demonstrate a clear differentiation of roles between instruments and arrangements that allow the showcasing of each instrument type. The orchestra fronted by Fresedo, along with those led by pianists Juan Carlos Cobián and Carlos Vicente Geroni Flores, experimented with innovations from 1918 to 1924 (see, for example, Fresedo's recording 'Los dopados' [The Doped Ones], Cobián's 'Shusheta' [Playboy] and Flores' 'La pecadora' [The Sinner]). Finally in 1923 Julio De Caro formed a sextet that would define the *tango* canon of the New Guard, contributing the major orchestral innovation during the New Guard era. De Caro's style became the basis for the mainstream of progressive *tango*. De Caro arrangements include instrumental solos, sections in which only the *bandoneón* or piano play and counterpoint between the violins and *bandoneóns*. The *bandoneóns* lead entire sections with the accompaniment of other instruments. The melody is played with an intense rubato. Examples of these features may be heard on De Caro's recordings of 'Todo corazón' (All Heart) and 'Amurado' (Forsaken).

New orchestral styles arose, with a basic division between the 'traditional' Old Guard style and 'progressive' new groups, mainly those conducted by Julio De Caro and Osvaldo Fresedo. The progressive groups incorporated a new and rich instrumental output and had the explicit goal of raising *tango* to a superior musical level while retaining its popular essence and danceable features. The traditional style, mainly represented by Francisco Canaro and Roberto Firpo, remained tied to the older approach to orchestral performance, including straight, rigid demarcation of four beats and clear exposition of melodic lines in perfectly danceable versions.

Both traditional and progressive *tango* compositions were still in two or three sections of 16 bars in ABACA or ABCBA forms and all their possible variants but soon the third section disappeared, and the new *tangos* composed in the 1920s comprised only two sections. For variety, composers used different instrumental combinations, different bridges between sections, and variants in the accompaniment rhythm. In general traditionalists created one instrumental scheme for a section that was repeated each time the section returned. On the other hand, progressivists tended to employ a greater variety of resources.

Typical compositional characteristics of the New Guard era may be heard in the recordings of works by its major orchestras. De Caro, who set the tone for the era, recorded 420 sides of 78-rpm discs from 1924 to 1953. All of them have continued to be available but only a few were reissued by the labels that recorded them (RCA Victor, Brunswick, Odeon, Pathe). For instance, Euro Records have reissued several recordings from the Victor series. These recordings demonstrate how the group never repeated a section with the same instruments, used numerous bridges between sections, added secondary melodies and frequently employed instrumental solos and dynamic variation. The orchestration almost as a rule was varied every two bars. This atomization in the orchestral writing was rich and complex but simultaneously logical, systematically incorporating a series of resources typical of *tango*: '*fraseos*' (articulated phrasing) of the violins and *bandoneóns* (melodic segments in a strongly rubato style), '*lloros*' of *bandoneóns* (prolonged clashes of minor seconds), and anticipations and suspensions at phrase endings.

Roberto Firpo recorded about 2,700 sides of 78-rpm discs between 1912 and 1941 for the Odeon label. Not all of those recordings have continued to be available; only about 50 percent are preserved in the hands of collectors. Firpo's *tango*s (such as Tata viejo' [Old Grandpa] and 'Cuando llora la milonga' [When the *Milonga* Cries]) typically displayed slow tempos, with few simple bridges, violins in legato, little use of secondary melodies and the piano in a leading function. The style of Francisco Canaro was still more conservative with four eighth notes to the bar and strict adherence to the published piano sheet music. The use of instruments across sections is repetitive, which may be heard in recordings including 'Cuesta arriba' (Uphill) and 'Yo no se qué me han hecho tus ojos' (I Don't Know What Your Eyes Have Done to Me). Canaro recorded 3,700 tracks from 1915 to 1969, a large number of which are still preserved. Neither Canaro nor Firpo has been favored with systematic reissues, and as a general rule only 'greatest hits' and pieces so labeled have been made commercially available. By comparison, bandoneonist and bandleader Osvaldo Fresedo's *tango*s display a polished orchestral sound, highlighting the violins with few instrumental solos and brief secondary countermelodies and bridges. Generally, he obtained variation with dynamic resources. Fresedo recorded 1,150 sides of 78-rpm discs between 1917 and 1957, and 100 tracks in 33 rpm from 1958 to 1980. The last recordings have been made available, but the huge volume of production from the period between 1917 and 1928 (more than 700 sides) has been reissued more slowly.

Composers Juan Carlos Cobián and Enrique Delfino began to produce new *tangos* with more singable melodic lines that some specialists describe as t*ango romanza*. A new type of lyric for *tango* as a song was established, with a plot or story line. The first and model example of this new *tango* style is 'Mi noche triste' (My Sad Night, lyrics by Pascual Contursi and music by Samuel Castriota).

At the same time the figure of the *tango* singer arose as a star in the singing world. *Tango* with vocals had two streams. The orchestras used an *estribillista* (refrain singer, crooner), who sang only one section of the lyrics, generally in the central section of the piece. On the other hand, there were specialized *tango* singers such as Carlos Gardel or Ignacio Corsini, who sang *tangos* with orchestra or guitar accompaniment. There were other well-known singers including Charlo or Marambio Catán, but they did not reach the popularity or number of recordings of Gardel or Corsini. During this stage, between 1920 and 1935 alone, the two singers recorded an approximate total of 1,400 songs. All of these records have continued to be available, but only Gardel has been awarded systematically chronological reissues. It was also a period of great female singers who doubled as movie idols, including Rosita Quiroga, Azucena Maizani, Ada Falcón and Mercedes Simone.

The New Guard incorporated larger orchestras with more skilled musicians, and the continued activity provided stability while at the same time avoiding routine and repetition. Repertoires were enlarged and all the orchestras made a great number of recordings.

The *orquesta típica* developed a standard ensemble of two *bandoneóns*, two violins, piano and double bass. The orchestration was not performed strictly from written notation. While musicians used a piano score, they added countermelodies, and *bandoneóns* employed special features such as rubati and anticipations. It was not until about 1932 that professional arrangers such as Julio Rosemberg, Julio Perceval and Gutiérrez del Barrio wrote charts for the renowned orchestras.

In the New Guard *tango* was no longer a phenomenon of the urban outskirts and was accepted both by popular and aristocratic classes. It was possible to hear it in bars, cabarets, cinemas, theaters and ballrooms. It spread through piano sheet music copies, magazines including lyrics, recordings and radio. In this professionalized stage, managers became necessary and author copyrights were established. *Tango*'s peak in popularity was evidenced by the great number of concerts and venues for listening and dancing. From 1926 to 1928 *tango* orchestras made 800 annual recordings, a number never again attained, and in the period 1920–1935 a total of 8,000 recordings were made (of which approximately 20 percent were made by the progressive orchestras).

In 1929 the economic crisis deeply affected the popular masses that supported *tango* and suddenly the *tango* vogue disappeared. The recorded output fell dramatically to a level of approximately 150 annual recordings in 1933. The people withdrew from *tango*; they no longer danced it. In fact, the first written history of *tango*, published in 1936, regarded *tango* as something that was coming to an end (Bates 1936). Only the most important orchestras survived. Many musicians organized small groups in the Old Guard style, launching a 'revival' that led the public to regard *tango* as something historical that was no longer in vogue.

The Golden Age, 1935–55

Beginning in the mid-1930s, and as the world economic crisis was abating and industrial growth was taking place, *tango* returned to the dancing venues (clubs and carnival dance halls) with a renewed energy. New cabarets opened, and *tango* entered what would later be seen as a Golden Age, in which it was established as an easily danceable style. Orchestras grew to an average of 12 musicians, arrangements were very carefully disposed and the work of professional arrangers was considered very important. Singers also grew in importance and sometimes became more famous than the orchestras. Orchestral styles were derived from those in the New Guard. Most important, dancing and hearing *tango* was now a widespread cultural phenomenon.

Dancers were strongly attracted by a new style with faster tempi and straight demarcation of the beat, provided by Juan D'Arenzio's orchestra, based at the Chanteclair cabaret. New audiences frequenting cabarets were formed by the emerging bourgeoisie, a result of industrialization. At its peak in the 1940s this *tango* boom provided work for all the musicians of the last decades as well as a new generation. Under the presidency of Juan Domingo Perón, beginning in 1946, mass culture became industrialized: a national cinema, the radio and the recording industry, all of which has begun in the previous decades, grew significantly in size and were closely linked to *tango*. *Tango*'s apex of success and popularity in the 1940s is parallel to the peak of Peronism, although there is no direct relationship between the two. By that time *tango* was consumed massively by the middle and lower classes.

During this renaissance the traditional sextets gave rise to an enlarged instrumental formation, still named '*orquestas típicas*': four *bandoneóns,* four violins, sometimes viola and violoncello, piano and double bass. As Decarean sextets languished around 1935, violinist Juan D'Arienzo, who had led a sextet in 1928, began to develop a new style ideal for dancing (within the traditional trend): simple phrasing and instrumentation and a marked rhythm, four beats to the bar. The simplicity of this style was deplored by admirers of the baroque style of the progressive outfits, but the 1940s would not have been the same for *tango* without the presence of D'Arienzo's orchestra and others that adopted his style, including Rodolfo Biagi, Alfredo De Angelis and Héctor Varela. Between 1935 and 1975 D'Arienzomade approximately 1,000 recordings for Victor, almost all of which have been reissued.

D'Arienzo's orchestra contributed to the formation of a new *tango* public. Later the orchestras derived from the progressive schools benefitted from this new audience. At the start of the 1940s there were several progressive orchestras: Alfredo Gobbi, Osvaldo Pugliese and Aníbal Troilo were formed based on Decarean aesthetics, along with the orchestras of Pedro Laurenz and Lucio Demare that were already playing with the same style (their recordings have been reissued).

In the progressive field the emblematic figure of the 1940s was Aníbal Troilo, bandoneonist, bandleader and composer. Troilo was the incarnation of bohemia in *tango*; he was a composer of very well-known *tangos* and he was also a *bandoneón* player and leader of his own *orquesta típica*. The singers of his orchestra were exemplary; passing through the ranks of the Troilo Orchestra assured a singer of the success needed to later begin an independent career. Troilo successively employed vocalists including Francisco Fiorentino, Alberto Marino, Floreal Ruiz and Edmundo Rivero. Troilo's orchestra is perhaps considered the most important of this era, due to the choice of repertoire for both instrumentalists and vocalists, Troilo's own compositions and his delicate *bandoneón* solos. This orchestra pioneered a style that became deeply rooted in *tango*, contrasting the less complex presentation of D'Arienzo and the other traditionalists.

Thus Troilo became the mainstream of progressive *tango*, softening the Decarean style but without losing its essence. As a *bandoneón* player, he cultivated a distinctive style that combined profundity and intimacy, sensuality and drama, without superficial virtuosity and impregnated with sincere emotion. As a composer he wrote classic pieces, especially those written in collaboration with the poets Homero Manzi and Cátulo Castillo. The music and evocative poetry combine to describe landscapes and people of Buenos Aires, as demonstrated in recordings including 'Garúa' (Fog), 'La última curda' (The Last Drunkenness), 'Che bandoneón' (Hey Bandoneon) and 'Sur' (South). Between 1938 and 1970 he recorded over 400 songs for RCA, TK and Odeon, and his discography has been completely reissued on CD (in chronological editions).

Pugliese, like Troilo, can be regarded as one of the most outstanding figures in the history of *tango*. He organized his first orchestra in 1936 but disbanded it shortly afterward. A new attempt in 1939 was successful and his orchestra continued working for 50 years. During the 1940s it was one of the most active and popular, and it toured throughout the world beginning in 1959. With his Decarean orchestra, Pugliese shared with Troilo the vanguard of the new progressive style of the 1940s. His orchestra displays a strong pulse, an extensive use of rubato and *divisi* of the violins and *bandoneóns* in rich counterpoint, with arrangements usually conceived by him. He was not a prolific composer; and he devoted himself mainly to instrumental *tango*. One of his first *tangos* was 'Recuerdo' (Memory) (1923) which became a classic. Afterward he forged a new compositional modality with *tangos* such as 'Negracha' (Black Woman), 'La Yumba' (an onomatopoeic term that describes a particular way to accentuate the beat) and 'Malandraca' (Little Rascal) developed from brief, reiterated and varied themes. Pugliese recorded more than 400 songs for Odeon, Stentor and Philips between 1943 and the early 1980s, and has been accorded systematic reissues of nearly his entire *oeuvre*.

Alfredo Gobbi's orchestra style is Decarean but combined with the Di Sarli style, which was an early influence for Gobbi, especially in its rhythmic aspect. After several attempts, Gobbi launched his own orchestra in 1942 and began to record in 1947 for Victor, ultimately producing around 80 recordings (all of them reissued) within which there are 16 orchestral renditions that are widely considered to be among the best *tango* recordings of the 1940s. 'Camandulaje' (Scoundrels) and 'El Andariego' (The Drifter) are his most memorable compositions. He led the orchestra from the violin stand, and his solos displayed a great mastery and perfect command of the effects created by Julio De Caro.

The activity of the genre in the 1940s was very intense. In addition to Troilo, Pugliese, Gobbi and the Decarean orchestras (and also De Caro, who continued with his orchestra until the mid-1950s) and D'Arienzo and other traditional orchestras, the field was marked by the continuation of the progressive line led by Fresedo (and its derivatives, such as Di Sarli) and the continuing traditionalist orchestras of the Old Guard, such as those of Canaro and Firpo.

Fresedo's orchestra polished its use of nuances, and when he included the arrangements written by Héctor Artola and Argentino Galván he obtained a very interesting orchestral result (see, for example, versions such as 'Te llama mi violín' [My Violin Calls You] and 'Mariposa' [Butterfly]) based on the timbre of a large ensemble of strings and *bandoneóns*, and a very prominent use of the piano in rhythms, leading melodies, counterpoints and bridges. Fresedo further polished his melodic and sumptuous orchestrations with the unusual use of harp, drums and vibes to produce special timbral effects. Followers of his school were Carlos Di Sarli and Miguel Caló among others. In the 1940s the most acclaimed vocalists working with his orchestra were Ricardo Ruiz and Oscar Serpa.

Derived from Fresedo's style, the orchestra fronted by pianist Carlos Di Sarli was highly regarded by dancers because of its beat, which favored medium and slow tempos. Di Sarli's orchestra also highlighted the strings and the piano rhythms. The orchestra's notable singers included Roberto Rufino, Jorge Durán, Alberto Podestá and Oscar Serpa. Di Sarli was not a prolific composer. His most memorable compositions are 'Milonguero Viejo (Fresedo)' (Old Milonguero) and 'Bahía Blanca' (White Bay). In the orchestra his piano had a strong presence and he favored the strings over the *bandoneóns*. Between 1928 and 1958 he recorded 382 sides of 78-rpm discs for Victor, TK and Philips. Those recorded for Philips (the last ones he made) comprise a good compendium of his style. His discography has not been systematically reissued.

A magnificent synthesis of influences of Troilo and Di Sarli is evidenced in the music of the Francini-Pontier orchestra co-led by violinist Enrique Mario Francini and bandoneonist Armando Pontier. It began its appearances in 1945 and performed until 1955 when the leaders split off to lead their own orchestras. Argentino Galván and, sometimes, Astor Piazzolla were responsible for the arrangements. They recorded approximately 130 tracks on 78-rpm discs, most of which have subsequently been reissued. 'Tigre viejo' (Old Tiger) is a good example of their recorded works.

Horacio Salgán began with his orchestra in 1944 and elaborated an unprecedented new language within the Decarean conception. That orchestra folded without making any recordings, and he founded a more successful one in 1950. The piano performed both as soloist and as rhythmical/harmonic support, with syncopation and counterpoint between orchestral units in an essentially *tango*-based style. Salgán's recordings were released in a chronologically disjunct fashion and they alternated orchestra, duo and quintet renderings. Many of them have been confusingly reissued. The fact that he recorded every number more than once with the same arrangement contributes to the confusing nature of his whole recording *oeuvre* (taking into account all his groups, at least 250 recordings). He is also important as a composer; his *tango* 'A fuego lento' (At Slow Fire) is a good example of his style.

During the 1940s the *orquestas típicas* included only male singers. However, several female singers acted as independent figures. For example, the legendary singer Mercedes Simone, who began in 1925, continued evolving as a soloist. Other singers with great popular acclaim were Libertad Lamarque, Carmen Duval and María de la Fuente, among a large number of outstanding figures in vogue in the decade.

Lyricists of the 1940s made advances in *tango*'s poetic complexity and lyrical content. Homero Manzi depicted suburban landscapes with simple language but with metaphors of high flight. Some of his masterpieces are 'Sur' (South), 'Milonga triste' (Sad *Milonga*), 'Tal vez será mi alcohol' (Perhaps It Will Be My Alcohol) and 'Barrio de tango' (Neighbourhood of *Tango*). Enrique Santos Discépolo brought *tango* to a new reflective dimension and bitingly criticized contemporary society, demonstrating skepticism and hopelessness in his lyrics of deep dramatic quality ('Cambalache' [The Junk Shop], 'Uno' [One], 'Cafetín de Buenos Aires' [Little Buenos Aires Café] and 'Canción desesperada' [Desperate Song]). Cátulo Castillo belonged to the so-called Boedo School that valorized the past. Among the most important pieces of his *oeuvre* are 'Luna llena' (Full Moon), 'Café de los angelitos' (Café of the Little Angels), 'Tinta roja' (Red Ink) 'Patio mío' (My Patio), 'María,' 'La última curda' and 'A Homero' (To Homero). Homero Expósito was influenced by the opposing influences of the evocative romanticism of Manzi and the sarcastic dramatic quality of Discépolo. A nonconformist innovator, he scattered his *tangos* with literary figures, as exemplified by 'Naranjo en flor' (Orange in Flower), 'Absurdo' (Absurd) and 'Afiches' (Posters).

Another fundamental figure, Enrique Cadícamo, began writing *tango* lyrics in the 1920s and was influenced by Celedonio Flores and later by the school of Boedo. He demonstrated mastery in his descriptions and in both tragic and comic subject matters, as well as in ironic or evocative depiction. Examples of his work include 'Pompas de jabón' (Soap Bubbles) 'Muñeca brava' (Dazzling Babe), 'Che papusa oí' (Hey Babe Listen) and 'Anclao en París' (Stuck in Paris). After 1930 he wrote *tangos* such as 'Nostalgias,' 'La casita de mis viejos' (The Little House of My Elders), 'Santa Milonguita' and 'Nieblas del Riachuelo' (Clouds of Riachuelo). Other important lyricists of the time were Horacio Sanguinetti, Jose María Contursi and Francisco García Jiménez.

From around 1950 the opposition of the middle and upper classes to the Perón regime became more noticeable. The middle class moved away from *tango* because it was something 'national' and all that was national was associated with 'the people' and Peronism (Matamoro, 215). The working class followed *tango* faithfully, but the 1950s marked the decline of the great figures of the genre. After 1955, when President Perón was overthrown, *tango*'s fall was accelerated with the import of mass culture products, including musical ones, made in the United States.

The *Nuevo Tango* Period, 1955–85

Around 1955 a turning point in the history of *tango* took place. President Peron's fall caused deep changes in the cultural policy. The borders were open to industrialized cultural products mainly from the United States. The effect on *tango* was not immediate, but shortly afterward *tango* was no longer the most popular music in Argentina.

The amount of activity carried out in connection with *tango* had become formidable and it was not interrupted all at once. In the late 1950s and early 1960s *tango* still enjoyed some of the popularity it had experienced in the previous decade. However, a new phase began in the 1960s which was to last until the mid-1980s, characterized by the abandonment of dancing and a transformation of *tango* music for listening with more intellectualized content, pigeonholed as a marginal manifestation of popular culture. From the mid-1980s on a gradual renaissance took place that in turn led to a sort of peak in the twenty-first century, but *tango* never recovered its massive popularity.

Three essential streams coexisted in *tango* in the late 1950s: the surviving *orquestas típicas*, chamber groups (duets, trios, quartets, etc.) and the vanguard outfits (such as the one led by Astor Piazzolla). The main protagonists were still the *orquestas típicas* and the greatest singers. *Tango* continued to be dances assiduously, even though the influence of new foreign dances was felt concurrently. The scene was dominated by the great orchestras of the 1940s: Troilo, those of Pugliese, Gobbi and Salgán. Other orchestras that were less renowned but very accomplished included those of Enrique Francini, Alberto Mancione, Stampone-Federico, Eduardo del Piano and Joaquín Do Reyes. More traditional orchestras, such as those of D'Arienzo or De Angelis, also maintained a presence. By the end of the decade, the singers with the greatest public appeal were Edmundo Rivero, Floreal Ruiz, Alberto Marino and a great number of other singers performed with orchestras or guitar accompaniment.

In 1953 the quartet fronted by Troilo with guitarist Roberto Grela garnered unexpected acclaim. This group was the precedent for a great number of trios and quartets that would be formed in the 1960s because of the increasing difficulty of paying for orchestras. This difficulty was not due to the economic context, which by these years was fairly good, but because the *tango* public was not large enough to support a full orchestra of 12 musicians through ticket sales alone.

The participation of Astor Piazzolla outside of the mainstream in the late 1950s is important. He abandoned the typical orchestra lineup and established the ensemble that combined solo *bandoneón* with string orchestra. He evolved as composer and arranger, studied with Nadia Boulanger in France, and thereafter was temporarily based in the United States. Piazzolla's influence is demonstrated by the role of the *bandoneón* as a soloist in the orchestra and by the division of the compositions in two-part form: an A-section that emphasizes rhythmic aspects and broken melodic lines, with frequent use of ostinatos and contrapuntal resources and a B-section with a moderate tempo and singable lines. This form precluded the possibility of regarding *tango* as a danceable piece. Among Piazzolla's prolific works, this form may clearly be heard in 'Adios Nonino' (Goodbye Nonino). Piazzolla was at the core of the *nuevo tango* and continued using Decarean resources throughout his career, adding academic musical procedures without straying from *tango*'s essence. He used new timbre combinations as well as unconventional effects and sounds (in some groups he included percussion), electronic instruments and experiments with an electronically amplified *bandoneón*. Piazzolla's discography comprises 985 entries (Saito 1988). Nearly all the recordings have been made available on CD, but chronologically haphazard reissuing makes it difficult to follow their progression without a guide.

Between 1955 and 1958 in Buenos Aries Piazzolla created the Octeto Buenos Aires, which elicited a negative reaction from traditional *tango* followers, because it was very modern in style, but which, for the younger *tango* musicians and an audience of connoisseurs, was the manifestation of a radical departure from traditional *tango*. In some way, the vanguard of the 1960s and new *tango*, as it would later be understood, began with the recordings of the Octeto Buenos Aires. The music of the Octeto was absolutely revolutionary. Contrapuntal textures, aggressive harmony, melodic freedom in arrangements based on traditional *tangos* and the modification of the harmonic basis shifted the traditional *tango* in an unprecedented way.

In the early 1960s the name '*nuevo tango*' (new *tango*) came into use to distinguish the production of Astor Piazzolla. In a 1961 radio interview Piazzolla stressed that he was developing a music that he denominated *nuevo tango* and announced the imminent creation of a national movement, of which later there were no specific hints. But the name *nuevo tango* remained in use to designate the music of Piazzolla and its followers.

In the 1960s the first landmark of importance for the avant-garde movement was the formation of Piazzolla's quintet. With this group, whose structure was absolutely new, Piazzolla established a model for eventual followers of his aesthetics that could not be absorbed when he introduced the more radical and aggressive Octeto Buenos Aires. The music composed by Astor Piazzolla for this quintet already contained the advanced style that would characterize him throughout his career, without substantial changes. The quintet was his favorite lineup with which he worked most. Piazzolla had demonstrated with his octet that he was able to play a different *tango*, totally instrumental, abandoning singable versions and danceable music. Now he continued that trajectory, and in so doing he consolidated the *nuevo tango*, as he called it, beyond the traditional and progressive trends. Drawing on Decarean roots, Piazzolla inaugurated a vanguard that lasted until the 1990s with successive stylistic changes.

Thus at the beginning of the 1960s three main types of *tango* groups were established: the typical orchestras, the small groups and the vanguard combos. As *tango* activity declined, the traditional stream, catering almost exclusively to dancers, suffered the most. With the death of the bandleaders who had kept it going, such as Canaro and D'Arienzo, it became more and more relegated to the sidelines and its exponents were practically reduced to only two orchestras that went on playing for many years, the one led by De Angelis and the one headed by Varela, with an increasingly diminished following in only marginal places.

Astor Piazzolla not only led the avant-garde stream but also had a profound influence on the musicians who continued working with and developing *tango*. However, for musicians and consumers of traditional *tango*, Piazzolla's work contained elements of heresy, which resulted in an ongoing controversy about its authenticity. During the 1960s the main orchestras still continued developing their activity, somewhat distancing themselves from Piazzolla's influence, without doing so entirely (a great number of his compositions were recorded by Troilo, Basso, Fresedo and Francini-Pontier). Other important orchestras were disbanded soon after the beginning of this stage (those of Gobbi, for example) and still others had a very short life, in spite of their importance and recordings (Francini-Pontier, Joaqquín Do Reyes). These orchestras emphasized the orchestral virtues fitting the Decarean or Fresedean stylistic streams while still making danceable versions.

Argentina had been rich in raw materials in the 1940s. Its prosperity began to decline when Europe began its reconstruction after World War II. The massive broadcasting of fashionable foreign music, mainly North American, and the gradual impoverishment of the country's economy resulted in the identification of this failure with everything connected to national identity. *Tango*, the music of Buenos Aires, could not avoid guilt by implication. To listen to or to dance to *tango* music was considered shameful and old-fashioned by 1965. Recording companies canceled the contracts of many *tango* orchestras. After 1955 the Buenos Aires middle class disowned *tango* and warmly accepted the music of the Argentine interior, folk music and foreign music.

Derived mainly from the Troilo style, *tango* orchestras that did not promote dancing began to appear influenced in some aspects by Piazzollian aesthetics. These orchestras adapted to the disappearance of the *tango*-dancing public and learned instead to play an attractive repertoire for cafe-concert audiences. In their arrangements, the orchestras now alternated danceable sections with others of a greater rhythmic flexibility, and they used slow tempos with space to showcase the instrumental solos. These orchestras were not long-lived, but they appeared in popular venues and they recorded often. The orchestras led by Baffa-Berlingieri and Piro were derived from the Troilean style. The one led by Leopoldo Federico (also Troilean but with Di Sarli's and Salgán's influences) stood out because of its rhythmic drive. The one fronted by Berlingieri spotlighted the piano and took some elements such as phrasing and harmonies from jazz.

Some *tango* singers remained popular, but their songbooks were based almost exclusively on the *tango* of the 1940s, since not many pieces attained the level of popularity reached in that decade. Edmundo Rivero, Roberto Rufino, Alberto Podestá, Julio Sosa and, especially, Roberto Goyeneche, were some of the stand-out singers, along with the younger voices of Raul Lavié and Rubén Juárez. These new interpreters sang well-known classic numbers but also needed new songwriters able to capture the reality of their time. In the 1960s *tangos* were written by Héctor Negro, Osvaldo Avena and Juan Carlos Lamadrid.

In the 1970s Eladia Blázquez began her prolific *tango* output, and Horacio Ferrer with Piazzolla released an original series of songs, *tangos* and ballads. Finally in the 1980s Juanca Tavera with Osvaldo Tarantino and Ferrer with Garello were considered the most outstanding composers in this genre.

The typical *tango* orchestras were practically extinguished by the 1970s. Only the one led by Pugliese, which made frequent tours abroad, and those headed by Leopoldo Federico and Atilio Stampone regularly appeared at the tourist nightclubs. *Tango* orchestras (*orquestas tipicas*) were hard to maintain and did not reach a wide following. The Orquesta del Tango de Buenos Aires (initially conducted by Carlos García and Raúl Garello) and the Juan de Dios Filiberto Orchestra were funded by the Municipality of Buenos Aires. The main record labels reissued the hits of the 1940s, and the criteria were almost always commercial since many remarkable recordings were never published in LP. The radio broadcasters, in general, followed these criteria.

The *tango* mainstream moved toward small ensembles (sextets, quintets, quartets and trios). In this type of group the *bandoneón* is never absent (except for rare exceptions such as the 1966 Osvaldo Manzi trio with piano, electric guitar and double bass). Also present are violins, piano and double bass, and frequently electric guitar. This same quintet framework was adopted by Salgán in 1960 with the Quinteto Real, when he expanded the piano-electric guitar duo he had shared with De Lio. First they added a violin (Enrique Mario Francini) and a double bass (Rafael Ferro) and finally Pedro Laurenz joined them on *bandoneón*.

As for the trios, *bandoneón*, piano and double bass are quite frequent (examples include Trío Contemporáneo, founded in 1968, Federico-Berlingieri-Cabarco, founded in 1971, Vanguatrío, founded in 1971 and Mosalini-Beytelman-Caratini, founded in 1983). There is also *bandoneón*, guitar and bass (e.g., Eduardo Rovira's trio, founded in 1966); guitar trios (such as the Palermo Trio, founded in 1967) or the combination of *bandoneón,* guitar and piano (e.g., Los Tres de Buenos Aires, founded in 1962).

There were quartets of diverse combinations: *bandoneón*; violin, cello or guitar; piano or guitar; and double bass: Cuarteto Reynaldo Nichele (established in 1961), Eduardo Rovira (est. 1975), Osvaldo Requena (est. 1979), Cuarteto Colángelo (est. 1971) and Cuarteto Orlando Trípodi (est. 1974). In this relocation of *tango* in chamber versions, the Decarean stream adopted a lineup very close to the typical orchestra: a sextet with two *bandoneóns*, two violins, piano and double bass.

With regard to the sextets, one of the finest was the Sexteto Tango that branched off from the Pugliese Orchestra in 1968. Its style was quite similar to Pugliese's, and all of its members were arrangers and composers. The Sexteto Mayor began to appear in 1973, also within the progressive style.

Beginning in 1960 various groups with a similar lineup and a similar aesthetic view about the treatment of *tango* appeared under the influence of Astor Piazzolla Nuevo Tango: the groups led by Eduardo Rovira, Rodolfo Mederos, Dino Saluzzi, Hugo Baralis, Néstor Marconi, Juan Carlos Cirigliano and Raúl Cosentino. Few of these contributed something new to the genre, despite the fact that their recordings had great musicality and interpretive quality. Two leaders/composers, however, deserve to be highlighted: Rovira and Mederos.

Eduardo Rovira, renowned as a remarkable musician, was influenced by Piazzolla but also followed his personal style, with a greater inclination toward academic language and forms. For that reason some of his compositions were perceived as lacking the strength and persuasion considered inherent in *tango*. His ensembles included: his *tango* orchestra (1950s); Octeto de la Plata (founded 1957); Agrupación de Tango Moderno (founded 1960); his trio (founded 1965) and a quartet (founded 1974).

Rodolfo Mederos, also considered an outstanding musician, was much more influenced by Piazzolla's musical personality but always strived to demonstrate his different approach, alternately including and discarding influences from other musical sources, especially rock. Among his most important works is 'Las veredas de Saturno' (The Paths of Saturn), based on Eduardo Arolas's *oeuvre*; his rendition of Gardel's *tangos* for *bandoneón* and string orchestra (1990) and his quintet (1992).

Another important bandleader and composer of the 1960s and 1970s was Atilio Stampone. He began as a pianist in Piazzolla's *tango* orchestra of the 1940s and the octet in 1955. He later formed an important orchestra that he co-led with Leopoldo Federico and whose main arranger was Argentino Galván. In 1961 he fronted a new orchestra with outstanding instrumentalists in which the influences of Horacio Salgán, Anibal Troilo and Piazzolla were combined. In the 1970s Stampone attempted to modify his style by adopting academic forms and techniques from different schools and times (Impressionism, Baroque) along with phrasings, chords and rhythms from jazz in order to mix them with the language of traditional *tango*. But the general result was hybrid and heterogeneous, because all these elements were not well integrated into the *tango* language.

The Rebirth of *Tango*: From 1985 to the Twenty-First Century

In the 1980s there were still some venues for dancing, but they were considered marginal. Danceable *tango* was presented as a show, with professional dancers and more or less elaborated choreographies. *Tango* also was used by many choreographers of contemporary ballets. Due to the international acclaim of the 'Tango Argentino' show, a musical play featuring *tango* music and dance staged by Claudio Segovia and Hector Orezzolli which was performed to great acclaim in Paris (1983), on Broadway (1985–86) and around the world, interest in the theatrical version of *tango* revived worldwide and new dance halls opened in Buenos Aires. However, this new fan-base for *tango* did not include the popular classes, and the dance halls were patronized by the cultured middle class.

Between the 1960s and 1990s the number of musicians devoted to the genre decreased. Performers, old or young, seemed unable to attract a new public. In the 1980s there was deep concern about the lack of new *bandoneón* players to learn *tango*'s special features, performance nuances and other secrets from the apparent last generation of instrumentalists. *Tango* may be performed without a *bandoneón*, but the genre with the total absence of *bandoneóns* is not considered possible. While the threat of a *tango* without *bandoneón* players did not come to fruition, a generational breach of about 20 years does exist.

Meanwhile the Piazzolla-influenced vanguard trend continued with a small output never surpassing its model or establishing a style that moved away from the original. During the years in which *tango* was nearly hibernating, only a few institutions and individuals preserved tradition. Very important is the work of the Escuela de Música Popular de Avellaneda where Rodolfo Mederos teaches, along with the bandoneonists Daniel Binelli, Nestor Marconi and Julio Pane.

Partly due to the success of 'Tango Argentino's intensification of worldwide interest in *tango* and its reopening of the international market for *tango* musicians, and partly because a new generation of musicians gradually began to be attracted by a language that was being lost but which they considered to be their own, a renaissance finally arrived by the mid-1990s. Little by little, new performers and composers with new ideas arose, who, in general, did not subscribe to Piazzolla's aesthetics. New singers also emerged. The new interpreters tended to avoid the solution brought by the Piazzollean vanguard and focused on traditional *tango* songbooks or on the *tango* styles that prevailed between the 1930s and the 1950s. They aspired to follow the classic *tango* model and eschewed changes of the general sound.

In the early twenty-first century there are several schools: one continues the Piazzollean line with groups including the quintet La Camorra, and those led by Marcelo Nisinman and Sonia Posetti. Another trend within modern *tango* accepts certain Piazzollean premises but is closer to the type of harmonic and formal elaboration of the quartets and quintets of the 1970s. A third stream, very interesting and promising, is derived from the Pugliese style but pushed to an extreme and radicalized in its rougher aspects. In this stream there are groups such as the Orquesta Típica Fernández Fierro and Astillero sextet. Onstage, their attitude and appearance is influenced more by rock than by traditional *tango*, appealing to *tango* fans as well as a rock audience. There are also some eclectic groups, such as Quasimodo Trio, that combine free composition with strongly *tango*-based traits.

Finally, it is important to mention the international migrations of *tango*, which have been important because they have contributed to the resurgence of *tango* in its place of origin. The first time that *tango* relocated was before World War I, as previously stated, giving birth to a dance hall *tango* (either European or North American) that throughout time has followed a path almost independent of the Argentine *tango*. In the 1970s a great number of musicians began to be exiled (for economic or political reasons) and, with them, *tango* relocated to European cities such as Paris, Amsterdam, Berlin, and also to Tokyo, New York and Montreal. The *tango* resulting from these musicians' relocation includes copies of sub-styles; new versions of the classic *tango*; and its stylistic fusion, generally combining jazz, erudite music and *tango* (Pelinski 2000).

With regard to discography, approximately 24,000 *tango* tracks were recorded between 1907 and 2010. Some editions are hard to find, even in Argentina. Others have a wider distribution, such as Piazzolla's recordings. With some previously cited exceptions, major recording labels have not been systematic about the global reissuing of the material. Some semicommercial labels, including those run by Akihito Baba and Yoshihira Oiwa (Japan), *El Bandoneon* label, located in Barcelona, Spain, and *Euro Records*, a label established in Buenos Aires, are filling the gaps in reissues of the main repertoire. In 2010 what was commercially available could be found on the internet, while old recordings that had not been reissued were less available because they were still managed by collectors, both in Buenos Aires and Montevideo.

Tango in Uruguay

While *tango's* origin and early development was primarily Argentinian, and its principal production site was in Buenos Aires, *tango* is situated more broadly in the Rio de la Plata area (see Enrique Haba in Binda 2005). In particular, Montevideo, the capital city of Uruguay, has long constituted a *tango* scene (Cohen 1999) that paralleled that of Buenos Aires. Nevertheless, since *tango* production was so prolific in Buenos Aires, it is very common to speak of an 'Argentinian *tango*' (*tango argentino*). In fact, while the Uruguayan and Argentinian markets were always unified as a record-buying public for *tango*, almost all of the records were produced by Argentinian musicians (Binda 2005). However, both cities are part of a sociocultural region, and *tango* belongs to that region. Referring to the *tango* as 'Argentinian,' then, obscures the fact that an important part of the history of *tango* took place in Uruguay (Aharonian 2007). Thus, rather than an Argentinian *tango*, a *tango rioplatense* may be said to exist.

In Uruguay, by 1890 there was a *tango* '*orillero*' (from the urban outskirts) in Montevideo suburbs, similar to that of Buenos Aires (Ayestaran 1967). The practice of *tango* unfolded similarly in Buenos Aires and Montevideo between 1890 and 1900, in marginal (suburban) venues. By 1910 the genre was accepted by Montevideo's middle class. Instrumental groups of three or four people played *tango* in cafes, and some orchestras performed it more seriously (not necessarily in a strictly popular style) in Carnival balls (Fornaro, Ilarraz and Agustoni 2002). However, it was difficult for Uruguayans to organize and maintain *tango* orchestras without the participation of Argentinian musicians, since specialized *tango* musicians were not yet living in Uruguay. In fact, it was not until 1916 that Alberto Alonso organized the first Uruguayan *tango* quartet. In addition, only three Uruguayan *tango* orchestras recorded in the early twentieth century, between 1917 and 1929: Alonso-Minotto (in 1917) including the *tango* 'La cumparsita' (The Little Band), Minotto (in 1922), including the *tango* 'Fruta prohibida' (Forbidden Fruit) and Donato-Zerrillo (in 1929), including 'Se va la vida' (Life Goes On).

Between 1930 and 1950 there was a great boom in *tango*'s popularity in Uruguay, similar to what was occurring in Argentina, with an intense presence of Argentinian orchestras. After that period, the public for the genre declined, only to resurface by 1990, again in parallel with Buenos Aires. *Tango* remains very popular in Uruguay, with a strong presence of the genre on the radio (even more than in Argentina). *Tango* dance is also very popular in Uruguay.

The main icons of *tango* in Uruguay are Carlos Gardel, Enrique Matos Rodríguez, Francisco Canaro and Julio Sosa. Despite the fact that Gardel was raised in Buenos Aires and launched his early career in Argentina, he is a local hero for Uruguayans. While Uruguayans claim that Gardel was born in Uruguay, Argentinians believe that he was born in France, and recent research confirms this theory (Barsky and Barsky 2005). Uruguayan Enrique Matos Rodríguez, born in Uruguay, was the composer of 'La Cumparsita,' one of the most famous *tangos*. Francisco Canaro also was born in Uruguay, and was one of the most prominent musicians, composers, bandleaders and promoters of *tango.* He established his career in Argentina and became a citizen of Argentina in 1940. Finally, Julio Sosa was a Uruguayan *tango* singer who became an idol both in Argentina and Uruguay between 1960 and 1964. He lived and worked in Buenos Aires, where he died in 1964 in a car accident.

Written Publications About *Tango*

The *tango*, in its literary and musical aspect, has generated many interpretations and analysis. They include panegyrics, monographic essays, and numerous biographies and autobiographies of composers, writers, musicians and singers. It is only recently that *tango* has become an academic subject, addressed by sociologists, historians and anthropologists. Strictly musical analysis is the least developed. Most studies and other publications are published in Argentina, but important works have also emerged outside Argentina, in many cases by Argentinian researchers living abroad (Cámara 2002; Savigliano 1995; Pelinski 2000).

The first history of *tango* was written in 1936 by two journalists, Héctor and Luis J. Bates. While this volume is not very well documented and includes mistakes that were repeatedly reproduced by many writers, its great value is that it includes several interviews with the leading composers, musicians and singers of early *tango*. A pioneer in *tango* studies was Argentinian musicologist Carlos Vega (1898–1966) who introduced early studies of urban popular music in Argentina (Vega 1966) and whose uncompleted research on *tango* was published posthumously (2007). Another important early resource, as stated earlier, is the first volume of *Antologia del* *tango rioplatense*, which studies *tango*'s origins and early development up to 1920. The second volume, which covers the period from 1920 to 1935, is being completed by a group of researchers at the Instituto Nacional de Musicología 'Carlos Vega' in Argentina. Pablo Kohan (2010) published a study of the music styles of *tango* composers between 1920 and 1935, while Binda and Lamas (2008) is a well-documented account of early *tango* and society. A comprehensive series of entries is included in the *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana* (1999–2002), providing an overview of the history, schools and main composers and directors of *tango*. *Nuevo tango* is studied in a compilation of articles about Piazzolla's music (García Brunelli 2008) and contemporary *tango* has generated several monographs, some of which were compiled (Liska 2012) or published in specialized musicological reviews. Recent approaches include performance studies (Cecconi 2009; Liska 2009; García Brunelli 2012).

In addition to the musicological literature, there are many popular works about *tango* and gender, *tango* dance, *tango* and society and *tango* lyrics. In fact, publishing about *tango* is a very profitable industry, with about 200 books published yearly in Argentina about *tango* and related themes (Marchini 2007), few of which are considered academic sources. Among the nonacademic sources, Horacio Ferrer's dictionary (1980) and history (1960) provides an overview of the history and style of the genre. The extensive *Historia del tango*, with specialized works collected by Pampin (1976–2012), sometimes lacks accuracy but is considered in other ways to be a good first resource. An extensive study of bandoneonists who have worked in the genre beginning in 1910 was published by Zucchi in four volumes (1998–2008). Still a work in progress, Zucchi's study is considered very useful and well documented, including discographical information, interviews and discussions of style. Regarding the biographical works, worth mentioning are the autobiographies of Francisco Canaro (1999) and Julio De Caro (1964) for their historical and documentary value, and Astor Piazzolla's (Collier and Azzi 2000) and Carlos Gardel's (Barsky and Barsky 2004; Collier 1986) among other biographies. Finally, a bibliographic dictionary of musicians from Argentina has been edited by Donozo (2007).

Two interesting articles by Aharonian (2007) and Fornaro and Agustoni (2002) focus on *tango* in Uruguay. The latter includes references to additional bibliographic sources, including a book about Uruguayan folk music (Ayestaran 1967) and a comprehensive essay about *tango* by Daniel Vidart (1967). A recent work by Goldman (2008) studies the relationship between the dances and music practiced by Afro-Uruguayans between 1870 and 1890 and the *tango rioplatense* established in 1900.

Discographical sources include several publications by Nicolás Lefcovich (1980, 1981 and so on), which provide information about recordings (label, record and matrix numbers, dates, authors and genres), including the recordings of the principal orchestras and singers from 1920 to 1960. A brief guide to *tango* recordings and their availability has been published by García Brunelli (2010). The website *Todotango* (www.todotango.com) provides short biographical articles about musicians in Spanish and English, along with scores and recordings.

Conclusion

At the beginning of the twenty-first century the *tango* renaissance is in the hands of perhaps less than a hundred young musicians, only a few more than those that shaped its origin (Ferrer 1999). In spite of *tango*'s prolonged history of crisis, it remains in vogue as an inevitable component of the identity of Uruguayans and Argentinians. In the twenty-first century historical styles are being recovered, generating positive expectations about future developments. Local demand has encouraged the recruitment of musicians and international interest has assured a sufficient market to maintain musicians' activity. With a dynamic definitively anchored in its place of origin and generating more or less related spinoff versions in other places of the world, *tango* has endured as one of the best-known and complex popular music forms (instrumental, sung or danced) in the world.

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OMAR GARCÍA BRUNELLI

See also: **Tango, Vol. XII, International.**

Teatro Danzante Cocolo

In the Dominican Republic, *cocolo* is a term for black migrant workers from the anglophone Lesser Antilles, including St Kitts and Nevis, Anguilla, British Virgin Islands, Antigua and others. Tens of thousands of *cocolos* were contracted to work on Dominican sugar plantations between the 1880s and the 1920s. Many of these eventually settled in the south-east of the country in the vicinity of San Pedro de Macorís and La Romana and retained distinct cultural practices, although discrimination, economic hardship and gradual integration into Dominican society subsequently led to their decline. *Teatro danzante cocolo* represents the preservation and revival of *cocolo* tradition. It synthesizes British-derived dramatic narratives of medieval origin with carnivalesque Afro-Caribbean costuming, dance and humor, and instrumental musical accompaniment including *bombo* (bass drum), *redoblante* ('kettle drum'), *ting-a-ling* (triangle) and *cocola* (transversalflute). *Cocolos* like to call each of the dramatic acts *lecciones* because, in addition to the motives of entertainment, they impart social and religious messages.

The musical ensemble resembles the British-derived military fife and drum band, although, as in the music of Jonkunnu and other Anglo-Caribbean masquerade ensembles, what is played also reflects strong African and Afro-Caribbean influences. For example, in the *Suite el Momíse,* the musical form resembles a seventeenth-century European minuet, yet the tetratonic (4-note) scale is more typically African. In other pieces, the *cocola* melody and percussion parts make frequent use of syncopations, additive rhythms and polyrhythmic interactions reflecting African influences. While a number of songs were originally sung as well as played instrumentally, now most of the pieces are interpreted by the *cocola* player. In general, the *bombo* drum provides a steady pulse, the *ting-a-ling* accents the offbeat and fills in the duple subdivisions, and the *redoblante* alternates subdued rolls with sharp attacks falling between the short and rapid melodic sequences of the flute. In some pieces, the *redoblante* may be played with considerable syncopation and rhythmic virtuosity. Depending on the action of the dancers, there are several variations on the basic rhythmic combination and distinct flute motifs. In their improvisations, *cocolo* flautists delight in the art of subtle rhythmic and tonal permutation of cellular tetratonic and pentatonic fragments.

Of the variety of dance dramas that *cocolos* introduced to the Dominican Republic, only three have continued to be performed regularly – Momíses (Mummies), Guloya (or David and Goliath) and Wild Indians. Momíses involves an encounter between a giant, a king, a deceased citizen and a doctor (or traditional healer), ending in a battle between the giant and king, and the miraculous revival of the deceased. It is associated particularly with Carnival season, though it is also performed for the *fiesta patronal* of San Pedro de Macorís at the end of July. The name Guloya is a Hispanic linguistic transformation of Goliath and has been adopted by Dominican spectators as the name for the *cocolo* dance-drama based on the biblical legend of David and Goliath.

It ceased to be performed in the late 1950s, but in the early twenty-first century was revived by *cocolo* masqueraders. Guloya has the largest cast of characters of the three dance dramas (up to 27), and is performed traditionally on Christmas Day. To the annoyance of the *cocolos,* through persistent error on the part of the press Guloya has come to be confused with the *cocolos* and their dance-drama tradition as a whole. The third dance drama, Wild Indians, is performed without dramatic narrative, instead showcasing a creative fusion of virtuosic African-influenced dance movements – with feather headdresses and axes, romantically symbolizing the spirit of indigenous peoples – and, typically, a dose of *cocolo* humor. This appropriation of the figure of the 'Indian' in *cocolo* tradition has parallels elsewhere in black Atlantic cultures, such as the Mardi Gras Indians of New Orleans, *Candomblé de Caboclo* of Bahia, Brazil and the division of Indian spirits in Afro-Dominican *Vodú*.

In recognition of its historical significance, its importance to *cocolo* identity, its artistic distinction and excellence, and the risk of its disappearance, UNESCO in 2005 proclaimed *Teatro danzante cocolo* a masterpiece of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity. This international honor has prompted some efforts by Dominican folklorists and the *Secretaría de Estado de Cultura* to work with the *cocolos* to document as well as preserve the tradition.

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Tecnobanda, ***see*** **Quebradita and Technobanda (Volume VIII, North America)**

Tecnobrega

Conceived in the first years of the twenty-first century by music producers, DJs and popular musicians from the periphery areas of Belém (the capital of Pará State, East Amazonia, Brazil), *tecnobrega* is a type of techno music characterized by fast pace, prominent percussion, use of computer technologies to manipulate sounds, and numerous connections to various popular music genres and to specific songs that became popular via radio, television and other mass media.

Despite featuring instruments such as electric guitar, keyboards and bass (particularly in band performances), *tecnobrega* is primarily associated with music production in home studios, where producers (nonmusicians, according to Western criteria) use computers, rapid internet and free 'pirate' software downloaded from the World Wide Web for digital handling activities such as mixing (sound superimposition), sampling (digital appropriation of sound patterns) and looping (repetition of musical excerpts). When these processes have been completed, music files are saved on computers for further usage in a variety of contexts: in the studio, in *tecnobrega* band performances, in popular multimedia parties for thousands of people, called 'festas de aparelhagem' (equipment parties), and for making cheap CDs to sell informally in the center of Belém, in parts of the region of Pará where local people take holidays and which also attract tourists, and at popular events inside or outside the city of Belém where crowds gather.

In band performances of *tecnobrega*, musicians and dance groups share the stage. At parties, on the other hand, the stage is occupied only by DJs, who control enormous metallic sound machines called 'aparelhagens.' Inside the machines are computers and a variety of electronic devices through which DJs play music and activate visual effects such as artificial steam, colored lights and hydraulic movements.

Tecnobrega also represents an alternative 'model of business' (Vianna 2003), in which strategies of music production, circulation and consumerism are unconnected to the direction taken by the official phonographic industry and its traditional musical market, as can be seen for example in relation to copyright observance and to the contracts mediating economic rules between artists and big companies. This alternative model may in part be a cause or a consequence of two of *tecnobrega*'s features: first, the repertory, which is based around versions of existing songs, including international pop music, Brazilian funk (Herschmann 2005; Vianna 1987), regional folk music such as *carimbó* (Guerreiro do Amaral 2003; Maciel 1983) and rock styles, among others; and secondly, a label of aesthetic 'bad taste' that has been conferred historically on any of the country's music, the sounds and lyrics of which are judged to be tacky (*brega*) because of their excessive romanticism and their fussy yet easy poetry. Consequently, *tecnobrega* could mean literally techno-tacky or techno-kitsch.

Tecnobrega results from two correlated musical movements. At a local level, its immediate source is *brega-calypso*, a form of music in which electric guitar sounds may combine with Latin American and Caribbean influences from *merengue*, *zouk*, *bolero*, *cúmbia* (see Costa 2004), *soca* and *calipso* from Trinidad and Tobago. On a national level its source is *brega*, widely considered to be emotional and 'low-quality' music that has diffused across the whole of the country since the1960s and which was influenced by *Jovem Guarda*, the musical movement that was the equivalent in Brazil of the Beatles-led rock developments in Europe and the United States.

After its apogee, *Jovem Guarda* lost ground at the beginning of the 1970s among the intellectual middle classes in big cities and their patronage shifted to music whose singers protested against the military dictatorship which had ruled Brazil since 1964. (Araújo 1987; Araújo 2002; Fróes 2000; Napolitano 2001). As a result, *Jovem Guarda* migrated to country areas, while in large urban centers it 'kept a loyal public among the poorest people in society, …, going on to be called pejoratively by the name *brega*' (Vianna 2003; author's translation). However, according to ethnomusicologist Samuel Araújo (1987, 1999), any music suggesting 'grotesque' content could be classified by *brega*. Or perhaps *brega* and *tecnobrega* have never existed as defined music genres, as the idea of 'bad music' is entirely a social construct (Frith 2004).

The problem of defining *tecnobrega* as a music genre can be illustrated by some of its different rhythmic styles. All retain the same simple 2/4 tempo, and the main rhythmic cellule is represented in Example 1.

Four styles can be identified: (1) the style for 'festas de aparelhagem,' which emphasizes rhythmic/melodic computational sound effects and fast tempi; (2) the romantic *tecnobrega*, which keeps up a speedy tempo and balances melodic/percussive sounds and romantic lyrics; (3) *tecnomelody,* which explores the deceleration of the beat and the melodic lines of the vocalist(s); and (4) the sound of *cybertecnobrega*, which focuses on percussive effects (bass and drumming beats) and vocals, instead of synthesized melodies from the guitar and other instruments.

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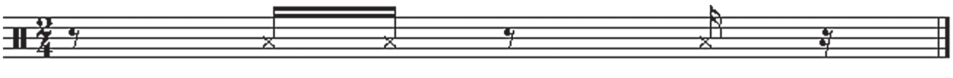

Example 1: Main rhythmic cellule

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Tecnocumbia

The term '*tecnocumbia*' denotes a musical style that attained national prominence in Peru, and to a lesser extent other South American countries, in the late 1990s. *Tecnocumbia* artists perform music based partially on a *cumbia* template, but the use of the prefix '*tecno-*' is not directly related to the term 'techno' as it is generally used in reference to dance musics of Europe and North America. Instead it indicates that recordings and performances foreground the sounds of electronic instruments, particularly synthesizers and electronic percussion. Artists also borrow heavily from 'tropical' Caribbean styles, such as *salsa* and *vallenato*, and from Brazilian *toadas*.

As a social phenomenon, *tecnocumbia* marked a radical departure from earlier Peruvian *cumbia* styles, such as *chicha* music. While the latter has historically been consumed largely by working-class citizens, and the country's Andean migrant population in particular, *tecnocumbia* attained a large national audience among the more affluent classes as well. Such success has been variously interpreted as resulting from the style's distinctive sound, its cosmopolitan imagery, its conspicuous sensuality, its prior success in neighboring countries, and the way that it severed the links between *cumbia* music and an Andean identity that is still stigmatized in many quarters. It came to be closely associated with now-disgraced politician Alberto Fujimori, who prominently included *tecnocumbia* songs and live performances in his fraudulent 2000 presidential campaign. Though it fell drastically in national profile after his ousting from power and his subsequent flight from the country, it retains a significant presence. This is particularly true in the burgeoning cities of the Peruvian Amazon, where 'tropical' styles have long taken root, and *tecnocumbia* has been adopted as a symbol of regional pride.

While this entry focuses largely on artists from Peru, many artists have a significant following in Ecuador, and smaller scenes have taken root in Bolivia and Chile. In Argentina, where many Peruvian *chicha* artists relocated after the decline of that *cumbia*-derived style's popularity in the early 1990s, the music of local *tecnocumbia* groups such as Ráfaga has been closely tied to the *cumbia villera* style of Buenos Aires. In Paraguay, a local variant called '*cachaca*,' also related to *cumbia villera*, became very popular between the mid-1990s and 2004, in renditions by groups such as Máximo Cumbieros and Kchiporros.

The Emergence and Development of *Tecnocumbia*

The precise nature of the links between the earlier Peruvian *chicha* style and *tecnocumbia* is not universally agreed upon, and in fact many commentators have asserted that *tecnocumbia* is little more than a late twentieth-century development within *chicha* itself, with the name changed to avoid *chicha*'s unpalatable reputation. Nevertheless, it is clear that an important intermediary stage between these two styles or sub-styles of Peruvian '*música tropical*' took place in Buenos Aires, where many *chicha* musicians and impresarios moved in the early 1990s. Initially establishing groups that played *cumbia*-based music similar to the *chicha* produced in Peru, largely for audiences of Peruvian and Bolivian migrants, relocated *chicha* artists quickly adopted elements of the Argentinian capital's *cumbia villera*, on the one hand, and took advantage of the city's superior production facilities, on the other. In the process, *chicha* records became much slicker, more conspicuously upbeat, less guitar-based and overall less consciously 'Andean' in sound and style. All of these factors, as well as the cachet of its links to a relatively 'modern' nation such as Argentina, aided in the style's assimilation by non-Andean listeners, upon its reemergence in Peru in the late 1990s.

Tecnocumbia made an initial impact in Peru in 1998, with the mass media's 'discovery' of performer Rossy War. Born Rosa Guerra, and raised in the Amazonian city of Puerto Maldonado, War had already attained moderate commercial exposure in Bolivia, Chile and Argentina. When Peru's media began to report on this unrecognized performer who had nevertheless attained international success, and with it a certain cosmopolitan cachet, her song 'Nunca pensé en llorar' ('I Never Thought that I Would Mourn') became a standout hit. Local commentary focused, in the first instance, on War's aura of internationalism, evoked both musically and via performative elements, which contrasted with the perceivedly parochial nature of earlier Peruvian musics. In fact, her interpretation of *cumbia* music seemed to derive from the widely successful Mexican variant instead of either Colombian or Peruvian styles, a connection consciously cultivated by the singer's husband and artistic manager, Tito Mauri. The connection was further emphasized by War's frequent appearance in (Mexican) *norteña*-style outfits, and her singing voice, which was strikingly similar to that of Mexican singer Ana Gabriel. Commentators also played up War's jungle origin, suggesting a link between her 'tropical' musical style and the supposed sensuality of the region's residents. Such self-consciously 'tropical' imagery was novel in the field of Peruvian popular music, and it served to link the style in the public imagination with successful pan-Latin American 'tropical' musics such as salsa and *merengue*. As such, a considerable part of the style's appeal seemed to lie in the way that it assured audiences that Peruvians, too, could legitimately claim the cosmopolitan 'tropical' identity associated with such styles.

War's success opened a path for similarly inclined artists, most of whom featured similar musical or performative elements. Many were new performers, but others were groups or individuals with long careers in other styles, especially *chicha*, who took advantage of the new genre category to redefine themselves effectively as '*tecnocumbia*' artists. Sometimes this redefinition was accompanied by a striking stylistic shift, but in other cases artists made merely cosmetic changes to their existing practices. Finally, entrepreneurs emerged very quickly to 'manufacture' groups, auditioning young performers, pairing them with effective songwriters, and creating marketable imagery that revolved around the notions of tropicalism and sensuality that came to define the style in the public sphere.

Regional tendencies emerged quickly within the field of *tecnocumbia*, often deriving from the way that the emergent style was grafted onto local musical templates.

Sociopolitically, *tecnocumbia* was noteworthy for three reasons. First, its national success among people of virtually all classes and backgrounds was unusual, though perhaps not salutary, given that it depended upon stripping ethnically undesirable 'Andean' associations from Peruvian *cumbia* music. Secondly, in becoming a public vehicle for regional identity in the Amazon, it marked the belated emergence of the jungle, a region that has traditionally languished behind Peru's coastal and Andean regions, into the national consciousness. Finally, the style was unique for the extent to which it became linked to a specific political figure and his followers. *Tecnocumbia* artists including Rossy War and Ruth Karina, among others, variously sang songs to, for, with and about Alberto Fujimori. War appeared onstage with the dictator in his 2000 election campaign, which was enlivened by Fujimori's own *tecnocumbia* song entitled 'El ritmo del Chino,' in reference to his Peruvian nickname. Such associations are probably responsible for the style's retreat from the public sphere after Fujimori's fall from power. It never disappeared, however; it continues to be widely popular within the Amazon, where such associations are less important than the style's clear local roots, and it continues to be associated with the remnants of Fujimori's power base within the country. In 2007 the style seemed poised to make something of a comeback after members of the group Néctar were tragically killed while on tour in Argentina, and media coverage of the aftermath launched it back into the national consciousness.

Musical Structure and Style

It is not universally agreed that *tecnocumbia* constituted a radical departure from earlier Peruvian *cumbia* styles. Some commentators and musicians have interpreted the adoption of the term by aspiring musicians and marketers as a callous attempt to 'sanitize' *cumbia* of its links to *chicha*, and to the country's still-marginalized Andean community. In fact, hard and fast lines are often difficult to draw between *chicha*, *tecnocumbia* and other 'tropical' styles performed in Peru. *Tecnocumbia* initially targeted the same audience as *chicha*, and it was initially disseminated via the same media channels. Moreover, many *chicha* artists of long standing, as well as many artists considered to be performers of '*música tropical*' more generally, either adopted elements of *tecnocumbia*, or else switched wholesale to a *tecnocumbia* format, resulting in a marked heterogeneity of sound. Given all of these factors, there is some support for interpreting the term as a categorical device designed to create an artificial distance between *tecnocumbia* and other Peruvian *cumbia* variants. For this reason, certain commentators have preferred to describe all of these styles as 'Peruvian tropical music.'

Further complicating any discussion of *tecnocumbia* is the existence of strong regional subvariants, which include styles centered in the south, the northeastern Amazonian region and the north coast. Performers centered in the country's southern region, including Rossy War and the group Néctar, have perhaps been less averse than others to adopting sounds that recalled *chicha* music, such as electric guitars and the synthesized timbres of Andean instruments. By contrast, the *norteño* (northern) style, associated with the coastal region of Piura, is influenced by a long-standing regional preference for 'tropical' music combos performing salsa, Colombian *cumbia* and other pan-Latin American dance musics. Emblematic *norteño* artists such as Agua Marina and Armonía 10 retained the horn sections playing Colombian *cumbia*-style fills that had typified both groups for decades. A distinct northern subvariant adopts elements of musical genres from nearby Ecuador, such as the *pasillo*. In both cases, groups are typified by a rotating lineup of virtually indistinguishable singers, a 'weepy' (*llorón*) singing style, and a strong thematic emphasis on tragic love. A final tendency, associated with the northeastern jungle region and the cities of Pucallpa and Iquitos in particular, is best emblematized by performers Euforia and Ruth Karina. The music of these groups is self-consciously 'danceable' and relentlessly upbeat, and groups rely heavily upon jungle imagery in both song lyrics and stage performance. In both respects, these groups can be seen as latter-day heirs to pioneering '*cumbia selvática*' ('jungle *cumbia*') groups of the late 1960s, such as Juaneco y su Combo and Los Mirlos, whose guitar-based style of *cumbia* music invoked precisely the same imageries and musical elements. However, the more recent performers also distinguish themselves by borrowing elements of Brazilian *toada* music from neighboring regions of the Amazon.

Despite such variation, a number of traits can be adduced to all performers that distinguish *tecnocumbia* from both *chicha* and other Latin American *cumbia* styles on musical grounds. Foremost among these is an avoidance of *chicha*'s musical markers, particularly that style's reliance upon undistorted electric guitars, and its use of the structures of Andean *huayno* music. Instead, *tecnocumbia* musicians favor conspicuously 'artificial'-sounding synthesizer settings, in contradistinction to both *chicha*-style guitars, and the brass and winds of early Colombian *cumbia*. Even in the style's northern subvariant, typified by the use of live brass sections, synthesized sounds play a prominent role in the musical texture. Usually, these synthesized sounds are rounded out by electric bass, light percussion and sometimes electric guitar.

Another distinctive feature of *tecnocumbia* is the use of sounds and techniques borrowed from other Latin American 'tropical' styles to augment the *cumbia* template. In part, this tendency is owed to artists such as Armonía 10, who already had long careers performing such repertoire, but there has also been an intentional drive on the part of newer composers to utilize such features. Composers have thus added occasional keyboard accompanimental patterns recalling *salsa montunos*, as in Rossy War's standout hit 'Nunca pensé en llorar,' though the complex interlocking *ostinati* and improvisational *descargas* typifying *salsa* recordings are entirely absent.

Overall song structures are highly variable, generally alternating vocal sections with catchy instrumental interludes, using a standard verse-chorus format, often enlivened by one or more contrasting bridge sections. They usually rely upon the basic acccompanimental framework of *cumbia* music, utilizing a binary 4-beat structure, with beats 1 and 3 strongly outlined by an arpeggiated bass line, and beat 2 (or beats 2 and 4) accented by keyboard and sometimes percussion. In all cases, percussion parts tend to avoid complex polyrhythm, and are usually limited to outlining either the basic *cumbia* pattern (a constant pattern of one-eighth and two-sixteenths), or a simple binary variant.

Vocally, the singing style tends to be simple, without conspicuous displays of virtuosity. Lyrics deal almost exclusively with themes of fun, dancing and partying, on one hand, and tragic or (more rarely) happy love, on the other. Unlike earlier Peruvian *chicha*, harmonic progressions are often varied and go well beyond basic alternation of major and minor tonic and dominants; likewise, melodies are generally diatonic rather than predominantly pentatonic, as in *chicha* music.

Tecnocumbia artists also distinguished themselves from earlier *chicha* musicians in performance, most often by relying upon imagery locally interpreted as 'tropical' and hence, in local terms, bearing the cachet of conspicuous cosmopolitanism. These tendencies are most marked in the jungle variant, where a notional 'sensuousness' is foregrounded via selfconsciously explicit dance moves and dancers wearing revealing clothing that is often inspired by traditional jungle motifs. In fact, the characteristics that perhaps go furthest toward distinguishing *tecnocumbia* from earlier Peruvian *cumbia* variants, and indeed most Peruvian musics, include the overwhelming prominence of female performers and the style's overt emphasis on sensuality. A majority of *tecnocumbia*'s most successful interpreters have been women, and the emphasis on frank female sexuality, as exemplified by the consciously explicit dance moves and scanty clothing generally associated with such performers, is sometimes interpreted as a self-conscious statement of sexual liberation. Such imagery is commonly linked to a discourse in which 'tropical' origin is closely associated with an uninhibited, anticonservative sense of bodily pleasure, often explicitly contrasted with the musical styles of other eras and regions. While a countervailing interpretation holds such imagery to be a mere reinscription of female objectification, it can hardly be denied that female performers have attained a leading public role within the *tecnocumbia* genre that contrasts greatly with all other Peruvian musics, with the possible exception of the related '*tecno-huayno.*'

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Timba

Timba, also known as 'Cuban Salsa' or 'hyper salsa,' is a style of dance music that emerged in Cuba in the 1990s, primarily in the island's capital, Havana. It is characterized by the complexity, shrillness and aggressiveness of the music, lyrics and dance. *Timba* takes salsa, *son* and *rumba* as its starting point, using

Afro-Cuban rhythms that were rarely used until that moment in salsa and combining them in an original way with elements of funk, hip-hop, jazz, rock, rhythm and blues and disco. Song lyrics are mainly about love and sexual relations; moral and social problems derived from the crisis Cuba has experienced since the demise of the Soviet Union are sometimes addressed, but in a cynical rather than a critical or moralizing way. *Timba* language is typically rather macho and vulgar. The characteristic dance is in separated couples and the movements are reminiscent of the sexual act. *Timba* has contributed to the creation and establishment among the younger generations of new and powerful signs of Cuban identity and pride, different from those that mark official discourse.

History

The fall of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s brought about an unprecedented social, economic and ideological crisis in Cuba. Among those affected was one of the best generations of Cuban jazz and classical musicians, trained during the years of Soviet support. In order to stay afloat, these musicians enrolled in dance music bands, turning them into spaces for experimentation. The new social and economic conditions favored the redefinition of the relationship between the bands and their audiences, especially with the lowest and poorest classes. In this process, flute player and saxophonist Jose Luis Cortes played an essential role. In the late 1980s Cortes funded NG la Banda (Banda Nueva Generacion) with whom he made the mythical tour 'Gira por los Barrios de La Habana' in November 1989 to play concerts in poor neighborhoods. Songs such as 'La expresiva' and 'Los Sitios entero' (The Whole of Los Sitios [an area of Havana]) (on the group's album, *En la calle*, 1990) showed a new pride in belonging to the poor and marginalized neighborhoods of Havana. Toward 1993 La Charanga Habanera burst onto the musical scene, causing a huge sensation among teenagers with their funk riffs and the sound of the electric drums, combined with *salsa romantica* (romantic salsa). Its singers exchanged instruments without interrupting their playing, combining acrobatic dance with rap and break-dance moves and challenging audacity, while singing in a hip-hop style. Songs such as e 'El temba' (The Old Man), 'Superturística' (on the album *Pa' que se entere la Habana (*1996) and 'Chen Chen' (on *Tremendo delirio*, 1997) dealt with the new materialism imposed on certain sectors of Cuban youth by the crisis, the relationship of couples based on economic interests, and the widespread hypocrisy and social cynicism.

Issac Delgado developed a more romantic style, with less aggressive lyrics of higher literary quality. Toward 1994 one of the first open references to Afro-Cuban religions was made in songs such as 'Vengo con Ire' (I Come with Good Luck ['Ire' is a Yoruba dialect word]) and 'Dime tu lo que sabes' (Tell Me What You Know) (from the 1993 album *Con ganas*). A key musician in the consolidation of *timba* at this time was Manolin, known as 'El Medico de la Salsa.' His songs motivated Cuban youth to feel like winners despite the harsh conditions of their lives, helping them to construct a special subjectivity, a fantasy of power, self-sufficiency and arrogance in the midst of this tremendous crisis. Manolin's records broke sales records and the tickets for his concerts sold for the highest prices ever seen in Cuban dance music. He went on to bend the unwritten rules of the great Cuban bands such as Los Van Van and La Charanga Habanera, by stealing their audiences and at the same time earning their respect (Maestro 2004). Other bands developing *timba* at the same time included Paulito y su elite (later renamed Paulito F. G.) with a more romantic style, Klimax with a complex style of jazz funk, Bamboleo, whose female singers used the same challenging and macho rhetoric as the male bands, and Manolito y su Trabuco, who preserved the sound of the classical *charanga*. In late 1997 Juan Formell lined up the Dream Team-Timba Cubanaby promoting the most important stars of *timba* internationally, in the wake of the increasing enthusiasm for Cuban music created by Buena Vista Social Club and its pre-revolution musical genres (Roy 2003, 184 and 198). In the early twenty-first century orchestras such as Los Angeles de la Habana, Sello L. A., Azucar Negra and Chispa y los Complices have continued to develop different variants of the genre.

Musical Infrastructure

To overcome the economic crisis of the early 1990s, caused by the disappearance of the socialist world on which Cuba depended economically, the Cuban government boosted the tourism industry. Dance music was a key element in tourist resorts and it motivated the development of an unprecedented infrastructure for this music by Castro's regime. In April 1995 the first Casa de la Música de la EGREM opened, a concept that was to challenge the hegemony of the hotel cabarets. The economic opportunity permitted the establishment in Cuba of Spanish record companies such as Magic Music, Eurotropical and Caribe Productions, which managed a distribution deal with Spanish EMI. Artists such as Issac Delgado signed with US record companies, despite the US embargo against the island. Radio and television gave great prominence to *timba* music. At the beginning of *timba*'s success, the bands were allowed to manage their contracts by themselves, to charge in dollars and to organize presentations on the international stage. This greater international prominence helped introduce the new 'Cuban salsa' to the Latin American and the European market. In the mid-1990s the government reorganized the structure of the music industry in order to gain more control over it.

Style

Timba songs have a two-part structure. The first section consists of stanzas and is in narrative form. The second section (*montuno*) is longer and in a responsorial style: a solo singer improvises *guias* (individual verses, cries or exclamations) that alternate with chorus lines. The chorus lines constitute the most important part of the song. The style of the second section is completely different from that of the first. Each chorus line frequently derives semantically and structurally from the previous chorus line. The interventions by the brass instruments between choruses are called *mambos*.

The rhythmic base of *timba* is made up of an electric bass or baby bass; a piano playing the characteristic ostinati of *salsa* music called *tumbaos;* and the percussion section, which includes drums, *tumbadoras*, *pailas* (kettledrums), claves, bell and *güiro*.' The horn section includes trombones, trumpets and saxophone. A second keyboard plays the *contratumbao.* Orchestras usually have singers whose voices have different characteristics. Some orchestras, for example Van Van and Manolito y su Trabuco, introduce instruments used in old *charanga* orchestras such as the violin and the violoncello.

The music is complex and constantly imitates and references other musical genres or musical styles. In the first part, references to genres and styles such as classical *son*, romantic or soft ballad, orchestral *bolero* or *bolero-son* may appear. The bridge usually contains rhythmical and stylistic breaks in which the percussion takes the lead while the *contratumbao* plays riffs drawn from techno music, rock, jazz or traditional Cuban music such as the *guajeos* of *danzon*. The music in the *montuno* draws on elements of funk, soul, hip-hop, rhythm and blues, rock, jazz or reggae, Latin jazz, *rumba*, *conga*, reggaeton and other genres from the Caribbean and from African-American music. There are continuous, astonishing and elaborated breaks or rhythmical cadences which are synchronized neither with the harmony nor with the melodic cadences.

The piano's *tumbaos* are varied, chromatic, multidirectional and fragmented. The bass lines recall the riffs of funk, rock or the formulas of ritual or *rumba* drums. The arrangements of the metal section are reminiscent of the orchestrations of funk bands such as Earth, Wind & Fire, Chicago, Kool and the Gang, The Temptations, etc. that were very popular in Cuba during the 1980s.

Lyrics

Timba lyrics are extremely macho and at times disrespectful toward women. Even when the songs are sung by women, the singers assume male roles and sing in a macho style. The songs typically refer to situations experienced during 'the special period,' the crisis that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union. The lyrics exhibit a cynical attitude toward problems and portray survival strategies which are morally compromising. They refer ambiguously to sexual tourism and to relationships with foreigners for economic or survival reasons, to the new materialism and the eagerness to obtain and spend dollars, and to the ostentation of material goods and physical beauty. In order to avoid censorship, bands refer to these by introducing metaphors, popular sayings or fragmented stories that all young people can recognize, but which are never mentioned explicitly. While the most common topic is love and sexual relations, many songs deal with the Afro-Cuban religions, confirming the pride of practicing them in the only officially atheist country of Latin America.

In structural terms, the first section of the song narrates stories or describes a particular situation or state of affairs. In the *montuno* section, the chorus introduces phrases that reflect on the narration in the first part. The chorus and solo singer use intertextual mechanisms that constantly refer to the choruses of others songs and genres.

Dance

Timba can be danced in the traditional style of couple dancing known as *casino.* However, the norm is for men and women to dance apart. The woman takes the lead by performing provocative and frenzied dances like *despelote*, *batidora* or *tembleque* (all of them consisting in frenetic movements of the whole body especially the waist and the hips), in which the energetic movements imitate sexual intercourse. The dance portrays the direct sexuality of the lyrics. It is also possible to see imitations of the gesticulation and movements of profane Afro-Cuban dances (such as the *vacunao* of the *rumba guaguanco* or the acrobatic movements of *rumba columbia*) and of Afro-Cuban rituals. Sometimes the dancers perform challenging masculine choreographies, adopting moves from rap and other African-American genres. *Timba* musicians and followers adopt the look of 'tough guys.' They have an array of body piercing, sunglasses, tattoos, and gold earrings, necklaces and teeth; their attire usually consists of shirts with their sleeves torn apart or gym shirts, fitted trousers and brand-name sneakers combined with clothes with religious connotations.

Censorship

Despite the fact that *timba* played an important role in the economic recovery of the country in the 1990s, it became problematic for the government. *Timba* musicians became the most visible face of the classes that became richer during the crisis. Their public extravagance and audacity sometimes directly contradicted some of the official slogans. Likewise, there were some topics reflecting social problems that were well known to everybody but which, officially speaking, could not be mentioned in the media. In the mid-1990s the song 'La bruja' (The Witch) by NG la Banda (1994) received scathing attacks from the Cuban Women Federation for 'offending the Cuban woman' and it was censored by the media. What really bothered authorities about the song was that it referred to sexual tourism without criticizing it (Perna 2005a, 149–75). In 1997 La Charanga Habanera was given a six-month suspension for 'excesses' committed at its concert during the 14th Youth World Festival organized by the Young Communist League. It is believed to have been an 'exemplary' punishment, a warning call to all the *timba* orchestras. What the group's performance demonstrated was the contradiction between official discourse and the day-to-day lives of Cuban youth. After a number of laws against corruption and prostitution were approved, a police campaign was launched. It ended with the closing of prestigious nightclubs and dance halls such as the Palacio de la Salsa (Perna 2005a, 192–6). In 1997 Manolin, el Medico de la Salsa, released 'Que le llegue mi Mano' (That My Hand Reaches Him) and in 2001 released 'El puente' (The Bridge), both songs calling for reconciliation between Cubans from the island and from Miami. The pressure on the musician ended with his permanent exile in the United States in May 2001.

Meaning

Timba songs articulate elements from different musical genres and styles into combinations that operate as *narrative schemes* which interact with the lyrics and the dance in a semiotic way. The result is a composition of narratives that convert into musical and corporal speech on the fantasies, wishes and frustrations of the young people in present-day Cuba. *Timba* is a semiotic scaffolding by means of which Cuban young people reorganize symbolically the aggressiveness and frustrations brought about by the shortages and problems in their daily lives (López Cano 2004a and 2007). At the same time, they construct networks of renewed Cuban pride and signs of identity in which the elements (real or idealized) of African roots gain special significance (Perna 2005b). *Timba* exudes irony, feelings of revenge and cynicism, all of which disarm the hypocrisy that denies the corruption and the everyday problems and looks at the survival strategies with harshness but does not judge them. It allows young people to see and use their bodies as 'cultural capital,' one of the few possessions they can manage, with excess and without the mediation of the omnipresent state (López Cano 2005a and 2005b). *Timba* rebuilds the wholeness of the fragmented self of people who are obliged to make use of several contradictory discourses in order to survive.

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RUBÉN LÓPEZ-CANO

Tinku

The term 'tinku' refers to an ancient Andean ritual from the Potosi region of Bolivia and to modern urban versions developed in the context of Carnival and other festivities. Modern choreographed versions of *tinkus* are performed in Bolivia as well as in Argentina – principally in the provinces of Salta, Córdoba and Buenos Aires, where a large number of Bolivian immigrants reside and continue to recreate the genre. *Tinku* means 'encounter' in the Quechua language. Each year, various farming communities, especially the ones in the north of Potosí, in central southern Bolivia, celebrate *tinku*, the modern expression of a ritual that originated in the communities of the Laimes, Jukumaris, Machas and Pocoata. The ritual, with its attendant ceremonial dance and music, has attracted the attention of state and indigenous authorities as well as artists, anthropologists, reporters and tourists.

The rite consists of celebrations that last for many days, with ceremonies that culminate in a battle between neighboring groups, symbolizing the search for balance between two complementary sectors or halves of an *ayllu* (communal indigenous territory) or between opposite *ayllus*. The violent and occasionally bloody fight is inclusive of all sectors and ages, including men, women and children of the same community but of different ethnic groups who confront each other with beatings and stone blows with the objective of fertilizing Pachamama with their own blood. (For the altiplanic peoples of the Andes, Pachamama is a religious and cosmological vision of the world and of human beings that often appears in syncretic form. It can also be conceived of as an intangible deity who takes the form of an old woman with human needs and vices; this is why she receives offers of drinks, tobacco, coca leaves and food – satisfying her guarantees prosperity and a good harvest season. This traditional act of devotion has spread to urban areas, even large cities, and is practiced by *criollo* sectors as well as by people with no Andean ancestry.) Despite its violent nature, the encounter brings longstanding ethnic bonds into the present day and also functions as a way of memorializing a central notion in the Andean worldview, the idea of the complementarity of opposites that extends to all sociocultural practices.

In the traditional dance the different groups usually march toward the place of encounter to the rhythm of the *julajula* (ceremonial music played with Andean aerophones in hocket-style melodic alternation, in pairs of 4- and 3-cane flutes, called respectively *arca* and *ira*). *Wayños* are also interpreted with *charangos* and *guitarrones*. As a symbol of the battle and defense of territory, the *tinku* dance is an artistic representation, a simulation of the battle that communities in Potosi (Ayllu) have maintained for religious reasons. It incorporates powerful movements, with arms shaking and punching in the air and rhythmically marked dance steps landing on the ground. The defined rhythm accompanies walking with marked steps and an attitude of stalking the opponent. Every other phrase of 8 or 16 bars contains a rhythmic formula that marks when the dancers must change direction or the bumping of heads in battle. This gesture is accompanied by the shout 'huh!' or 'shoh!' which is audible in recordings (see, for example, the Lucha ritual de Tinku-Takanakuy Boliviano-Potosi, listed in the YouTube references below). Melodies in major or minor harmonic modes alternate with pentatonic scales. (Voices employing parallel motion in intervals of thirds, fourths and fifths are a frequently used technique in Andean instrumental and vocal arrangements.)

In the early 1980s another version of *tinku* emerged in the Carnival at Oruro, in central Bolivia, when some young university students from the middle classes organized themselves into 'folkloric fraternities' to participate in mass urban events. This street representation developed in conjunction with Carnivals held on commemorative dates such as patriotic anniversaries and religious festivities. It is found today in the Bolivian cities of Oruro and La Paz and in the Argentine regions and cities that host a high percentage of Bolivian immigrants, such as the province of Salta, Buenos Aires and Capital Federal, and continues to extend into other regions and continents where Bolivian residents are found.

In these urban contexts, where folkloric *tinku* is presented as spectacle, neither the dance nor the music corresponds with the original forms. However, the costume and the gestures are preserved in the typical male battle that takes place during the state of drunkenness of the authentic *tinkus*. The modern *tinku* (danced to at carnivals and also in discos and at parties) employs drums, bass, keyboard and electronic effects, *sikus*, *zampoña*, *chajchas*, guitar and *charangos*.

Tinkus are also composed with another rhythmic base. For example, at the Festival Internacional de la Canción de Viña del Mar in 2008, the Grupo Femenino Bolivia participated with the *tinku* 'Falso amor' (by Siria Vera Cano), with more romantic subject matter and a more stylized, less 'warrior-like' performance. Among the renowned groups who have composed and interpreted *tinku* since the 1980s are Tupay, Amaru, Los Kjarkas, Grupo Andino, Los Masis, Llajtaymanta, Norte Potosí, Kala Marka, Vitamina Brass. The popular versions that famous groups such as Los Kjarkas perform on stage at folkloric festivals, theaters or stadiums, as well as works written for dance troupes to perform during the spectacular carnival parades organized by the industries of culture and tourism, are performances produced for commercial purposes and mass consumption. In these versions, folk symbols and components converge with those that are modern, popular and urban. The syncretism and hybridization of the sound is displayed in the music: for instance, when traditional Andean wind instruments such as the *quenacho*, *zampoña*, *charango* and *wancara* are mixed with instruments that are characteristic of rock and pop such as the sax, electric bass and drum kit. The genre allows for a high degree of sound hybridization and so, like other regional and transnational genres such as *cumbia*, remains relevant in Bolivia, Peru and Argentina. Performers and consumers of *tinkus* perceive the genre as being simultaneously popular, traditional and folkloric. This is because their symbolic content evokes the local traditions of Potosí while at the same time, due to its energetic nature, it generates experiences of physical contact ('pogoing,' the act of jumping and pushing each other while dancing) similar to those that occur in rock communities. This explains the massive adherence to the genre on the part of the younger population. *Tinku*'s multiplicity of functions and meanings enables people to dance it in groups in discotheques or to accept it, in official contexts, as a national folkloric dance, as is the case with 'Celia' (anon.), one of the best-known *tinkus* of all time.

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NANCY M. SÁNCHEZ (TRANSLATED BY
ZUZANA PICK WITH PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

Toada

Toada is used throughout Brazil to indicate any simple song. It is related to the Portuguese verb *toar*, meaning, 'to sing a simple song.' It is a generic term and many times appears as a synonym for *moda,* or song. Its main characteristics are its simplicity and its binary (verse-chorus) structure. The word appears with greatest frequency in the popular musical vocabulary of north and northeastern areas of Brazil (where it is sometimes interchanged with *chula*) and it is also commonly found in folkloric traditions, such as the *folguedos* (*bumba-meu-boi* and *chegancas*, for instance).

Marcondes (2003) points to numerous authors, such as Renato Almeida and Oneyda Alvarenga (two great folklorists), who have defined *toada* by the short lyrics which deal with themes such as love, comic situations or which display poetic techniques such as plays with words. *Toada* cannot therefore be defined in musical terms, except to emphasize its simplicity. A *toada* can be sung without any accompaniment or with just a single string instrument such as an acoustic guitar, a *viola* (a kind of acoustic guitar) or a *rabeca* (a kind of fiddle). It can be performed solo, as a duet (with much use of intervals in thirds) or by groups of people. The importance of simplicity is maintained by the binary verse-chorus form.

Toada's simplicity has made it a symbol of Brazilian folk and traditional music. When a popular composer wants to make a reference to traditional music in a composition he or she will often include the word *toada* in the title. In the same way, references to *toada* in the lyrics of MPB (*música popular brasileira*) compositions (such as those of Gilberto Gil and Milton Nascimento) are very common.

Some authors have pointed to the *toada*'s melancholic aspect, which is reinforced by its typically slow tempo (see, for example, Câmara Cascudo 2001). This aspect of *toada* places it on a side of Brazilian culture that non-Brazilians seldom see. It does not appear in official discourse about the country, which is dominated by the rhythmic and entertaining aspects of carnival and dance (Saliba 1998). Because its character is antithetical to this discourse, its use is very common in the rural areas, where it is connected symbolically to regional characteristics, in opposition to the idea of national identity that is constructed around the urban areas and their dance elements. *Toada* can be understood, therefore, as a side of Brazilian culture that is linked more closely to song than to dance – to the moon than to the sun – and to melancholy than carnival (Oliveira 2007).

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ALLAN DE PAULA OLIVEIRA

Tobas

The dance of the Tobas is a neofolklore music-and-dance genre of ancient origin popular in Bolivian street carnivals, in particular that of the Oruro carnival. The dance, which was known as 'dance of the Ch'unchus' in earlier times, portrays the indigenous people of the Amazonian jungle as warriors or warlocks in a parade of fictitious and exaggerated characters. The Tobas are very popular in folk festivals thanks to their imposing figures and acrobatic ability, which they display in an energetic street dance that presents an imagined version of Amazonian ethnic groups.

Ch'unchus or Savage Indians

Since the time of Tahuantinsuyo (pre-Incaic era in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century South America), the ritual representation of indigenous people in the lowlands has been a cultural constant among Quechuas and Aymaras of the Andes. Thus, there are two ancient names for these representations: *Ch'unchus,* from the Quechua meaning 'barbaric' or 'wild'; and *Chunchus* or *Chiriguanos*, a name given by the Incas in the early sixteenth century to Guarani war prisoners who had been transferred to the highlands of Vilcanota as punishment, 'where they received the name of *Chiriguaná* ("scared by the cold")' (Espinoza Soriano 1997, 103). Raoul and Marguerite D'Haucourt described the dance in 1925:

> In Bolivia, these dances are common among the Quechua and the Aymara. There, as in Peru and Ecuador, we encountered the *Morenos* [i.e., black slaves], the dancers; to these, according to P. Walle, add the *Pacoches* and *Huacas-Tocoris* who represent a comic bullfight; the *Tundiques* as well as the *Chunchos* and *Chiriguanos* – war dances where the executers carry a fake jaguar skin on their backs and gesticulate with a solid club in their hands replacing the ancient *maccana* (D'Hancourt 1990 [1925], 134).

This complex network of ritual Andean dances representing Amazonian warriors possibly emerged in memory of ancient confrontations with jungle inhabitants. The dance has been recorded in documents dating back to the eighteenth century. More recently, performances of the dance of the Ch'unchus have been documented in the south-Andean regions of Cusco and Puno in Peru; Huaros near Lima; Llacanora in Cajamarca; Paucartambo near Cusco, as well as other places (Romero 1987, 18–19). Similarly, the dance can have other denominations: 'In some places, the dance took on different names such as *shapish* in the department of Junín; *anti* or *antichuncho* and *shaqcha* in Ancash; and *qhapac chuncho*, *wayri chuncho* and *qara chuncho* in Cuzco' (Arredondo Calderón 1999, 695). The music, instrumentation, dance and costuming will vary according to the region, from indigenous instruments such as *tarkas* (wooden recorder), *pinkillos* (wooden or bone flute), *quenachos* (larger version of the traditional *quena*, a bamboo flute) and *tambores* (drums), to instruments of mestizo origin such as the harp, *quena* and violin. Nonetheless, Peruvian *chunchus* retain basic elements from the ancient dance:

> In each place the *chuncho* is represented according to the image that the people have of them. However, the use of feathers, mirrors, arrows, and spears is generalized. In many places the *chuncho* involves the use of a mask (or a veil in the case of women). In most places the *chuncho* is a dance exclusive to men, though in some cases such as the *antichunchos* in Ancash, or the dance of the *chunchachas* in Cuzco, participation is exclusive to women (Arredondo Calderón 2000, 695).

In the city of Tarija in the south of Bolivia the *ch'uncho* maintains similar characteristics. Every first Saturday in September during the *Fiesta de San Roque* (a celebration of Saint Roch, patron saint of Tarija) *Chunchos promesantes* dance on the streets (Sánchez Canedo 1999, 693). *Chunchos promesantes* perform the dance of the Ch'unchus to fulfil a promise made to their patron saint in exchange for divine favors. These parades accompany the procession of San Roque, who has been honored since at least the sixteenth century, when he is believed to have saved the region from the scourge of the plague (Varas Reyes 1976). The allegorical presence of the Ch'unchus in the south of Bolivia is probably due to its proximity to the land of the Guarani and the Toba, bellicose tribes who fought against colonial cities and Franciscan missions (Ruiz and Citro 2002). These tribes were pejoratively nicknamed 'chiriguaná' and 'ch'unchu' by the Incas, who considered them to be barbaric. (In fact, the word *chunchu* continues to carry this connotation.)

The Ch'unchus from Tarija perform a series of choreographies accompanied by an ideophone called *flecha* ('arrow'), an instrument made out of a piece of wood that has small bamboo shoots attached to it that collide with the wood when shaken, producing a sound that is associated with the *promesantes* (Vacaflor Dorakis 2005). Other regional instruments involved in the celebration include: *caña* (a long cane with a leather membrane on one end that is played like a trumpet); *tambor redoblante* (drum that keeps the beat for the dancers); and *quenilla* and *camacheña* (small flutes). The *promesantes* are male. Their costumes are elaborate and have three main components: a turban, which is decorated with tall, colorful feathers that stand vertically over the head, with a cape and veil attached to it completely covering the dancer's head and face; a *ponchillo* ('small poncho'), a type of rain cape made with delicate fabric that is richly ornamented; and a *pollerín* ('small skirt') to cover the dancers' legs. In Tarija, the Ch'uncho represents an indigenous leper who covers his face with a veil and announces his arrival with the sound of the *flecha*. However, the tall feathers have been an Andean emblem of native chiefs for centuries. The aesthetic of the *Chunchos promesantes* is most likely a mix of colonial Catholic as well as pre-Hispanic emblems and narratives.

The Tobas in Oruro: A Popular Fantasy Is Born

Throughout the twentieth century, the *Carnaval de Oruro* (Oruro Carnival) played a culturally dynamic role in shaping the aesthetic of the dance of the Ch'unchus. In fact, the dance experienced a complex transformation year after year during the 'Antruejo de Los Andes' (i.e., the three days preceding the beginning of Lent), another name given to the Carnival. While the dance of the Ch'unchus must have existed in the nineteenth century, the ensemble Gran Conjunto Tradicional de Tobas, Chunchos, Cambas y Chipayas de la Zona Sud was not founded until January 1917. The group was created under a simpler name, Conjunto Folklórico Tobas, and was directed by Tomás Cáceres and later by his son Donato Cáceres (*El Diario*, 6 August 1975). The dance was practiced among cart owners or haulers (Beltrán Heredia 1956, 25). According to Montes Camacho, the Tobas ensemble

> employs an agile, masculine, and athletic step, initially they were also known as 'Chunchos' due to the costuming that covered them from head to toe with multicolored feathers, holding a spear 'Nonta' [Chonta] (i.e. palm tree wood) on the right hand and a hatchet on the left; on their backs they carried beautiful conches and 'phuros' [or colored feathers] and their feet were partially covered by leather sandals (1986, 47–8).

The success of this institution allowed them to traveled internationally – in 1920 they traveled to Peru, 'demonstrating the steps of the toba, camba, chuncho, salto Bolívar, cullawis, and others' (*El Diario*, 6 August 1975). In 1923 this dance ensemble also participated in the Fiesta de La Tirana, the annual festival in honor of the Lady of Mount Carmel in the northern town of La Tirana in Chile (ibid.). The presence of this and other Bolivian dance ensembles may have triggered a Chilenization of the Ch'unchus in the northern regions of Chile (Gonzalez Miranda 2006). By the 1950s the Tobas were described as follows:

> They wear masks made with braided wires and from afar they give the impression of a forest of tropical feathers. They carry these [feathers] on their heads, belts, wristbands, and shin guards. Their attire is light: long pink pants, a satin shirt under an 'espaldera' or small cape, and a knee-length corduroy skirt in green, light-blue, red, or orange. They adorn their heads with cardboard turbans that have stained rhea or cock feathers. The clothes are appropriately decorated with a few mirrors, glass beads, and simple embroideries to allow for the energetic movement that will be directed by the tribal chief with the aid of a whistle. Preceding the tobas are the 'monos' ('monkeys') and 'pumas' ('cougars') that carry little parrots from eastern Bolivia. … They use 'chontas' (i.e. palm tree wood), sticks painted in red and white, as spears which they handle with tremendous skill, and they jump and turn so high one could say they have wings on their talons (Beltrán Heredia 1956, 19).

As this text shows, the old Tobas closely resemble the Ch'unchus from Tarija, though they already show some of the aesthetic transformations common to the Oruro Carnival. Although Beltrán Heredia asserts that their music was monotonous, their dancing was varied. Montes Camacho maintains that, until the 1960s, the *tobas* dance did not have an accompanying band and that 'the dancers simultaneously danced and performed their own melodies with *quenas* and a type of *pinquillo*' (Montes Camacho 1986, 48). However, it was the third president of the institution, Germán Quiroga Terrazas, who made it possible for the dance to be transformed. Quiroga 'modified the compositions by the ensemble, giving the opportunity to students – and starting in 1965, to young ladies – to participate in the group; formed two groups, one for *chunchos* and the other for *tobas*' (ibid.). In the early 1970s the Tobas de Oruro started implementing new steps and drastically transforming the costumes. With the addition of a brass ensemble as accompaniment the dancers were now able to display a series of acrobatic steps, including high jumps, which became characteristic of the dance. The musicians also began to create music especially for the Tobas, giving rise to a new musical genre that continues to be attached to the dance.

In 1976 the creation of the ensemble Conjunto Artístico Tobas Uru-Uru strengthened the youthful nature of the dance of the Tobas. In 1977 new characters were introduced into the choreography by the young and athletic dancers: 'the *cambas* and *chipayas*, the latter as an homage to a pure race native to this department, the Chipayas' (Montes Camacho 1986, 49). By the 1980s the dance of the Tobas had turned into one in which the wildest fantasies about Amazonian peoples were allowed. Thus, 'perhaps in search for originality they added dancers dressed in leather loincloths, adorned with bones and feathers, armed with spears, arrows, and hatchets supposedly in the manner of the Toba Indians' (Sánchez Patzy 2002, 316). However, a fundamental element of these transformations was the Hollywood genre of the western: spontaneously, many dancers and choreographers began to identify the Tobas with the 'redskin Indians' that were common in American

Western films of the 1950s. As a result, the Toba hatchet (which had been the *chonta* spear or the 'flecha' of the *chunchos promesantes*) was replaced by the tomahawk attributed to Native Americans. In some cases, the turbans (which had become increasingly taller) were replaced by feather headdresses similar to those worn by Sioux chiefs. The traditional mask also changed with time: through the 1950s the original veil was substituted by a mask representing a smiling Spaniard that had delicate features and a thin mustache. By the 1960s, however, the mask had begun to change into a caricature of a native, featuring a pronounced aquiline nose, salient cheekbones, full lips in a ferocious smirk and small, threatening eyes. In summary, the costume portrayed a bloody native – a picture fueled by a series of popular misconceptions and incentivized by the images from American Western films.

The Music of an Imagined Jungle

The music of the Tobas evolved in tandem with the transformations in the dance. In 1956 Beltrán Heredia wrote that the Zona Central de Oruro ensemble performed at the Carnival with 18 dancers and a band of six *quenas*, one *tambor* and one *bombo* (bass drum). Almost all of the members were cart owners from the city (1956, 25). The involvement of young college students facilitated the progressive stylization of the genre. Following cultural trends in the 1960s the Tobas began to dance accompanied by brass ensembles, which provided a brighter sound to their high jumps and energetic choreographies. In the 1970s some composers of Bolivian neofolklore started writing music in the style of the *tobas*. This music was performed by professional ensembles of singers, *quenas*, *zampoñas*, *charangos*, guitars and bombos. As a genre, the *tobas* were relatively unimportant until the 1980s, when the ensemble K'alamarka (founded in 1984 under the leadership of Hugo Gutiérrez and Rodolfo Choque) recorded the songs 'Bolivianita' ([1989] 1992) and 'Ama Amazonas' (1992) in France. The songs were written in the style of the *tobas* and became a national as well as international success. Since then, the music of the *tobas* has been imitated in countries such as Chile and Peru, and in Bolivia and Ecuador this led to the assimilation of this Bolivian neofolklore genre with the traditional Ecuadorian *sanjuanito.* In all cases, the staging, lyrics, sound effects and video clips of the Tobas constructed a false image of the jungle environment and its inhabitants, an aesthetic that was closely associated with the New Age movement and was colored by prejudices and distorted values concerning the native population of the Amazonian jungle.

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MAURICIO SÁNCHEZ PATZY (TRANSLATED BY PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

Tonada Chilena

The Chilean *tonada* is a lyrical genre of mestizo origin and Hispanic lineage that has been traditionally associated with a feminine quality.

The *tonada* is a strophic monody that is accompanied by one or two strummed guitars, or by a guitar and a harp. In rural areas in the central regions of Chile the *tonada* is the most prominent form of musical expression. In these areas, women, song, poetry and the guitar have coexisted as an indivisible unit for centuries. Starting in the nineteenth century the *tonada* became associated with a broad range of social situations such as weddings, communal work, sporting events, funeral, social gatherings, and summer and leisure time. Since then, the practice of *tonadas* has been circumscribed to an area similar to where it is practiced today, extending east to west from the Andes Mountains to the coastline, and north to south from the city of Copiapó to the shores of the Bío-Bío river and the Araucanía. Nonetheless, the core of this tradition is located in the provinces of Cachapoal, Colchagua and the Maule region. This area was the crucible for the Hispanic-Picunche *mestizaje* that gave rise to the Chilean hacienda and the *huaso* culture. Historically, the *huaso* (or Chilean cowboy) has been the agrarian representation of local identity associated with the rustic and vernacular horseman of the Central Valley of the country. The fostering of the *tonada* has remained strong in this 'huaso' region and the genre has influenced others that came later such as the *cueca*, *vals*, *habanera*, *jota* and *mazurka*.

The *tonada* can also be found in the westcentral region of Argentina in the area comprising the province of San Juan in the north and the rural areas of Neuquén and Malargüe in the south; here, Chilean idiomatic expressions find their corresponding Argentinian version. This closeness is related to the origins of the genre: *tonadas* emerged as a distinctive musical practice in the territory corresponding to the former Kingdom of Chile, which until 1776 included the region of Cuyo. This gave rise to the hypothesis that the *tonada* originated in Cuyo and entered Chilean territory in 1817 when troops fighting for independence crossed the Andes Mountains. However, it is important to note that the army that crossed into Chilean territory was made up of male soldiers and that the *tonada* in its Chilean guise is a type of song which is eminently feminine, similar to how it is perceived in Malargüe and Neuquén, where female singers insist that the roots of the *tonada* are Chilean.

The texts of the *tonada* reflect the strong influence of the Spanish Golden Age in colonial territories, although many texts were written by anonymous authors. Predominant themes include unrequited, hurt or betrayed love. There is also a variety of intervening themes such as the picaresque, the comic, the witty and the religious, as well as themes associated with recreational, festive, ritual or ceremonial functions. Depending on the function, context and occasion, the *tonada* is presented under denominations such as: *esquinazo* when it is sung as a greeting to someone celebrating a name day; *parabienes* (congratulatory) when it is dedicated to a bride and groom at a wedding; and *canción a Manuelito* (Song to Manuelito) when it is offered to the Infant Jesus at the manger during Christmas. These differences occur only in the peasant *tonada* at the textual and functional levels, preserving its formal normativity both in the literary and musical parameters.

The oldest and most common form of the *tonada* is strophic, consisting of a sequence of formal and metrically equal *coplas* linked by a brief instrumental transition or interlude. The *copla* is organized into four octosyllabic lines, preferably with a consonant rhyme in the even verses (2-4). Although the majority of *tonadas* consist of *coplas* that are structurally independent from each other, an important number of them make use of the *coleo*, an aesthetic device proper to the rural *tonada* whereby a *copla* starts with the repetition of the fourth line of the previous verse or '*cola*,' adding grace and a sense of continuity to the text (see Example 1).

I
Por todas partes donde ando
Ando por ver si te veo
Pero tu no echai de ver
El amor que yo te tengo

II
El amor que yo te tengo
Cuando yo te estoy mirando
Pero cuando te retiras
Mis ojos quedan llorando

III
Mis ojos quedan llorando
Y en vano son mis pasiones
Porque veo que conmigo
Quieres probar intenciones

IV
Quieres probar intenciones
Yo muy bien lo hecho de ver
Ándate tú con quien quieras
Déjame a mí padecer

Example 1: Illustrating how a *copla* starts with the fourth line of its predecessor

The *tonada* also features less common literary devices from *canto a lo poeta* (i.e., a Chilean musical genre rooted in the troubadour and trouvère traditions of the Middle Ages) and the *verso en décimas* (i.e., a literary device comprised of 10 octosyllabic lines) such as the *copla glosada*, where a theme presented in the opening stanza is repeated in other lines with mirror rhymes (see Example 2) and *versos por número* (numbered stanzas) (see Example 3). The *tonada* is also comprised of an indefinite number of *coplas*, but in general no fewer than three or more than seven lines are ever sung, even if the piece has more than that. The conclusion is always given by means of a *cogollo* (lit., heart of a plant), or line alluding to the realm of flowers or plants (Example 3).

I
Suspiros del corazón
Van a tu poder mi vida
Por pensar en ti los doy
A todas horas del día

II
No puedo en esta ocasión
Ver tus graciosos candores
Te mando por portadores
Suspiros del corazón

III
Muy alegre y complacido
Recibe estos mensajeros
Que con el aire ligero
Van a tu poder mi vida

IV
Siempre suspirando estoy
En tan angustiada calma
Que estos suspiros del alma
Por pensar en ti los doy

V
Tú no sabís dueño mío
Que la esperanza no pierdo
Por eso a vuestro recuerdo
A todas horas del día

Example 2: *Copla glosada*

I
La *una* te prometo
A las *dos* mi dulce encanto
A las *tres* mi vida mida
Me hallo padeciendo tanto

II
En *cuatro* nada te advierto
En *cinco* te hago un pedido
En *seis* te hago un encargo
Que no me echís al olvido

III
En *siete* te estoy queriendo
En *ocho* preciosa flor
En *nueve* no me desprecies
Me has de hacer ese favor

IV
En *diez* días de mi vida
En *once* reloj pulido
En *once* reloj pulido
Que no me echís al olvido

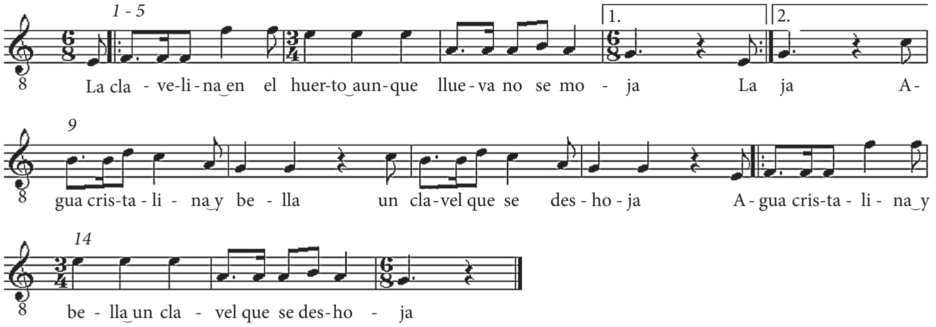
V
Señoritas y señores
Verde cogollo de hortensia
Trabajo es poner amores
Donde no hay correspondencia

Example 3: *Versos por número*

Musical Description

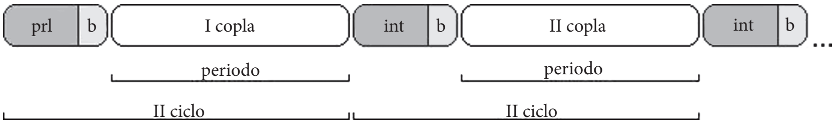
Commonly, the *tonada* is in 6/8 with occasional hemiolas in 3/4. The melody is always in a major scale with signs of modal scales, and it is developed mainly through tonic (I) and dominant (V or V7) chords following a I–V–I progression. The subdominant (IV) appears less frequently and when it is present it is usually in the progression I–IV–I–V–I. In addition, the melody is organized in a single musical period of two phrases – the first expansive in character, where leaps of a fourth and major intervals dominate; and the second contractive in character, where intervals of a third and smaller predominate. Another characteristic feature is its phrasing, which highlights a repetitive pattern that is commonly (a–a–b–a) and (a–a'–b–a). Less common are (a–a–b), (a–b–a) and (a–b–b) (see Example 4 below).

The guitar accompaniment is a structural component of the *tonada*; thanks to its timbre and harmonic function the guitar creates a sound environment and an ordering which, through preludes, interludes and bridges segments and prepares the entrance of each *copla*. Thus, in Example 5 below, an instrumental prelude or interlude plus a melodic period (*período*) constitute a cycle (*ciclo*), which is the smallest unit of the *tonada*'s strophic form:


1 - 5
1.
2.
9
14
La cla - ve-li - na en el huer-to aun-que llue - va no se mo - ja La ja A-
gua cris-ta - li - na y be - lla un cla-vel que se des - ho - ja A - gua cris-ta - li - na y
be - lla un cla - vel que se des-ho - ja

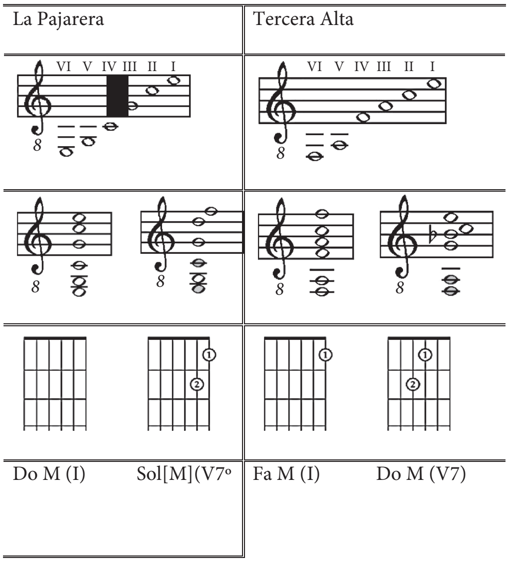
Recopilación: Margot Loyala
Trancripción: Agustín Ruiz

Example 4: La Clavelina. (Compilation by Margot Loyola; transcription by Agustín Ruíz)


prl
b
I copla
int
b
II copla
int
b
…
periodo
periodo
II ciclo
II ciclo

Example 5: Structure of a *ciclo*

In urban areas the *tonada* is accompanied by guitars tuned in E (E–B–G–D–A–E). In rural areas, a variety of tuning systems exist that simplify the use of the instrument through transposition and contribute to an archaic and traditional sonority. This sonority is characterized by harmonic functions that are combined with modal scales derived from open triads, or from the lowest pitch in the tonic chord that is maintained in the dominant as a pedal point (see Example 6).

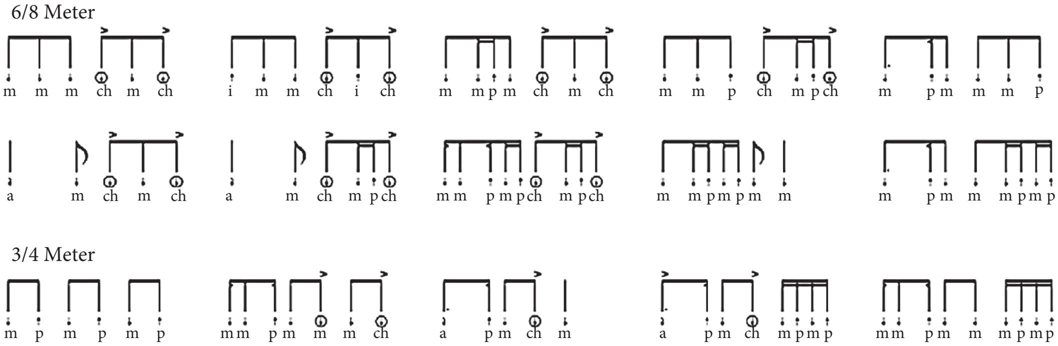

La Pajarera
Tercera Alta
VI V IV III II I
VI V IV III II I
Do M (I)
Sol[M](V7º
Fa M (I)
Do M (V7)

Example 6

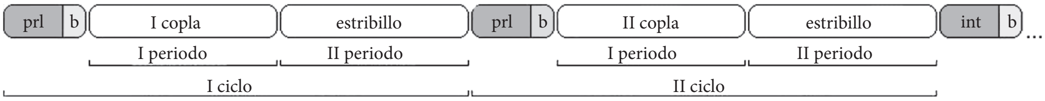
In addition to the richness of tuning systems, there exist accompaniment techniques that require virtuosic handling of the instrument. Some of these techniques include: *charangueado*, *sangorreado*, *punteado*, *trinado*, *picoteado* and *deslizado*. Nonetheless, the most common technique is the strumming, which allows for the manipulation of rhythms in 6/8 and 3/4 and the alternative use of articulations common to the genre. There are more than 20 different types of strumming patterns for 6/8 and over 10 for 3/4. Some of these strumming patterns are given in Example 7 below.

Although the *tonada* is related to other influential genres such as the *triste* and the *estilo*, by the end of the nineteenth century the genre experienced an important formal variation with the addition of a refrain (*estribillo*). This addition is related to the formal structure of the songs that gained popularity on the stage in Chile during those years. The *tonada* with refrain consists of a sequence of *coplas* that are alternated with a refrain whose length and form differ from the *copla*. This process was influenced by the Spanish *cuplé* and *jota* (see Example 8 below).

In the 1920s, when the *cuplé* was at its highest peak, the *tonada* began to be recorded and became, along with the *cueca,* a successful pairing for the national recording industry. As González Rodríguez and Rolle Cruz point out (2005), one of the earlier recordings of Chilean music was the tonada 'Serenata amorosa,' recorded in 1906 by Fonografía Artística-Efraín Band as a late example of 'salon' and 'casas de canto' music in the new century. From that point until the



Example 7: Guitar strumming patterns



Example 8: Structure of *tonada* with refrain (*estribillo*)

early 1950s different male 'huaso' groups and others recorded dozens of pre-composed urban *tonadas*, such as 'El martirio' (The Torture) (ca. 1910); 'Al pie de una guitarra' (To the Sound of a Guitar) (Julio Toro 1928); 'Abran quincha, abran cancha' (Open Fences, Open Fields) (1931) and 'Ay agüita de mi tierra' (Oh Water from My Land) (1932) (Los Cuatro Huasos); 'En Chillán planté una rosa' (In Chillán I Planted a Rose) (Esther Martínez 1939); 'Oro purito' (Pure Gold) (1939), 'Cantarito de Peñaflor' (The Little Vase from Peñaflor) (1940) and 'Rosita de Cachapoal' (Little Rose from Cachapoal) (1942) (Nicanor Molinare); 'Rayo de luna' (Moonlight) (1939) and 'Camino agreste' (Rugged Road) (1950) (Luis Aguirre Pinto); and 'Ende que te ví' (Since I Saw You) (1940) (Luis Bahamonde), all of them commonly recorded by RCA Víctor and EMI Odeón (González Rodríguez and Rolle Cruz 2005, 385–94). This brought about other changes as well: men started to participate actively in the performance of *tonadas* either as solo performers or members of duos, quartets or in mixed ensembles; compositions in minor modes and of tonal character appear; unusual modalities of accompaniment appeared such as piano, accordion and even radio orchestras made their debut. After centuries as a social practice, by the mid-twentieth century the *tonada* had become an important emblem of nationalist discourse of life-affirming, racial and environmentalist nature. This character emerged from valorization by folklorists and hegemonic segments of the *tonada* as a long-established tradition in Chilean society.

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AGUSTÍN RUIZ ZAMORA (TRANSLATED BY ZUZANA PICK AND PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ) WITH CHRISTIAN SPENCER ESPINOSA

Tonada Cuyana

Tonada cuyana is one of the most popular genres in the region of Cuyo, Argentina, which includes the provinces of Mendoza, San Juan and San Luis. *Tonadas* ('tunes') are songs which are considered by those who perform them to be the ultimate sign of regional identity. Along with the *cueca cuyana* ('cueca from Cuyo') and perhaps to a lesser degree the *gato* and *vals*, the *tonada cuyana* belongs to a musical complex known as 'música popular cuyana de base tradicional' (traditional popular music from Cuyo). Performers involved in this musical complex are called 'tonaderos,' a name which reveals the high degree of sociocultural identification that these artists give to the *tonada* as a representative of all the other genres.

Contemporary History of the Musics from Cuyo and the Cultural Industry

Although is it possible to trace the history of *cuecas* and *tonadas* back 200 years (Aretz 1952; Draghi Lucero 1938; Rodríguez 1938; Vega 1944, 1953, 1956), these genres are strongly linked to the cultural industry of the 1930s, a decade associated with the *refundación contemporánea de la música popular cuyana* (contemporary rebirth of Cuyo's popular music) (Sánchez 2004, 2006). This was a process in which the crystallization of new forms and the construction of new meanings gave rise to modern referents that are still recognized today.

These genres became widely popular after a group of performers from Cuyo settled in the Argentine capital of Buenos Aires in the 1930s to take advantage of the new spaces created by the radio and record industries. Thanks to these new resources and to the fact that Buenos Aires is the center of political and economic power, these artists were able to legitimize their careers and to make regional music available throughout the country.

This first generation of musicians (Fluixá 1960) was responsible for the crystallization of the music. They included: Hilario Cuadros (Los Trovadores de Cuyo), Buenaventura Luna (La Tropilla de Huachi Pampa), Carlos Montbrun Ocampo (Las Alegres Fiestas Gauchas), and Alberto Rodríguez and Ismael Moreno. In moving to the capital, making recordings and finding their way in the communication media, these artists showed great determination and a shrewd sense of opportunity. They especially embraced radio broadcasting – some even became radio hosts and used their shows to promote their own albums. The labor carried out by these artists was preceded by the so-called 'precursores' (i.e., 'precursors') Saúl Salinas and Alfredo Pelaia (Vega 1938) who shared airtime with the emerging genre of the *tango porteño* as well as other provincial musics in the early twentieth century.

The early mediatization of the music contributed greatly to the crystallization of its structures, instrumental formats and interpretive styles; eventually, this led to the appearance of a canon after which local music productions were shaped in order to sound 'cuyano.' There were surely other ways to make Cuyoan music, but the asymmetric relationship that was established between mediatized music and the possibilities for dissemination caused the standardization of a few forms and the disappearance of others. Traditional practice became entangled with practices and spaces of the mediatized world, accelerating the circulation of the music and creating unlikely connections that were unthinkable in earlier times. The references were now in the radio and in recordings.

Years later, noted composer and performer Félix Dardo Palorma emerged as a nexus between the early mediatized stage and the consolidation stage that followed. Starting in the mid-1940s artists such as Antonio Tormo played a key role in the strengthening of the genres from Cuyo in terms of circulation and widespread reception. Tormo and his Cuyoan musicians became the first stars of Argentine *folklore* (or *folclore*). Other notable artists included the ensembles of the brothers Arce and of the brothers Arancibia Laborda.

The characteristic virtuosity of the accompanying guitarists elevated and legitimized this music on a national level. The most outstanding artists were José Zabala, Alfredo Alfonso, Remberto Narváez, Santiago Bértiz and Tito Francia, among others. While virtuosity was an asset, it also contributed to the isolation of *cuecas* and especially of *tonadas* in the provincial context where performers did not operate under the same interpretive codes.

In the mid-1950s several events affected national awareness of this music. The silencing of Tormo following the military dictatorship that ousted Perón in 1955, the deaths of Luna in 1955 and Cuadros in 1956, and the settling of Montbrun Ocampo in Mendoza in 1956, together dealt a harsh blow to Cuyoan music in Buenos Aires and, as a consequence, in the entire country. By the 1960s the presence of Cuyoan music on a national level had waned considerably, having been replaced by ensembles from the northern regions of Argentina (e.g., Los Chalchaleros) as well as American and later British rock music. During this process musicians holding a more traditionalist view continued to cultivate *tonadas*. These so-called 'continuadores' (i.e., 'those who continue') included, among many others, Clemente Canciello (Cantares de la Cañadita) and Santos Rodríguez (Las Voces del Plumerillo). On the other hand, some musicians adopted a more critical stance and called for a renovation of compositional practices. Such was the case, for example, with Tito Francia (García 2006) and Nolo Tejón in the 1960s; Saúl Quiroga and Ernesto Villavicencio in the 1970s; and more recently Jorge Viñas in the 1980s and Fabiano Navarro in the 1990s.

Following the so-called '*boom del folklore*' of the 1960s, music from the northern and northcentral regions of the country became privileged by the industry and state cultural policies, a trend which gained traction in the 1960s, became more intense in the 1990s and has continued well into the twenty-first century.

The answer to the gradual decrease in visibility of the Cuyoan genres on a national level lies in the return to the regional circuit. However, this does not imply a return to traditional procedures. Rather, what has happened is the re-dimensioning and re-signification of global practices on a local scale, with modes of dissemination which are paramediatic and labyrinthine. In the ultralocal circuit industrial practices (radio, recordings and live performances) are present but on a much smaller scale. Consequently, these mediations become neutralized: musicians record their CDs, which they sell themselves directly to their followers, and artists are featured on the radio but by stations with a limited frequency and hence a restricted audience. This ultralocal circuit was defined in the 1980s by the abundant production of self-funded albums; the appearance of local recording studios; the existence of small labels and independent publishers; the airtime provided by specialized AM and FM radio stations; the organization of neighborhood *peñas* (i.e., popular street music festivals); and the tense relationship with massive musical spaces such as large festivals, the hegemonic recording industry, national communication media and the state's cultural politics.

The names *cueca* and *tonada* are used to designate two important events: the Fiesta Nacional de la Tonada ('National Festival of the Tonada') (in Tunuyán since 1972) and the Fiesta Nacional de la Cueca y el Damasco ('National Festival of the Cueca and Damasco') (in La Dormida since 1974). Both festivals attract more than 150,000 spectators every year. Nevertheless, these events have prioritized the appearance of young stars of the *Folklore Joven* (Young Folklore) since the mid-1990s, featuring artists such as Soledad, Luciano Pereyra, Los Nocheros and El Chaqueño Palavecino; paradoxically, none of these artists perform Cuyoan genres. Authentic performers of *tonadas*, *cuecas*, *valses* and *gatos* such as El Trébol Mercedino, Las Voces del Chorrillero, Juanita Vera, Los Navarro, Los Manantiales and Los Hermanos de la Torre have occupied secondary slots in these festivals and sometimes have not been hired at all.

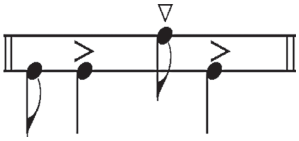
Although these genres moved fluidly between traditional and mediatized spaces for decades, today they have been marginalized from the market. However, their names continue to be exploited in festivals, appealing to the sociocultural identity traditionally attached to them even though they have suffered a significant emptying of their content. In summary, these genres have been replaced by the music and artists being promoted from Buenos Aires.

1930	1950	1960	1990
REGIONAL RELEVANCE	GREAT NATIONAL RELEVANCE	LOSS OF NATIONAL VISIBILITY	MARGINALIZATION FROM THE CENTRALIZED INDUSTRY

Figure 1: Cuyoan popular music with a traditional base and the Argentine cultural industry

Some Structures that Define the *Tonada Cuyana*

Unlike *cuecas*, *tonadas* are songs that are not meant to be danced to. The absence of choreography makes the formal structure of the *tonada* varied at both micro- and macrolevels. In addition, the genre has maintained a dialectic relationship with other popular genres such as *estilo*, *triste*, *vals*, *zamba* and *cueca*, incorporating structures and modalities characteristic of these genres into its compositions. This phenomenon makes classification and analysis difficult (Jacovella 1969; Martí 2004). However, the structure of the accompaniment reveals a specific rhythm that homogenizes a large number of compositions and renditions from the mediatized stage; this rhythm is one of the main characteristics of the most widely known *tonada* from the time of consolidation onward (see Example 1).



Example 1: Strumming of the guitarrón or guitar in a *tonada cuyana*. Top line: high strings. Bottom line: low strings. Inverted triangle: click or snap

The *tonadas* that are accompanied by this strumming pattern on the instrument, functioning as rhythmic-harmonic support, are those which the experts recognize as *tonadas cuyanas*. (For information with regard to instrumentation and timbral choices in popular music from Cuyo – considerations which also apply to the *tonada* as member of a larger musical complex – see the entry on *cueca cuyana*.)

The macrolevel structure of the contemporary *tonada cuyana* often features three sections of similar music but different lyrics (see Figure 2 below).

Section three generally involves the singing of a *cogollo,* a dedication which is sung over the same musical and literary structures but with the addition of the dedicatee's name between verses. This is often the most emotive section in the song, which ends with a *rallentando* and an arpeggiated chord. Some recordings feature *tonadas* with only two sections, similar to most Argentine folk genres. However, when these works are performed live the third section involving the *cogollo* is added.

At the micro-level structure, following the instrumental introduction (normally played by the guitars and often in a virtuosic manner) two very different themes appear in the singing line. These themes are often in neighboring tonalities and are connected by a brief instrumental section. The second theme often reappears with the same text in other sections and may function as a refrain. Also, the title of the song is frequently taken from one of the lines in this text.

One of the oldest and most popular forms features an 18-measure 'Song' (Canción) section. Two examples are the songs 'Quien te amaba ya se va' (The One Who Loved You Is Leaving Now), an anonymous song compiled by Alberto Rodríguez and Juan Draghi Lucero (1938); and 'La tonadita cuyana' (The Little Tune from Cuyo) by the most representative composer of the crystallization stage, Hilario Cuadros (see Figure 3).

M	(voice) *a* (6 mm.)	*Inst. nexus* (2 mm.)	(voice) *b* (4 mm.)	(voice) *a* (6 mm.)
	A (8 mm.)		*B* (10 mm.)	
L	*Verse 1* (3 octosyllabic lines)		*Verse 2* (5 octosyllabic lines)	

Figure 3: 18-measure 'Song' section of a *tonada cuyana*. 'Quien te amaba ya se va' (anon.) and 'La tonadita cuyana' (Hilario Cuadros). Lyrics (L), Music (M)

The absence of choreography allows for these 18 measures to be organized in any manner. In Roberto Quiroga's song 'Se fueron los sueños míos' (My Dreams Are Gone), the structure (Fig. 4) corresponds to the renditions by Los Caballeros de Cuyo and by the solo artist Angelita Aguilera. Roberto Quiroga was a member of Cantares de la Cañadita, one of the ensembles following the more traditionalist vein of the 'continuadores.'

M	(voice) *a* (4 mm.)	(voice) *b* (4 mm.)	(voice) *c* (2 mm.)	*Instr. nexus* (2 mm.)	(voice) *d* (4 mm.)	(voice) *c* (2 mm.)
	A (12 mm)				*B* (6 mm)	
L	*Verse* (5 octosyllabic lines)				*Refrain* (3 octosyllabic lines)	

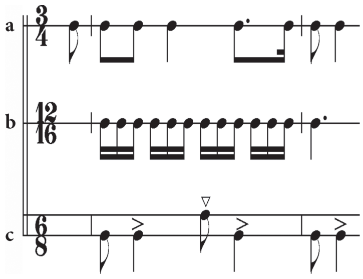
Figure 4: Another organization of the 18-measure 'Song' section of a *tonada cuyana*. 'Se fueron los sueños míos' (Roberto Quiroga), also known as 'Son penas mías nomás'

(opening strumming) Instrumental introduction (4–12 mm.)	Song With brief instrumental sections between verses (18–28 mm.)	Instrumental interlude (similar to the intro) (4–12 mm.)	Song With brief instrumental interludes between verses (18–28 mm.)	Instrumental interlude (similar to the intro) (4–12 mm.)	Song With brief instrumental sections between verses (18–28 mm.)
Section One		Section Two		Section Three	

Figure 2: Macrolevel structure of *tonada cuyana*

Unlike the *cueca*, the harmonic structure of the *tonada* is not standardized. However, both genres possess similar general characteristics, such as: the use of the major mode; the combination of I, IV and V chords and the use of secondary dominants, especially V/IV and V/V; the presence of passing diminished chords; and harmonic passages that are clearly demarcated by 2- or 4-measure cadences.

Vocal lines are set in 6/8 in alternation with 3/4, and are organized in verses of 3 to 6 octosyllabic lines. Frequently, either the melody or the accompaniment leaves 6/8 (the voice often ends phrases in 3/4, or the *guitarrón* ceases the strumming marking the bass in quarter notes), producing a metric contrast between the two. Occasionally three compatible metric strata are superimposed creating a complex polymetric texture (Example 2). The moderate tempo (54 to 62 dotted-quarter beats per minute) allows for the frequent duplication of instrumental melodies. The tempo reflects the profound and transcendent connotations of the *tonada*, where themes of unrequited love, longing for lost love and long-lasting relationships are prevalent. One of the privileged themes of this genre is the *tonada* itself as a signifier of sociocultural identity.



Example 2: Polymetric texture of the *tonada cuyana*. (a) Vocal melody in 3/4; (b) Contrapuntal guitar melody in 12/16; and (c) *Guitarrón* strumming in 6/8

Examples of self-referential *tonadas* are: 'La tonadita cuyana' (The Little Tune from Cuyo) by Cuadros/Lucero (1952); 'Las tonadas' by Palorma (1968); 'La tonada jamás morirá' (The Tonada will Never Die) by Valles/Villavicencio (1982); 'Regreso a la tonada' (Return to the Tonada) by Francia/Tejada Gómez (1972); and 'Ándale tonada' (Go on Tonada) by Viñas (1973).

The fact that *tonadas* are not associated with a dance allowed for freedom in their execution. In the un-mediatized context of *peñas* and in the home *tonadas* create a solemn and intimate mood. The mix of its earnest character, transcendent meanings and slow tempo have made the *tonada* a genre that is not popular in mediatized situations (Sánchez 2005b); instead, *gatos* and *cuecas* are much more frequent in large festivals, thanks to their upbeat, cheeky and festive character.

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OCTAVIO SÁNCHEZ (TRANSLATED BY PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

Tonada Potosina

Derived from the *huayño* (a pre-Hispanic genre of Andean music), the *tonada potosina* is a traditional Bolivian musical genre from an extensive geographical area that encompasses more than the department of Potosí in Bolivia. It is a generic denomination designating musical genres that use for accompaniment *guitarillas* and *charangos*, stringed instruments developed from those brought by the Spanish conquistadors. The particularity of the *charangos* and *guitarrillas*, which is in turn the defining feature of the *tonada potosina*, is a harmonic conception, the interval relations and the melodic-rhythmic functions of the instruments. The *tonadas* develop in the modal music area. The instruments are tuned in different pentatonic modes which in turn correspond to the agricultural calendar. In this way, the various musical genres are incorporated into ways in which Andean cultures comprehend and view the world. The modes and tunings are divided in accordance with two major periods: rainy and dry. At the same time, each corresponds to particular celebrations. For instance: one Temple (tuning) for sowing, another for harvesting, another for Easter etc.

In general, the *tonada potosina* gives prominence to the feminine voice in higher registers while men are charged with the interpretation on stringed instruments. *Tonadas* are normally in duple meter with tendencies toward irregularities. The structure and form of *tonadas* are determined by melodic phrasing and by the harmonic progression.

One of the most distinguished interpreters of traditional forms of Quechua music, among them the *tonadas potosinas*, is the Bolivian singer Luzmila Carpio. Born in the community of Qala Qala, Ayllu Panacachi, in the department of Potosi, Bolivia, Carpio, whose voice is noted for its ability to reach very high notes, learned how to sing following the oral traditions of her indigenous Quechua community. As well as being a singer, Carpio is a *charango* player, composer and author. She has recorded for the labels Discolandia and Pro Audio in Bolivia, and Acords Croisés in France.

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OSCAR GARCÍA GUZMÁN (TRANSLATED BY ZUZANA PICK WITH PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

Tonada Tarijeña

This Bolivian musical genre, specifically from the department of Tarija, has the generic name of *chapaqueada* or *copla chapaca*. Two dimensions are taken into account to identify the historical sources of this musical genre. On the one hand, there are enough distinctive features in the *coplas*, or couplets, to associate them with the Spanish couplet tradition, mainly that of the Spanish romances. On the other hand, sufficient arguments have been made which retrace the *coplas* to the singing tradition of the Inca Empire. The *tonada chapaca* is a form of alternating singing during which a series of arguments and questions are produced that can contain festive, celebratory or amorous content.

One of the main characteristics of this genre of spoken song is its improvised poetry that consists in creating a discourse within an established framework related to rhythmic and melodic structures of the *tonada* that correspond to determined periods in the year.

Because it is part of a musical calendar and matches the agricultural schedule, the *tonada chapaca* has four basic patterns corresponding to Carnival, Easter, holidays and All-Saints Day.

In general, the *tonada* operates in a tetratonic environment and in rural areas it is accompanied by wind instruments such as the *caña* or the *erke*, a small drum with double patches called *caja* and also occasionally by violins. The number of lines and their repetition in each stanza vary according to the occasion on which they are performed. In general, there are four forms divided into four types of *tonadas*. In the first, each stanza has four lines of either six or eight syllables and the first two lines are repeated. The second combines rhymed octosyllabic lines with pentasyllabic lines. The third consists of two rhymed heptasyllabic lines. The fourth form consists of two heptasyllabic lines, one tetrasyllabic line, and a last line of eight syllables. These are rhythmic structures of versification in the *tonada tarijeña* that are related, for example, to those of the Arawikus of Inca origin, which featured four octosyllabic lines.

Some *tonadas* exist within the framework of Mesoamerican music – they feature harmonic adaptations of diatonic scales and different harmonic structures with I-IV-V-I progressions. Examples of these *tonadas* include those interpreted by Los Montoneros de Méndez, a group from Tarija, founded in 1967 by Hugo Monzón, whose music was highly politicized. Other important examples can be found in the music of Tarijan-born singer and songwriter Ernesto 'Sapito Mealla' and the ensemble Las de San Lorenzo.

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OSCAR GARCÍA GUZMÁN (TRANSLATED BY ZUZANA PICK WITH PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

Tonada de Toros

Tonadas de toros (bull songs) are unaccompanied improvisatory songs structured by alternating solo and chorus within a poetic rhyme scheme and are associated with the extensive pilgrimage networks concentrated in the eastern provinces of the Dominican Republic. They may function variously as an introit ritual, as a vehicle for sharing cultural wisdom and jest, or simply as a challenge to produce clever rhymes. Within a relatively well-defined style, new songs are composed and added to the repertoire each year during a few months prior to the two largest pilgrimages in August and December.

The *tonadas* are called 'bull songs' not in reference to their texts, but rather to the pilgrimage networks which organize collection of bulls and alms donated to the Catholic Church. These lay brotherhoods (*cofradías*) are distributed across several connected provinces and call themselves, after the patron saints of the pilgrimage sites, the *Commissarios de la Vírgen de Altagraciay Cristo Rey de los Milagros*. According to most accounts, the bull-donation pilgrimages of the Commissarios date to the early twentieth century, as presumably do the *tonadas de toros.* Apart from this, bull donations likely had an earlier Dominican history, as might various improvisatory verbal genres (such as *décima* and *chuin*), but there is no earlier record specifically of the *tonadas de toros.*

In a typical *tonada,* an established melody composed of several phrases, a stanza end-rhyme scheme and repeating refrain provide the foundation, while singers take turns improvising between two to six lines of (usually) octosyllabic verse, making sure to rhyme the last word of their last verse with the ending of the prior singer. After each singer has tried a few rounds, they may substitute a new rhyming pattern, but continue uninterrupted on the same *tonada* and its refrain for 20 or 30 minutes or longer. Clever verses, especially the final turn of phrase leading to the end-rhyme, always provoke an eruption of approval and a round of ritual handshakes. With the exception of the ritualized introit *tonada*, and the religiously themed *tonada de la Vírgen*, most songs are oriented to secular topics. The *tonada* melodies are sung with gusto and throaty resonance, and are neither harmonized nor interpreted in meter. In a similar manner to eastern *palos*, the opening of the refrain is often sung over vowels rather than words. In the ranchlands where the genre is based, *tonada* singers are mostly men, whereas the women predominate in the *salves.*

The *tonadas* are not only sung during the pilgrimages (at nightly fiestas *en route* to the sanctuary), but more extensively during the alms collection period that begins a few months earlier. These occasions for singing include organized meetings of the *Commissario*, visits to donors' houses and sponsored all-night *serenades.* Devotees of the *Vírgen de Altagracia* or *Cristo Rey* may also incorporate *tonada* singers in their personal *promesa*, typically an annual celebration honoring the saint at which *palos* or *salves* are also performed. During these pre-pilgrimage events, new songs are composed based largely on reworking old material. On the pilgrimage route itself, large numbers of people converge at nightly stopovers, where *tonadas* are sung alongside *salves* and *palos,* and as is the Dominican custom, religious devotion runs parallel with festive dancing and drinking. The *tonada* tradition persists in the twenty-first century as music identified with the *Commissario* and their activities. They are sung today by a dwindling network of perhaps a few dozen elders, yet over the course of a year are heard by thousands of Dominicans. The *Commissario* and their unique musical genre are cyclically regenerated through association with a massive national cultural phenomenon – the tens of thousands of Dominicans who are devoted to the *Virgín de la Altagracia* and participate in pilgrimages to Higuey.

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DANIEL C. PIPER

Tondero

The *tondero* is a music and dance genre associated with Afro-Peruvian and mestizo populations in the departments of La Libertad, Lambayeque and Piura on the northern coast of Peru. The dance is generally considered to be a northern rural relative of the *marinera*, and similarities between these genres can be heard in the types of percussion and guitar accompaniment patterns and seen in the choreography. The *tondero* appears to date from the mid-eighteenth century. The popularity of the genre spread beyond its region of origin, as references to the dance and song lyrics were known in other parts of coastal Peru and even in Spain. It is unclear exactly how the genre developed.

One of the more popular theories, although one that has been difficult to substantiate beyond a few etymological similarities, is that the dance was derived from an older dance form known as the *zaña* that was predominantly associated with the Afro-Peruvian population from the northern Peruvian region of the same name.

The genre is characterized by a three-section form: the *glosa* performed in a minor key, the *canto* or *dulce* played in the relative major key and the *fuga* that returns to the original minor key. Afro-Peruvian influences are evident in the use of call-and-response singing and the syncopated guitar accompaniment that generally alternates between 3/4 and 6/8. Melodically, the *tondero* exhibits a number of features similar to those of highland indigenous and mestizogenres, such as the occasional use of pentatonic melodies and cadences that descend to the third degree of either the tonic or dominant chord. *Tondero* lyrics tend to be of a sentimental nature, most often romantically waxing poetic about the beauty of places and people (most often women) from the northern coastal region. The genre is generally accompanied by two guitars that alternate between elaborate finger-picked melodies in parallel thirds and a trademark bass line that rises stepwise from the first to the third scale degree. Percussion accompaniment is provided by either a *cajón* (box drum) or in some cases, particularly in the region of Zaña, a gourd drum known as the *checo*. Other instruments are also common, including harps, clarinets, saxophones and violins.

From a choreographic standpoint, the *tondero* is a courtship dance in which partners in male-female couples, holding handkerchiefs, continually flirt with each other, the male gently advancing while his female partner turns away. Since the 1970s the institutionalization of the *tondero* as a form of regional folklore has led to the emergence of a more stylized version of the dance that is often performed in regional and national dance competitions. In this performance context, the dance is accompanied by large brass bands or military bands that perform instrumental versions of the *tondero*. The choreography and style of dress have also become more standardized to highlight the perceived rustic character of the dance. Movements tend to be shorter and less grand in scale than those seen in the competition-style *marinera* and both dancers usually perform barefoot, with simpler costumes evocative of nineteenth-century rural peasant dress. In the early twenty-first century, the *tondero* is still actively performed and danced at a variety of festive events on the northern coast, within the context of regional and dance competitions and occasionally as part of the repertoire of *criollo* musicians in the city of Lima.

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JAVIER F. LEÓN

Toré

Toré is a ritual with music, found in the northeastern *sertão* (backcountry) of Brazil. It is part of a greater complex of rituals which spread from the time of the dissolution of missionary villages in northeastern Brazil, especially in the nineteenth century. Its practice among many indigenous peoples of the region (such as the Kalankó/AL, Pankararu/PE, Geripankó/AL, Karuazu/AL, Katokin/AL, Xukuru/AL, Fulni-ô/AL, Pipipã/AL, Kambiwá/PE, Tremembé/CE, Kiriri/BA, Tuxá/BA, Pankararé/BA among others) offers evidence of its popularity, and it is also known beyond the region by Indians and non-Indians.

Historically, *toré* has often been linked to a wind instrument present among indigenous populations of the Amazon during Brazil's colonial period (1500–1822). Recently, it has become associated with the study of cultural performance, linked more specifically to the issue of the ethnic identity of the indigenous populations of the northeastern backcountry (part of the study of ethnogenesis, which has developed into a huge field of study in Brazil), and as such has become an object of ethnomusicological study (Pereira 2004).

Toré as a Musical Event

In a *toré* event, the songs are based mainly on the voice, but also on the way in which the participants stomp on the floor ('pisada') (Herbetta 2006). A good interpreter of *toré* will 'push the wheel' ('puxa a roda') – that is, give momentum to the ritual – for a long time and will be one who knows a large repertoire of songs (for more on Kalankó terminology, see Herbetta 2006). The *maracá* (a type of shaker) is also used. The aim of the performance is to open contact between participants and the spiritual entities, the *encantados* (enchanted), the ancestors, who have been transformed into beings who protect the community.

The song is structured around 'call and response,' in which the singer sings two lines and the participants respond with two more, plus a few variations. The song ends with a shout, issued by the singer and repeated by other participants. The *toré* performed by the Kalankó, Koyupanká, Katokinn, Karuazu and Geripankó (below) is an example:

> *Singer:*
> Caboclo de pena,
> não pisa no chão;
> *Participants:*
> Peneira no ar,
> que nem gavião
>
> Or
>
> *Singer:*
> Em cima daquela serra,
> tem um terreiro de preá;
> *Participants:*
> Canta homem, canta mulher,
> e os índios que chegam lá.

Often an accompaniment is formed from a play of wordless vowels and syllables, such as

> Lê lê lê eio há há
> Há há he Eio a há há

In this respect *toré* resembles *praia*, another ritual from the same area, in which meaningless chants constitute basic cells, which are the basis of variation throughout the piece.

The chant can evolve from improvisation, and a minimum of three chants or multiples of this number should always be sung. Each chant lasts from 3 to 22 minutes, and the *toré* itself lasts the entire night.

In most cases the dance is arranged as a 'core-periphery,' in which the singers are placed in the center of the circle and the participants around the periphery. The center indicates the sacred area, where the *encantados* live, and the periphery is designated as where the Indians live. It is always performed counterclockwise, either in single or double file. The steps consist of spins and turns. The singers and the best dancers remain in the center of the circle and in the periphery are the other participants who sing the response. The musical-choreographic arrangement reflects ideas of rank, seniority and prestige. In some places, people still dance in a straight line and move toward the singer. Alternatively, in a movement reminiscent of the *praiá*, the participants move in and out as the tempo becomes faster.

The Use and Status of *Toré*

Toré has an important role within the communities where it is found, both for aesthetic reasons and because it is linked with the political process of identity classification. It is important to note that classification and reclassification of identity has been common in the region since the 1930s, a process which led to some populations coming to be identified as indigenous and others ceasing to be identified in that way.

Toré as described above is a mark of 'Indianness.' The songs that are sung during the various events by a particular group are learned by those present and reproduced in various other communities, as a result of which a few groups have the same repertoire. *Toré* can occur inside the village, where its music acts as a pivot system that mediates between the universes of language arts (myth and poetry), plastic-visual expression (drawing, body painting and others) and choreography (dance) (Herbetta 2006). It can also be performed outside the village, where it assumes external political significance and acts as a distinctive demonstration of identification; in this way, *toré* has been regularly performed as a cultural practice in many northeastern cities, especially in the interior – which means it has been performed over a huge region. It may also be sung during the day-to-day – at work, in the countryside, during leisure times or to put children to sleep. As a ritual, *toré* is practiced all week but especially on Saturday evenings.

Toré is generally seen as the preferred musical genre in the communities in which it is practiced, belonging to a system of preferences that includes other genres such as *forró*, *arrocha*, *coco*, *reisado*, *brega* and international genres – all of which find favor in the northeastern countryside. It is placed in opposition to other genres, including urban ones, such as rock 'n' roll, for example, which the communities dislike. In this system of musical preferences, *toré* is classified as the one they most like.

In this context, it is important to note that *toré* has been recorded. This process started a few years ago thanks to the spread of digital technology and the appropriation by the indigenous population of the notion that the dissemination of this music is important.

Influences and Relationships

In terms of sonority, *toré* does not appear to mix with other Brazilian genres, with a few exceptions such as that which occurs among the Kapinawá from Pernambuco, for example, who started to play *toré* after *samba de coco*, mixing both (Albuquerque 2004; Pereira 2004). However, within the communities mentioned earlier other sonorities are also present. If the sonority of *toré* does not mix with other musical genres of the *sertão*, it nevertheless has many musical influences at its base. For instance, a Portuguese tradition is present in its gestures, which approximate to the songs of praise and lamentation and resemble Western practice. (This topic was addressed in other studies of Amerindian music of the northeastern *sertão* in Herbetta 2011.) According to Albuquerque (2004, 222) missionaries used European religious music – modified and as an element of attraction and catechesis – during the long evangelization process. This music then became one of the building blocks in the process of indigenous musical creation. Also evident are elements of African tradition, especially with regard to rhythm. It is important to emphasize the influence of an Amerindian musicality, found in much of the TBAS (Terras Baixas da América do Sul – 'South American Lowlands'), in structures such as the call-and-response and in the freer character of some sentences.

As for *toré*'s own influence, it is possible that it may have had a role in the formation of many other musical genres characteristic of the region, such as *coco*. This topic, however, is controversial. For Gallet (1934), there is no relationship between *toré* and other musical genres of the Brazilian North-east. This assertion, however, has since been questioned by Siqueira (1951). According to this author, northeastern music excels in creativity – and indigenous music is at the base of its (i.e., NE music's) creation. In this sense, Siqueira's analysis gives rise to the discussion between the musical permutations of indigenous music and of Brazilian music. For him, backcountry music of the North-east constitutes a 'new aesthetic' that is admirable (ibid., 85) and that possesses a vast number of melodic procedures.

Thus, some musical features of *tore*, such as ending on a third and the descending tendency, are also markers in some *sertanejo* and northeastern genres. With regard to the melodic material of *toré*, a third normally appears in strategic positions, connecting sentences or being used as an ending. Notable too are the procedures of melodic composition, such as the profusion of arpeggios, ornamentation, rhythmic interplay between singer and chorus, and also between men and women.

Conclusion

The *toré* ritual occurs more than ever today, but does so in a complex way, in dialogue with the modern world. For some, however, denying this evident relationship between the indigenous and the popular is a way of denying the 'Indian-ness' of the region and of Brazil.

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ALEXANDRE FERRAZ HERBETTA (TRANSLATED BY MONA-LYNN COURTEAU AND PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

Toríl

The *toríl*, Spanish for 'bullring,' is a genre of central Andean folk music associated with bullfights and other ritual activities involving livestock. Though typically only performed during these seasonal events, the genre has been a staple in the repertoire and recordings of popular Andean folk musicians in Peru since the mid-twentieth century.

The *toríl* bears a close identification with the Mantaro Valley region of central Peru, where it is also known as the *santiago*. The term *santiago* refers to the Catholic Saint James, widely associated in this region with tutelary deities called *wamanis* or *apus* who are believed to inhabit local mountains, and whose feast day (25 July) coincides with the season for marking livestock. *Santiago* music is performed during the *herranza*, the ritual for marking livestock, as well as during bullfights and the extensive preparations for regional civic-religious festivals. The *toríl* is also popular at similar events farther south in the Peruvian departments of Ayacucho, Apurímac and Huancavelica.

Toríl music is typically performed by small ensembles featuring several distinct instruments: spiral cow-horn trumpets, known by their Quechua name *waqrapuko*, the *tinya* (a small, handheld stick drum played by women since precolonial times) and the Western violin. In certain contexts and areas, the genre may also be performed by harp-violin duos, with the harp assuming a largely rhythmic role, or by a 10- to 15-member saxophone orchestra known as an *orquesta típica*. Nonetheless, the *waqrapuko* remains the *toríl*'s signature instrument, performed in pairs tuned in unison or a third apart. Due to the inherent limitations of this instrument, *toríl* melodies are usually tritonic and rooted in the lower notes of the harmonic series. A final distinguishing feature of the genre is the steady, medium tempo pulse played on the *tinya* drum.

Individual *toríl* tunes may be performed as strictly instrumental pieces, but most are based on songs. Song texts during ritual functions are usually situational, drawn from long-standing tradition and thematically focused on the animals themselves. Outside of ritual contexts, lyrics to *toriles* may also address contemporary themes, including love, lost love and even political commentary (see *Mountain Music of Peru, v.2*), but songs about cattle predominate.

Recordings of the genre first began circulating in the late 1950s, at the beginning of the 'golden age' (1950s–1970s) of Andean folk music recordings in Peru (see Romero 2001). Recordings by stars of that era, as well as newer songs by contemporary rural performers, continue to surge in popularity every year in late July and early August during the festival season; these recordings are listened to both as popular entertainment and, at times, to supplant live performance during ritual events. Numerous popular musicians in Peru, such as Manuelcha Prado ('Torovelay'), have also paid homage to the genre by fusing its characteristic melodies and rhythm with new instrumentation and musical aesthetics drawn from transnational popular styles.

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JONATHAN RITTER

Tropicália

Tropicália may be understood as a 'cultural moment' (Süssekind 2005) in late 1960s Brazil that was manifest in nearly all realms of artistic production, especially in popular music, but also in the visual arts, theater, film and literature. In the realm of music, it did not denote a particular style, but rather a certain attitude toward the Brazilian song tradition, international pop and cultural modernity. At the time, Brazil was ruled by a military dictatorship, which entered its most repressive phase in 1968. *Tropicália* formulated a critique of authoritarian rule and conservative social values, but is not generally regarded as a manifestation of 'protest music.' Although the Tropicalist phenomenon was brief, it would have a lasting impact on Brazilian popular music and remained a point of reference for innovative musicians into the twenty-first century. Furthermore, nearly all of the original Tropicalists continued to be active as professional musicians, public intellectuals and highly influential cultural agents.

The core group of Tropicalist musicians – Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil, Tom Zé and Gal Costa – were from the northeastern state of Bahia and began to perform together in the state capital, Salvador, in 1964. The poet José Carlos Capinan and graphic designer Rogério Duarte, also from Bahia, and poet Torquato Neto, from the state of Piauí, contributed song lyrics and conceptual guidance. After migrating south in the mid-1960s, the so-called *grupo baiano* formed a creative alliance with São Paulo-based artists, including a group of avant-garde composers, most notably Rogério Duprat, and the psychedelic rock band Os Mutantes, featuring Rita Lee, Arnaldo Baptista and Sérgio Baptista. On one level, Tropicalist music may be understood as a meeting of musicians from Bahia, a center of Afro-Brazilian culture, and from São Paulo, the largest and most industrialized Brazilian city. In the genesis of *Tropicália*, Rio de Janeiro also played a role, most notably in the realm of the visual arts. The Carioca (i.e., from Rio de Janeiro) artist Hélio Oiticica coined the term *Tropicália* as the name of an environmental installation, or *ambiente,* created for the Nova Objetividade Brasileira exhibit of 1967. At the suggestion of a filmmaker, Luis Carlos Barreto, Caetano Veloso appropriated Oiticica's title for a song recorded in the following year that was to provide the namesake for a larger cultural phenomenon.

Situating the Tropicalists

Given the multidisciplinary character of the Tropicalist moment in Brazilian arts, it is difficult to identify essential values in terms of form and content, but it is possible to make a few general observations. *Tropicália* was a cultural response to the specific contradictions and tensions of Brazilian modernity, formulated in the mid-twentieth century as a combination of national development, economic modernization, social advancement, political democratization and cosmopolitan cultural expression. The military regime that came to power in 1964 with support from the United States was committed to a program of conservative modernization, an array of economic, social and political measures that favored international capitalist interests. The regime was committed to industrial development and infrastructural modernization, but invested little in programs fomenting social equality.

In the late 1950s, when most of the future Tropicalists reached young adulthood, Brazil was a formal democracy with a government that was committed to a program of state-sponsored modernization, symbolized most dramatically by the construction of Brasília, a new capital designed as a local response to the International Style of architecture. A mid-century constructivist avant-garde had emerged in São Paulo around *concretismo,* which found expression in poetry and visual arts as a challenge to earlier formulations of Brazilian artistic modernity. An *auteur* cinema on a par with the best productions from Europe was beginning to coalesce under the banner of Cinema Novo. In the realm of art music, or *música erudita,* European émigré composers and their Brazilian acolytes championed dodecaphonic, concrete and aleatory music over the neo-Romantic nationalist students of Heitor Villa-Lobos. Meanwhile, a group of cosmopolitan musicians and poets based in Rio de Janeiro developed *bossa nova*, a new style of *samba* that incorporated complex harmonies gleaned from jazz and classical music. Many of the Tropicalist musicians remember João Gilberto's 1958 recording of 'Chega de saudade' ('No More Blues'), the first *bossa nova* hit, as a milestone event in their early artistic development.

In various ways, all of these cultural manifestations related, however obliquely, to the hopeful logic of developmentalism premised on the idea that Brazil was emerging as a modern, industrialized nation. The concrete poet Augusto de Campos (1974) expressed this idea succinctly in claiming *bossa nova* was a 'finished product,' unlike the 'raw material' of folklore. By the early 1960s, however, an economic crisis brought to the fore progressive forces calling for revolutionary social change. Young musicians, including *bossa nova* enthusiasts, began to incorporate elements of urban *samba* and rural folk styles and composed lyrics that addressed themes of social inequality and injustice. In poetic circles, the concretist avant-garde was critiqued for its excessive formalism and distance from the social and political concerns of the left. In response, the concretists liked to quote Russian vanguardist Vladimir Mayakovksy: 'Without revolutionary form, there is no revolutionary art.'

Many middle-class artists of this generation, including Gil, Capinan and Tom Zé, participated in the People's Centers of Culture (CPC), a left-wing organization affiliated with the National Students Union (UNE) that sought to mobilize society through music and theater performances. When the military regime came to power in 1964, it effectively shut down the CPC, but a vibrant left-wing protest culture flourished in the major cities, most notably among university and high school students. At the same time, Brazil witnessed the emergence of a national rock movement, dubbed *iê-iê-iê,* involving mostly working-class artists who were largely impervious to the left-wing nationalism that dominated university life. By the mid-1960s, there was considerable tension between rock 'n' roll singers such as Roberto Carlos and Erasmo Carlos and the defenders of popular music understood to be authentically national and socially engaged who rallied under the banner of *Música Popular Brasileira* (MPB). In this context, MPB referred specifically to urban post-*bossa nova* popular music, often with lyrics of literary merit, which successfully mediated between received notions of tradition and modernity. It was not a genre, like *samba*, rock or jazz, nor even a style, like *bossa nova*, but rather a musical hybrid that connoted class position, educational level and political sympathies. MPB artists and consumers, for example, tended to shun both *iê-iê-iê* and lowbrow romantic music (or *música cafona*) as emotionally hollow and politically alienated. In the mid-1960s emerging MPB stars such as Chico Buarque, Edu Lobo, Elis Regina, Naná Caymmi, Sérgio Ricardo and Geraldo Vandré reached a mass audience on competitive televised music festivals – the Festival da Música Popular Brasileira on TV Record of São Paulo and the Festival Internacional da Canção on TV Globo in Rio de Janeiro.

The Eruption of *Tropicália*

Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil achieved critical and popular acclaim in the 1967 TV Record festival with the songs 'Alegria, Alegria' and 'Domingo no parque' (Sunday in the Park), respectively, which they described as the 'universal sound' or *som universal.* Both songs initially met with disfavor among sectors of the live audience, which typically favored performances with acoustic instruments that drew heavily on Brazilian musical traditions, including *samba*, *marcha* and *baião*. In the final round, Gil and Veloso won over the audience with songs backed by rock musicians using electric instruments, but were still recognized as essentially 'Brazilian.' Gil's performance, 'Domingo no parque,' was particularly notable in the way it juxtaposed Os Mutantes and the percussionist Dirceu, who played the *berimbau,* a one-string bowed instrument of Angolan origin used in *capoeira,* an Afro-Brazilian dance/fight to musical accompaniment. Standing center stage with acoustic guitar in hand, Gil seemed to mediate sonically and visually between 'modernity' and 'tradition' in a way that pleased fans of MPB. Within a few months, the musical movement initiated by Veloso and Gil was dubbed 'Tropicalismo' by journalist and producer Nelson Motta.

Later in the following year, with the Tropicalist musical movement in full swing, Tom Zé won first prize at the 1968 TV Record festival with 'São, São Paulo' and Gal Costa received third prize with 'Divino maravilhoso' (Divine Marvelous), a rock song featuring a vocal performance that brought to mind Janis Joplin. The Tropicalists contributed decisively to the growing acceptance of rock music and electric instrumentation. Left-wing nationalists, however, continued to jeer their music at the televised music festivals largely because the tropicalists were using electric instruments and incorporating elements of rock, which they associated with US cultural imperialism. Gil and Veloso were disqualified in the eliminatory rounds of the 1968 Festival Internacional da Canção when they performed aggressively countercultural rock songs, 'Questão de ordem' [Question of Order] and 'É proibido proibir' [It's Forbidden to Forbid]. Veloso's live performance with Os Mutantes was particularly notorious for his long diatribe against the audience as it jeered the musicians, summed up in the phrase: 'If you are the same in politics as you are in aesthetics, we're done for.' In a nutshell, Veloso expressed the Tropicalist critique of the nationalist left, a critique that resonated with earlier battles waged by the concrete poets relating aesthetic experimentation, cultural nationalism and social critique.

Some of the most important Tropicalist songs, such as 'Tropicália' (Veloso), 'Geléia Geral' (Gil-Neto) and 'Parque industrial' (Tom Zé), may be understood as national allegories that juxtapose signs of underdevelopment and backwardness with signs of ultramodernity. Marxist critics, most notably Roberto Schwarz (1970), were troubled by their approach to history that was seemingly 'atemporal' or even 'absurd' because it offered no clear solution to Brazil's social contradictions. For other critics, such as Celso Favaretto (1979), the Tropicalist allegory was effective precisely because it refused dialectical resolution, thereby generating a fragmentary and indeterminate image of Brazil that could be used to critique uneven modernization. The Tropicalists were acutely attuned to the structural changes brought on by the military regime, its development program and its repressive mechanisms and found incisive ways of representing these transformations and their effect on everyday life in Brazil.

In 1968–9 the Tropicalists issued several solo albums and one collective manifesto, *Tropicália, ou Panis et Circensis* (1968), a concept album inspired by the Beatles' *Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*. Like the wider field of MPB, *Tropicália* was not a new genre or style, but rather a pastiche of diverse musical forms, national and international, dated and ultramodern. At its core, Tropicalist music may be understood as a rereading, both reverential and ironic, of the tradition of Brazilian popular song in relation to international pop music and avant-garde experimentation. Tropicalists drew from a wide variety of musical traditions, including *samba*, *bossa nova*, *baião* (a northeastern dance music), *capoeira* music, British invasion rock, psychedelia, Brazilian *iê-iê-iê,* Spanish American *bolero* and *cha cha chá*, and classical music. In his memoir, Veloso described the Tropicalist approach:

> Instead of working together to find a unified sound that would define the new style, we preferred to utilize one or more sounds that were already recognizable from commercial music, so that the arrangement would be an independent element that would enhance the song but also clash with it. In a way, what we wanted to do could be compared to the contemporary practice of sampling, and the parts we were combining were 'ready-mades' (2003, 101–2).

In drawing from a wide variety of musical forms, the Tropicalists sought to overcome narrowly defined ideas of cultural authenticity defended by left-wing nationalists. They were interested, above all, in the phenomenon of 'pop music' and its relation to youth culture, consumer society and musical tradition.

In their musical project, the Tropicalists found theoretical support in *antropofagia* (cultural cannibalism), first formulated and articulated by modernist provocateur Oswald de Andrade in his 'Manifesto antropófago' (1928). They had been introduced to the work of Andrade by the concrete poets, who were then re-editing his works and reviving his critical and poetic legacy. For Andrade, the metaphor of cannibalism, inspired by coastal Indians known to devour their captive enemies, including Portuguese colonizers, provided a model for cultural production that was neither subservient to metropolitan trends in Europe nor defensive or narrowly nationalistic. For the Tropicalists 40 years later, the idea of cannibalism provided a model for revitalizing the Brazilian song tradition in light of contemporary developments in international pop. As Veloso remarked in *Tropical Truth,* 'The idea of cultural cannibalism fit us like a glove. We were eating the Beatles and Jimi Hendrix' (2003, 156). Tom Zé, however, has recently disavowed a connection to Oswaldian *antropofagia,* arguing instead that *Tropicália* was a product of the collision between Western modernity and a sedimented Iberian Mozarabic culture brought over to northeastern Brazil during the colonial period (1999).

Although the Tropicalists were most vehemently criticized by artists and critics of the nationalist left, they also aroused the suspicions of the military regime for their anarchic, countercultural attitude toward authority. In late December 1968 Veloso and Gil were arrested, put in a military prison and then confined to house arrest in Salvador until they departed for exile in London, where they would stay until 1972. By 1969 *Tropicália* was over, but some of the fundamental qualities that oriented its practice – the critical dialogue with international cultural practices and projects and the attempt to fuse avant-garde practices and popular culture – continued to inform artistic practice in Brazil into the twenty-first century.

Tropicalist Legacies

We may speak of a Tropicalist revival in Brazilian popular music, although there has been an ongoing debate about the movement's influence and legacy. In 1993 Gil and Caetano recorded *Tropicália 2*, a collaborative project that commemorated the movement while seeking to reaffirm its contemporary relevance. The most powerful track on this recording, 'Haiti,' was set to a slow rap beat and denounced police violence aimed at black youth while raising pointed questions about the meaning of citizenship in Brazilian society. Tropicalist music also found an international audience, especially in the United States and the United Kingdom, in the 1990s. Reissued Tropicalist records from the late 1960s began to circulate abroad and attracted enthusiastic attention from critics and musicians, who were especially drawn to the psychedelic experiments of Os Mutantes, who reunited for performances in the United States and United Kingdom in 2007.

Most of the original Tropicalists have continued to produce critically acclaimed and commercially successful music for audiences at home and abroad into the 2000s. In the 1990s Tom Zé received critical acclaim and attracted a new generation of fans at home and abroad following a series of recordings produced by David Byrne for his Luaka Bop label. He toured with Chicago-based group Tortoise in 1999 and was the subject of two acclaimed documentaries, *Fabricando Tom Zé* (2007) and *Tom Zé: Astronauta Liberado* (2009). Veloso developed a highly successful artistic career while also intervening frequently in public debates over politics, sexuality, race and culture in Brazil. Since the 1980s Gilberto Gil has balanced an artistic career with public service. He was appointed Minister of Culture for the Lula government in 2003 and subsequently gained tremendous visibility, both nationally and internationally, as an advocate for cultural development. Gil has been particularly active in promoting cultural citizenship in Brazil by establishing production centers, or *pontos de cultura,* in poor communities, advocating the use of free open-source software, and democratizing intellectual property laws and regulations. It would be difficult to find counterparts of the same generation from other national contexts with comparative levels of influence. Many of the incisive interventions in Brazilian popular music in the early 2000s have been indebted to the Tropicalists and their spirit of radical eclecticism rooted in local traditions, yet fully engaged with international popular music.

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CHRISTOPHER DUNN

Tropipop

Tropipop, short for tropical pop music, appeared in 1993 in Colombia when singer Carlos Vives combined elements from traditional *musica tropical* (tropical music) with different aspects of pop, rock, *soca* and the international electronic music scene. Building on the success of a television soap opera chronicling the life of local composer Rafael Escalona, Vives recorded an album titled *Clásicos de la provincia*, which included many of the songs from the series. In it, he updated a popular accordion-based Colombian music genre, the *vallenato*, integrating it with a wide array of elements from contemporary national and international popular music. Fusion was nothing new in Colombia. In the 1960s and 1970s groups such as Génesis or Malanga had combined Colombian rhythms and rock, with mixed results. In the case of Vives, however, his recordings struck gold. His later hit 'Carito' (2001), which narrates the story of a schoolboy's crush on his English teacher, a Bostonian, is signaled as a cornerstone and template for much of the production of *tropipop*.

Though Vives himself followed *Clásicos de la provincia* with albums such as *La Tierra del olvido* (The Land of Forgetfulness) (1995), *Tengo fe* (I Have Faith) (1997) and *El Amor de mi tierra* (The Love of My Country) (1999), that involved substantial experimentation, exploring new ways to enhance the Colombian musical tradition, much of the immediately ensuing production was limited to acts such as Café Moreno, Moisés Angulo, Madre Monte and Karamelo playing traditional tunes with a contemporary sound and an explicit commercial interest. By around 2005, while preserving the same character, efforts were being made to embody increased musical complexity and a more polished sound, with acts such as Cabas, Bacilos, Bonka, Lucas Arnau, Mauricio y Palo de Agua, Fonseca, San Alejo, Fanny Lu, Pernett, Jerau and Wamba, many of whom have been nominated for or received Latin Grammys, Billboard or Lo Nuestro Awards and even Spain's Principales. To a certain extent, *tropipop* marks a struggle on the part of the major recording labels (EMI Music, Universal and Sony) to hold on to a market which is increasingly influenced, in Colombia as elsewhere in Latin America, by greater access to local recording facilities (where albums can be recorded for a few thousand dollars), the rise of independent labels (such as ECM [a Colombian label, not connected to ECM in Europe], Silent Sound and Millenium), and widespread piracy. In addition, not everything produced lacks quality, as is evident in recordings by fusion bands such as Sidestepper, Doctor Krápula or Mojarra Eléctrica, which have been praised by critics.

The year 2007 marks the climax of this sound, when, after heavy airplay and television coverage, signs of a backlash against *tropipop* became apparent. Typical criticism centered on the poor quality of lyrics, the abuse of rhythms and the lack of an original, autochthonous sound. Generally speaking, *tropipop* bands are viewed as improvised, middle-class ensembles – a group of kids from a high school in Bogotá or any other urban area – lacking any kind of mystique or dedication to the preservation of a cultural tradition. According to critics, the homogeneity of their production makes it hard to distinguish between different bands and vocalists. Nevertheless, as a cultural product, *tropipop* represents a shift in the musical tastes of a new Colombian generation, accustomed to massive concerts and outdoor performances, in distinct contrast to the ballroom dance tradition of their forebears. In the end, *tropipop* ratifies the vitality of the Colombian urban experience, which, despite celebrating its folk roots, seeks to rework and renovate many of the musical boundaries of the past.

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HÉCTOR FERNÁNDEZ L'HOESTE

Trova

Trova is an umbrella term denoting the type of music produced in Cuba by singer-songwriters called *trovadores* ('troubadours'). *Trovadores* are most recognized as singer-guitarists performing love songs, yet the exponents of *trova* also include pianists, rock musicians and performers of the politically and socially oriented *nueva trova* movement of the 1960s and 1970s. A tradition dating back to the late nineteenth century, the name *trova* comes from *trovador*, a term referencing the European tradition of composer-performers of the Middle Ages. The term does not in itself represent a genre, yet it represents one of the primary modes of performance of the Cuban *canción* (song) and the *bolero*, and it also encompasses the music of politically conscious singer-songwriters during the Cuban Revolution. The early *trovadores* of the late nineteenth century participated in the creolization of European romantic and patriotic songs, creating a uniquely Cuban style of performance which persists to this day.

The antecedents of *trova* date back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and include a variety of European singing and performance styles. These include the Spanish *tonadillas escénicas* (theater shows mixing song and dance) and *zarzuelas* (dramatic shows with sung and spoken scenes), French and Italian opera, and European patriotic songs and salon music.

Unlike today, Santiago de Cuba in the nineteenth century was a busy international port, receiving an influx of foreign visitors and immigrants. This was the birthplace of *trova.* In the late nineteenth century serenading itinerant musicians accompanied themselves on guitar, singing songs about love, patriotism and the beauty of the countryside. These musicians were spurred by the wealth of European song styles popular in Cuba during the colonial era. A strong influence of French opera and romantic songs was present in Santiago de Cuba, a result of its proximity to Haiti, a French colony until 1804. Beginning in the final years of the eighteenth century during the Haitian Revolution, Santiago de Cuba received masses of French-speaking immigrants from its neighbor, as exiles fled the bloody war. Italian romantic song also left its mark in Santiago de Cuba via Italian artists who stopped off in the city during trips between Mexico or the United States and Europe. European patriotic music, spurred by the wave of nationalism in the continent in the nineteenth century, also became popular in Cuba, as the movement for independence from Spain took place.

The singing styles of operatic arias, European romantic salon music and the patriotic texts of European anthems were adapted by the poor working classes of Santiago de Cuba, who began to sing their own Cuban versions of these genres. At first, Cuban versions simply replaced the texts of the European versions, borrowing the melodies of the original songs. Eventually, innovative *trovadores* such as Pepe Sánchez

– the father of Cuban *trova* and the *bolero* – developed a distinct Creole mode of performance. The practice of singing to the accompaniment of guitar was a Hispanic influence, notably popular among immigrants in Cuba from southern Spain or the Canary Islands. The guitar at the time was considered an instrument of the poor or working class, just as it was in Spain, and became the primary mode of accompaniment for the exponents of the first era of the *trova*, often referred to as *trova tradicional* or *vieja trova*.

Vieja Trova

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed the crystallization of many elements that now symbolize Cuban culture. During this time Cuba was involved in a struggle for independence, slavery was coming to a slow end on the island, and various Creole musical forms coalesced, such as the *danzón* and *rumba*. These Creole musical styles resulted from a mixture of African and European influences, reflecting the ethnic conglomeration of the island. *Trova* however – in its early form – represents a Cuban adaptation of European romantic song expressed through accompaniment by the Spanish guitar. Its primary performers came from the poor working classes, and were often of ethnically diverse backgrounds themselves.

Trova was born in the late nineteenth century, first cultivated by singer-guitarists – mostly young men – from Santiago de Cuba. *Vieja trova* ('old *trova*') is a common term used to distinguish the style of the first wave of *trovadores*, beginning in the late nineteenth century with the birth of *trova* and continuing through the 1940s. This style of *trova* (although not yet known by this name until after the first decade of the twentieth century) reached its peak of popularity in the early twentieth century, after which a new generation of singer-performers would move in a new direction, influenced increasingly by jazz techniques and North American crooners of the 1940s and 1950s.

Some of the most important exponents of *vieja trova*, born primarily during the 1880s, belonged to a social circle of musicians and performed for each other and others in informal gatherings. Thus many of them were acquainted with and had been taught or influenced by Pepe Sánchez, recognized as the precursor of the *trova* movement. Again, these early *trovadores* belonged for the most part to the working class, specifically tied to the profession of cigar rolling.

Cigar rollers, having a repetitive and sedentary job, often had a designated 'reader' who read to them as they worked. As an alternative form of entertainment, the workers often sang while rolling. As they worked side by side in large rooms, their coworkers listened to and participated in songs. Individuals would improvise and compose new songs *a cappella* during the workday, then get together in the evenings to perfect them. After work hours, they would add guitar accompaniment, since the guitar was a popular instrument among the urban working classes. They collaborated, learning singing and guitar skills from each other and workers of other professions. Other unemployed performers were *bohemios* or 'bohemians,' and preferred to wander the streets or travel from town to town (Sublette 2004).

All of these early *trovadores*, belonging as they did to the lower classes, performed in the corresponding social arena, singing in the streets, parks, cafés, restaurants or at parties, often for little or no pay. Another important site of performance was the *peña*: an informal performance gathering. A *peña*, often hosted by a musician, could take place in a house, apartment building patio, bar or other public or private area, and featured regular performances of *trovadores*.

Textual and Musical Characteristics

The first generation of *trovadores* was largely only semiliterate, due to their underprivileged social and economic circumstances. Despite this limitation, they strove to make use of the best vocabulary and grammar possible in their compositions. Their lyrics were simple, informal and direct. They were also sincere, and contained simple metaphors and lots of description. Themes included patriotism, women, nature (especially the Cuban countryside), love, satire and humor. The beginning of Pepe Sánchez's 'Tristeza,' written around 1885 and recognized as the first Cuban *bolero* (whose origins are *not* tied to the Spanish *bolero*), illustrates these tendencies (De Boleros 2012; all translations are the author's):

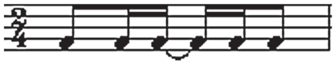
> Tristeza me dan tus penas, mujer.
> Profundo dolor, no dudes de mí.
> No hay pena de amor que deje entrever
> cuánto sufro y padezco por ti …
>
> Your troubles make me sad, woman.
> Deep pain, do not doubt me.
> There is no penalty of love that can suggest
> How much I suffer and suffer because of you …

By the 1920s, however, the *trova* became more popular among the various social and economic classes, and texts became more elaborate. The verses of poets such as José Martí were often used as lyrics.

Musically, the earliest *trovadores* placed their primary emphasis on melody and text; the music was meant for listening rather than for dancing. The *bolero* and the *canción* were central to the repertoire of early *trovadores*, although they also performed other popular genres of the time, such as *claves* (a Cuban sentimental song genre in triple meter which became defunct by the mid-twentieth century) and danceable *guarachas*. The *bolero* featured a regular rhythmic accompaniment and evolved into a romantic dance genre when *son* and jazz groups began interpreting it in the early twentieth century. On the other hand, the *canción* did not adhere to a rhythmic formula and never became a danceable genre.

Trovadores performed solo or as a singing duo, accompanied by one or two strummed guitars played by the singer(s). Harmonies were based on thirds and sixths, a harmonic characteristic inherited from Hispanic music and prevalent in a number of other Cuban musical genres. The *voz prima* or *primera* sang the main melody, while the *segundo* harmonized a sixth below the *prima*. The *segundo* was recognized as the more difficult of the two, and expert *segundo* singers such as Francisco Repilado 'Compay Segundo' distinguished themselves by the harmonic variations they made with the *prima*.

While the *canción* did not have a typical rhythmic pattern, the *bolero* did. Originally, in *trova*, the *cinquillo* – a rhythmic cell used in the *contradanza*, *habanera* and *danzón* – dominated the rhythm of the sung melodies in *boleros*, while the guitar strummed a repeating monorhythmic pattern. Yet the *cinquillo* soon came to be used in the guitar's accompaniment pattern as well. The composers accommodated the melodies of their lyrics to fit the *cinquillo* rhythm. Thirty-two-bar phrases were the norm, with an introduction and interlude, and chords were based on simple triads.



Example 1: *Cinquillo*

By the 1910s and 1920s, as texts became more elaborate and verses of poets were put to music, it became less desirable to fit all lyrics into the rhythmic mold of the *cinquillo*. Thus the *cinquillo* was slowly eliminated in the melodies of *trovadores* and replaced with greater melodic and rhythmic freedom for song lyrics. Composers also took liberties with melodic phrases, no longer adhering closely to the 32-bar norm. The influence of guitarists such as Sindo Garay contributed to the harmonic enrichment of *trova*, as performers experimented with new chordal accompaniments. Garay, for example, began to incorporate chromaticism into his accompaniments after being exposed to phonograph recordings of Wagner's music (Sublette 2004, 299). During this time, pianists began entering the scene as composer-performers, expanding musical possibilities beyond those presented by the guitar's accompaniment. During the ensuing decades (1920s–1940s), the presence of composer-pianists and the advent of the radio in Cuba contributed to the growing popularity, permanence and acceptance of *trova* repertoire by helping to bring the music to a wider audience (Giro 2007).

In 1929 'Aquellos ojos verdes' ('Green Eyes') by pianist-composer Nilo Menéndez (1902–87) became the first Cuban *bolero* to gain international recognition. The piece was almost immediately translated into English and later performed by US artists such as Nat King Cole and the Jimmy Dorsey Orchestra. Menéndez's composition also represents a move away from the previous schematic characteristics of *trova*, entirely abandoning the use of the *cinquillo* and incorporating influences from Debussy and jazz in its harmonies. Menéndez had been exposed to these influences during a stay in New York City, where he had collaborated with jazz musicians. This piece, along with others by artists such as Alberto Villalón and René Touzet, widened the melodic and harmonic possibilities for the *bolero* and *canción* in Cuba (Giro 2007).

US jazz was perhaps the most influential foreign music in Cuba in the early twentieth century. Due to Havana's musical ties with the nearby port of New Orleans and its proximity to Florida, United States and Cuban jazz orchestras came to have a constant presence in the Cuban capital, especially after the 1920s. Some popular and influential jazz bands in Cuba included Casino de la Playa, Orquesta Riverside and Los Hermanos Castro, and musicians Tommy Dorsey and Frank Sinatra who were among many US artists who performed in Havana's nightclubs. US tourists flooded the capital city, filling the hotels and casinos, which were owned primarily by US businessmen. As many of these tourists preferred to enjoy their own music, famous entertainers from the United States were frequently on the bill. While not all sectors of Cuban society had access to these types of performances, many musicians obtained US jazz records through African-American sailors stationed in Havana.

In the 1930s Joaquín Codina (1907–75) and Vicente 'Guyún' González Rubiera (1908–87) transformed the style of guitar accompaniment in *trova*. Drawing on the influence of jazz, they enriched harmonies, used larger and more complicated chords, and incorporated rhythmic and arpeggiated figures never before used. Furthermore, instead of employing constant strumming, guitar chords and melodic figures were freely dispersed and played as needed, a characteristic which was widely used among the musicians of *filin* in the ensuing decades.

In the 1940s the musical possibilities of the *bolero* continue to expand as the orchestration of groups interpreting popular music changed in Cuba. The sextets and septets of Cuban *son*, whose performers also interpreted *trova* repertoire, began to give way to *conjuntos* and big-band-style orchestras that incorporated new instruments into the orchestration, such as *tumbadoras* (*congas*), *timbales*, piano, saxophones and trombones. Although these groups did not perform the *bolero* in the *trovador* style *per se* (as an intimate expression of one or two singer-performers), they contributed to the dissemination of the *bolero* and widened the instrumental variations of accompaniments. Alongside these groups, pianist-composers such as Ignacio Villa 'Bola de Nieve' also gained popularity as performers of the *trova* repertoire.

Important *Trovadores*

José 'Pepe' Sánchez (1856–1918) is known not only as the creator of the Cuban *bolero*, but also as the father of *trova*. He was performing before *trova* was established as a style, and he was the teacher of many later *trovadores*. Sánchez established many of the earliest elements of *trova,* such as the 32-bar phrase, legato melodic lines, the slow tempo of the *bolero* and the style of singing accompanied by two guitars. Bearing the title of the creator of the Cuban *bolero*, Sánchez is thus a key figure in establishing this genre of romantic song (along with the already popular Cuban *canción*) as a cornerstone of *trova* repertoire. He also contributed to the popularization of singing in duos with sixth and third harmonies and to the strumming style of the guitar in early *trova*. He composed songs with superimposed melodies and lyrics featuring two independent and intertwined voices, which later became more prevalent in *trova* (Giro 2007).

Sindo Garay (1867–1968) is perhaps the most famous of the first generation of *trovadores*. He was taught by Pepe Sánchez and performed with him as a duo, dominating the performance of the *segundo* (second voice), which sings in parallel harmony with the primary voice. Garay is noted for his creativity as a *segundo* singer, incorporating melismas and frequent ornamentation into his melodies, and for his use of chromaticism in his guitar accompaniments. Born in Santiago de Cuba, he later went to Havana and wandered the streets as a bohemian. Among the first *trovadores* to migrate from Santiago to Havana, he is credited with bringing the style of singing of eastern Cuba to the capital. Garay also was among the first *trova* singers to record, making records in the first decade of the twentieth century with Edison and Victor recording companies (Sublette 2004).

Manuel Corona (1880–1950) was another notable *segundo* singer. Born in Las Villas province, he later moved to Havana. Rosendo Ruíz Suárez (1885–1983), like Garay, learned guitar from Pepe Sánchez and moved from Santiago de Cuba to Havana. Alberto Villalón (1882–1955) was one of the few *trovadores* with access to a musical education, due to his upper-class background. Learning guitar from Pepe Sánchez, he developed a technical approach to accompaniment, using passing notes and introducing the *punteado* ('picked') style of guitar accompaniment. Patricio Ballagas (1879–1920) did away with the strummed accompaniment to *boleros* and composed many songs with two superimposed voices, such as 'Nena' (Giro 2007).

Eusebio Delfín (1893–1965) was an upper-class white singer who introduced the *trova* style in social circles of the rich in the 1920s, a time when the guitar was still seen as an instrument of the lower classes. He contributed to the acceptance and popularization of the style among the young people of his social class. María Teresa Vera (1895–1965) is one of the few female *trovadoras* to gain popularity, yet is among the most notable singers of her time. She learned to play guitar from a cigar roller and sang *segundo*, establishing a new style that featured a male and female voice in duo (Sublette 2004).

Filin

In the second half of the 1940s a new generation of young *trovadores* established a new style of *trova* based on the heavy influence of jazz and North American singers. Although these influences had previously found their way into the compositions of *trovadores* of the 1920s and 1930s, this new generation transformed the style completely. This movement became known as *filin* and is considered part of the evolution of *trova* due to the fact that its creators and cultivators were singer-songwriters. Their repertoire was based on the *bolero* and *canción*, as were the repertoires of their predecessors. The name *filin* was given to the style by its primary exponents, referring to the English word 'feeling,' which they heard in North American songs. Upon discovering the meaning of the word, the young artists deemed it fit for describing their style. 'Feeling,' hispanicized to *filin*, reflected an emphasis on sentimentality and passion as well as ties to US jazz, which *filin* artists drew on for inspiration.

This style of interpretation was created by a group of young *trovadores* in Havana, many of whom were themselves the sons or daughters of *trovadores* of the earlier style. Among the first to form part of this group were Angel Díaz, César Portillo de la Luz, Luís Yáñez, Rosendo Ruíz Jr, José Antonio Mendez, Niño Rivera, Nico Rojas, Rolando Gómez and Elena Burke. These singer-songwriters met regularly at the home of Angel Díaz, whose father Tirso Díaz was a *trovador*. Angel had grown up hearing his father and other *trovadores* sing at his home. Angel and his friends, belonging to a younger generation heavily influenced by North American music, had a strong affinity for jazz. They obtained recordings of US artists such as Al Cooper, Chick Webb, Nat King Cole and Ella Fitzgerald by way of African-American marines in the port of Havana. The young Cubans emulated these jazz artists' singing styles and incorporated new musical elements into their previous informal musical background. They held regular *peñas* where they experimented with the new elements and exchanged ideas. This group was also influenced by left-wing politics, which was consistent with their rejection of the previous conventional and commercial ties of *trova*. In 1947 they began broadcasting the 'Feeling Club' show on Radio Mil Diez, a left-wing radio station sponsored by Communist party members (Sublette 2004).

The lyrics of *filin* were direct, poetic and expressive, making use of metaphors, colloquialisms and imagery. Yet perhaps the primary characteristic – both textually and musically – was its deep sentimentality. This was expressed through its intimate, speech-like singing style reminiscent of Nat King Cole, and a free rhythm which allowed for liberal interpretation of the text. The use of tempo rubato as opposed to the set rhythm of the *bolero* emphasized that the music was meant for listening, not dancing. While at first the accompaniments were provided by a guitar or piano and featured only one singer, other accompaniments and orchestrations soon appeared. The accompaniment itself was devised with an orchestral approach, owing much to the influence of jazz. Jazz influence together with that of European impressionism also spurred the appearance of new dissonances in the melodies. The musicians experimented with augmented and diminished chords and added 11ths and 13ths. Although they moved away from previous conventions of tonality, the tonic remained the tonal center.

The *filin* movement continued evolving with new artists in the 1950s and 1960s after which it gave way to a new stylistic variant of *trova.* Some of the most notable *filin* singers include César Portillo de la Luz (b. 1922), Marta Valdés (b. 1934), Frank Domínguez (b. 1927), Omara Portuondo (b. 1930) and Pablo Milanés (b. 1943), who later became an important figure in *nueva trova*.

Nueva Trova

Nueva trova ('new *trova*') refers to the movement of Cuban singer-songwriters who in the 1960s began to compose and perform songs expressing heightened social and political consciousness. This new generation of young *trovadores*, reflecting the Revolution's socialist values, rejected consumerism and the romantic, stereotypical approach to love songs of earlier *trova*. These young musicians were nonetheless linked to the tradition of *trova* through their roles as singer-songwriters, and particularly as singer-guitarists, as had been many of the original Cuban *trovadores*. In much the same way as *filin* artists had done, these performers took original approaches to creating music, drawing on the influences of their favorite artists. This movement was part of a larger trend in Latin America, in which young socially and politically conscious singer-activists were voicing protest through song, known as the *nueva canción latinoamericana* ('new Latin American song') or *canción de protesta* ('protest song'), which included such artists as Víctor Jara from Chile and Mercedes Sosa and Atahualpa Yupanqui from Argentina.

The popularity of protest music around the globe grew out of the difficult political and social circumstances of the mid-twentieth century, characterized by the struggles of the working-class masses and rural poor, and the spread of socialist ideas. Various sociopolitical movements, reflecting distinct historical, political, economic and social circumstances, were transforming societies around the globe. Many of these were played out on the international stage, and thus had both local and international repercussions. The Chinese Revolution of 1949 signaled the ultimate victory of the Communist Party and Mao Zedong in the Chinese Civil War. In the United States, the Civil Rights Movement represented the assertion of the black population and other marginalized groups in the face of historical oppression. In Latin America, dictatorships emerged as a consequence of social unrest and military coups. Further, areas such as Africa, which had long suffered under European domination, worked toward independence through anticolonial movements. Together, these movements represented a fundamental social, political and economic realignment of nations around the world, as the established orders of imperialism, colonialism, capitalism, human rights and racial equality were challenged.

In Cuba in the 1950s, social unrest simmered as Cubans became increasingly disillusioned with Fulgencio Batista's corrupt government and US economic – and, to some extent, political – imperialism. While the largely white Cuban middle class lived in relative economic comfort and US tourists flooded Havana's cabarets and casinos, the Cuban urban working class and rural population (among whom blacks and mulattoes made up a large percentage) were marginalized. Since the establishment of the independent Republic of Cuba in 1902, Cuba's political and economic interests were heavily influenced by the United States. The United States had aided Cuba in its fight against Spain and afterward positioned itself as a primary benefactor of the war, gaining control of Puerto Rico and intimate ties with the nascent Cuban government. During the first half of the twentieth century US economic investment in Cuba surged, with US competition often conflicting with local control. In the agricultural realm, the US-owned United Fruit Company came to control vast quantities of territories, extending its ownership into the means of production and transportation. Cuban small farmers suffered greatly from such corporate competition. Farmers, as well as similarly marginalized urban workers, grew increasingly disillusioned with Cuban political leaders. Further, problems such as mass-illiteracy, racial segregation and discrimination, and impoverished living conditions for the urban and rural poor reflected class and racial disparities.

The foundations of Cuban society were shaken when Fidel Castro Ruz overthrew Cuban president Fulgencio Bastista in 1959. Castro's Revolutionary government implemented socialism and disrupted US hegemony. Desegregation, agricultural reforms and mass-literacy campaigns, among other reforms, were especially applauded by their primary beneficiaries: the rural and working-class masses. During the first years of the Revolution, Cuban elites and the middle class became disillusioned with the socialist government, as private businesses were taken over, resources such as milk became scarce or rationed, and voicing political opposition became dangerous. This spurred many Cubans – mostly whites from the upper and middle classes – to flee their island and seek refuge in the United States, primarily in nearby Miami.

On the island, Revolutionary goals included the creation of a 'new socialist citizen' through education in which nationalist sentiment and Marxist-Leninist principles were central (Moore 2006, 142). While the government promoted what it regarded as revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist thinking by its citizens, this was intended to be used as external criticism – that is, directed at US imperialism and capitalism. The promotion of critical political thought in Cuba was not meant to generate internal critique, directed at Cuban society and the government itself. Yet as early *nueva trova* artists demonstrated, many Cubans, seeing themselves as true Revolutionary supporters, considered internal critique of national problems just as necessary as the international condemnation of imperialism and capitalism. Thus *nueva trova* is a product of the Revolution, an expression of rebellious youth challenging society who were later institutionalized by the very government that once censored them.

The three main artists credited with the creation of this new style were Silvio Rodríguez (b. 1946), Pablo Milanés and Noel Nicola (b. 1946). In the mid-1960s these young singer-guitarists, who were among the first generation educated in Revolutionary Cuba, began composing songs addressing the social and political problems of Cuba and performing them informally in public. At first, the government did not endorse these artists or others engaging in any form of political or social critique of the Revolution; they were seen as troublemakers, hippies and even counter-revolutionaries. In the late 1960s Rodríguez, Milanés and Nicola came together under Haydeé Santamaría, who helped encourage and direct their talent. Santamaría was an important political figure who directed activities at the Casa de las Américas (a government-run cultural center) and was a fan of the South American *canción de protesta*. By the 1970s the government altered its stance, realizing the powerful effect these artists had on young audiences. *Nueva trova* was subsequently institutionalized by the government, which allowed for increased state control over lyrical content and the ideological representations of the artists and their music. The movement reached its peak of popularity in the mid-1970s, lasting about a decade before a new generation of younger artists rose to replace it. By the 1990s the first generation of *nueva trova* artists were more marketable abroad than in Cuba (Moore 2006).

The embryonic phase of *nueva trova* in the 1960s comprised young and rebellious singer-songwriters performing outside the sphere of the government-controlled media. These artists wrote freely, expressing their questions and critiques of society through song. Singer/songwriters such as Silvio Rodríguez wrote songs which at times included risky lyrics openly challenging the government. These musicians were often seen by the new socialist government as problematic and many, such as Pablo Milanés and Silvio Rodríguez, were detained by authorities at some point. From the late 1960s until the early 1970s artists and intellectuals in Cuba faced severe censorship and limited freedom of expression. Foreign influences such as rock music – widely influential among the young generation of singers – were suppressed, as Revolutionary leaders feared cultural contamination by the capitalist societies of the United States and Europe. Before appearing on the media or releasing recordings, many artists were obligated to submit their music for screenings, insuring the lyrics did not contain questionable material. While several of these artists chose to avoid controversial issues, the singers of what would become *nueva trova* chose to take their chances (Moore 2006).

In the late 1960s Haydeé Santamaría took a group of these *trovadores* under her wing, even though they did not yet have the full approval of the government. Santamaría was able to do this because of her impeccable Revolutionary credentials – she had fought alongside Castro during the struggle against Batista. As a believer in the power of protest song, in 1967 she organized the *Primer Encuentro Internacional de la Canción Protesta* ('First International Protest Song Meeting'), which brought together Cuban and other Latin American performers in Havana. In the final resolution of this meeting, they expressed their support of the people and rejected the consumerism of capitalism, defining their duty as the discussion of social and political issues. For a few months from 1967 to 1968 in Cuba, a television show called '*Mientras Tanto*' ('Meanwhile') featured the young artists, with Rodríguez as a central figure. Other artists participating in the early festivals and meetings of the Cuban protest song included Martín Rojas, Vicente Feliú, Elena Burke, Belinda Romeu and groups such as Los Dimos. Thus the movement gained popularity in the 1960s, even while the government hesitated to endorse them (Moore 2006).

The year 1969 marked the beginning of the government's institutionalization of *nueva trova.* During the 1970s one factor which may have influenced Cuban leaders to accept and promote the style was Cuba's ties with other left-leaning Latin American governments that had realized the powerful force the protest song represented. It is important to note, however, that *nueva canción* outside of Cuba emerged as a protest against right-wing military dictatorships and often incorporated indigenous folk music, whereas *nueva trova* arose under a socialist government and drew on a more international, cosmopolitan sound. The dramatic change in the Cuban government's attitude helped bring *nueva trova* into the mainstream and brought greater recognition to the *trovadores*. The first government-sponsored organization employing *trovadores* was created in 1969: the Grupo de Experimentación Sonora del ICAIC ('Experimental Sound Group of the Cuban Institute of Cinematic Arts and Industry'). This ensemble's duties included composing and performing instrumental music for Cuban movies. The opportunity allowed artists greater respect and access to improve their musical education – including how to read and the basics of harmony – which later led to more elaborate orchestrations and instrumentations in *nueva trova* (Giro 2007).

In 1972 the government created the Movimiento de la Nueva Trova (MNT) under the direction of Leo Brouwer, allowing for better organization of *trovadores* and increased media access. The MNT included nationally registered members and directors and hosted its own festivals. It was at this time that the term *nueva trova* became official. '*Nueva*' labeled it as a new product of Revolutionary Cuba and highlighted its closeness to the Latin American *nueva canción*, while '*trova*' linked it to the nonthreatening Cuban tradition of *trovadores*. Songs previously seen as controversial and anti-Revolutionary were now praised as anthems of the Revolution. Yet with this newfound government support came new political pressures. While artists in the 1960s performed primarily outside the sphere of the media, *trovadores* now had to be careful about their lyrics if they wanted continued government support. Thus themes became less subversive while songs praising Cuba and the Revolution became more common, such as Milanés's song 'Amo esta isla' ('I Love This Island'). The song, released in 1982 on an album titled *Yo me quedo* ('I Am Staying'), tells of his love of the island and his refusal to abandon it for 'the continent.' It was written in response to Cubans who left for the United States during the Mariel boatlift.

The musical styles of *nueva trova* were eclectic, incorporating influences from *filin* and Cuban folklore as well as jazz and rock. During the 1960s and early 1970s many *nueva trova* artists, such as Milanés, Rodríguez, Nicola and Sara González, performed much of the time as solo singer-guitarists. The participation in the Grupo de Experimentación Sonora del ICAIC by Milanés, Rodríguez and Nicola endowed them with new musical skills and professional experience. In the 1970s and 1980s these three, along with other *nueva trova* artists, began experimenting with new sounds and larger orchestrations, including keyboards, electric guitars and synthesizers, mostly due to the influence of other Cuban and North American bands. Song themes centered on political and social commentary but also included patriotism and romance, albeit avoiding machismo and the stereotypical depictions of women present in earlier *trova*. The early *nueva trova* of the 1960s was perhaps most openly critical in its themes, sometimes directly challenging the Revolutionary government. This gave way to more passive approach in the late 1970s and after, during which 'safer' themes – those in tune with

Revolutionary ideals – were pursued, partially due to censorship and fear of reprimand. Further, by the 1980s and 1990s artists such as Milanés and Rodríguez had become superstars, enjoying an elite lifestyle supplemented by government perks, and were thus less in touch with the lifestyle and hardships faced by most Cubans (Moore 2006, 157).

Milanés had begun his career before the Revolution, performing in the 1950s with dance bands and as a singer of *filin*. This informed his style, which comprised an innovative approach to Cuban traditional music, drawing on elements of *son*, *jazz* and *rumba*. His dance band past gave Milanés experience working within a musical group, with Cuban dance band orchestration and dance genres such as *son*. As a *filin* artist, Milanés would have gained exposure to jazz techniques and the intimate singing style of the genre. Milanés, himself a mulatto, also had an interest in Afro-Cuban folkloric music, such as *rumba*. He collaborated with Afro-Cuban performers more than did other *nueva trova* artists, such as Rodríguez, a white performer. Robin Moore highlights these racially oriented tendencies by citing Milanés's collaboration with Afro-Cuban drumming ensemble Yoruba Andabo, Afro-Brazilian Milton Nascimento, and his promotion of young Afro-Cuban musicians, such as Gerardo Alfonso and Marta Campos. On the other hand, Rodríguez promoted white Cubans Carlos Varela and Santiago Feliú and collaborated with white Brazilian Chico Buarque (Moore 2006, 145–6). While Milanés performed at times as a solo singer-guitarist, much of his recorded music features a more expansive orchestration. For example, his song 'El breve espacio en que no estás' ('The Small Space in Which You Are Not Present'), released in 1985 on the album *Querido Pablo* ('Beloved Pablo'), features violin, piano, synthesizer, while Milanés's voice is foregrounded. His vocal style, like that of many other *trovadores*, is natural and intimate, and emphasizes emotion, refraining from drawing attention away from the lyrics with excessive melismas or other vocal acrobatics. An example of Milanés's incorporation of Cuban dance band influence is 'Amo esta isla' (I Love This Island), recorded in 1982 on the album *Yo me quedo* (I Am Staying), which features piano, violins, bass guitar, congas, bongos and vocal harmonies, with a *son*-based rhythm in 7/4 (rather than the normal 4/4 meter associated with *son*).

Rodríguez, perhaps the most famous of all the *nueva trova* artists, drew his primary influences from folk rock. Performing much of the time as a solo singer-guitarist, his style is highly influenced by artists such as Bob Dylan and Paul McCartney, and featured high-pitched vocals and asymmetrical phrases. His poetic approach to writing lyrics was complemented by surreal images and highly complex metaphors, a good example of which is the song 'Unicornio,' in which he describes losing his friend, the blue unicorn. This song, released in 1982 on an album of the same name, is an emotional lament, featuring solo voice and piano.

Rodríguez's 'Rabo de nube' ('Tail of the Tornado'), released in 1980 on an album of the same name, demonstrates the purposely ambiguous treatment of *nueva trova* texts. The song refers to the image of a tornado that creates mayhem and violence, yet also serves to clear away negative elements tormenting the protagonist. After, there remains a certain calm – a time for new aspirations and rebuilding (Benmayor 1981, 30). Hence the lyrics can be taken to refer to a social upheaval, in Cuba or abroad, or more simply to the loss of a romantic interest or loved one. Song lyrics like these were purposely left somewhat obscure, both in anticipation of censorship boards and for fear of reprisal for direct criticism of the Revolution.

Novísima Trova

A new generation of *trovadores* made its debut in the mid-1980s, influenced by the popular music of the time. Most were guitarists, and while some sang to the acoustic accompaniment of their instrument, others such as Carlos Varela took more of a rock band approach to their compositions. They dubbed their style *novísima trova* ('very new *trova*') in order to distinguish it from the previous generation of *nueva trova*, which had become less representative of protest. Artists Gerardo Alfonso, Rita del Prado, Carlos Varela and Gema y Pável are among the primary exponents of *novísima trova*. Their music mixed sounds from acoustic or electric guitar, rock, jazz, pop, hip-hop, Cuban folklore and *nueva trova* artists. Many of their compositions served to criticize the government, such as Varela's 'Guillermo Tell,' released in 1989 on the album *Jalisco Park*. The song references the story of William Tell, who made his son stand still with an apple on his head for target practice, thereby comparing Fidel Castro to the father and the Cuban people – particularly the younger generation – to the son being taken advantage of. In the song, which Varela performs solo with guitar, the son turns the tables, becoming the archer himself as he comes of age: 'Guillermo Tell, tu hijo creció; quiere tirar la flecha/Le toca a él probarsu valor usando tu ballesta' ('William Tell, your son has grown up; he wants to shoot the arrow/It is his turn to prove his valor with your crossbow') (Varela 1989).

Many *novísima trova* artists, such as the singing duo Gema y Pável, left Cuba during the *período* *especial* ('special period') of the early 1990s. This was a difficult time in Cuba, resulting from the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989 the island's primary source of economic support. Basic resources, such as food, clothing and fuel became scarce, and massive blackouts, violent robberies and civil unrest spurred a new wave of Cubans to emigrate illegally. While some of these artists continue to perform in Cuba, others cultivate their art in Spain or the United States. The success and popularity of *novísima trova* did not last long, and although artists such as Varela still maintain a following, by the mid-1990s the attention of the Cuban masses was captured by the more marketable dance music of *timba* bands.

Conclusion

While *trova* has undergone many changes throughout its long history, each of its styles remains cultivated today. Silvio Rodríguez and Pablo Milanés perform in Cuba and abroad, although they are more popular among foreign audiences. *Novísima trova* artists also continue to record and perform on the island and in exile. On the other hand the performers of *filin* and *vieja trova* have passed into the realm of traditionalists. These styles are maintained primarily by musicians of older generations and are no longer widely popular among the Cuban public. Rather, these groups tend to cater to foreigners and the international market, a result of the tourism boom of the 1990s. During this time traditional Cuban *son* and *trova* became synonymous with the nostalgic depiction of the island cultivated by the Ministry of Tourism and foreign films and documentaries. A prime example of the latter is *Buena Vista Social Club*, a nostalgia-evoking documentary directed by Wim Wenders and released in 1999. In the film, musicians of Cuba's pre-revolutionary era, among whom were performers of *filin* and *vieja trova*, are 're-discovered.' These genres, along with 1950s-style *son*, were promoted in the film as neglected treasures of a bygone era of Cuban music. The international success of *Buena Vista* further contributed to foreigners' musical interest in Cuba and the cultivation of a nostalgic view of the island. In the early twenty-first century, tourists in Cuba continue to be serenaded by guitar-based trios and quartets specializing in *vieja trova* repertoire, *sones* and *guarachas*.

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Tuk

Tuk music is indigenous to the eastern-most Caribbean island of Barbados. It is a percussion-based music that originally was played by a band of roving musicians, but by the late twentieth century had also become an electronic form, rendered by modern popular bands making use of the latest in digital technology. Tuk music has its origin in slave society and is characterized by intricate polyrhythmic interplay between its acoustic instruments. It has remained a local and regional music form, having little impact outside Barbadian, Caribbean and Caribbean diaspora carnivals such as Labor Day in New York, Caribana in Canada and Notting Hill Carnival in the United Kingdom.

Music and musical practices were a vital component of the cultures that enslaved Africans brought with them from West Africa to the Caribbean. During slavery, the mixture of African and European cultures on the plantation produced a range of distinctive yet related styles of music across the Caribbean archipelago. In Barbados, where slavery began in the late 1620s when the first British colonists arrived, tuk music was born of this experience. Some critical perspectives on the origin of tuk music suggest that the tuk band derived inspiration from British marching bands. It is, however, reasonable to propose that the music itself – that is, its inflections and style – was created even before Africans saw those bands. By 1806 there were bands of musicians who played their distinctive music, especially on festive occasions. In the late nineteenth century, with the formation of the friendly society called the landship, the tuk band became an associated troupe, providing the music to which the members of the landship danced and paraded wherever they were called to perform.

The modern tuk band is widely known as being made up of at least four instruments. The bass drum is worn strapped across the shoulder and played with a single mallet in one hand, while the other hand dampens the sound for added effect. The kettle drum is also worn across the shoulder and played with two sticks. The triangle/timpani/steel is held at the apex and beaten with another metal implement. The penny whistle is the only melody-producing instrument. It is approximately the same size as the piccolo and is pitched an octave above the flute. Tuk music is polyrhythmic. The bass drum is the primary time-keeping instrument.

The penny whistle carries the melody. The triangle's function is primarily to embellish the overall sound of the band; its high resonating timbre creates interesting contrast to the lower-pitched instruments. The kettle/share drum interplays with the bass drum. Together, these instruments are largely responsible for creating the tension, release and dynamics within tuk music.

In the late 1970s and thereafter, when interest in calypso music was rekindled in Barbados via the introduction of the annual tourist-oriented festival called Crop Over, the tuk band – but more so tuk music – found a renewed platform for its performance through an interface with technology and with calypso music.

Contemporary tuk music is played and interpreted by modern combo bands. The trap set, the bass guitar and other instruments such as digital synthesizers mimic the rhythmic inflection and tonal quality of the acoustic band, while freely adding samples of other forms of contemporary Caribbean and/or Western popular music. It is the rhythmic inflection of tuk music that mostly defines it, despite the fact that digital technology also facilitates the sampling and reproduction of original instruments. Tuk music cannot claim to have a distinctive vocal style or lyrical emphasis, except perhaps insofar as it is more often than not associated with celebration and revelry. Tuk has to some degree become submerged within the calypso and soca (dance-calypso) tradition and has therefore been disseminated via carnivals and festivals, FM radio and, more recently, via the internet and other new media.

There are artists such as Poonka who have worked assiduously to retain tuk as a viable autonomous music form within the range of musics being played in Barbados and the Caribbean. But there has been no genuine national acceptance of tuk as a viable music, although many more composers, musicians and producers have been producing tuk rhythms than they and the society seem to recognize. While some commentators have accused Eddy Grant of appropriating tuk music under his banner of ringbang, there is a general uncertainty, if not indifference, toward the conscious embracing and promoting of tuk music as a commercial music. In the early 2000s tuk music can be heard within the fast-paced, driving rhythms of post-soca music. This tuk music is usually carried by the drum set and the accompanying spared rhythmic bass patterns that drive the music of many leading Barbadian musicians, from the older generation in Red Plastic Bag, to the middle generation in Lil's Rick and the younger generation in Kimberley Inniss.

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CURWEN BEST

Tumba

Tumba is a genre unique to Curacao and Aruba. Especially prevalent in Curacao, it is widely treated and discussed as the musical genre most emblematic of the island. Sharing many characteristics of the *son*-related genres (such as the salsas and socas that are widely found throughout the Caribbean), it uniquely foregrounds the local language of the Netherlands Antilles, Papiamentu (or Papiamento, as it is called in the Hispanophone world). It is the basis of a major annual festival in Willemstad, held during Carnival and closely integrated to the festivities surrounding it.

While related in many popular sources to *tambú*, an earlier musical genre that flourished among slaves in Curacao, *tumba* is, in fact, a separate genre that owes much more of its current musical characteristics to the Cuban *son*. Its distant historical origins lie in Western Africa, and a genre known as 'tumba' is known to have flourished among the slaves housed on the island since the seventeenth century. Like the other African-derived musics practiced on the island, *tumba* was officially repressed, because of its sensuous rhythms, the provocative dancing associated with it and the racy or accusatory lyrics associated with some of the songs; it finally enjoyed recognition only in the form of compositions of Curacaoan composer Jan Gerard Palm (1831–1906), often cited as 'fundador di músika di Kòrsou' ('founder of Curacaoan music'), who composed *tumbas* for piano alongside waltzes, danzas, polkas, marches and other such dance-based forms.

It has been estimated (Paula 1973) that roughly half of the population of the island emigrated to Cuba between 1917 and 1937 in search of work, many of them subsequently returning as Curacao increasingly became a locus for refining and transhipment of oil from neighboring Venezuela (which remains its major industry to this day). Many of the returning workers brought with them Cuban instruments and a knowledge of *son*-based performance (Gowricharn 2006). That oil-related activity also attracted many immigrants from the West Indies. With the rise and flourishing of a music industry on Curacao during the 1950s, many Cuban-influenced popular genres circulated throughout the island, mixing with local forms such as *tumba*. *Merengue* music from the Dominican Republic also made significant inroads into Curaçaoan musical life, including the style of *tumba*. The music was performed primarily at private parties celebrating occasions like Carnival, until after the 1969 popular revolt on the island, which rocked the foundations of Curaçaoan society and forced the government to integrate racially and abandon many of the privileges of colonization which had lingered since nominal independence from the Netherlands in 1954. Following that, the government began organizing a composition and performance contest for unpublished *tumba* songs, integrated with the celebration, in order to increase popular interest in the celebrations of Carnival, the first one taking place in 1971. Initially attracting only 10 contestants, the contest grew in popularity over the ensuing decades, moving to ever-larger venues and eventually being held in the purpose-built Curaçao Festival Center. The winning singer is crowned as 'Rei di Tumba' or 'Reina di Tumba' (king or queen of tumba), and the winning song, having been recorded during the festival, becomes the 'road march song' of the Gran Marcha that caps the Carnival week. There is also a children's *tumba* contest, the winner of which marches in the Children's parade. The contests are televised and broadcast on radio, with *tumba* music dominating the physical and media landscape of Willemstad for the duration of Carnival; other times of the year, although *tumba* is often discussed and advertised as the genuinely local musical genre, there is little performance of or listening to the music.

Stylistically, *tumba* most resembles *merengue de orquesta*, with similar instrumentation, as well as influences from Latin jazz. Its quick duple meter, intricate drum polyrhythms, frequent brass interjections and backing vocals also mark out influences from various salsas and socas that circulate freely throughout the region; all lyrics are delivered in Papiamentu, a point of pride among the many on the island who underline *tumba* as the uniquely Curacaoan music. Most songs are overall binary forms, with an initial section at a moderate tempo delivering most of the lyrics, generally in a quite standard verse/chorus (or verse/refrain) form, usually with an instrumental introduction; this section is often fairly brief and may include only one or two verses and/or choruses. The second section is an extended, mainly instrumental jam at a faster tempo, sometimes including brief sung interjections, fragmentary versions of the verses or choruses, or repetitions of a refrain. This second section is the occasion for the most vigorous dancing and often thus becomes the longer section of the song. Lyrics generally celebrate the character of Curaçao and its people, in ways consistent with the patriotic character of the festival as official culture and the ideological role of the music in forming Curaçaon identity.

'Much'i Otrabanda' ('Children of Otrabanda [the district of Willemstad in which the Gran Marcha takes place]'), the winning song of the 2001 competition, exemplifies a fairly typical *tumba* song, as Example 1 illustrates). The A section lasts, in this song, for 60 measures, while the B section, which includes some verse fragments within the jam, lasts for 146 measures. The tempo of the B section is considerably faster than that of the A section, which presents an instrumental introduction, followed by the chorus, the first verse, the second verse, a transitional 'Até! Atá!' ('Over there! Look!') and then the chorus once again. Instrumentation is typical for *tumba*, as well, with electric guitars and bass, electronic keyboards, a

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A section: introduction, verses and refrains ("Pregónan")
---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ‘ ---- ---- ---- ---- ‘ ---- ’ ---- ---- ---- ----
intro  chorus verse 1               verse 2 (whoa + lyrics)  Até       chorus; Much'i


B section: verse fragments and jam
---- ‘ ---- ‘ ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ----
verse 3  1 pa 1/sa, sa, sa, sa, sa na Awasa                          brass riffs      places/brass riffs
fragment
---- ‘ ---- ‘ ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ---- ----
verse 3  1/sa                                                       brass riffs      places/brass riffs
fragment
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Example 1: Two-part form in 'Much'i Otrabanda' (taken from Krims 2007) complete brass section (saxophones and trumpet), an array of hand-played drums and a drum kit.

While having little influence outside of Curacao, *tumba* plays a remarkably powerful role in the musical and social life of the island and also enjoys a status of being one of the anchors of its tourism industry.

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ADAM KRIMS

Twoubadou

Twoubadou (from the French *troubadour*) is a term originally used to denote rural Haitian music that blends elements of Cuban string band music with those of Haitian topical song, a phenomenon that emerged in the early twentieth century. Traditionally, small *twoubadou* ensembles traveled in rural areas, performing for money while delivering biting social commentary to audiences. *Twoubadou* music quickly joined the wider body of rural populist music, called *mizik tipik* in Haitian Kréyol, and is thought today to be *natif-natal*, or an authentically Haitian genre (Averill 2009, 29). Additionally, the genre's commitment to social commentary has led it to develop into a powerful vehicle for political activism.

Twoubadou originated around the time of the US occupation of Haiti (1915–34), when technologies allowed increased communication between Haiti and Cuba (Averill 1997, 39). The radio and phonograph in particular made Cuban music readily available to Haitians in the 1930s. Haitian workers, who commonly traveled to Cuba to work the sugar harvest, strengthened communication ties between the islands (Largey 2006, 156). These workers returned to Haiti after the harvest, bringing with them the instruments and style of small Cuban string ensembles, which they blended with local song to beget *twoubadou* music.

Similar to small Cuban string ensembles, early *twoubadou* groups normally consisted of two to four chordophones (commonly guitars), *tanbou* (a barrel hand-drum), *tchatcha* (a shaker made from a gourd) and a *malimba* (a large box-lamella phone that served as the bass instrument, played by plucking metal keys suspended over a sound hole) (Averill 1997, 39). This instrumentation could also be supplemented by additional strings, including the *banza* (four-string banjo), *twa* (Latin *tres*) and occasionally accordion. The presence of the *bwa*, *clave*-like sticks, show further Cuban influences (Averill 2009, 29).

In addition to topical songs, *twoubadou* ensembles performed popular dance music from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and later frequently performed *konpa* and *mini-djaz* as well. *Twoubadou* groups became a fixture at rural dances, parties and celebrations. Their performances at *banbòchs*, weekend parties held under thatched roofs, made the term *mizik anba tonèl* (music under the arbor) synonymous with *twoubadou* music (Averill 2009, 30).

Use in Political Activism

Twoubadou took on a topical nature early on during the US occupation, similar to that of *simido* or *sanba* singers in *konbit* music. Although lyrics were commonly about lighter fare such as relationships and drinking, they also touched on poor living conditions and issues of the labor class.

Several generations of Haitians have embraced *twoubadou* music to show political resistance. This characteristic has become such an important aspect of *twoubadou* that now the term is used to designate any music that incorporates social commentary, one example being populist *méringues* of Kandjo. Kandjo used topical *méringues* in the latter half of the US occupation of Haiti to protest against the US presence. Several decades later, his music was labeled *twoubadou.*

In the 1970s *twoubadou* musicians including Toto Necessité, Rodrigue Milien and Jule Similien encouraged social activism against the Duvalier regime through their music. The *twoubadou* duo Manno Charlemagne and Macro Jeanty recorded protest songs in the 1970s and helped start a trend of *twoubadou*-styled political musical activism. Their label, Marc Records, released their album *Manno et Marco* in 1978, where they voiced their concerns on social issues. The song 'Pouki?' (Why) is an example of their lyrical style (Averill 1997, 128):

Pouki lavi pa separe	Why doesn't life separate things
Egalego fifti fifti	Equally, fifty-fifty?
Pouki reken kraze brize	Why does the shark bring such destruction
Gwo mak dan sou do ti pwason	Large tooth marks on the back of the little fish?

Because their label was based in New York and Montreal, Manno and Marco were able to record this song without censorship from the Haitian government. With their socially conscious lyrics, they nurtured *angaje* (engaged) music ideas. Music that included political and social commentary became a common and popular form of political protest against the Duvalier regimes (François from 1957 to 1971 and Jean Claude from 1971 to 1986).

In spite of *twoubadou*'s relatively recent entrance into the Haitian musical canon in the early twentieth century, the genre is generally perceived as a time-honored, distinctly Haitian tradition. Some sources posit that *twoubadou* can be traced back to the time of slavery, illustrating its cultural weight. One such claim appears in the liner notes of Atis Endependan's 1975 album *Ki sa Pou-n Fe?*, stating: 'We believe that a strong Haitian people's music exists, beginning with voodoo, rara, troubadours and other musical forms which had origins in slavery times …' (quoted in Averill 1997, 114). Statements such as this one show that although the specifics of the *twoubadou* genre are recent, the concept of roaming rural musicians in Haiti is long established.

Twoubadou ensembles still perform today, mostly in public settings. Groups roam crowded areas and ask for money in exchange for playing a wide range of repertoire; groups are expected to take song requests including *méringue*, *konpa* and *mini-djaz* genres. Today, *twoubadou* continues as a pillar of social commentary in music, and serves as a symbol of Haitian identity.

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LAURA DONNELLY

Vallenato

Vallenato is accordion music from the Caribbean coastal region of Colombia. From local and obscure origins, in the last two to three decades of the twentieth century it became the best-selling Colombian style in the country, overtaking genres such as *porro* and *cumbia* in popularity and providing music for listening and dancing. It emerged out of long-standing Latin American traditions of versification that included ballads, rhyming verses (*coplas* and *trovas*), ten-line stanzas (*décimas*), work songs and poems, spoken or sung, often with a guitar (Bermúdez 1996). In the late 1800s accordions and harmonicas were imported into this Colombian region from Germany and they began to be used in this corpus of verses and songs, as well as to play other local styles such as *cumbia* and *porro*. The accordion was often employed by a *juglar* (wandering minstrel), perhaps accompanied by a small bongo-like hand drum (now known as a *caja*) and a ribbed scraper (*guacharaca*). Bermúdez (2005) argues for the residual retention of African traditions of social commentary in *vallenato* music and indeed many singers of the genre were of African descent, although European influences were also important. But he agrees with Gilard (1987b), who refutes the idea that *vallenato* was a truly narrative style.

Vallenato became popularized from the early to mid-twentieth century with both the guitar and the accordion, although the latter soon dominated the commercial style. *Vallenato* groups soon grew to incorporate bass guitars, more percussion and, later, electric instruments. Purists, however, insist on the 'traditional' lineup of accordion, *caja* and *guacharaca*. In the 1990s *vallenato* broke class and regional barriers to achieve new heights of popularity.

Vallenato is often divided into four subgenres: *son* (a slow rhythm in 2/4 time, often sung with a plaintive sound), *paseo* (slightly faster, but very similar to the *son* and also often a romantic lament), *merengue* (a more vivacious style, played to a faster tempo in 3/4 time, although with duple meter also present, which suggests that it may not derive from the Dominican *merengue* which is only in duple meter) and *puya* (a very rapid 2/4 rhythm which allows the accordionist to display virtuosity). The first three can be heard on *Alejandro Durán y su época de oro* (1980); the *puya*, 'Pedazo de acordeón' (written by Durán), can be heard on Carlos Vives's *Clásicos de la provincia* (1993). The dominant rhythmic ostinato, carried by the *guacharaca*, is like that of the *cumbia* (crochet, two quavers, crochet, two quavers), but other rhythmic patterns include versions of the *tresillo* (in 4/4 music, a three-note figure comprised of two dotted quarter notes followed by a quarter note), audible in the bass line, and variants on the *cinquillo* (a syncopated five-note cluster of quarter-eighth-quarter-eighth-quarter). Bermúdez (2005) states that the musical structure of *vallenato* is thus similar to that of many other styles of Afro-American and Caribbean popular music. Harmonically, the style remains close to the tonic and dominant. Although lyrically rich, it has become a popular dance style as well, with the *paseo* style permitting close-contact couple dancing.

History, Description and Changing Definitions

The label *vallenato* began to be applied to accordion music accompanying sung verses in the Caribbean coastal region from about the 1940s, shortly after the appearance of the particular type of button accordion that produced the distinctive *vallenato* sound (Bermúdez 1996, 116; Oñate Martínez 2003, 22–3). The term *vallenato* means 'born in the valley' and this is usually understood to mean Valledupar, a town in the northeastern part of the region, and its surrounding areas. In the early 1900s the term was used locally to refer not to music, but to local lower-class people (Quiroz Otero 1982). Indeed, some argue that the term derives from the term *ballenato* (baby whale), the patchy skin of which was said to resemble the mottled skin of local peasants who suffered from a local skin condition (Araújo Molina 1973, 52). However, accordion music was not particular to this region and could be found, in a patchy distribution, all over the Caribbean coastal region of Colombia from about 1900 (Londoño 1985, 127; Posada 1986, 20). Interviews with old players show they tend to refer to playing *son*, *merengue*, *puya* and *paseo* (Gutiérrez Hinojosa 1992).

The association of accordion music with *vallenato* and with the Valledupar zone is argued by Gilard (1987a) to have been a process of identity construction shaped by local political and economic processes (see also Wade 2000, 61–4, 177; Nieves Oviedo 2008). It is true that the region around Valledupar was important for the famous accordionists who originated there and are central to the *vallenato* family tree, including Chico Bolaños (1903–60), Pacho Rada (1907–2003), Emiliano Zuleta (1912–2005), Alejandro Durán (1919–89), Juan Pablo Valencia ('Juancho Polo,' 1917–78) and Leandro Díaz (b. 1928). But Bermúdez (2005) argues that *vallenato* is part of a pan-Caribbean musical tradition and Gilard argues that a mythology identifying the Valledupar as the cradle of *vallenato* emerged when local elites (including key song-writers in the *vallenato* corpus such as Rafael Escalona, Tobías Enrique Pumarejo, Freddy Molina and Gustavo Gutiérrez), who maintained friendships with local musicians of more plebeian origins, began to write songs for the accordion and also identify the music as a tradition particular to the locality. During this period of the 1930s and 1940s political and economic modernization was increasingly affecting the area, being pushed forward by President López Pumarejo, whose mother came from Valledupar. At the same time, the new radio stations and flowering record industry of the Caribbean coastal region, located in the port towns of Cartagena and Barranquilla, were providing a new stage for accordionists and guitarists playing verses and songs. The author Gabriel García Márquez, as early as 1948, was writing pieces in local newspapers lionizing *vallenato* and already defending its purity against commercialization (Wade 2000, 136). In the 1960s elites mounted political campaigns – which employed *vallenato* music for public relations purposes – for the region to be accorded the status of administrative department. Local elites had good connections in Bogotá and their petition was granted with the creation of the department of El Cesar. In 1968 an annual *vallenato* festival was established, which insisted on 'traditional' three-piece lineups (accordion, drum and scraper), and this festival has acted as the guardian of local traditions perceived as authentic.

Accordion music was seen as very plebeian for most of the twentieth century. *Vallenato*, often identified by subgenres (particularly *paseo*, *merengue* and *son*), began to gain popularity in the Caribbean coastal region, and to a lesser extent nationwide, in the 1940s and 1950s, but played on the guitar by, for example, Guillermo Buitrago (1920–49), who recorded extensively with the Cartagena-based firm Discos Fuentes. Early accordionists who recorded songs included Abel Antonio Villa and Luis E. Martínez. Unlike other genres of music from the Caribbean coastal region, such as *cumbia* and *porro*, that were taken up by jazz bands (ensembles similar in makeup to popular big-band orchestras all over the Americas), entered elite clubs and went on international tours, *vallenato* remained very regional and plebeian. Even in the Valledupar social club, accordions were banned as supposedly vulgar and too plebeian. As late as 1950 García Márquez, writing in a Barranquilla newspaper, had to explain to his readers that 'música Vallenata' came from the Valledupar region (Wade 2000, 177).

In the late 1950s and 1960s Los Corraleros de Majagual – basically a Discos Fuentes house band – made the innovation of combining the brass section of the established *cumbia* and *porro* orchestras with the accordion – in the hands of the talented and ambitious Alfredo Gutiérrez – to create a successful hybrid sound, branded as a new genre called the *paseaíto* and tailor-made for dancing, which gave the accordion greater publicity and a larger audience outside the Caribbean coastal region (Nieves Oveido 2008, 173–202).

Accordion *vallenato* music started to become successful nationwide in the 1970s, as record companies such as CBS, based in Bogotá, signed artists like singer Jorge Oñate (with Los Hermanos López), Los Hermanos Zuleta (brothers Emiliano and Poncho) and the singer Diomedes Díaz, whose popularity continued into the 2000s. In 1978 Medellín-based firm Codiscos signed El Binomio de Oro, which proved a huge success. The role of the Colombian drugs industry in the popularization of *vallenato* has been addressed, for example in Jeremy Marre's documentary *Shotguns and Accordions* (see also Marre and Charlton 1985), but is hard to assess. There is no doubt that the marijuana drug-traffickers of the 1970s who were based in the regions in and around Valledupar sponsored *vallenato* artists, and later, when the epicenter of the trade moved to Medellín, flew their favored groups to parties around the country. But it is difficult to measure the impact of this on a process of commercialization that was happening anyway, fueled partly by the migration of people from the Caribbean coastal region to the cities of the interior.

Vallenato in the late 1970s attracted audiences all over the country, although international appeal remained very limited. The genre had become increasingly romantic and the slower *paseo* subgenre dominated, with close couple-dancing. Lyrics tended to focus less on parochial events, people and places and *vallenato*'s traditional concern with love now became more abstract and generic, with a strong emphasis on lovesickness and pain. The band lineups became larger, including electric bass and keyboards, guitars, *timbales*, *conga* drum and backing singers. The genre became more standardized musically. The big artists often dressed in glitzy styles, with heavy use of sequins, and the music was widely considered, especially among the middle classes, to be 'music of maids and taxi-drivers,' schmaltzy and plastic. Many people, of both working and middle classes, would defend a more 'authentic' style of *vallenato*, as practiced by artists such as black accordionist Alejo Durán, who continued performing until his death in 1989. By the 1980s *vallenato* had become one of the best-selling genres in the Colombian national market and, in the 1990s, the big cities had radio stations that specialized in *vallenato*. There was some interest in the genre in Venezuela, among Hispanics in the United States and even in Japan, and in 1981 the Miami-based Cuban singer Roberto Torres fused *charanga* with old *vallenato* tunes.

In the 1990s a sea-change took place as *vallenato* of the 1950s and 1960s gained a new popularity and new adaptations of the style were marketed. In 1991 a TV drama about the life of legendary *vallenato* songwriter Rafael Escalona was a big success and led to the release of albums of cover versions of his music by the singer/actor from the Caribbean coastal region who had played the lead role, Carlos Vives (e.g., *Un canto a la vida*, 1991). Vives, previously a little-known singer of ballads, reinvented himself as a modernizing *vallenato* star, moved to the national record company Sonolux (owned by the major Colombian industrial and media conglomerate, Ardila Lulle) and released *Clásicos de la provincia* (1993), an album of old *vallenato* songs produced with elements of rock and reggae. This album smashed sales records, appealed to the middle-class youth (which before had generally avoided *vallenato*) and also sold well abroad (Fernández L'Hoeste 2007; Nieves Oviedo 2008: 214–27).

Vives pursued the rock-*vallenato* fusion recipe with further albums, won Grammy awards with *Déjame entrar* (Let Me In) (2001) and propelled *vallenato* as a name onto the international scene, stimulating other artists to do crossovers: Gloria Estefan's *Abriendo Puertas* (Opening Doors) (1995) includes salsa-*vallenato* fusions. In Monterrey, Mexico, *vallenato* has made an important impact and, from 1999, the city hosted its own accordion music festival, inviting Colombian stars; the Mexican *cumbia* artist, Celso Piña, included *vallenato* numbers in his CD, *Barrio bravo* (2001) (Blanco Arboleda n.d.; Fernández L'Hoeste 2005).

In the early 2000s *vallenato* is a genre that has consolidated its place in the Colombian popular musical scene, mainly in a form that retains strong continuities with the 1980s and 1990s. Innovations mostly involve fusions along the lines of Vives and, after him, Kaleth Morales, hailed, until his untimely death in 2005, as a key exponent of the so-called 'new wave' of *vallenato*, which retained the central roles accorded to the accordion, *guacharaca* and *caja* drum, but produced a more pop-rock sound that appealed to a wide cross-section of the Colombian youth audience.

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PETER WADE

Vals

The *vals* is an instrumental and vocal genre that developed in Latin America and that is descended from the European waltz. While the European waltz preserved a characteristic rhythm in three with an accent on the first beat, the Latin American *vals* incorporated a syncopated hemiola effect, which gave the music, as well as the dance, a more animated character.

The waltz arrived in the New World in the nineteenth century via France, Spain and England, and its arrival coincided with the beginning of the independence movements stirring throughout the continent. In 1750 a national dance emerged in the rural areas near Vienna, and especially in the taverns located near the Rhine river under the name *waltzen*, a term derived from the verb *walden* ('to roll') that was connected to the Latin word *volvere* meaning to return or to turn around in circles. The *waltzen* is believed to have evolved from, among other forms, Austro-Germanic peasant dances in 3/4 time called *landlers* that were danced during popular festivities in the Middle Ages.

In the nineteenth century a waltz craze emerged in Vienna and in the rest of Europe thanks to the musical revolution represented by the Strauss family and by Joseph Lanner. These musicians became the main figureheads of the new dance of the bourgeoisie and helped spread it to the popular classes. In France, the sung waltz was inspired by the instrumental waltz and became popular due to its literary and romantic nature. The French Revolution not only inspired political ideas for the establishment of a republic opposed to the monarchy, but also influenced many artistic manifestations including music, and in particular the waltz. In France, the waltz took on a romantic sense, demonstrated by the intimacy of couples and, more important, the addition of poetic lyrics to transform it into a sentimental song. The *mussette* and java waltzes, variants imbued with eroticism, appeared in popular sectors of society. When the waltz arrived in England in 1810 it was viewed by English high society as an indecorous form from 'corrupt' France.

The nineteenth century was the peak of Romanticism in Europe and America. Among the instruments that best expressed this artistic revolution was the piano, due to its versatility. In Madrid, Spain, as well as in Latin America, the piano is present in both concert halls and living rooms of the wealthy and popular families. In Boston, Massachusetts, the Boston waltz emerged as an elegant style that expanded through Latin America, inspiring composers of the nineteenth century in Cuba, Peru, Argentina and Uruguay (*vals boston*).

In each Latin American region where *vals* took hold, the genre developed its own flavor, repertoire, composers, performers and other characteristics. In many cases, the *vals* influenced the development of other local genres with other names. By way of example, this overview will first provide a detailed profile of the *vals* in Peru and Argentina, followed by a brief summary of the genre's manifestations in other South American countries (Ecuador, Chile, Colombia and Brazil) the Caribbean (Puerto Rico and Cuba) and finally in Mexico and Venezuela.

Vals Criollo (Peru)

The *vals criollo* dates from the turn of the twentieth century in Peru, where it is also known as *valse* or *vals*. While there have a been a number of popular waltz traditions in various parts of Peru, the term has come to refer generally to popular music practices associated with the city of Lima that occasionally also include repertoire from other regions, most notably the northern coast and the region of Arequipa to the south. Early incarnations of the *vals* were associated with Lima's working class, an ethnically diverse but culturally homogeneous community of blue-collar workers, artisans and artists that occupied that city's marginal neighborhoods.

In Peru, as elsewhere in Latin America, the *vals* is a local reinterpretation of the European waltz and other waltz-like rhythms that were imported from Europe during the nineteenth century. Popular belief sustains that the *vals* was derived directly from the Viennese waltz that become so popular in Europe during the twentieth century and later found its way to various parts of Latin America. There is certainly some evidence to suggest that a number of early *valses* were rhythmically influenced by the Viennese waltz. However, many other early compositions also bear strong similarities to other triple-meter genres such as the Spanish *jota*, the mazurka, a French version of the waltz known in Peru as the *javá*, and a variant that flourished in the United States during the first part of the twentieth century known as the Boston.

The early period of the *vals*, known as the *guardia vieja*, dates from the late nineteenth century to roughly the 1920s. During this time period the *vals* was predominantly performed in Lima's working-class neighborhoods and was generally looked down upon by the upper classes as an unrefined and crass form of popular entertainment. The main social context of the *vals* during that time was the *jarana*, an all-night, or sometimes multiple-night, neighborhood gathering organized to celebrate birthdays, anniversaries or other festive occasions. In these *jaranas*, local musicians took turns performing not only *valses* but also polkas, *marineras* and other popular genres of the time. At the time the *vals* was generally accompanied by one or two guitars (lutes and mandolins were also common in the early part of the twentieth century) that used a basic bass-strum-strum pattern known as the *tundete* to provide harmonic support for the singer. The themes of these *valses* were generally romantic in nature or related to current events.

By the 1920s the *vals* begins a transition out of the working-class neighborhoods. This parallels the emergence of a middle class in Lima that was partly populated by upwardly mobile individuals from these working-class environments. Some composers and performers begin to rework the *vals* in this new image, working hard to rid the genre of its bohemian reputation and transform it into a genre worthy of '*gente decente*' or so-called decent people. Composers including Felipe Pinglo (1899–1936) were credited with perfecting the *vals* to include lyrics of a more literary character as well as expanding its harmonic and melodic language by drawing from the familiarity that these composers also had with foreign musical genres including the *tango*, foxtrot, *bolero*, one-step and *canción ranchera*, all of which were increasingly popular in Lima after World War I. Pinglo's *vals* 'El Plebeyo' (The Plebeian) is often identified as the ideal type of the authentic and fully developed *vals criollo* because its poetic representation of working-class angst in the face of unbending adversity, for many, captures the essence of working-class life.

In the decades that followed, the *vals* was increasingly accepted by the middle class and even by members of the upper classes who had previously dismissed the genre as crass and lowbrow. *Centros musicales*, social organizations that sought to recreate the *jarana* environment of the turn of the twentieth century, became the training ground for a number of professional performers who went on to have successful careers first on live radio broadcasts and later as part of a growing local recording industry. The *vals* became a symbol of Limeño identity, conflating the jocular, celebratory and bohemian character associated with the working-class *jarana* of the turn of the twentieth century with the stoic narratives of loss and tragedy associated with the subsequent generation of composers. It also became synonymous with that of a broader *criollo* coastal culture that was redefined as being mainly rooted in Spanish cultural practices with some important, but nonetheless subordinate, cultural influences from other minority populations and mixed populations, in particular Afro-Peruvians.

By the 1950s Lima's demographic profile began to change as, due to a number of social and economic factors, large waves of mestizo and indigenous migrants came from the highland region of the country. This change was perceived as a threat by many *criollos* who felt that their city was becoming increasingly Andeanized and many *valses* began to reflect certain nostalgia for a Lima of yesteryear that they felt was beginning to fade away. Perhaps the best-known composer of this era was Chabuca Granda (1920–83) whose *valses* 'La flor de la canela' (The Cinnamon Flower) and 'Fina estampa' (Fine Appearance) painted a romantic and idealized image of old Lima and became anthems for what it meant to be *criollo*. There were other voices, however, such as Laureano Martínez Smart and later Luis Abanto Morales, whose *valses* spoke of the hardships of the new migrants in Lima. Composer Mario Cavagnaro also helped to promote an updated style of the *vals* by introducing contemporary slang and urban themes as a means of returning the genre to its working-class roots.

The success of the *vals* continued into the late 1970s thanks to a growing recording industry and cultural policies that required nightclub owners, radio and television stations to observe quotas in support of national music. *Valses* such as Augusto Polo Campos's 'Contigo, Peru' (With You, Peru) were even used as part of political campaigns calling for national unity among the various regions of the country. Yet, by the late-twentieth century Lima's cultural and ethnic makeup had changed and the *vals* no longer represented the experiences of the generations of migrants that came to be known as the new Limeños. In the early twenty-first century the *vals* is still actively performed by many Limeños in a variety of middle-class and working-class environments, even though its presence in the mass media and mainstream popular culture has decreased significantly. This, however, is not an indication of the waning of the genre but rather of its re-transition to a musical genre that once again is a marker of a particular local rather than regional or national identity. In fact, in recent years there has been a small but vital revival of the early-twentieth century neighborhood-based, working-class *vals* that has brought attention to previously unknown local composers and performers who were overshadowed by their professional and commercial counterparts, and to their grandchildren and great-grandchildren, many of whom continue to make a living as working musicians.

Vals Criollo **(Argentina)**

The presence of *vals* in Río de la Plata can be traced back to the beginning of the nineteenth century. However, it was not until the middle of the century that it became widespread as a ballroom dance. In Argentina, *vals* is the only genre that crosses two of the most important repertoires of popular music of the twentieth century: *tango* and folklore.

In a sketch showing the choreography of the *vals*, Carlos Vega identifies it as a European waltz from the early nineteenth century that is danced in pairs (Vega 1956, 65). He makes no mention of the presence of text (lyrics). The figure in which one foot slides to the side and front on the downbeat, while the other foot moves during the remaining beats of a 3/4 measure, was incorporated into three of the most important folk dances in Argentina: *cielito*, *pericón* and *media caña*.

In ballrooms the *vals* was danced like its European counterpart, with couples embracing and moving across the floor while turning at a fast pace. What is known as *vals* or *valsecito criollo* ('little creole waltz'), however, is a type of close couple dance in 6/4 time. Lauro Ayestarán describes *valsecito criollo* in Uruguay as 'a genre that has been turned into folk but that still needs to make the final step away from the civilized stage the way mazurka, *danza* or *habanera*, *chotis*, and polka did before …' (Ayestarán 1967, 78).

There are two main streams of *vals criollo*:

1. During the first half of the twentieth century many pieces were composed and published in simple scores for voice and piano. Many of these works were already part of the repertoire of the so-called 'orquestas típicas' ('typical orchestras') that performed *tangos* and waltzes, and of 'orquestras características' ('characteristic orchestras'), to which people danced *tangos*, *milongas*, *rancheras*, *pasodobles*, waltzes and a few *tarantelas* or foxtrots that were in fashion.

   Formally, this type of *vals criollo* has an A section that includes two verses, a B section with two verses of similar meter and occasionally a C section (labeled as a trio on the score) with a shorter stanza and contrasting musical material. Commonly, section A is in a minor key and either the B or C section is in the relative or parallel major. The form is closed by a return to A.

   Normally, melodies involve more than one octave and feature large leaps as well as instrumental idiomatic writing. Melodies often start with an upbeat of five eighth notes, and it is common to have a succession of several eight-note measures and to use melodic progressions as building blocks for musical ideas.

   The subject matter of *vals criollo* is often love and nostalgia for the loss of an idealized past: the old neighborhood, the absence of one's lover, the adored mother, etc. What Uruguayan author Idea Vilariño said about the *vals-canción* can be easily applied to the Argentine *vals criollo*:

   > They are always, or almost always, sentimental and delicate in their subject matter and use of language. They deal with treason, but in environments and circumstances that are neither undignified, bloody, nor miserable. It happens in gardens, parks, and dance salons. … She is never just a woman … but a bride … a beloved one. … The serenade is almost a theme. (Vilariño 1993, 11–13)

   Among the most notable performers in this group are the Gardel-Razzano duo, and composers such as Sebastián Piana, Cátulo Castillo, Enrique Maciel, Cristino Tapia, Tormo-Canales, Rosita Melo, Julián Gaio, Feliciano Brunelli, Anselmo Aieta, Enrique Cadícamo, among others.

2. The other stream of *valsecito criollo* is closer to the folk repertoire. In Argentina, the areas in which *vals criollo* is cultivated are: Mesopotamia (Entre Ríos, Corrientes, Misiones), where *vals* is performed mostly by accordion and/or bandoneon and guitars; Córdoba, in the center, where ensembles feature three to four singers that are accompanied on guitar; and in the west or Cuyo region (San Luis, San Juan and Mendoza), where ensembles commonly include several guitars and a *requinto* (a type of small guitar) to accompany the singer, which is the preferred formation for the performance of serenades.

   These *valsecitos criollos*, especially those from Córdoba, feature poetry with a varying number of stanzas which is set to music. These stanzas are shorter than those described in group (1). The formal structure of these works also varies – some have a refrain while others do not. Musically, they are generally divided into two similar sections, each with two or three different subsections that are repeated and alternated. The minor mode is more frequent in this type of *vals*, as are headless beginnings (i.e., without the first eighth). Rhythmically, hemiolas are prominent, as they are in most Argentine folk dances. The thematic content is similar to the first group with the addition of a few themes, such as the search for local flavor through characters or places in a city or town, as well as songs about the Virgin.

   The most notable composers of this type are: Rubén Darío Gamboa, Raúl Montachini, Ricardo Arrieta, Nicolás E. Soria, Buenaventura Luna, Hilario Cuadros, Andrés Chazarreta and Carlos Montbrun Ocampo. Among the soloists and ensembles of national renown are: Edmundo Cartos, Alberto Rodríguez, Hilario Cuadros, Buenaventura Luna, the Ocampo-Flores duo, Cristino Tapia, Antonio Tormo, Ariel Ramírez, Los Cantores del Alba, Los de Alberdi, Los del Suquía, Los 4 de Córdova, Los trovadores de Cuyo and Los Visconti.

During the first half of the twentieth century *valses* performed by the most popular 'typical' and 'characteristic' orchestras were featured in live performances and in radio stations such as LR 4 Splendid, LR 3 Belgrano, LR 1 El Mundo and LV 10 Radio Colón, of Buenos Aires. *Valses* were also published in simple scores for piano by Ricordi, Musical Korn-Intersong, Alfredo Perrotti, Peermusic Argentina, Crismar, etc.

After the success of the *Primer Festival Nacional de Folklore* (First Annual National Folk Music Festival) in 1961 in Cosquín, Córdoba, more festivals were created for the dissemination of folk music, such as Doma y Folklore in Jesús María, Festival de Peñas in Villa María, Festival de Folklore in Baradero, etc., most of them occurring during the summer months. These festivals showcase the most popular folk ensembles, some of which have remained active through the years and continue to perform with new members. During the 1960s and 1970s performances in *peñas* (popular local venues for folk music) were at their peak, triggering the highest gross sales of albums of this music by important labels like RCA Victor, Microfón, Music Hall, Columbia and Odeón.

Vals in Other South American Countries: Ecuador, Chile, Colombia, Brazil

In Ecuador the *vals criollo* of coastal origin gave rise to the *pasillo* – a type of *vals-canción* (sung waltz) that is slower and that has taken root in Ecuador and Colombia. Other *valses* in Ecuador and Peru are inspired by the Incaic *yaraví*. The coastal region contributed with the *amorfino* style. Among the most celebrated composers of *valses* in Ecuador, Marieta de Ventimilla, Virgilio Cornejo ('Guayaquil de mis amores' [My Beloved Guayaquil]) and Nicasio Safadi ('Virgen Pura' [Pure Virgin]) stand out. Within the European style notable composers are Carlos Amable, José Ignacio Ventimilla, Sixto María Durán and Carlos Solís. In the twentieth century the Ecuadorian singer Julio Jaramillo introduced the romantic styles through the *bolero*, *pasillo* and *vals*. The *pasillos* 'Mis flores negras' (My Black Flowers) by José Flores and Amable Ortiz, 'Sombras' (Shadows) and Rosario Sansores and Carlos Brito, and the *valses* 'Cuando llora mi guitarra' (When My Guitar Weeps) by Augusto Polo Campos, 'Ódiame' (Hate Me) by Rafael Otero, 'Fatalidad' (Fatality) by Laureano Martínez Smart and 'Alma M'ia' (My Soul) by Pedro Miguel Areco among many others were disseminated throughout Latin America thanks to Jaramillo's popularity.

In Chile, in the mid-nineteenth century the dances *maisito, resbalosa, palomita* and *minero* were danced in popular salons, while *vals* and *contradanza* conquered high-society salons. Eventually, these dances would also enter the popular repertoire. In rural areas the *vals* is blended with the *cueca* – the prototype of Chilean traditional dance. In the twentieth century composers Rosa García ('Dos valses de salon' [Two Salon Waltzes]) and Juan Orrego Salas ('Rústica' [Rustic]) were recognized as outstanding *valsistas*.

The *vals* was introduced in Colombia in the nineteenth century coming directly from Europe. Initially, the Colombian *vals* retained its Austrian bourgeois character, representing the social triumph of the bourgeoisie over the old feudal regime. Colonel John Hamilton notes in 1827 the presence of *vals* in Bogotá. This *vals* evolves through two figures: the *redondo*, of slow rhythm and European style, and the *capuchinada* with a faster tempo. It also greatly influenced the creation of the Colombian *pasillo*, which extended to Panama, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela and Costa Rica where it is known as *pasillo guanasteco*. José Ignacio Perdomo confirms that the *capuchinada* turned dancers into 'true madmen, possessed by some sort of madness.' In 1897 the ensemble Lira Colombiana, directed by Pedro Morales Pino, aided the consolidation of various musical genres, especially the *pasillo*. Morales Pino was the author of the famous *valses* 'Alicia' and 'Mar y cielo' (Sea and Sky). In the twentieth century José Alejandro Morales disseminated his *valses* 'Al compás del amor' (To the Beat of Love), 'Amistad' (Friendship) and 'Pueblito Viejo' (Old Village).

In 1808 the Portuguese Royal Family introduced the *vals* to Brazil under the name *valsa*. Here, the dance acquired great fame both among the noble and the popular classes. In 1816 Sigismundo Neukomn, renowned Austrian composer and promoter of large galas in Vienna, traveled to Brazil to become a professor of music theory and composition. Among his students were Pedro I, future emperor of Brazil, and his wife Leopoldina. During Pedro I's reign (1822–31) Neukomn composed *valsas* that became popular across all social classes. Among the most renowned composers of *valsas* are Salvador Fábrega, Francisco Libario, Colá Joao Batista, Antonio Dos Santos Bocot, the academic Carlos Gomes, Ernesto Nazaret, Chiquinha Gonzaga and Anacleto Medeiros in the nineteenth century, and Milton Nascimientos, Caetano Veloso, Vinicios de Moraes ('Valsinha'), Antonio Carlos Jobim ('Eu te amo' [I Love You], written with Chico Buarque), Edu Lobo ('Valsa brasilera' [Brazilian Waltz]), Chico Buarque ('Valsa dos clowns' [Waltz of Two Clowns]) and Professor Heitor Villalobos.

Vals in the Caribbean: Puerto Rico and Cuba

In Puerto Rico, beginning in 1850, *vals* preserved the Viennese style. Composers of this style include Juan Morell Campos and Manuel Tavares, who, by the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, made of the dance an elegant salon affair. Tito Henríquez, composer of *valses* and other genres, is considered to be one of the most inspired musicians of Puerto Rican origin of the twentieth century. He shares this title with *cuatro* player and *vals* master Colón Zayas.

In nineteenth-century Cuba, the Spanish Vicente Díaz de Comas published his Album Regio, which included a few *valses* that soon conquered salons throughout Havana. Among Cuban composers of *valses* the most prominent are Eduardo Sánchez de Fuentes, composer of the *valses boston* 'Horas tristes' (Sad Hours) and 'Todo esperanza' (All Hope), and Rogelio Barba, author of 'Inspirae' and 'Bouquet de orquídeas' (Orchid Bouquet). Ernesto Lecuona, one of the most revered Cuban composers and pianists of the twentieth century, wrote *valses* such as 'Vals de ensueño' (Dreamy Waltz), 'Vals del Yumuri' (Yumuri's Waltz), 'Vals del Ebro' (Ebro's Waltz), 'Vals de las flores' (Flower Waltz), the *vals-jota* 'Aragón and 'Damisela encantadora' (Charming Damsel) a *vals* that was widely disseminated through the whole of Latin America.

Vals in Mexico and Venezuela

Starting in the 1830s Mexico and Venezuela developed a type of concert *vals* for piano that was influenced by the syncopated rhythms of African popular music and of the Spanish *fandango*. The piano *vals* variant was and is known as *vals de salon* (salon *vals*) to differentiate it from the popular peasant *vals*, which was played with string instruments such as the *mandolina*, *cuatro* and guitar. The most noted Mexican composers of *vals de salon* are: Juventino Rosas, who wrote 'Sobre las olas' (Over the Waves) in the Viennese style; Felipe Villanueva, composer of 'Vals poético' (Poetic Waltz); Ricardo Castro and his 'Vals capricho' (Capricious Waltz); and Rodolfo Campodónico, the author of the waltz 'Cruz verde' (Green Cross) whose melody secretly identified the Zapatista army during the Mexican Revolution of 1910. The *vals mexicano* (Mexican waltz) influenced the creation of *rancheras* such as 'La Valentina,' a well-known *vals* during these revolutionary times. In the twentieth century Carlos Chávez, composer of 'Elegía' (Elegy) and Agustín Lara, author of many romantic songs such as the *vals* 'María bonita' (Beautiful María) that was dedicated to his beloved and movie starlet María Félix, rose to prominence.

In Venezuela, starting in 1850 the *vals* developed into a style with progressive syncopations that had a genuine *criollo* character, incorporating African-derived rhythmic percussion with European-style melodies. Other forms of the *vals* coexisted which had European as well as Latin American influences. The classic Viennese waltz was represented in the works of Pedro Elías Gutiérrez ('Geranio' [Geranium]); Laudelino Mejías ('Conticinio'), Francisco Paula de Aguirre ('Dama Antañona' [Lady from Old]) and Vicente Cedeño ('Castro en Margarita').

In the nineteenth century *vals* masters Felipe Larrazábal, Federico Villena, Rafael Isaza, Rogerio

Carballo, Ramón de la Plaza, Ramón Delgado Palacios and Heraclio Fernández contributed to the entrenchment of the piano *vals* in Venezuela. Pianist Teresa Carreño contributed with a more intimate, French-inspired *vals* that emphasizes the second beat, as in her work 'La corbeille des fleurs' (The Basket of Flowers). Other composers in this style were Manuel Guadalajara, Manuel Azpúrua ('El suspiro' [The Sigh]), Rafael Isaza ('El peregrino' [The Pilgrim]), Rogerio Carballo ('El favorito' [The Favorite]) and Meserón Aranda ('Las delicias del Edén' [Eden's Delights]). Federico Vollmer demonstrated his impeccable style in composition during the mid-1800s with *valses* such as 'Anita,' 'Isabel,' 'El reloj de la Catedral' (The Cathedral's Clock) and 'Jarro Mocho.'

In the twentieth century, within the French-inspired style were the *valses* 'Sombra en los médanos' (Shadow in the Dunes) by Rafael Sánchez López and 'Adiós Ocumare' (Farewell Ocumare) by Ángles M. Landaeta. Augusto Brandt's 'Besos en mis sueños' launched the *vals-canción*, which set itself apart from the syncopated language of the nineteenth-century *vals*. In 1930 Vicente Emilio Rojo founded the Escuela Nacionalista (Nationalist School), which counted among its notable students Antonio Estévez, Inocente Carreño, Razhés Hernández López, Gonzalo and Evencio Castellanos, and Antonio Lauro, a renowned guitarist and creator of the popular *vals* 'Natalia.'

In the 1930s Lionel Belasco introduced jazz variants into the *vals* creating a rich style; some of his works include 'Luna de Maracaibo' (Maracaibo Moon), 'Juliana' and 'San José.' The *vals-canción* was represented by Eduardo Serrano with his poetic *vals* 'Camurí'; Antonio Carrillo, composer of 'Como llora una estrella' (How a Star Weeps); José Ángel López with 'Juramento'; and Luis Alfonso Larraín with 'Amándonos.' Aldemaro Romero, the principal figure of the Onda nueva genre, wrote two great *valses*: 'Quinta Arauco' and 'De Conde a Principal.' José Enrique Serabia's 'Ansiedad' (Anxiety) gained international popularity, and Luis Laguna's 'Serenata' (Serenade) incorporated new harmonies influenced by *bossa nova*, which gave it a character of harmonic progressions where harmony prevails over melody. This type of *vals* is more appropriate for listening to than for dancing, evoking the nostalgia of the composer as well as the listener.

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RAFAEL SALAZAR (TRANSLATED BY PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ) WITH JAVIER F. LEÓN(PERU) AND SILVINA ARGÜELLO (ARGENTINA, TRANSLATED BY PAMELA NARBONA JEREZ)

Vaneira

The *vaneira* is a popular musical genre found mainly in three states in the south of Brazil: Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina and Paraná. It is one of the most significant of the genres that make up *música gaúcha*/*gauchesca*, which in its turn is best understood as a super-genre comprising and articulating different individual genres, including *bugio*, *rancheira* and *chamarra* (Hoffmann 2007). At the end of the nineteenth century, European dances such as the mazurka, waltz, polka and schottische, and the Cuban *habanera* were included in the repertoire of dances executed in the Brazilian *salões* (salons) and also in Rio Grande do Sul, where they replaced the old dances of *fandango* – a suite of dances executed during a rural party – that had been brought over by Portuguese settlers who came from the Azores in the eighteenth century (Lucas 1990).

Lucas (1990) describes the *vaneira* as a song genre in duple meter and in the major mode with the same melodic and rhythmic contour as the bass accompaniment in Cuban *habanera*. Tasso Bangel (1989) also emphasizes the movement of the bass as the *vaneira*’s most evident rhythmic characteristic. In this author’s opinion, such movement is characterized by the continuous demarcation of dotted eighth note/sixteenth note/two eighth notes, with a strong accent on the last eighth note of the duple meter. According to this definition, the *vaneira* is what Sandroni (2001) called a ‘tresillo paradigm’: three eighth notes, the first two of which are dotted (with some variations). This paradigm presided over Latin American popular music during the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, and during the same period can also be found in several different musical genres such as the *maxixe*, the *lundu* and the *habanera* among others. The *habanera* was embraced in Brazil in 1870 (Sandroni 2005) and seems to be the predecessor of the *vaneira*. Lucas (1990) also associates the *vaneira* with the music of Havana.

In spite of its common occurrence in other states, the *vaneira* is known by most musicians as a genre originally from Rio Grande do Sul (a state in the extreme south of Brazil, bordering Argentina and Uruguay). Variations in name, such as *vaneirinha* and *vaneirão*, may occur, the main difference between these being the rhythm, which is slow in *vaneirinha* and fast in *vaneirão*. The *vaneira* is in a medium tempo.

In the early twenty-first century *vaneira* was often played in *salões*, *bailes* or parties (both in the big cities and in the countryside, far away from the metropolitan areas) and CTGs (Centros de Tradição Gaúcha), where people went for dancing more than for listening. Like other ballroom dances, *vaneira* is a linked couple dance.

The characteristic instrument of the *vaneira* is the accordion (also called *cordeona* or *gaita*). The other instruments are guitar, bass and drum set, or guitar and percussion. The first combination is mainly associated with groups who play in clubs, while the second is mainly found in the *festivais de música nativista* (regional music festivals).

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KAIO DOMINGUES HOFFMANN AND FERNANDA MARCON

Vanguarda Paulista

'Vanguarda Paulista' was not a musical movement in itself, as its name might suggest, but rather the name coined by the press in the Brazilian city of São Paulo in the 1980s to refer to a generation of musicians whose music addressed itself to the city in a variety of ways. Among these musicians were Arrigo Barnabé, Itamar Assumpção, the groups Rumo, Premeditando o Breque (Premê) and Língua de Trapo, as well as names associated with these, such as the singers Eliete Negreiros, Vânia Bastos, Tetê Espíndola, Passoca, Hermelino Neder and Virgínia Rosa.

The diversity of ways in which these and other musicians of the time approached the depiction of Sao Paulo reflects the city's ambiguous position as a center known both for innovation (e.g., some of the names of well-known MPB composers and performers are inextricably associated with the city of São Paulo, such as Rita Lee, Tom Zé, Walter Franco, the rock groups Os Mutantes, Joelho de Porco, Titãs, etc.) and as a reference point for a more conventional kind of popular urban *samba* such as that developed with a particular local accent through the 1940s and 1950s.

Seen in this light, the songs of the Vanguarda Paulista can be seen as an attempt to resolve São Paulo's sense of internal conflict. The city is depicted in a variety of ways. It can appear in reinterpretations of old songs associated with the city, such as, for example, Paulo Vanzolini's *samba-canção* 'Ronda' (Round), Adoniran Barbosa's famous *samba* 'Vide verso meu endereço' (See Overleaf for My Address) and Geraldo Filme's *samba* 'Vá cuidar da sua vida' (Go Take Care of Your Life). The city can be suggested by the identity of the musicians associated with it, such as Tom Zé and Rita Lee. It can also be evoked through associations of the songs themselves with the city. There are songs composed by members of the Vanguarda Paulista that refer openly to the city, such as 'Ladeira da memória' (Memory's Slope (Rumo), 'São Paulo, São Paulo' (Premê), 'Sampa midnight' (Itamar Assumpção) and 'Na Mourato' (Lingua de Trapo), and others that speak to the city, including 'Clara Crocodilo' (Arrigo Barnabé), 'Nego Dito' (Itamar Assumpção) and 'Orgasmo total' (Arrigo Barnabé); both approaches constitute a São Paulo perspective on making music.

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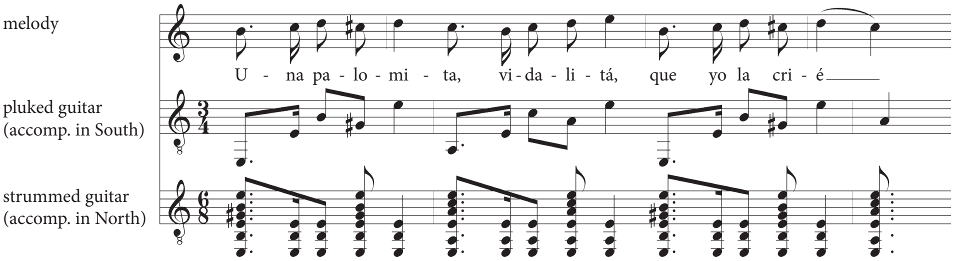
Vidala, Vidalita

The names *vidala*, *vidalita, coplas, yaraví*, *baguala* and several others make up a complex of song types originating from the North-Andean regions of Argentina. The nomenclature of the song complex in the rural tradition is by no means clear – in spite of the efforts of musicologists such as Carlos Vega and Isabel Aretz – but each of these types, including *vidala* and *vidalita*, was given a more or less distinct profile by the twentieth-century mass-mediated *folclore* movement.

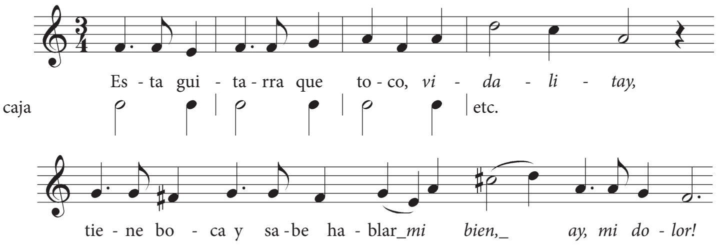
The rural *criollo* song called *vidala* or *vidalita* evidently had a long history, as Vega in his study of the genre mentions *vidalita* poems emphasizing popular events that occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century during the struggles between Unitarians and Federalists, thus inferring that the genre already existed during the ‘late colonial times with its diverse melodies and variations’ (1965, 226; translated by the editors). Within the body of rural song as Vega found it in the middle decades of the twentieth century, several variants of *vidalas* or *vidalitas* – as they are called indistinguishably by their practitioners in the various regions – can be found. The first variant is sung in two parts by women or mixed groups, accompanied by a small drum with two drumheads, called ‘*caja*’ or ‘*tambor*.’ For its melodic configuration, this variant uses scales of three, four, five or six steps as well as other ancient modalities. The movement is slow or moderate in binary meter. The texts consist of octosyllabic quatrains, with assonant or consonant rhymes linking the second and fourth lines, alternating or combined with short refrains in four- or five-syllable lines. The second variant is unison song by mixed groups with the *caja* as accompaniment. It has the same tonal qualities as the first variant, moderate movement and binary meter. Its poetic texts also combine hexasyllabic or octosyllabic lines with short refrains. Variants one and two are often incorporated into mass-mediated *folclore* as variants of *baguala*.

The third variant is designated *vidalita* of the ‘Pujllay’ (a *Carnaval* symbol), *vidalita chayera* or simply *chaya* (the latter being the most common label in the *folclore* movement), because it is played during the carnival period. It is sung in unison by a group accompanied by the *caja* and sometimes the guitar. It prefers the major key, fast movement and binary or ternary meter. The quatrains of hexasyllabic or octosyllabic lines are combined, as in the other variants already described, with short refrains.

A fourth variant, which Vega called ‘vidalita amorosa’ (vidalita of love), due to the thematic content of its lyrics, was disseminated by the ‘payadores’ (*gaúcho*-style minstrels) and the *folclore* movement in its early years and was popular in the ‘costumbrista’ theater (theater focusing on typical or picturesque local customs) and the circus in the mid-nineteenth century. It is sung by a single voice or a duo singing in parallel thirds and with guitar accompaniment. Composed in the minor key, it includes stanzas in hexameter lines with rhymes linking the second and fourth, and the refrain ‘vidalitá’ after the first and third. This form was made popular in Buenos Aires and the *pampas* in the 1890s through various arrangements (Example 1).



Example 1: *Vidalita*, with two accompaniment schemes from different regions


Es - ta gui - ta - rra que to - co, *vi - da - li - tay,*
caja
etc.
tie - ne bo - ca y sa - be ha - blar *mi bien, ay, mi do - lor!*

Example 2: Anonymous *vidala*

As standardized by urban writers, composers and performers of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries the *vidala* is a slow, meditative song in quatrains usually of octosyllabic lines, of which the second and fourth are linked by assonant rhyme; short refrains sometimes containing the word '*vidalita*' are interspersed within each stanza. The central conceit is that of *penas* (troubles), conceived more as a condition of existence than as pain stemming from concrete sources. The setting is often the loneliness of a solitary stroller, conducive to reflections on existence, the self, death, the inscrutability of feelings and an ever-present sorrow (Example 2).

The *vidala* is in 3/4 time, often with the first note dotted. Most phrases begin on the downbeat, even though this often leads to mis-accentuation of the words. The basic accompaniment (sometimes reduced to beating the *caja*) is an alternation of long and short notes; the pattern communicates its heavy thumping to the overall performance, which is usually sung and played with a noticeable *marcato*. Example 2 shows the beginning of a traditional *vidala*.

Singing by soloists or duos in thirds with a simple accompaniment is standard; however, the slow beat has induced several groups to support the melody with a display of full choral sonority and harmonic modulation (e.g., 'Subo' [I climb],' performed by Los Huanca Hua). Two repeatedly recorded pieces are 'Vidala del nombrador' (Vidala of the Namer) (Falú and Dávalos, recorded for example by Jairo) and 'Vidala para mi sombra' (Vidala For My Shadow) (Julio Espinosa, recorded, for example, by Los Fronterizos). The status of this genre as an unambiguous sign connotating sadness and depth of feeling has promoted the incorporation of *vidala* passages within other *folclore* types; in this capacity it was employed by Ariel Ramírez for the 'Kyrie' of his *Misa Criolla* (1965).

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Villancico, *see* Villancico (Volume XI, Europe)

Vodou Music

Vodou music refers to a body of sacred dance music that developed its present character in Haiti in the years leading up to and following Haitian independence (1804). Contemporary Haitians perform it for ceremonies in Haiti and throughout the Haitian diaspora, primarily in other states of the Caribbean, in North America and in Europe. One may find *Vodou* music also on recordings and in the performances of music and dance troupes that specialize in the genre in theaters and educational institutions. Since the 1940s jazz and commercial bands, often motivated by nationalist agendas, have spiced their repertories with elements of Vodou music.

Vodou music displays a panorama of styles that both practitioners and scholars trace to Africa. Christopher Columbus claimed 'Hispaniola' for the Spanish crown in 1492, and by 1517 Charles V had legitimated in the West Indies the importation of African slaves to replace the rapidly declining indigenous (Taino) work force. France acquired the western third of Hispaniola circa 1697 and transformed it into the 'pearl of the Antilles' through successful investment in sugar and slaves. When revolution came to France in 1789, the Saint Domingue colony counted approximately half a million blacks and 30,000 each of whites and people of mixed blood (Fick 1990, 278n14). The Africans, primarily from the Guinea and Congo coasts, represented ethnic groups who spoke dozens of languages and practiced diverse music and dance styles. Martinican writer and politician Moreau de Saint-Méry (1958) documented several of the dances, including the popular 'Vaudoux' and the seditious 'Danse à Dom Pèdre' (the future Petwo rite, see below).

Historical Outline

Following independence and the creation of the state of Haiti, former slaves and people of mixed blood contended for power. The latter, often wealthy and educated, seized control of the central government in Port-au-Prince. The new elites identified with France and Roman Catholicism, despite a schism with the Vatican over the anticlerical stance of the first administration. The former slaves, now peasants and urban laborers, grafted Catholic elements learned during slavery onto their emergent Afro-Haitian religious practice. When the government signed a Concordance with the Vatican in 1860, clerics from Brittany established missions throughout Haiti and launched the first of many 'anti-superstition' campaigns. These efforts resulted in the translation of new Catholic elements, including chants, into neo-African practice, but they failed to conquer it (Desmangles 1992, 42–7).

Missionary work missed its goals because the schism had permitted the peasants to serve their ancestral spirits freely, albeit in a new configuration. A novel by Ignace Nau from 1837 recreates a sacred 'danse' ('dance') (2000, 63–7). Occupying discrete areas of the ritual space, 'les diverses sectes' ('diverse sects') perform their own unique music styles on unique instruments. Dédée Magritt, a nineteenth-century priest whose circle included participants in the subversive Bwa Kayiman ceremony of 1791, conveyed their testimony, underscoring the distinction between 'les cérémonies vodouesques' ('the vodou ceremonies') and the sacrifice of a swine at Bwa Kayiman (Julien 1991, 58). Generations of *Vodou* practitioners have understood the Bwa Kayiman ceremony as seminal Petwo rites. As the memory of specific African origins faded with successive generations of Haitians, the amalgamated faith recalled spiritual 'nations' subsumed within two branches: Rada (Guinea) and Petwo (Congo).

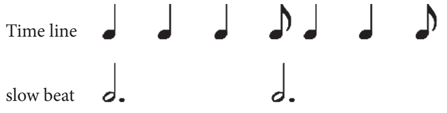
Invasion and occupation of Haiti by the United States from 1915 to 1934 stimulated dramatic cultural developments. Racial hostilities toward elites and the masses and the militant suppression of peasant resistance engendered a nationalist movement with a cultural wing variously called *indigènisme*, *noirisme* and *négritude* (similar to 'roots' and 'black consciousness' today). Jean Price-Mars, the movement's leading intellectual, applied the English 'folklore' to Haiti's oral traditions (1973, 49) and encouraged composers to blend its elements into classical and dance band music (Averill 1997; Largey 2006). During the 1940s the state established a Bureau of Ethnology for research and a National Theater for representation of folklore. Sacred Afro-Haitian music and dance constituted the greatest part of the folklore repertory (Honorat 1955; Yarborough 1959).

Stylistic Features

Vodou music in its sacred context serves the spiritual nations that brought the 'diverse sects' together in Haiti by representing them in sonic, visual and kinetic symbols and by attracting the forces within those nations to speak with a congregation through the medium of possession. Although regionalism characterizes Afro-Haitian music (Yih 1995), Port-au-Prince provides a useful version for study because the capital has attracted migrants from throughout the country and their combined practices compose a cohesive *regleman* (ritual ordering). A 'dance' (the most common name for a ceremony) begins with the balanced and formal Rada nations (Guinea coast, especially Benin), continues through the militant Nago (related to the Yoruba of Nigeria) and the hot and magical Petwo (from the Congo) and culminates in the chthonic and decadent but regenerative Gede nation (ancient Dahomey).

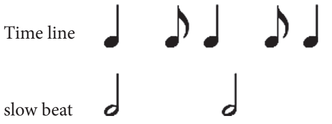
Music styles vary from nation to nation, but they share common features that contribute to their collective identification as a genre. Port-au-Prince instrument ensembles consist of a trio of single-headed drums of conical bore (*maman*, *segon* and boula, respectively, master, second and third drums), a clapperless iron bell struck from the outside (*ogan*) and a low-pitched frame drum (*bas* or *tanbourin*). The master drummer works with the priest or song leader, who signals ritual action and transitions with a rattle. Rada and Nago styles feature hardwood drums with cowskin heads anchored with pegs; the use of sticks for all three drums; and the *ason*, a bead-covered gourd rattle. Petwo and Gede styles use softwood drums with goatskin heads anchored with lacing; hand drumming for *maman* and *segon*; and the *tchatcha*, a seed-filled rattle. Pointing to an area that begs research, Master Drummer Frisner Augustin has called the drum a 'piano' in recognition of its broad tonal palette (personal communication). An ensemble pattern, full of motivic conversation among the instruments, coordinates with the society's call-and-response singing. *Vodou* songs, mostly anhemitonic-pentatonic or hexatonic within a narrow range, use phrases whose brevity and repetition patterns synchronize well with ritual action. The female voice tends to dominate all styles of *Vodou* song, as most initiates and many priests are women.

Vodou music styles, numbering more than a dozen without counting varieties, mark their distinctions primarily through rhythmic patterns that fit the contours of dance movement. The ideas of J. H. Kwabena Nketia (1974) about interpreting African music serve the analysis of *Vodou* rhythm well. Ensemble rhythms rest on a 'timeline,' or repeating ostinato that organizes the other rhythmic parts, typically expressed in the *ogan*. Most timelines encompass two slow beats that subdivide by two or three into medium and then fast beats. Drum and percussion strokes fall on all three levels of beat. Because subdivision is by two or three, hemiola (two against three) permeates the patterns and generates the offbeat feeling common to outsiders' perceptions of much music of western Africa. Not surprisingly, the two principal timelines in *Vodou* music distinguish the Rada and Petwo spiritual branches. The Rada timeline, ubiquitous in West Africa, spans two slow beats that fall into 12 at the level of the fast beat. In Example 1 a dotted half note equals one slow beat, and an eighth note one fast.



Example 1: The Rada timeline

The Petwo timeline in Example 2 likewise spans two slow beats but only eight fast, so a half note equals one slow beat. Note the absence of a stroke on the second slow beat. Five-stroke variations of this pattern (*quintolet* in French and *cinquillo* in Spanish) abound in the Caribbean.



Example 2: The Petwo timeline

While the *ogan* and third drum bracket *Vodou* styles, lead and second drums differentiate them, and they carry on a complex motivic interchange. A pattern called *kase* (break) distinguishes *Vodou* music most radically from other African and Afro-Caribbean musics. Using techniques of contrast (in phrasing, timbre, accent, etc.), the *kase* signals a dance movement designed to induce spirit possession.

The spirit of *Vodou* music, having attracted the interest of Haitian intellectuals and foreigners, has enlivened the scores of theater and dance companies formed since the Black Consciousness movement of the mid-twentieth century. The Haitian State created La Troupe Folklorique Nationale (The National Folkloric Troupe) in 1949 to represent Haiti in its national theater. The company became the model for other troupes, which continue to perform both in Haiti and the Haitian diaspora (Wilcken 1991). Most companies develop choreographed pieces based on traditional dances, order the music around floor patterns and use the *kase* as a structural device, but La Troupe Makandal in New York has challenged the distinction between sacred and secular in its simulated *Vodou* rites (Wilcken 2002). Beyond the theater, troupes provide such educational services as lecture-demonstrations, workshops and school residencies, and they play a lively role in the negotiation of cultural identity within immigrant communities.

Vocal and instrumental ensembles integrate elements of *Vodou* music in varying manners and to varying degrees. A series of studio recordings by Wawa (Jacques Fortère) rendered a broad selection of songs and drumming with minimal modification, and the popular Azor (Lénord Fortuné) has followed in this vein. Other groups, such as Sanba Yo and Sakad, seek fusion and hybridity. Starting in the late 1970s with the experiments of the '*sanba*' (a name adopted from oral tradition for composers and song leaders), middle-class musicians such as Lolo Beaubrun of Boukman Eksperyans and Richard Morse of RAM drew inspiration from foreign mass-mediated genres, particularly Jamaican reggae with its Rastafarian spirituality. (For a full discussion, see Averill 1997, especially chapters 4 and 5.) As the movement turned toward *Vodou* spirituality and matured into the commercially successful *mizik rasin,* or *racin* (roots music), through the 1980s and 1990s, chiefly under the flagship of the internationally hailed Boukman Eksperyans, it espoused the kinetics, the melodies and the rhythmic foundation of the springtime festival *Rara* to establish a traditional Afro-Haitian sound and look. *Rara* music uses the timeline of figure 2. Elizabeth McAlister (2002) convincingly highlights the spirituality of Haitian *Rara* and presents certain of its activities as Vodou practice.

The attention that *Vodou* music has garnered in recent decades is arguably a measure of its status as a genre. Using the word *Vodou* to name the Afro-Haitian religion is likewise recent among a people who, for generations, simply said, 'I serve the spirits,' or 'I beat the drum for the spirits,' or 'I sing for the spirits.' Factors contributing toward the recognition of this social space, its spiritual practice as religion and its music as a genre include black consciousness movements, the production of recordings, many of which circulate in bootleg form and, not least, the steadfast struggle of the Haitian people for freedom.

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LOIS WILCKEN

Vodou-Jazz

Vodou-jazz developed in Haiti in the 1940s, when local dance bands blended elements borrowed from big band jazz with traditional rhythms and melodies borrowed from the music of the Haitian *Vodou* religion. It played a significant role in the Haitian *noiriste* movement of the early to middle twentieth century, which promoted pride in the African-based traditions of Haiti.

At the beginning of the twentieth century well-off Haitians attended balls where European and local dances such as the *contredanse*, waltz, polka and *mereng* were played; instrumentation was either a solo piano or a French-influenced ensemble called *òkès bastreng*, similar to orchestras such as the Cuban *charanga* or the New Orleans Creole string band, comprising violin, cello and string bass augmented by clarinet or trombone.

The United States Marines invaded and occupied Haiti from 1915 to 1934, bringing North American popular culture with them. Novel, cosmopolitan music and dances such as the Charleston also arrived from Paris, where elite Haitians often traveled; Haitian jazz forays therefore developed in both Port-au-Prince and Paris. Haitian dance bands adopted tinges of jazz from African-American dance music, combining influences from artists such as James Reese Europe with elements borrowed from the vibrant Haitian military band tradition and local dance music such as *mereng*. Afro-Cuban dance music also exerted a significant influence. The term *djaz* came to signify any large dance band, and groups performed at cafés and bordellos, making a mark on the social life of the bourgeoisie (Averill 1997, 35–41).

A nationalist '*indigène*' ('indigenous') movement celebrating local, African-derived rural culture developed in opposition to the US occupation. Haitian medical doctor and folklorist Jean Price Mars, author of the inspiring book celebrating Haitian folklore *Ainsi parla l'oncle* (*So Spoke Uncle*) (1928), played a major role in this trend. Informed by a sense of Afro-diasporic pride influenced by Marcus Garvey and the Harlem Renaissance, local intellectuals noted commonalities between black North American music and Haitian culture. The embrace of local peasant culture and of African roots was new for the Haitian elites, who, despite their mixed African and European ancestry, were traditionally identified with their French rather than their African heritage. Moreover, despite its celebration of blackness, the *indigènisme* movement embraced a romanticized concept of the local peasantry rather than African-based Haitian culture as actually practiced in the countryside (Averill 1997, 41–5).

Indigènisme maintained momentum after the departure of the US Marines in 1934 and developed into *noirisme,* which, with support from the growing black middle class, emphasized pan-Africanism and an essentialist notion of black power. Influenced by *noirisme* and Price-Mars's call for the embrace of local arts, dance bands combined traditional *Vodou* rhythms and melodies with *mereng*, jazz and Afro-Cuban elements to create what came to be called *Vodou-jazz*. The new style was characterized by an accompanying timeline basic to *Vodou* drumming called *kata*, played on the Afro-Cuban *timbales* drums, which punctuated the typical jazz and Latin dance band instrumentation of trumpets, saxophones, piano and bass. In addition, bands used either a *tanbou* hand drum borrowed from traditional Haitian music or a Cuban *conga* drum. Usually, only one *tanbou* was used, but sometimes bands incorporated three, as is customary in *Vodou* rituals. While melodies were borrowed from traditional Haitian sources, just as often, bands incorporated jazz and Cuban elements (Averill 1997, 51–8; 1989, 217).

Founded in 1943, the best-known such group, Jazz des Jeunes, distinguished themselves through their espousal of *noirisme* in both song lyrics and musical style. Their song 'Anciens jeunes' (Ancient Youth), for example, celebrates the plethora of *Vodou* rhythms emanating from the various African ethnic groups forming the ancient backbone of traditional Haitian culture proclaiming that 'Petwo, ibo, kongo, djouba/ Are rhythms of our ancestors' (Super Jazz de Jeunes, *Saturday Night,* quoted in Averill 1997, 60). Jazz des Jeunes was honored at the 1949 Port-au-Prince bicentennial, and a few years later, sent by the government to represent Haiti in the United States and Canada. During this period, Orchestre Saïeh rose as Jazz des Jeunes's major competitor. More middle-class, and according to some, less authentic than Jazz des Jeunes, Orchestre Saïeh was noted for its sophisticated jazz arrangements, some of which were penned by Bobby Hicks, an American residing in Puerto Rico. In its quest for jazz authenticity, the band went so far as to bring jazz pianist Billy Taylor and saxophonist Budd Johnson to Haiti to provide musical instruction. With the rise of *noiriste* governments, the post-World War II period saw significant state support for *Vodou-jazz*, and the middle 1940s to the 1950s was called the *bèl epòk* due to its fertile nightlife scene (Averill 1997, 55–70).

In spite of changing tides in popular music, *Vodou-jazz* remained at the heart of Haitian tradition; as late as 1988 a Haitian journalist opined that 'when on speaks of Jazz des Jeunes, it is the Haitian soul that ones causes to vibrate' ([*sic.*] quoted and translated in Averill 1989, 219). As Gage Averill demonstrates, it is ironic that, while jazz came to Haiti with the neocolonialist US occupation, it dovetailed with nationalism and *noirisme* and thereby played a significant role in focusing the attention of the Haitian elites on local African-derived culture.

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PAUL AUSTERLITZ

Volcanto

Volcanto is a term invented in the early 1980s in Nicaragua to name politically and socially conscious music created on the Central American isthmus. The name comes from conflating the words *volcán* (volcano) and *canto* (song), inspired by the geographical commonality of large volcanoes from Guatemala south to Costa Rica. The new generation of singer-songwriters hoped that *volcanto* would identify regional Central American political music in a similar way to what had been achieved with *nueva trova* for Cuba and *nueva canción* for Chile. In fact, the term never caught on regionally and came to denote political music produced in Nicaragua during and after the 1979–90 Sandinista revolutionary period. Despite some confused attempts in the early 1980s, eventually *volcanto* was rarely used to include the best-known Nicaraguan musicians of the 1980s, Carlos Mejía Godoy and to a lesser extent his brother Luis Enrique Mejía Godoy, as they had established their careers before the term was invented.

Nicaraguan *volcanto* musicians were located almost entirely within the majority Spanish-speaking population of mestizos (mixed Spanish and Amerindian race and culture) that inhabit the western two-thirds of the country. The newly popular English-Creole *palo de mayo* dance music of the African-Nicaraguan Creoles on the eastern Caribbean coastal region was politically significant (see Scruggs 1999) but the lyrics consistently came from a folk, traditional repertoire. A few songs with politically significant lyrics eventually were composed in a reggae style by Philip Montalván.

The flourishing of the various styles of music encompassed by the umbrella term *volcanto* is due to the exceptional position of Nicaragua from July 1979 to February 1990. This era remains a milestone in Central American history, the only time cultural workers committed to empowering the popular classes in the heat of dramatic social struggles received moral and at least some economic support from a national government. (In Latin America, only Cuba had a leftist-oriented popular movement hold state power for so long.) In addition, 1980s Nicaragua built upon the prolific legacy of socially engaged song produced, sometimes clandestinely, in the previous decade under the Somoza dictatorship, a musical corpus that through the 1980s and 1990s was the best-known Nicaraguan music within and outside the region. The US-sponsored contra war and economic embargo successfully bankrupted the Nicaraguan economy, as a result of which governmental support for the arts dried up and the nation's music industry as a whole was practically destroyed. Even before the electoral defeat of the Sandinistas in 1990 the Ministry of Culture had closed (1988) and the government music label ENIGRAC, which had released many LPs of politically relevant music in the early 1980s, was late in adjusting to cassettes and restricted in their recording efforts (Scruggs 1991). A concern bubbled up in the late 1980s that the *volcanto* movement had become increasingly associated with a circumscribed group of more cosmopolitan-oriented young Managuan musicians and distanced from the preferred musical styles of the majority population (see Scruggs 2002).

In the decades of the 1990s and 2000s full-blown neoliberal economics wreaked havoc on the popular classes and musical activity of all types was severely constricted. In addition, non-Nicaraguan cultural products were heavily promoted (Scruggs 2004). Post-1990 also brought on a massive emigration to more economically prosperous lands. The most important *volcanto* group, brother-sister Salvador and Katia Cardenal's Duo Guardabarranco (the national bird), suffered from Katia's emigration to Norway for a good portion of this period, and ended with Salvador's dying in 2010. In the late 1990s the Norwegian government (through Norad) began to provide some funding to the newly formed Asociación de Cantautores Nicaragüenses, ASCAN, facilitating performances and several cassette and CD compilations of various artists. Acoustic singer-songwriters continue to perform at small cafés and universities, and at the important concert space the Casa de los Mejía in the capital, Managua. An overall assessment of Nicaraguan socially conscious music since 1970, however, reveals that the key role that Carlos M. Godoy's music played from the mid-1970s to the early 1980s was not matched by his latter output, and new musical ensembles and singer-songwriters of similar caliber have yet to emerge within *volcanto* to bring music near to such a level of social importance.

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T. M. SCRUGGS

Waila, *see* Waila (Volume VIII, North America)

Xaxado

Xaxado is a song-and-dance form from the northeastern Brazilian state of Pernambuco originally – and still predominantly – performed by men. Popular in some backlands areas of the state in the 1920s (Griz in Câmara Cascudo 2000), it began to be disseminated more widely via radio in the mid-1930s. Just like other 'satellite genres' (Tapajós 1995, 4) of *baião* it was popularized in an urbanized form by Pernambuco native Luis Gonzaga in the national media, in motion pictures and in vaudeville-type theater (*teatro revista*) in the 1940s and 1950s.

According to Câmara Cascudo (2000, 749–50) *xaxado* originated deep in the backlands of Pernambuco, from where it was

> disseminated throughout the interior of Bahia state by the outlaw known as Lampião and the other bandits (known as *cabras*) of his band. They would dance the *xaxado* in a circle, in a single-file line, one dancer behind the other, without spinning, advancing their right foot in three and four sideways movements and pulling the left foot in a quick and sliding tapping movement (author's translation).

The songs of insult (called *parraxaxá*) chanted by the *cangaceiros* (as those bandits were known) against the uniformed police soldiers were a forerunner of *xaxado* (ibid.). Not even the police repression of banditry, which occurred at that time, could prevent its expansion.

Opinions vary regarding the origin of the term. The most common version refers to the sound produced by the dragging of leather sandals across the floor by the dancers. On the other hand, for the inhabitants of the town of Serra Talhada (the birthplace of Lampião), the term '*xaxado*' originated from the words *xarar/xaxado*, an adaptation of *sachar/sachado*: the act of tilling the soil with a hoe to plant beans. The name of the dance would have resulted from a simulation of the movement of the hoe in the soil, in short cuts, to uproot weeds (http://video globo.com).

In Câmara Cascudo's view, the music probably derives from '*baião da viola*' performed by the *repentistas* (singers who improvise short poems and play music off the cuff*)* in a sort of duel between one improvised stanza and the other. It consists of a quatrain and a stanza, which is sung in unison by the group. Originally, the *xaxado* was danced without instrumental accompaniment. Men used to sing and dance, marking the strong beat of the 2/4 time with the butt of their rifle on the floor. The rifle, as Gonzaga himself is said to have put it, 'was the lady.'

Many accordion players, such as Luiz Gonzaga and others, released several versions of instrumental *xaxado*. Its first appearance on 78-rpm records (1952), with the title 'Xaxado,' resulted from a partnership between Luiz Gonzaga (1912–89) and Hervê Cordovil (1914–79). The lyric content summarizes its history:

Xaxado, meu bem xaxado	*Xaxado*, my darling xaxado
Xaxado vem do sertão	*Xaxado* comes from the *sertão* [backlands]
É dança dos cangaceiros	It's the dance of bandits
Dos cabras de Lampião	Of the *cabras* of Lampião
Quando eu entro no xaxado	When I start dancing *xaxado*
Ai meu Deus, eu num paro não	Oh my God, I just can't stop
Xaxado é dança macho	*Xaxado* is a man's dance
Primo do baião	It's a cousin *of baião*

Xaxado is also part of the repertoire of para-folkloric dance groups, among them are the Cabras de Lampião (Lampião's Bandits), in Serra Talhada, Pernambuco and Mira Ira in Fortaleza, Ceará. The latter group includes women in its performance.

Since the 1950s *xaxado* has been part of the musical genres performed in the *forró* houses – the first public venues aimed at listening to and dancing the repertoire from the Brazilian North-east – around the large cities in the southeastern region of the country. At first, these locales were used as a gathering place for northeastern migrants who were forced to leave their native lands because of the droughts of 1951–3 and 1958. Today, these *forró* houses are included in the tourism itineraries of any major Brazilian city.

Twenty-first-century *xaxado*, already adapted to the accelerated versions of the new *forró*, also reflects the influence of international trends, such as the song 'Xaxado chiado' (Sizzling *Xaxado*) (2002) by the rap artist Gabriel o Pensador.

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ELBA BRAGA RAMALHO

Xote

Xote is a Brazilian genre derived from the schottische, a dance form originally from central Europe, which first arrived in Brazil in the mid-nineteenth century.

The modern Brazilian version is part of a long historical and musical process in which European dances, especially those coming to the South American continent via France in the 1850s, became nationalized (Kiefer 1990, 7). In the case of *xote*, the nationalization process was aided by the insertion of elements of music from the Brazilian North-east in the mid-1900s.

The transformative process began when 'the élites in Rio de Janeiro' (Câmara Cascudo 1999, 809–10) imported the schottische in the 1850s, from which point its development as a popular genre was gradual. *Xote* was appreciated more by art music practitioners and aficionados, such as those from Brazil's late romantic period in the second half of the 1800s, and those involved in the modernist movement of 1922. In the 1940s and 1950s, however, the record industry and the radio saw the potential of *xote* as a music for a nationwide audience. Only then was *xote* taken as a 'genuine' Brazilian popular music genre. Its place in the art music tradition did not disappear, however, and the heirs of those who regarded *xote* as art music continue to do so in the twenty-first century.

Early History in Brazil

According to Kiefer (1990, 27–8), the schottische that arrived in Rio de Janeiro in the 1850s, and was favorably received among court officials and aristocratic family gatherings, had a 'rhythm of accompaniment' that had 'a certain similarity with that of polka; the timing … , however, would be a little slower' (author's translation). Then, like everything new coming from abroad at that time, especially from Europe, the schottische had an effect on local scenes and soon caught on in less noble settings across the whole country, affiliating itself little by little to the lower social strata. Memorizing the music they heard and some of the dance movements they saw, these poorer segments of society even adapted the name of the original dance and music, first to 'chótis' and then to 'chote' or 'xote.' But this latter descriptive adaptation was a slow process; in Brazilian Portuguese it took almost a full century to be completed, a long time after the arrival of the original European form in Rio de Janeiro.

Although there were numerous schottische sheet music publications in the mid- to late 1800s, these cannot be compared quantitatively to the greater number of both waltz and polka scores available in Rio de Janeiro and in other major Brazilian cities at that time (Kiefer 1990). With their more colloquial titles, the polkas and waltzes of the time were more popular, but by the mid-1900s, however, in the north-east of the country, *xote* was experiencing greater popularization both as a dance form and as music, as a result of which it was also labeled as a northeastern tradition, running parallel to those of *forró*, *baião*, *xaxado* and the like. Indeed, if one takes account of northeastern accordionist Luiz Gonzaga's dominant role in the boom that more traditional northeastern music experienced from the 1940s up to the late 1950s, and the emergence of *forró* in that time as an umbrella genre, these musics can all be grouped under the larger genre.

Description

The schottische had always been seen as an erudite form of instrumental music. As soon as it was transformed into the more urban and popular *xote* in the 1940s, adding lyrics became a natural consequence. Composers' thematic choices varied in the 1940s and 1950s, with a slight preference for regional characteristics such as food, places, life in the country and personal comments on women's good or bad looks. In southern Brazil, there was a *xote* tradition which resurfaced – and remained strong for some time in folkloric settings – at the same time as the northeastern music hit the airwaves. Living in Rio de Janeiro, some artists from the south even claimed the paternity of the genre early in the 1940s, but by then Luiz Gonzaga had built a sufficiently strong position to be able to proclaim himself both as the father and the king of the genre all over the country.

In the Brazilian North-east, *xote* is performed in simple duple time, at a moderate tempo, with a 120-bass piano (or, more traditionally, an eight-bass button) accordion, a triangle and a *zabumba* drum. The latter looks like a side drum without snares (about the size of a bass drum) and is played with the usual drumstick on the upper side and a stick underneath. Except for its lyrics, this music is a true descendant of the original European schottische, the dance movements of which resemble those of the original polka (*xote*, like polka, is danced both by couples and in large groups), but which adapted itself to becoming the local dance music just as it had adapted itself musically.

Xote on 78rpm Records and on Radio

By the end of the 1940s, after Luiz Gonzaga's storming success with *baião*, northeastern music was enjoying a comfortable, dominating position in the heart of the Brazilian music industry. In his long career, Gonzaga recorded several *xotes*, among them 'No meu pé de serra' (At My Foot-of-the-Mountain Place, 1947), 'Mangaratiba' (1949), 'Adeus Rio de Janeiro' (Good-bye Rio de Janeiro, 1950), 'Cintura fina' (Slim Waistline, 1950), 'O xote das meninas' (The Girls' *Xote*, 1953), 'Riacho do Navio' (1955), 'Buraco de tatu' (Armadillo's Hole, 1956), 'O chêro da Carolina' (Carolina's Good

Smell, 1956) and 'Vida de vaqueiro' (A Cowherd's Life, 1960), all of them major hits broadcast nationally on the radio, directly from Rio de Janeiro to the rest of the country (Azevedo [Nirez] 1982). Radio and the record industry gave national recognition to the genre, but it should also be remembered that the artists' efforts in promoting the genre through the available media in the 1940s and 1950s also played an important part in the process.

There was also a nationalist feeling on the part of the artists, in reaction to the fact that during and after World War II the Brazilian music scene was flooded with US big band jazz and with all manner of major Spanish-speaking Caribbean and Latin American music genres, including the *bolero*, the *balada* and the *rumba*. These international genres even threatened the overwhelming omnipresence of *samba* in the Brazilian music industry, so that when the *xote* and other northeastern music genres, under the umbrella of *forró*, surfaced in the 1940s, they seemed to attract the public's attention first and foremost, because they were made in Brazil and sung in Brazilian Portuguese. These factors alone imply that *xote* and the other northeastern genres were – and still are – likely to bring a smile to Brazilian faces when it comes to identifying a truly national type of music.

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WANDER NUNES FROTA

Yaraví

The *yaraví* is an Andean song genre characterized by its slow tempo, minor tonality, frequent use of rubato and dramatic pauses, and a lyric emphasis on romantic or tragic themes of lost love and betrayal. Associated primarily with middle-class mestizos, the *yaraví* is found in urban settings in the highland regions of Ecuador and Peru, with significant regional variations in instrumentation and form. In Peru, it is particularly associated with the city of Arequipa, though it is also closely related to the *muliza* genre from the Cerro de Pasco region, and in still other areas, it is known as the *triste*.

As a mestizo genre, the *yaraví*'s origins date to at least the eighteenth century, though scholars presume that the term derives from the Quechua *harawi*, an indigenous vocal genre with pre-Hispanic roots also known for its evocative and nostalgic themes. A definitive historical link between the two genres remains elusive, however, and each is quite distinct in modern musical practice and social context. The first known historical reference to the *yaraví* proper was published in an acrimonious debate on the merits (or perceived lack thereof) of Andean autochthonous music in the Peruvian newspaper *Mercurio Diario* in the 1790s (quoted in Stevenson 1977), confirming both the genre's melancholy nature and its widespread popularity in the Andes during the late colonial period. That popularity continued well into the twentieth century, as evidenced by later scholarship on the genre's presence in cities from Quito, Ecuador, to Cuzco and Arequipa in southern Peru, where it was regularly performed in informal mestizo social gatherings as well as staged performances within the burgeoning *indigenista* folklore movement.

Structurally, the *yaraví* may be set in either a duple or triple meter, with short vocal stanzas marked by the heavy use of rubato, followed by more regimented instrumental cadences. It is usually performed either by a solo singer or in a harmonized duo, with accompaniment ranging from a single guitar to larger instrumental ensembles determined by regional traditions; in Cuzco, for instance, an accompanying group may include guitar, harp, violin, *kena* (an end-blown flute) and *charango* (a small guitar-type instrument). By the early twentieth century the addition of a *fuga de wayno*, or fast concluding section in the duple *wayno* (*huayno*) rhythm, also became common performance practice, and remains typical in the twenty-first century.

The *yaraví* reached its greatest audience during the mid-twentieth century 'golden age' of Andean music in Lima, when it frequently served as a break between longer sets of *waynos* and other dance genres on radio broadcasts and at live concert performances. LP albums by Andean folk music stars of the 1950s to 1970s typically included one or two *yaraví* tracks, and certain performers, such as renowned Ayacuchan *charango* player Jaime Guardia, made the genre their specialty. As noted, the *yaraví* took on a particular importance for the city of Arequipa as an expression of local identity, especially in the compositions of poet Mariano Melgar (1790–1815). Mid-twentieth-century recordings of Melgar's songs by groups such as Los Dávalos and Trio Yanahuara remain popular today (see *Glorias de la música arequipeña*).

Beyond its performance as a folk-popular genre, composers interested in exploring Andean folkloric themes have frequently created or set stylized versions of the *yaraví* for orchestra or chamber groups. Examples include Ecuadorian composer Luis Salgado's Sinfonía n. 1 'Ecuatoriana' (1945–9) and German-Peruvian composer Rodolfo Holzmann's 'Concierto para la Ciudad Blanca' (1949). The most famous work of this type is early-twentieth-century Peruvian composer Daniel Alomía Robles's score for the *zarzuela El condor pasa* (The Condor Flies Past), with its well-known melody based in part upon an existing *yaraví* entitled 'Soy la paloma que el nido perdió' (I Am the Dove Lost by the Nest).

Largely relegated to nostalgia events and performances at folkloric festivals in the early twenty-first century, periodic attempts are made to revive the genre's popularity among younger audiences. In 2007 Ayacuchan guitarist Julio Humala recorded an entire album of classic *yaravis* with singer Manuel Vásquez (*Yaraví*), with more planned, and the genre acquired new fans with Marino Martínez Espinosa's 'A Silvia del Mar,' winner of a national Peruvian song competition (I Festival Claro) and subsequent recording in 2008.

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JONATHAN RITTER

Yumbo

The *yumbo* is an indigenous musical genre and ritual dance of pre-Inca origin from the eastern slopes of the Andean mountains in Ecuador. It is also popular in the mid-highland region, especially in the provinces of Chimborazo and Cotopaxi. Originally, the term 'yumbo' denoted the inhabitants of the Amazonian rainforest to the east of the highlands; however, chroniclers and travelers have used this word indistinctively to refer to indigenous groups from both the Amazon and highland regions of Ecuador. The term, which in Quichua means 'sorcerer,' also refers to dancers at the Corpus Christi festivities, who dance in honor of the *Pachamama* (Mother Earth) to give thanks for the harvest she has bestowed.

Musicologist Segundo Luis Moreno described in his ethnographic writings a *yumbo* dance he observed in 1943, which he depicted as a gracious and elegant dance. The male dancers moved their feet back and forth with the upper body inclined toward the front. The dancers' outfits consisted of white clothing, with a colorful scarf around their necks and a belt around their waist. Across their chests each dancer carried a band ornamented with seashells, animal teeth and embalmed birds, as well as a two-meter-long lance in the right hand (Moreno 1996).

Musically, the *yumbo* is a fast-tempo dance of energetic character. It has a rhythmic pattern made up of sequences of short-long notes, which is usually transcribed as an accentuated eighth note followed by a quarter note in compound binary meter. Based on pentatonic scales, the traditional *yumbo* in the rural highlands is normally danced to the accompaniment of an indigenous cane flute and a drum played by the same person. With the introduction of the Spanish guitar and the process of miscegenation of Spanish and Amerindian cultures during the colonial period, the *yumbo* became more elaborate in terms of harmonic language and musical form. *Yumbo*s are usually performed in the context of indigenous carnivals and the Corpus Christi festivities. Despite the *yumbo*'s popularity in the mid-highland region, there are not many *yumbo* songs in the national music anthology. In the first half of the twentieth century academic composers stylized the *yumbo* dance in their nationalist works for piano or orchestra. Gerardo Guevara's 'Apamuy Shungo' has been recorded by the National Symphony Orchestra and is often performed in choral arrangement in national and international festivals.

Modern arrangements of the *yumbo* include synthesizers and percussion instruments, which renders the music more appealing to the young indigenous generations. A key figure in this process has been Ángel Guaraca, a charismatic indigenous singer from the highland city of Riobamba who appeared on the music scene in the early 2000s. His songs, often in the Quichua language, talk about the national pride of indigenous people, such as 'Ésta es mi tierra' (This Is My Land), a song that elevates the *poncho* as a national symbol of the (indigenous) nation. Guaraca sings to the accompaniment of recorded tapes, a common musical practice in Ecuador since the *tecnocumbia* boom of the early 2000s. His modernized renditions of the *yumbo* fall within a style of music known in Ecuador as *música chicha*, which is associated with an urbanized and stigmatized indigenous population.

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KETTY WONG

Zamacueca

The *zamacueca* is a music and dance genre from coastal Peru. The dance is likely to have been a lower-class Afro-Peruvian and mestizo reinterpretation of European dances once favored by the aristocracy that had fallen out of vogue. Early references to the *zamacueca* date from the beginning of the nineteenth century and show that the dance was largely a social dance performed at parties and other celebratory events both in rural and urban areas, eventually also becoming popular among the upper classes. The dance, which was generally accompanied by a varying combination of guitar, *vihuela*, harp and *cajón* (box drum), was a courtship dance in which partners in a male-female couple flirted with each other while surrounded by a group of onlookers who sang, played musical accompaniment, clapped and shouted words of encouragement. The male dancer's attempts to seduce his female partner with his dance moves and complex footwork were the subject of much press during the nineteenth century, some delighting in the choreographed sensuality of the dance while others were scandalized by its perceived inappropriate lasciviousness. The *zamacueca* gained a great deal of popularity during the early nineteenth century not only in Peru but also in Chile, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, parts of Mexico and Spain. Literary and pictographic references suggest that the genre developed a number of variants that were practiced by individuals from a variety of ethnicities and social backgrounds, with different variants emphasizing Afro-Peruvian, mestizo or *criollo* elements of the dance. By the mid- to late nineteenth century, some of these variants, including the *cueca* and the *chilena*, went on to become genres in their own right and began to displace the older *zamacueca*.

In the mid-twentieth century the *zamacueca* was recreated as part of the Afro-Peruvian music and dance revival that sought to validate the contributions of Afro-Peruvians to the development of Peruvian coastal culture. These recreations were largely informed by Nicomedes Santa Cruz's (1925–92) theory of the origin of the *zamacueca*, which has been criticized, most notably by Peruvian folklorist José Durand (1925–90), for having an overly Africanist bent. Looking mostly at the variants associated with the Afro-Peruvian population of the nineteenth century, Santa Cruz posited that the *zamacueca* was a black progenitor of later creolized coastal genres including the *marinera* and *tondero*. Present-day incarnations of the *zamacueca* share a number of similarities with the *marinera*, particularly in the *cajón* patterns used to accompany the dance, which is consistent with the idea that the former genre may have been the progenitor of the latter. The *zamacueca* differs from the *marinera* in its greater use of syncopated variations and rhythmic improvisation. However, it is not possible to ascertain whether these are features that date back to the nineteenth century or whether they are more recent innovations associated with the revival movement.

In the realm of dance, it is generally acknowledged that the choreography of the *zamacueca* was lost and Victoria Santa Cruz (b. 1922) is credited with having recreated it in the 1960s. In recent decades this choreography developed by Santa Cruz has been expanded, often inspired by nineteenth-century paintings and watercolors depicting the dance.

Since its revival in the 1960s, the *zamacueca* has been mainly performed by professional groups specializing in Afro-Peruvian traditions and taught in folklore and dance academies. Only a few compositions are primarily recognized as *zamacuecas*. Nevertheless, the contemporary version of the genre has become an important symbol of the endurance and influence of Afro-Peruvian music on coastal musical practices in general. This symbolic value has led a number of groups to perform *zamacueca* arrangements of *valses*, *marineras* and other costal genres as a means of rooting their repertoire in the Afro-Peruvian musical legacy.

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Zamba

Zamba is the most popular folk music-based genre in Argentina. Derived from the *zamacueca*, a dance that came from Lima in Peru by way of Chile around 1800, it acquired its hegemony over all other folkloric genres during the '*folclore* boom' in Argentina in the 1960s.

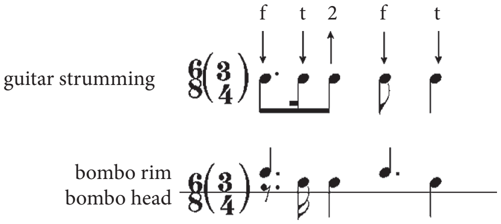
In the mid-nineteenth century *zamba* was danced all over the country, in rural and urban milieus. By 1900, however, upper classes considered it out of fashion, although (at least in the northern provinces) it would still be danced as a nightcap at the very end of a social gathering, after all the more fashionable genres had had their run. In the first decades of the twentieth century professional groups who brought *folclore* to lower and middle urban classes would often include *zambas*; it was perhaps the only genre popular both among the *campero* (country) singers, who represented the southern and central pampas in urban imagination, and the semiprofessional groups who brought the music and dances of the north-west to the city. The singers and composers of Cuyo (westcentral Argentina), who arrived in Buenos Aires in the 1930s, would also include *zambas* as a central staple of their repertoires. The absence of a more circumscribed regional ascription may have made possible the elevation of *zamba* to the status of national symbol around the middle of the twentieth century. The *folclore* boom was launched by the phenomenal success of a waltz-like *zamba* ('Angélica,' composed by Roberto Cambaré in 1958 and popularized by Los Cantores de Quilla Huasi), and the genre continued to dominate *folclore* festivals, programs and recordings until the 1990s, when the *chacarera* and its youth following disputed its dominance. Even then, however, the *zamba* continued to retain its privileged symbolic status.

Whereas its early specimens were for the most part instrumental (guitar, harp, violin, *bandoneón*), the *zamba* has come to be considered a song that may or not be danced. The form of the *zamba* is fixed in musical rather than literary terms: two parts (*primera* and *segunda*), each one provided with a 16-measure introduction and consisting of two ABB stanzas and a CDD (or CBB, or even ABB) refrain. Each letter in the scheme corresponds to an eight-measure phrase. The most regular lyrics consist of quatrains with assonant rhyme between the second and fourth lines (in the musical setting, the third and fourth verses are repeated), but irregular versification patterns are in fact more common, with line lengths of between 4 and 11 syllables, stanzas of 4 to 7 lines and line repetitions often replaced by new texts.

The subject matter of the lyrics is varied: love, praise and/or nostalgia for the native landscape/peoples, celebration of the genre itself, and historical events or figures are common themes. The language ranges between traditional *gauchesco* and modern urban everyday registers; a large portion was written by professional poets and includes far-flung avant-garde metaphors often verging on the surreal. As to its choreography, it is reputedly the most difficult of the traditional dances: fairly free in its steps, picaresque yet elegant in its gestures (with handheld kerchiefs that add to their suggestiveness), it represents a stylized pantomime of a suitor wooing his lady and finally winning her love.

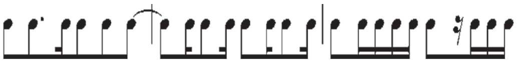
The basic format for *zamba* performance is singing (one voice, or two in parallel thirds) with guitar and *bombo* accompaniment (the *bombo* is a cylindrical wooden bass drum that hangs from the shoulder of a standing *bombisto*). The northern traditions also incorporate the diatonic harp in addition to or in place of the guitar, and the violin as a melodic instrument, doubling the voice and performing introduction and interludes.

Example 1 shows the basic accompaniment ostinato of the *zamba*, in which the two hands of the *bombisto* highlight the basic hemiola pattern; Example 2 demonstrates some of the most common rhythmic variants in the melody: inversion of the dotted figure, anticipation of strong beats, hemiola effects at half-measure level and sixteenth-note runs.



f: 3rd, 4th and 5th fingers; t: thumb; 2: 2nd finger

Example 1: *Zamba*'s basic accompaniment pattern



Example 2: Some common rhythmic variants in melody

The history of *zamba* in the twentieth century is a paradigm for that of Argentinian *folclore* as a whole. Folk-song research (Vega 1991 [1952] and 1988 [1944] and Aretz [1952]) places it within the *zamacueca* complex, not always clearly separated from the other genres of the group (*cueca, chilena, marinera*). Early recorded examples (e.g., by the duo of Gardel and Razzano in the 1920s) are sung in a brisk tempo, but in the style of *tango* of the same period (rubato, with glissandi); at the time it was merely one more among many song types of the *campero* repertoire favored in Buenos Aires. Later, a slower tempo and melancholy character began to build a more distinctive profile. The groups of the boom years based in the northwestern province of Salta (Los Fronterizos, Los de Salta and Los Cantores del Alba), who maintained the more traditional moderate-to-fast renditions (= approximately 64 dotted quarter notes per minute in the recordings of 'La salamanca' by both Los Fronterizos [1959] and Los Cantores del Alba [1958]), were accused of denaturalizing the genre; slightly later, the emphasis on complex harmonies and interesting sonorities that characterized 'progressive' ensembles such as the Dúo Salteño and Los Trovadores del Norte resulted in extremely slow versions (44 dotted quarter notes per minute both in 'Balderrama' [1971] by the former and 'El Paraná en una zamba' [1965] by the latter).

All of the poets, composers, singers and instrumentalists who have cultivated Argentinian *folclore*, including those who specialize in local repertoires, have produced and performed *zambas.* A few traditional anonymous pieces, such as 'Zamba de Vargas,' a piece supposedly performed by the band of one of the armies at a battle in 1867, continue to be performed in recitals. Traditional stepwise melodies on simple harmonies and what Vega (1988 [1944]) called 'bi-modality' predominate in the *zambas* of those composers who, like Atahualpa Yupanqui, derived their stylistic conventions from first-hand acquaintance with the rural tradition. Most composers, however, have tended to highlight melodic intervals of a sixth that alternate with stepwise motion and triadic figures; the *zambas* of Eduardo Falú and Ariel Ramírez introduce some harmonic variety, mainly secondary dominants and other seventh chords; those of Cuchi Leguizamón are marked by complex sinuous melodies and dissonant and sometimes unexpected harmonies. The genre has been a favorite for experiments in combination: 'El antigal' (Ariel Petrocelli and Daniel Toro), for example, begins with a pentatonic melody, suggesting a connection to indigenous Andean peoples, and includes in the refrain a phrase in the style of a *vidala*. In the late twentieth century instrumental versions and accompaniments tended toward a jazz-like use of modal effects and complex chords.

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Zapateo

The *zapateo* is a form of competitive tap dance associated with the central coastal region of Peru, particularly the departments of Lima and Ica. Historical references to the *zapateo* in Peru date from the early part of the eighteenth century. Descriptions of similar popular dances found in seventeenth-century Spain may suggest a possible place of origin. Early descriptions of the *zapateo* describe it as a dance featuring alternating percussive strikes of heel and toes to the musical accompaniment of a guitar, harp or other string instruments, features that are still evident in contemporary performance of the dance. While some of the historical references to the *zapateo* suggest that the dance may have been widely practiced by individuals of various social classes and ethnic backgrounds, by the turn of the twentieth century the practice of the dance was more generally confined to predominantly Afro-Peruvian populations in three main areas: the rural area of Aucallama in the province of Chancay and the city of Lima, both in the department of Lima, and the rural province of Chincha in the department of Ica to the south.

The dance is traditionally performed by two or more male dancers, each taking turns trying to outdo his rivals while accompanied by short rhythmic and melodic ostinatos that are specific to the genre, performed on a guitar. The rules of competition vary. The Lima/Chancay/Aucallama style has complex rules in which dancers lose points for repeating step combinations or for developing combinations that are deemed to lack cohesiveness by the individual in charge of adjudication. In contrast, the Chincha style has less strict rules and the winner is usually selected by the applause of the onlooking public. There are two main variations of the guitar accompaniment: one in major and one in minor, the former being the most commonly used. These, however, do not have any bearing on the type of dancing that is performed.

In the early twenty-first century most Peruvians generally identify the *zapateo* as an Afro-Peruvian genre. This has to do with the rise in popularity that the dance had in the second part of the twentieth century as part of the revival of Afro-Peruvian music and dance. In fact, the guitar accompaniments used by most performers today are based on those played by Vicente Vásquez, a key figure of the revival movement whose renowned family was originally from Aucallama. Vásquez's accompaniments were recorded on the historic LP *Socabón*, produced by revival leader Nicomedes Santa Cruz, and his knowledge of these and other Afro-Peruvian dances informed much of Santa Cruz's scholarship on the subject. The *zapateo* continues to be actively performed in the area of Chincha, where young boys often tap dance for the delight of tourists. The dance is less actively performed in the region of Aucallama. Most *zapateo* activity in the twenty-first century is centered among professional musicians in Lima. Since the 1990s it has become increasingly common for dancers to add their own dance combinations borrowed from Andean tap dance genres such as the *waylas*, or from American tap, flamenco and other styles. Women have also begun to perform *zapateo* professionally, but this practice still remains more the exception than the rule.

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Zarzuela, ***see*** **Zarzuela (Volume XI, Europe)**

Zouk

Based on interactive pan-African and Caribbean rhythms and melodic patterns, *zouk* is an urban song of social commentary or love. First developed by three musicians from Guadeloupe in 1978 in Paris, *zouk* was not performed live until 1982 in the musicians' country of origin. Since 1984, when the band Kassav' from Guadeloupe and Martinique had a number one song 'Zouk-la sé sèl médikaman nou ni' (Zouk Is the Only Medicine We Have) on both French and Caribbean charts, *zouk* has been the most popular dance music of French Guyana, Réunion, Guadeloupe and Martinique (overseas departments of France located respectively in South America, Africa and the islands of the Lesser Antilles in the eastern Caribbean). To a lesser extent, *zouk* has also been popular in the English-speaking neighboring islands of Dominica and St Lucia, where a French-derived Creole is spoken.

The Development of *Zouk*

While touring the Caribbean region with the ensemble Les Vikings de Guadeloupe during the 1970s, the Guadeloupean bassist and sound technician Pierre-Édouard Décimus noticed that he heard hardly any French Caribbean music being played on the local radio stations. Instead, he often heard *cadence-lypso* from Dominica, Haitian *konpa* and Congolese rumba and *soukous*. Determined to counteract the Haitian influence, Décimus decided to emphasize 'the difference' that existed in French Caribbean music, with the aid of up-to-date technology. To accomplish his mission, he left Les Vikings, moved in 1978 from Guadeloupe to France and paired up with his brother, the bassist Georges Décimus. The brothers later approached a fellow Guadeloupean, rock guitarist Jacob Desvarieux, who was then beginning to develop a reputation for his studio work.

For their initial recordings, the trio released two Christmas and two carnival records under the name Soukoué Ko Ou, utilizing the Guadeloupean *gwo ka* (or *gwoka*) drum. After enlisting the support of Guadeloupean producer/musician Freddy Marshall, the trio released two albums, *Love and Ka Dance* (1979) and *Lagué moin* (1980), under the name 'Kassav'' and named their music 'zouk' (Berrian 2000, 44). The Guadeloupean and Martinican Creole name 'kassav' refers to a crushed cassava mixed with coconut and sugar to make a cake. Just as poison had to be extracted from the cake mixture before it could be eaten, the musicians believed that a similar process had to occur with French Caribbean music for it to be reformed. The term 'zouk' means a lively party with dancing and celebration in Martinican Creole. The band's decision to alternate or mix the two Creoles supported their pan-Caribbean orientation. The placement of the apostrophe after their name was a marketing device to attract attention to themselves – a band from two small French Caribbean islands, who intended to achieve commercial success by penetrating the international market.

Although the use of the *gwo ka* on the two albums had the effect of legitimizing the Guadeloupeans' musical roots, it took the musicians five more years (1979–83) to find the sound that would characterize *zouk* and establish them as a leading full-time professional band. After undergoing several formations, the musicians settled on a stable lineup of three singers and eleven instrumentalists, choosing to become multicultural by seeking other musicians from Martinique, Africa, France, Belgium and Corsica. Such an alliance shifted attention to hybridization and marked the conclusion of a successful search for top quality musicians. A horn section was added to create a rhythmically complex music with an international sound produced using state-of-the-art technology. The band then broke with precedence by hiring Jocelyne Béroard of Martinique, the first full-time woman soloist and composer for a French Caribbean band. Later, in 1986, Béroard was to become the first French Caribbean woman to be awarded a double French *disque d'or* (gold record) for her solo album *Siwo* (A Good Man).

Primarily a studio band, Kassav' did not perform its first live show until 1982 in Guadeloupe. Between *Love and Ka Dance* in 1979 and *Siwo* in 1986, Kassav' made 21 albums. The group's strategy was to put out 'one album a year, while individual members composed their own music and brought out solo albums' (O'Conner 1993, 13). Their 1984 song 'Zouk-la sé sèl médikaman nou ni' remained on the local hit chart in the French Caribbean for six months. On 22 June 1985, with no advance publicity, Kassav' performed at the Zénith, the prestigious concert hall in Paris, before a sold-out audience of 8,000, following this with tours of Asia, Europe, Africa and the Caribbean. By 1986 the band had reached superstar status after performing for four successive nights at the Zénith that year and receiving the first French gold record for 'Zouk-la sé sèl médikaman nou ni.' The song's message was that *zouk* has a healing power for the different cultural divisions among French Caribbean peoples (Winders 2000, 51). To express thanks for the support of its fans and pride in its Caribbean heritage, Kassav' performed a free concert in Guadeloupe on 23 February 1986 before an enthusiastic audience of 70,000. Coming from a region where the sale of 3,000 to 5,000 copies of a single album was a major success, Kassav' made history by being the first French Caribbean band to sell more than 200,000 copies worldwide of the Georges Décimus and Jacob Desvarieux album *Yélélé*.

In 1987 Desvarieux called on his colleagues in Kassav' to organize *Le Rêve Antillais* (The Antillean Dream), an annual talent contest in Guadeloupe. The aim of the contest was to bring to the forefront talented amateurs who would get to record with Kassav' (Scaramuzzo 1994, 52). The first contest ignited the career of Pascal Vallot. In the subsequent contests, held in Guadeloupe and Martinique in 1988 and 1992, contracts were promised to participants without Kassav's knowledge before the competitions took place, causing a radio station to withdraw its sponsorship. Next came the *zouk* extravaganza called the *Grand Méchant Zouk* (Big Bad Zouk), which took place in 1988 and in 1990 and featured Desvarieux with most of Kassav's musicians, together with artists such as Mario Canonge, Michel Alibo, Tanya St. Val, Tatiana Miath, Édith Lefel, Ronald Rubinel and Dédé Saint Prix. Although CD and video recordings of the live performances were made in Guadeloupe, Martinique, French Guyana and France, Desvarieux eventually withdrew from the project in protest against the greed of the promoters.

Kassav''s creation of *zouk* led to the emergence of numerous solo artists, bands and singing groups. The Expérience 7 team of Yves Honoré and Guy Houllier, the band for the Henri Debs recording studio in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe during the 1980s, founded Zouk Machine, a trio of women singers. After two formations, the singers relocated to Paris, signed with BMG/Ariola and won a gold record for their 1989 *Maldon* album. The single 'Maldon' (Bad Deal) ranked number one on the French Caribbean Le Top Sun FM chart for nine weeks, becoming the best-selling *zouk* title at the time. Joëlle Ursull, a member of the first formation who left in 1987 to launch a solo career, recorded three albums: *Miyel* (1988), *Black French* (1990) and *Comme dans un film* (1993). When invited to be the first French Caribbean singer to represent France at the 1990 Eurovision musical competition, Ursull won second place for 'White and Black Blues,' a song on *Black French* (1990), and the second best *zouk* single after 'Maldon.'

Other singers – Tanya St Val and Gilles Floro of Guadeloupe, Édith Lefel and Eric Virgal of

Martinique and Chris Combette of French Guyana – also arrived on the scene. Tanya St Val made several popular albums between the late 1980s and the mid-1990s with the keyboard player/arranger Willy Salzedo. Before his untimely death in 1999, Floro released 15 albums, among which was the very popular *Kristal* (1995). Lefel, another singer who died young, was known for her romantic songs: 'L'anmou fou' (Foolish Love) and 'Sanglots' (Sobs). Combette, who made the popular duet 'Lonbraj an pèy mango' (Shade of a Mango Tree) with Béroard for *Duos de soleil, Vol. 1* (1997), is a self-taught guitarist who performs a wide range of Caribbean music and bossa nova. Since 1990 the singer Virgal has organized the annual *Le Chant des sirènes* (The Singing of Sirens), a summer festival during which women singers perform their current hits.

Stylistic Features

The success of a *zouk* song, according to Jocelyne Guilbault, depends on its danceability, its rhythmic drive and the catchiness of the chorus parts (1993, 15). *Zouk* also has two distinctive sub-styles: *zouk love* and *zouk chiré*. Based on a legato with a lyrical synthesizer and violins, *zouk love* is a slow-tempo version of *cadence-lypso*. It frequently mixes *zouk* with traditional music (*biguine* or mazurka) and contemporary sounds. For example, the 1988 'S.O.S. mémé' (S.O.S. Grandmother) duet with Ralph Thamar and Édith Lefel combines *zouk* and mazurka. Vocals are typically smooth and gentle on the ear and often feature call-and-response between the soloist and the chorus. Saint-Éloi, one of the two Kassav' singers to specialize in romantic *zouk love* ballads, uses a high-pitched, almost falsetto-like voice on 'Si cé oui' (If It's Yes). Whenever he sings in the upper register, the chorus responds with a downward vocal line. Another tenor, Jean-Philippe Marthély, uses a scat-singing technique on 'Sé pa djen djen' (It's Not a Joke), while focusing on the sound effects of the Creole language. On Kassav''s 'Nou ped chimen' (We Lost Our Way), a track on *K' to z* (2004), rhythms are built on top of each other with a flamenco guitar, a Latin beat and an accordion-like synthesizer sound.

Played at full volume, *zouk chiré* (hard-driving *zouk*) and its close relation *zouk beton* (hard *zouk*) have a brass section with a hard rock guitar, *tibwa* (a pair of wooden sticks keeping the timeline), trap and snare drums, a heavy bass and two synthesizers. One keyboard is used as a rhythmic instrument to reproduce what the percussion section plays; the second interjects melodic riffs at strategic points (Guilbault 1993, 139). Short phrases are played by the brass section. Careful attention is paid to balancing the varying timbres by mixing the bass, the bass drum and the chorus. Snippets of the *bèlè* drum of Martinique, the *gwo ka mendé* rhythm, Trinidadian soca, Haitian *konpa* and *Rara*, Jamaican reggae and African-American rhythm and blues, combined with the loud Carnival call, can be heard on the numerous fast-paced recordings. 'Un son aéré' (a sound from behind), as noted by Guilbault, is played 'to minimize the number of competing lines, played simultaneously, thus opening up musical space for catchy lead lines' (1993, 134). Electronic instruments, including samplers and the rhythm box, revitalize the music with improvised instrumental solos.

Kassav''s core members – Jean-Claude Naimro, Jean-Philippe Marthély, Georges Décimus, Patrick Saint-Éloi, Jocelyne Béroard, Jacob Desvarieux, Claude Vamur and Pierre-Édouard Décimus – have released successful individual CDs or joint projects while constantly experimenting with new sounds. For her 1991 *Milans* album, Béroard introduced *ragga-zouk*, a mixture of reggae and *zouk*, on the title song 'Milans' (Gossip). The dancehall singers Admiral T, Master MX and Lady Sweety have all performed live with Kassav.' Saint-Éloi used the acoustic guitar with a Brazilian flavor for *Zoukamine* (1995). When Kassav''s music became very popular in Latin America, the band fused salsa and *zouk* on *Un toque latino* (1998). Two of the 13 former hit songs remained in Creole ('Zouk-la …' and 'Difé soupapé'), but the others were adapted into Spanish with the aid of Spanish-born songwriter Etienne Roda-Gil. This project provided an important bridge between the French Caribbean and Latin American cultures.

Other musicians joined the search for new sounds. In their Zouk Machine compositions, Expérience 7 featured a soul music delivery on the lyrics, R&B on the guitar and a funky bass line. The Martinican group Kwak explored richer harmonies, orchestral diversity and Motown-type backing singers for *A dé, vlopé* (1994). Tanya St. Val fused soul and zouk to create *Soul Zouk* (1991). During the mid-1990s in Guadeloupe, the group Volt Face produced a mixture of hip-hop, African rhythms, *zouk* and reggae. Édith Lefel performed 'Si seulement' (If Only) accompanied by the Cameroonian Georges Séba's gospel choir. Jean-Michel Rotin imitated Michael Jackson's dance movements while singing 'Cigarèt' and other compositions.

Known for his movements in imitation of Michael Jackson, Rotin became one of the initiators of *la nouvelle génération du zouk* (the new *zouk* generation), also known as zouk R'n'B. A more commercial sound, it mixes *zouk* and *zouk*-related musical styles (such as *kizomba* or *kuduro* from Angola and *cabo love* from Cape Verde) and US R&B. Originating in Paris during the 1990s, zouk R'n'B is associated with artists such as Medhy Custos, Jane Fostin and Perle Lama, all of whom sing primarily in French. Custos of Guadeloupe performed the 2005 duet 'Pas de glace' (No Chill) with Jane Fostin, ex-member of Zouk Machine. In 2007 Custos's 'Elles demandent' (They Ask) made Billboard's European Hit 100 with the sale of 60,000 copies. Perle Lama of Martinique fused soul, reggae, R'n'B and *zouk* on her album *Miziksoleil* (2006), scoring an instant success with five top singles. Her sensual 'Femme du monde' (2010) held the number four spot of *Espace FM* radio list of top 20 *zouk* songs of 2010; it received the SACEM award for best song of the year (Jean-Pierre 2010).

Zouk Lyrics

During a radio interview for the 2009 Nuits d'Afrique music festival in Montreal, Canada, Béroard spoke about the careful attention that she and other members of Kassav' give to their lyrical Creole compositions about national pride, exile, music, the Caribbean landscape, self-love, romance and hope. The insistence upon Creole lyrics both legitimizes and elevates the status of Creole throughout the Caribbean region and elsewhere. Through live performances and recordings, *zouk* performers thereby 'encourage a collective voice that creates a feeling of confidence and credibility' (Berrian 2000, 41). One way in which this has clearly been reflected is in the increased presence of women soloists, who sing poignantly about women's issues.

Early in her career, Béroard spoke about the steps she took to break away from the stereotypical image of the submissive woman and her determination to move away from the cliché (Conrath 1986). In her interview with Berrian, she admitted that she was constantly looking for original texts (1999, 2). For her albums *Siwo* (1986), *Milans* (1991) and *Madousinay* (2003), she wrote about a woman's search for a good man ('Siwo') and the need for tenderness between a couple ('Atann'). Likewise, Édith Lefel, Tanya St. Val and Léa Galva have composed some of their own lyrics. Lefel's 'Somnifère' (Sleeping Pill) on Ronald Rubinel's *Jeux de dames* (1994) is about women who need to remove themselves from abusive relationships to find men who will respect them. In 'Fanm dous' (Soft Women), St. Val speaks about a woman's integrity and underlying toughness. Galva's 'Kontinué' (Continue) looks at a woman determined to overcome being abandoned by her husband. Then there is 'Fanm fo' (Strong Women), sung by Danielle René-Corail, Valérie Odinat and Léa Galva on Rubinel's *Jeux de dames, Vol II fanm fo* (1997), which has become almost an anthem to the strength of women.

For their part, male singers of *zouk love* often sing about the vulnerability of relationships and respect for women. In 'Bèl kréati' (Beautiful Creature), Marthély expresses his deep love for his wife. Saint-Éloi's 'Ki jan ké fè,' (What Am I Going to Do?) relates the story of an older man's desire for a younger woman. Jean-Claude Naimro's 'Ou chanjé' (You Have Changed) tells about a man who suspects his wife of having an affair. Harry Diboula reveals a man's longing for a special woman in 'Tu me manques' (I Miss You), while Gilles Floro's 'Karamel' (on the album *Kristal*, 1995) is a loving tribute to his daughter's happy, carefree childhood.

A widespread belief that *zouk* lyrics are not important has persisted among the French Caribbean public, but a close look at their content reveals the opposite. *Zouk beton* and *zouk chiré* songs, for example, cover a wide range of topics: the longing for one's island; the anguish of exile; the plea for social and racial tolerance; the careful selection of one's friends; and the prescription to cure societal ills. The attention that the songwriters pay to these topics has resulted in lyrics that have motivated the French Caribbean population to initiate economic strikes for better salaries; to accept Creole as a language; to resist assimilation into metropolitan French culture; and to mingle with other immigrant musicians to create new cultural boundaries. Caribbean *zouk* singers regularly perform in Africa, recording with Congolese, Cameroonian, Ivoirian and Senegalese musicians. When work almost came to a standstill during the 2009 January–February economic strikes across the French Caribbean, the strikers sang popular *zouk* and *gwo ka* songs for self-encouragement.

As soon as the French National Assembly had passed the 2001 Taubira Law identifying slavery as a crime against humanity, an outpouring of new songs about slavery and its aftermath occurred, among them Paulo Albin's 'Mové nèg' (The Bad Black), Saint-Éloi's 'Réhabilitation' and Kassav''s 'Doubout pikan' (Children, Stand Up, from the album *All UNeed Is Zouk*)). Each song was well received by French Caribbean people living in France and the Caribbean. Loriane Zacharie won the 2008 Prix de la Révélation at the SACEM Martinique for 'Lumina,' her composition cowritten with Claude Rodap for her album *Chimen mwin* (My Own Path). Zacharie sang about Lumina Sophie, the nineteenth-century woman who led a rebellion against French plantation owners and overseers.

International Impact of *Zouk*

During the 1980s Kassav' toured the African continent and the Caribbean region, where many of the band's albums were heavily pirated. As a result, the band's infectious music captivated many local African musicians, some of whom eventually migrated to Paris and founded *Afro-zouk*. Among the singers were Abéti Masikini and Sam Mangwana of Zaire. In 1986 Abéti, one of the first to adapt a synthesizer in Congolese music, sang 'Je suis fâché' (I Am Angry) with a digitized mixture of *zouk*, *konpa* and *soukous* (Stewart 2000, 194). Mangwana blended Congolese music with elements of *biguine*, *zouk*, Cuban salsa and Nigerian highlife on *Aladji* (1987). Monique Seka, the Ivorian queen of Afro-zouk, released *Ôkaman* in 1995 with Martinican singers Édith Lefel, Marie-Céline Chroné and Jean-Paul Pognon in the chorus.

International collaborations have continued into the twenty-first century. In 2003 the Guadeloupeans Jacob Desvarieux and Jocelyne Labylle teamed up with two Congolese singers, the rapper Passi and the *soukous* singer Cheela, for 'Laisse parler les gens' (Let the People Speak). The single, which had been the number one hit in Belgium, sold over a million copies and was nominated for the Victoires de la Musique award. Congolese rapper Kaysha has blended the rhythms of Africa and the Caribbean with electronic sounds to create the very romantic, sensual *candyzouk* as heard on *African Bohemian* (2003) and *Legendary* (2006). The multilingual singer coined the term himself, explaining that he uses different flavors of the same candy to add what he learned from one country to another, 'so people can always find an ingredient that they can relate to' (Ladybrille 2008). On his first hit single 'Bounce Baby,' on which he uses a sample from Kassav's 'Ou lé' (Do you want?), Kaysha raps in English, as he does also on 'Téléphone,' a *zouk* hip-hop duet with Jean-Michel Rotin.

First developed around 1989 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, *zouk-lambada* or Brazilian *zouk* is a popular dance style group in Australia, the Netherlands, Spain and some other European countries. Typically danced to either *zouk* or other music containing the *zouk* beat, it is a group of closely related dance styles evolved from the *lambada* dance.

Derived from *kizomba* music of Angola, *cabo-zouk*, sung in Cape Verdean Creole, is a slow, sensuous tempo of *zouk love* with an electronic percussion. Developed in the 1990s, it has been popularized by Cape Verdean singers such as Suzanna Lubrano and Philip Monteiro. Lubrano has worked with the Martinican zouk producer, Ronald Rubinel, on the compilations *Jeux de dames, Best of Vol. II* and *Zouk MeLove*. For two of her most recent albums, she has also cowritten *zouk* and zouk R'n'B songs with Rubinel and Desvarieux. Born in Senegal of Cape Verdean parents, Monteiro fuses *semba* and *zouk love* rhythms. Very sensual and with a romantic flow, Monteiro's love songs feature use of the auto tune to alter his voice whenever the pitch is raised or lowered. He jointly performs with Princess Lover of Martinique on the *cabo love* and *zouk* duet 'Joue pas' (Don't Play).

The US singer Jimmy Buffett, known for his so-called 'gulf and western' sound, which attempts to blend country music with Caribbean and Gulf of Mexico sounds and images, contacted Béroard of Kassav' for permission to use the melody of 'Kolé sere' (Dance Close). After obtaining her positive response, he composed 'Love and Luck' (1992) in which he repeats 'Kolé séré' four times but otherwise replaces the meeting of former lovers in the original with a loosely written song in English about a good luck charm.

Zouk and the Music Industry

Founded in 1972 by the musician Henri Debs in Guadeloupe, the label Henri Debs Productions, with its two recording studios, dominated and was responsible for most *zouk* recordings during the 1980s and 1990s, until his brother George Debs' GD Productions and other local recording companies opened their doors. From 1984 to 1987 Kassav' was under GD Productions in Martinique with no signed contract. After being courted by three major French companies, the band signed with CBS/Sony in 1987, staying with them until 2002. The pressing, marketing and distribution of their albums and those by other artists were done (and have continued to be done) by French recording companies in Paris. Sony, Sonodisc, Barclay, Moradisc, Déclic Communications, Ariola/BMG, Philips and Créon Music either signed some of the *zouk* artists or distributed their albums. In Guadeloupe and Martinique, Hibiscus Records, Déclic Communications and Chabine Productions have remained active despite the retirement of Henri Debs 1999 and the death of his brother Georges in 2001.

Unquestionably, *zouk* is very profitable, but a lack of vision on the part of the marketing division of CBS/Sony was partially responsible for preventing Kassav' making a major impact in the United States. The fact that Kassav''s lyrics are always in Creole was one excuse. Another could be found in the company's inability to classify *zouk* music. While working on the title song 'Difé soupapé' (Too Much Pressure) for the 1995 *Difé* album, Béroard and three other members of Kassav' flew to Los Angeles to work with the American sound engineer and American programmer. During the process of digital mixing and re-mastering the laying of the original track, the Americans concluded, according to Béroard, 'that Kassav's music belonged under the rubric of world beat, a classification rejected by Béroard as being too general and condescending' (Berrian 2005, 401). Sony eventually turned Kassav' over to the Tristar label, a subsidiary 'whose main goal was [to be] the US promoter of Sony artists who were successful outside of the States' (Scaramuzzo 1994, 53). When Kassav''s CBS/Sony contract finally ended in 2002, the band decided to be its own producers and to seek out record deals per album. That year also witnessed the departure of Saint-Éloi, who continued to pursue a very successful solo career until his death in September 2010.

Like the Americans and CBS/Sony, the French categorize *zouk* as world music. Although Martinicans and Guadeloupeans are French citizens, their *zouk* productions with Creole lyrics are not considered to be representative of French popular music. The musicians have remarked that the French music industry only accepts them as French musicians whenever it is convenient. For example, in 1988 Kassav' won the 1988 Victoires de la musique award for the best French band. Kassav' and other *zouk* artists who sing Creole lyrics have been adversely affected by the 1996 Pelchat Amendment to the 1994 Broadcasting Reform Act, which requires most of France's 1,300 FM radio stations to broadcast a minimum of 40 percent music in the French language. One half of the songs are to come from new talent and new productions. As Béroard explains, 'Although we are French musicians, we are not recognized as such, and we cannot easily ask for a quota within a quota' (Gallion 1998, 24). Prior to the Pelchat Amendment, 'broadcast quotas existed in the form of individual and informal agreements between French radio stations and the French government, with quotas ranging from as little as 7 percent to as much as 70 percent' (Petterson 2000, 112). Yet Radio Nova, Radio Média Tropical and MKM Radio Zouk, three Paris-based radio stations geared to the Francophone world, often play *zouk*. Fully aware of the law, many of the young R'n'B artists sing in French.

Conclusion

One of the major highlights of Kassav''s long career was the first French Caribbean Carnival, held on 21 June 1986 for the Fête de la Musique outside of Paris. The band performed before 250,000 spectators, serving as a landmark event and as an occasion of self-discovery and visibility for the large French Caribbean population of Paris (Winders 2000, 50). Since that time, in Europe, Francophone and Lusophone Africa, Asia and the French Caribbean enthusiasm for zouk music has not waned, despite the insistence of some critics that young French Caribbean singers treat *zouk* in a formulaic and unimaginative way (Scaramuzzo 1990, 27). On 16 May 2009 Kassav' celebrated its 30th year in show business with a live concert at the Stade de France on the outskirts of Paris before a mixed audience of 75,000. Kassav' and guest musicians incorporated theatrical staging – professional choreography, colorful costumes, a smoke machine, confetti and laser beams – and encouraged the audience to jump up and dance to stimulate the visual dimension of the *zouk* performance. *All U Need Is Zouk*, the title of Kassav''s 2007 CD, encapsulated the durability of a genre whose Creole lyrics and packaged productions are marketed to consumers all over the world.

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