

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Cuban Nationalism from 1920-1935: The Contextualization of Afrocuban Poetic and
Musical Themes in *Motivos de Son* by Nicolás Guillén and Amadeo Roldán

by

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Introduction

Considering the richness of the Cuban musical heritage, especially during the last 100 years, it is somewhat surprising that the history of Cuban music has received far less attention than its Latin-American counterparts. Musicological inquiry into Cuban art music has so far been limited, and there are few detailed studies of individual composers and works, either about the pre-twentieth-century period or more recent music. The historical writings that do exist—most of them in Spanish and difficult to locate—deal broadly with the subject of Cuban music and only address general historical issues.

Following the Castro Revolution in 1959, newly founded organizations such as the *Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Música Cubana* (CIDMUC) and the *Casa de las Américas* began to promote research into the island's musical history.¹ However, as a result of political pressures within Cuba itself, together with the long-standing state of tension between Cuba and the United States, the results of this research have remained untranslated and generally unavailable.² For this study, both older and newer sources on Cuban music have been found, and this material has been incorporated into the thesis. Because of the relative unfamiliarity of the topic, the ensuing introductory material is intended to serve as a general overview of the musical and social context in which the issues addressed in the thesis will be examined. In the case of Cuba, these issues are inextricably bound up with the highly charged topic of nationalism.

¹Peter Manuel, ed., *Introduction to Essays on Cuban Music: North American and Cuban Perspectives* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1991), x.

²The information blockade that has existed between Cuba and the USA since the early 1960s has prevented this research from being disseminated outside of Cuba.

I

The wave of nationalist sentiments that arose in Europe during the last half of the nineteenth century often had both a political and cultural dimension, elements that were often intertwined. Politically, these sentiments led groups of people who felt they constituted a "nation" to seek self expression by joining together to form a country, or to seek political independence from an invading presence. Culturally, this same nationalistic urge was expressed in literature, art, and music, usually in styles that were self-consciously distinctive and somehow embodied "national traits." In music, this often involved the cultivation of national dances, the collection of national folk songs, and, in the realm of art music, the creation of symphonic poems and operas on national myths and in local languages.

Although academic discussions of musical nationalism has naturally concentrated on Europe, this inquiry has in recent years been extended to include the countries of Latin America, notably Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico, where within a pan-Iberian culture one can also distinguish particular style traits within the different countries. This in turn has served as the basis for academic writings on the music of Hispanic America. Although not extensive, these writings include a modest body of scholarship that addresses the issue of musical nationalism in Cuba, especially during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries—the period of the most intensive cultivation of national musical style.

The development of Cuban nationalist thought on music in the early twentieth century was inevitably colored by notions of race. The cultures that formed the multi-racial countries of Latin America were more sharply differentiated than was the case with their European counterparts, principally due to distinctive physical attributes such as color. The central components of the Cuban social mosaic were three: the indigenous

or Indian population (by the early twentieth century virtually extinct); immigrants from the African continent, mostly drawn from West Africa; and the colonists, largely though not exclusively, of Hispanic origins. Latin-American countries in general were composed of similar ethnic groups, and in most cases the basis of their nationalist endeavors centered around the identification and cultivation of indigenous elements from the distant past. In Cuba, however, the specific cultural attributes presumed to derive from the original native population were difficult to address since these people were annihilated soon after the arrival of the Spanish colonists in the fifteenth century. This did not, however, prevent some scholars from imagining a continuing aboriginal cultural presence, a factor that led to a lively academic discussion during the early years of this century centering on matters of cultural authenticity—discussion in which the issue of race was never far from the surface.

Although there were several advocates of *indigenismo* nationalism in the early twentieth century, the extinction of the original *Siboney* or *Arawak* tribes made it difficult for this population to serve as the basis for an authentic representation of Cuban nationalism.³ On the other hand, the *negra* population, traditionally ignored, was alive, numerous, and clearly visible; it was the role played by these people in the formulation of a modern Cuban nationalism that became the central battleground for artists and scholars alike. The re-examination of Afro-Cuban culture by Cuban artists and sociologists in the 1920s and 1930s prompted the inclusion of this group as an essential element in the formulation of national character.⁴ In music, it was this Afro-Cuban element that provided the most definitive element of Cuban nationalism, marking the

³Most of Cuba's aboriginal population died within the first seventy-five years of colonization. Musical forms of the indigenous nations—*Siboney* and *Arawak*—were outlawed during the sixteenth century and showed little influence on the cultural expression of Cuba after that time.

⁴Robin Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness: Afro-Cubanismo and Artistic Revolution in Havana, 1920-1940* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997), 32.
Fernando Ortiz and Israel Castellanos figured prominently among those who commented on Afro-Cubans.

island's musical culture as distinctively different from those of its Latin-American counterparts.

The artistic movement of the 1920s and 1930s in Cuba that marked the beginning of cultural and musical change on the island is referred to as *Afrocubanismo*. The valorization of Afro-Cuban culture and its stylistic characteristics became central to the evolution of a national Cuban style, especially since representative figures of this movement typically took their inspiration from black street culture. Stylistic traits affiliated with *Afrocubanismo* were often combined with international artistic trends largely emanating from post World War I Paris, to produce a Cuban national style within a modernist context. The positive reception of these "black" musical elements abroad had the effect of elevating the artistic status of Afro-Cuban music and musicians within Cuba itself. This in turn assisted in the increased social acceptance of black working-class culture in a context that had been dominated by the Hispanic element.

Crucial to the understanding of Cuban musical nationalism is the fact that until about 1930, Afro-Cuban culture and music was merely tolerated by the middle-class Hispanic population. Since the sixteenth century, however, a process of reciprocal influences between the Euro-Hispanic culture and that of the Africans and their descendants had taken place. Free blacks and mulattos imitated the social habits of the classes that held economic and political power on the island. At the same time, music, dance, and other social determinants of European origin were being modified and assimilated to form a new, uniquely Cuban style. This collaboration between class, race, and culture created an ethnic synthesis or creolization on both the sociological and cultural levels. Such an obvious process of transculturation did not, however, keep the bourgeoisie from asserting their view that black ethnic groups were not an essential ingredient in the cultural make-up of Cuba.

In 1923 the *Grupo Minorista* was formed by a group of academic and artistic members in Havana. Assuming the nationalist ideals of the *Afrocolonismo* movement, the group directed special interest toward the blacks. The works of *Minorista* artists were characterized by a newly-founded reconciliation between *Afrocolonismo* expression and the progressive, experimental tendencies of modernism.⁵ The two representative musical figures associated with this group were the composers Amadeo Roldán (1900-1939) and Alejandro García Caturla (1906-1940). Roldán and Caturla incited a break from previous nationalist style as it had developed in the nineteenth century, and it was their artistic goal to translate the island's diverse ethnic musical elements into forms of contemporary art music. Both composers had some exposure at various points in their lives to artistic events occurring in Europe; hence, while their works are rooted in Cuban national style elements, they are displayed in unique, modern way. This break with the nineteenth-century past provided the context for a debate on modernism and tradition within Cuba.

In 1949, Cuban composer and musicologist Arelio de la Vega attacked the nationalistic tendencies of Cuban composers of the early twentieth century. Vega argued that the prevailing mode of Cuban musical nationalism was rooted in nineteenth-century traditions and was producing only a stultified art that remained tied to the harmonic and rhythmic formulas of the past. In his view, this tradition was a deterrent to the evolution of a true contemporary Cuban musical language. Vega's criticisms were based on the grounds that the established national style was a cover for a weakness in compositional technique and was combined with a lack of awareness of contemporary compositional tendencies abroad. In Vega's view, this absence of an internationalist outlook prevented Cuban art music from participating in the evolution of modernist

⁵Robin Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness*, 197.

The terms *minorismo* and *vanguardismo* were used synonymously from the mid-1920s on to refer to the artistic movement in question. Works of the vanguardismos were promoted in magazines such as *Carteles*, *Social*, *Atuei*, *La Revista de Avance*, and *Musicalia*, from about 1924 through the early 1930s. *Musicalia* was a journal devoted almost exclusively to modern, experimental composition.

musical thought.⁶ Vega's arguments were likely focused upon composers like Ernesto Lecuona, whose spectacular success in the United States during this time defined the meaning of "Cuban style" in a broad, popular context. Vega seemed unaware that his views were, in fact, embodied in the works of Roldán and Caturla as they specifically combine Cuban musical elements and contemporary cosmopolitan developments.

Caturla and Roldán's compositional strategy of incorporating Afro-Cuban themes into European classical music is significant in the historical evolution of Cuban art music as it marks one of two major artistic events taking place in Havana in the 1920s. Simultaneously, a musical folk genre called the *son* was gaining favor in the capital, gradually over-powering the artistic principles of the anti-Afro bourgeoisie.⁷ In art music, a stylization of this working class musical genre was evoked in such works as García Caturla's *Son en do menor* written in 1927 and in Roldán's arrangement of Cuban poet Nicolás Guillén's *Motivos de Son* of 1928. It is significant that Guillén found in the *son* a means of expressing a new literary Cuban nationalism through the incorporation into his poetry a genre that originated at the confluence of African and Spanish cultural patterns. The poet contributed greatly to the recognition of the Afro-Hispanic cultural traditions of the island and also found a national source with which to display his poetic intentions. A similar ideology was shared by Roldán who found in the *son* an outlet for his nationalist views, one in which the *son* took on significance as a national symbol.

The *son* essentially presented a new artistic equilibrium between "black" and "white." Early folk quatrains of the *son* reveal the discrimination associated with blackness, a discrimination conveyed in lines such as the following: "The whites were

⁶Ronald Erin, "Cuban Elements in the Music of Aurelio de la Vega," *Latin American Music Review* 5/1 (1984): 2.

⁷Numerous Cuban genres, instruments, and Afro-Cuban rhythms are mentioned in this thesis that do not find their equivalent in English and are not generally well-known musicological terms. Definitions have been placed in Appendices and will be referred to throughout the document. (See Appendix A²- Afro-Cuban Musical Genres)

made by God/ the mulattos by Saint Peter/ the blacks were made by the Devil/ as coals for hell."⁸ The social implications of these poems were recognized by the general population only through the vehemence of Guillén's revolutionary poems *Motivos de Son* and Roldán's musical setting of them.

Roldán set the entire series of Guillén's *Motivos de Son* in 1931; they were first published in a reduction for voice and piano by *New Music* in 1934 and in the orchestral series in 1935. The collection was published in 1980 in Havana by *Editorial Letras Cubanas* as part of a volume commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of Nicolás Guillén's poetic cycle, *Motivos de Son*. The works included in this publication—all by Cuban composers such as Caturla, Emilio and Eliseo Grenet, and Roldán—share the distinction of being settings of poems from Guillén's *Motivos*. Whereas the settings of Emilio and Eliseo Grenet demonstrate popular aspects of the commercialized *son*, Roldán's musical adaptation of *Motivos de Son* conveys a number of internal cultural characteristics and various avant-garde tendencies fashionable in Europe and the U.S. at this time.

II

This thesis will discuss the complexities of race relations in Cuba and how these numerous different influences contributed to the Cuban musical nationalist cause in the early twentieth century. The central purpose of this document is to determine to what extent national characteristics appropriated by members of the *Grupo Minorista* are inherent in Roldán's cycle *Motivos de Son* and how these characteristics are exposed in a compositional language that draws upon a contemporary harmonic vocabulary. Despite the importance attributed to the *Minorista* and to the two primary composers of the group—Roldán and Caturla—there is surprisingly little scholarship that discusses their

⁸James Robbins, "The Cuban *Son* as Form, Genre, and Symbol," *Latin American Music Review* 11/2 (1990): 195.

lives and works. Musical analyses of the most famous compositions of the period are virtually nonexistent. An analytical examination of literary and compositional tendencies prevalent in the eight songs of the *Motivos* cycle will attempt to illustrate the markedly individual nationalist styles of Roldán and Guillén.

The scholarly literature available to the enthusiast of Cuban music is small, but it does include several academic works of repute and some recent doctoral dissertations on this subject. Most of the music literature written in a scholarly vein by Cuban musicologists has consisted of straightforward descriptive studies. Principal among these are the writings of Fernando Ortiz, Alejo Carpentier, Argeliers León, José Ardévol, Rogelio Martínez Fure, Leonardo Acosta, Olavo Alén Rodríguez, and María Teresa Linares, all of which are important sources of sociological and musicological information. Thanks to the scholarly efforts of Peter Manuel, several articles by these prominent Cuban musicologists have been collected and published in English in Manuel's *Essays on Cuban Music: North American and Cuban Perspectives*.⁹ This collection of essays informs the reader of some of the directions in Cuban music research that have been undertaken in Cuba itself since 1959. Various contemporary Cuban and North American scholars have contributed to this collection of informative articles discussing various aspects of Cuban music. Introductory remarks to each of the essays are given by Manuel that offer some background of the works and their authors, and in some cases, their relation to the other essays and to Cuban music research as a whole.

Alejo Carpentier's *La Música en Cuba* is significant as the first survey of the origins and the development of music in this country by a Cuban scholar. Although dated, *Introducción a Cuba: La Música*, written by José Ardévol, is a comprehensive study of Cuban music from the sixteenth to twentieth centuries that includes informative appendices of prominent Cuban musical journals, institutions, and musical

⁹Peter Manuel, *Essays on Cuban Music: North American and Cuban Perspectives* (Lanham: University Press of America, Inc., 1991).

organizations on the island. Argeliers León's *Del Canto y El Tiempo*, written in 1984, is also a representative musicological study of this type. Adolfo Salazar's article in *Revista Cubana*: 1938, "La Obra Musical de Alejandro Caturla," is the earliest authoritative analytical overview of characteristic musical elements of Caturla. A similar survey of these factors within Roldán's work has yet to be written.

The only biography of Amadeo Roldán known to the author is Zoila Gómez' *Amadeo Roldán*, published in 1977, in Havana. This scholarly work, as a biographical overview, offers factual criteria regarding the life of Roldán, in addition to a list of international works performed in Cuba for the first time under the baton of Roldán, a catalogue of Roldán's compositions, and some invaluable musical examples. The *Orquesta Filarmónica de La Habana: Memoria 1924-1959*, by Maruja Sánchez Cabrera, is noteworthy in its detailed presentation of all concerts given by the *Orquesta* from its conception to the year of the Revolution. Conductors, performers, works performed, and the dates of their performance are recorded in this document providing invaluable information pertaining to the performance of Roldán's compositions.¹⁰

More recently there has been some investigation into Cuban music by American musicologists. Significant analytical discussions are presented in dissertations by Charles Asche (University of Texas, 1983) and José Manuel Lezcano (Florida State University, 1991). Asche's dissertation, "Cuban Folklore Traditions and Twentieth-Century Idioms in the Piano Music of Amadeo Roldán and Alejandro García Caturla," offers an insightful overview of the individual styles of Roldán and Caturla as they are represented in their works for piano.¹¹ Asche argues that the novel sonorities and organizational principles employed by the Cuban composers are similar to those advocated by members of the Pan American Association of Composers; however, as a

¹⁰Maruja Sánchez Cabrera, *Orquesta Filarmónica de La Habana: Memoria 1924-1959* (Havana: Ministerio de Cultura, 1979).

¹¹Charles Bryon Asche, "Cuban Folklore Traditions and Twentieth-Century Idioms in the piano Music of Amadeo Roldán and Alejandro García Caturla" (Ph. D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1983).

detailed analysis of the works is lacking, these arguments are not fully supported. José Manuel Lezcano's dissertation, "African-Derived Rhythmical and Metrical Elements in Selected Songs of Alejandro García Caturla and Amadeo Roldán," provides an in-depth analysis of Afro-Cuban rhythmic characteristics found in various vocal works of these composers.¹² Lezcano illustrates the significance of Afro-Cuban rhythmic characteristics in defining an Afro-Cuban rhythmic style and the analytical method utilized by the author provides illuminating insights into the rhythmic devices employed by Caturla and Roldán. Melodic, harmonic, and text-related tendencies of these works are left for further study.

The most recent North American study of the Afro-Cuban movement is Robin Moore's *Nationalizing Blackness: Afro-Cubanismo and Artistic Revolution in Havana: 1920-1935*.¹³ Moore discusses the changing conceptions of race and nation in Cuba in the early twentieth century and how such changes affected the artistic development of the nation. This discussion of various aspects of *Afro-Cubanismo* and historical events surrounding the movement is a major contribution to the scholarly literature focusing on artistic developments in Cuba. *Afrocuba: An Anthology of Cuban Writing On Race, Politics and Culture*, edited by Pedro Pérez Sarduy and Jean Stubbs is a collection of various writings on a broad range of topics that indicate the richness and diversity of Cuban writing on race. The concern was primarily socio-historic and cultural, looking at the way in which the internal race dynamic affected people in their everyday lives. The work also contributes to the ongoing re-assessment of race, gender, class, and nation in Cuba.¹⁴

¹²José Manuel Lezcano, "Afro-Cuban Rhythmic and Metric Elements in Published Chorale and Solo Vocal Works of Caturla and Roldán" (Ph. D. diss., Florida State University, 1991).

¹³Robin Dale Moore, "Nationalizing Blackness: *Afro-Cubanismo* and Artistic Revolution in Havana: 1920-35" (Ph. D. diss., University of Texas, 1995).

¹⁴Pedro Pérez and Jean Stubbs, eds., *Afrocuba: An Anthology of Cuban Writing on Race, Politics and Culture*, (Melbourne: Ocean Press, 1993).

Chapter One

Cuban Musical Nationalism in Perspective

I

Nationalism, Racism, and Color

If the concept of a "national ideal" can be defined as the belief that all who once shared a common history and culture should be autonomous and united in their recognized homelands, then some countries could more easily than others assume a unified national identity.¹ In ethnically diversified Hispanic-American or Caribbean nations such as Cuba, the lack of a sense of common history has made unification more difficult to achieve. The concept of togetherness was complicated further by the ideology of racism that became a primary concern due to the overwhelming presence of an ethnic group identified mainly by their darker color. During the nineteenth century, the terms "nation" and "race" were used interchangeably to refer to ethnic communities. It was only towards the end of the nineteenth century that racial Darwinism succeeded in separating the concept of race and racism from that of the nation and nationalism.² The confusion between the two concepts and ideologies has endured through time, exemplified in continents such as Latin America and Africa, where a perpetual struggle for domination of primarily white ruling classes destined to rule the black lower classes existed. This defines a doctrine of race that is guided by specific hereditary physicalities, which allegedly determine all the mental attributes of the group.³ Needless to say, one of the primary genetic elements which contributed to social standing was that of color.

The colonized nations of Latin America and the Caribbean acquired the African as a racial component. The negative consequences of the African's distinctive pigmentation obviously served to distinguish, divide, and exclude this population from

¹ Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Martin Robertson & Co., Ltd., 1979), 87.

² *Ibid.*, 89.

³ *Ibid.*, 102.

the European colonists. Distinctions of color identified groups much more easily and unequivocally than language or religion, and clearly defined these groups as condemned outsiders. The issue of color within Cuba, despite miscegenation, has proved the most salient physical affliction with which to categorize large numbers of men and women. Stereotypical myths associated with the issue of color, especially of white and black, to signify good (desirable) and evil (undesirable), have existed since the initial meeting of these colored ethnic groups in the early sixteenth century. Although Fidel Castro has attempted to reconcile differences between various ethnic groups occupying Cuba, the island, like America, remains plagued by deeply ingrained racism. The proportion of blacks in Cuba had been diminishing since the end of slave trade in the 1860s, a trend that the ruling class hoped to continue through massive Spanish immigration and further intermarriage. However, by 1910 it was clear how much of the color that belonged to Africa remained in Cuba.

Cuban Nationalism

Migratory waves of Hispanic and African peoples began to arrive on the island from the very beginning of colonization in the sixteenth century. The cultural attributes that each of these ethnic groups—and those of various other minorities—brought to the island have inevitably influenced each other. The colorful evocations of cultural characteristics that are often revealed when one conjures up the image of a Spain or an Africa is perhaps due to the fact that each entity within itself reveals a multi-ethnic diversity. Therefore, when considering the national ideals of Cuba it is necessary to recognize the various micro-levels that inevitably comprised the country's individualistic macro-whole. The Hispanic population came from many different regions and different social strata of their mother country, and this was to remain a permanent characteristic during the four centuries of colonial domination. During the first stage, essentially between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the bulk of the migration came from

Andalusia and the Canary Islands, but there were also Basques, Catalonians, Galicians, and others. In the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, the three most important regional groups were from the Canary Islands, Asturias, and Galicia.⁴ The Spanish presence was complemented by the Africans, who were brought over by the colonial authorities as slaves to replenish and gradually replace the labor power of the native Indian population. Originating in a broad diversity of geographic areas and social and political structures, Africans were mostly taken from West Africa.⁵

The growth of the sugar industry in Cuba throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries played a vital role in reshaping the economy, and the success of this national commodity constituted the axis of social and cultural relations in the colony. The sugar plantations were the sites of the greatest concentrations of Africans in the rural areas of the western half of the island.⁶ Frequent cases of liberation occurred as early as the sixteenth century as a result of inconsistencies in sugar exports. A substantial number of African freemen and their descendants therefore moved into the urban centers of the island and established themselves in the lower trades.

As a means of resurrecting a sense of cohesion amongst themselves, Afrocubans formed *cabildos*—organizations that grouped African freemen and slaves from the same ethnic community or nation. These *cabildos* provided assistance and protection to their members, and they also helped preserve the rituals, religious practices, and the songs and dances linked to the myths of their homeland. Colonial authorities felt that these organizations would help to control the black population and to prevent slave uprisings (as had occurred in Haiti) by maintaining the distinctive social components associated

⁴ Victoria Eli Rodríguez, "Cuban Music and Ethnicity: Historical Considerations," in *Music and Black Ethnicity: The Caribbean and South America* (Coral Gables, Florida: North-South Center Press, 1994), 93.

⁵ The main African ethnic groups occupying Cuba are the 1) *Congo*, coming from the region between the Congo River to the north and southern Angola to the south; 2) *Lucumbi*, from the areas on the west bank of the Niger River; 3) *Carabali*, originating from southern Nigeria.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 94.

with the individual ethnic groups of Africa.⁷ Unintentionally, the Spanish authorities aided in the perpetuation of African traditions in Cuba involving social elements such as music and dance. The successive waves that made up the direct African contribution to the culture of Cuba ceased with the abolition of slavery in 1886, although there was some clandestine trade for some years after that date. Whereas other Hispanic colonies had reduced or even banned the importation of slaves to the Americas by the early nineteenth century, Cuba augmented the practice to unprecedented levels, which accounts for the large Afrocuban presence on the island.

Musical Nationalism

In the peripheral nations of the European sphere that were heavily dependent upon the musical traditions of other countries, native-born composers consciously sought to write music that was inspired by or incorporated national and folk elements. Folk music, filtered through the prism of the Western mindset, qualified as an important musical expression of nationalism. As the distinctive features of various regional musics became known, composers began to apply these characteristics in the creation of art music. Compositional elements associated with individual folk idioms—modal scales, harmonies, motives, melodies, rhythms, forms peculiar to or characteristic of the national idioms—gradually worked their way into the cosmopolitan music of Western Europe, revealing new sources of musical expression and inspiration, and consequently, new musical styles.

Historically, Latin American art music of the twentieth century grew from the seeds of Western European art music that were planted in each country during the colonial period. The colonial directives of European nations and the rapid formation of a privileged élite in New World Latin-American colonies inevitably led to similar cultural

⁷Olavo Alén Rodríguez, "The Afro-French Settlement and the Legacy of Its Music to the Cuban People," in *Music and Black Ethnicity*, 111.

trends. Of the cultural inclinations shared in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, nationalism was overtly pronounced with neo-Romantic and neo-Classical counter currents.⁸ Latin-American musical nationalism differed from that of its European counterpart in the sense that an extremely complex ethnic fabric was created through the process of inter-cultural relations. Because of the admixture of various cultural groups within each nation, each individual country produced a distinctive nationalist ideology.

But the success, acceptance, or toleration of various nationalist movements in countries with a large black population seemed to rely heavily on the consensus of the cultural capital of the Western world. The cultivation of ethnicity became a respectable pastime during the 1920s, thanks to European interest in the "primitive." This decade marked the inception of the New Negro Movement in Paris, which rediscovered African cultural heritage and applauded the African landscape, commended African culture and the black woman, and rejected the capitalism of Western Civilization. In Latin-American and Caribbean countries, *Négritude* artistically declared a revolt against racial colonialism, which had taken advantage of the more-or-less dark color of the skin.⁹ The movement proclaimed the new consciousness of the Negro, his newly-gained self-confidence, and his distinctive outlook on life with which he distinguished himself from those of a different color. Socially, culturally, and morally, this mandate of *Négritude* was perfectly logical; by white westerners, however, its legitimacy was challenged.

In early twentieth-century Latin America, the principal mode of musical expression can be said to involve the use of indigenous elements particular to the lower, working-class people within their artistic works. Although race and racism generally

⁸ Leslie Bethell, ed., *A Cultural History of Latin America: Literature, Music and the Visual Arts in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 311. These trends occurred at times concurrently in the various Latin American republics, but musical nationalism appeared above all from the 1920s to the 1950s, neo-classicism and other neo-tonal aesthetic orientations at various times from the 1930s, while experimentalism and the avant-garde in music prevailed from the early 1960s.

⁹ Smith, *Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*, 110-111.

interfered with musical nationalism, the situation became one of a blend of racial consciousness with national ideals as the means for advancing the nationalist cause. Since the beginning of colonization in Cuba, the island had been dominated politically and socially by foreigners, firstly by Spain and then by the United States. In searching for a distinctive national voice, the country's intellectual élite attempted more actively to promote uniquely Cuban cultural forms; hence, the arts of socially marginalized blacks, for centuries ignored or dismissed by Cuba's middle classes, took on new significance as symbols of nationality.

II

Cuban Musical Nationalism

The nationalist goals and ideals of Cuban composers eventually recognized this ideology of race in the service of nationalism, utilizing color as the means for evoking and recreating a collective national identity. It was not until the 1920's, however, that such an ideology really took hold. Cuban art music reveals a wide stylistic diversity according to historical period, geographical location, and specific socio-cultural circumstances. The first signs of musical nationalism on the island were seen as early as the mid-nineteenth century in the works of Ignacio Cervantes and Manuel Saumell. Compositions by these composers consisted mainly of salon-like *danzas* and *contradanzas* which assumed an essentially European or Hispanic urban folklore as its natural material.¹⁰ A second wave emerged in the 1920s and existed until approximately 1935.

The immense political, economic, and sociological disturbances occurring on the island after the War of Independence prompted vast quantities of nationalistic music and other art coming forth at this time.¹¹ Typical themes in late nineteenth- and early

¹⁰ See Appendix A²

¹¹ The island experienced a severe depression after WWI. Due to the dramatic deflation of world sugar prices in 1920 and the U.S. stock market crash of 1929, unemployment and poverty affected a high percentage of the working-class population. Economic conditions in turn threatened the political stability of the Machado administration, already in disfavor for altering the constitution and extending presidential term limits.

twentieth-century works invoked the common struggles of the revolutionary war, the writings of José Martí or depictions of the countryside, in order to inspire national sentiment. Established notions of collective identity were constantly reconsidered and resolved in different ways by different artists. The period between 1925 and 1937, in particular, witnessed several different views on how the island should be portrayed artistically. Composers such as Sánchez de Fuentes maintained that the indigenous element should be included in works that were to portray national expression and any elements of blackness should be extirpated from Cuban music. A different view is presented by Ernesto Lecuona, who composed in a more popular vein but did attempt to recall stereotypical compositional elements of the African within his works. Throughout the second decade of the twentieth century, the progressive *Minorista* movement or *vanguardia* turned to blacks to find an intrinsically Cuban art music.

Phase One

Mid-nineteenth-century musical nationalism in Cuba could be described as the hybridization of European salon dances with a new attention to vernacular music genres. Certain characteristic elements of native music, albeit significantly stylized, were conveyed by a European Romantic music vocabulary. The first signs of the development and cultivation of rhythmic elements distinctive to Afro-Cuban music are found in the works composed during the first Cuban nationalist phase. Distinctive rhythmic elements have often been recognized as the most definitive characteristic of Afro-Cuban music, and, indeed, the rhythmic aspect must be considered. Generally speaking, two meters predominate in popular Cuban music: 6/8 appeared shortly before 1800 in the *punto*, in creole music and in what used to be called *el zapateo*; 2/4 predominated after 1800 and was almost always syncopated.¹² Later in the nineteenth century, syncopation became more complex, nationalism influenced Cuban music, and forms distinct from the music

¹²See Appendix A.

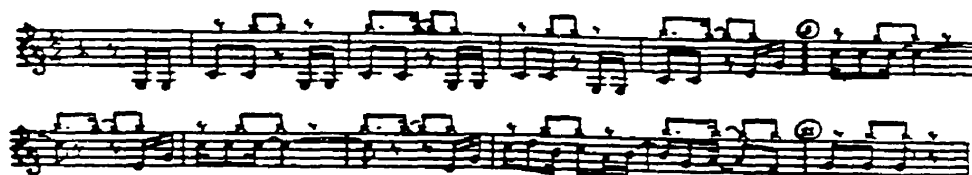
of Spain evolved. Peter Manuel offers an informative survey of the development of this rhythmic device in his article "The Anticipated Bass," tracing the evolution of Afro-Cuban rhythms to both European- and African-derived Cuban forms of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Manuel begins his historical survey with the Cuban *contradanza habanera* which had become popular throughout Cuba by 1803. The following synopsis conveys the essential rhythmic points asserted by the author of the article (see Example 1).

Afro-Cuban Rhythms

1. Elegua ♯ 2/4	2. Inle ♯ 2/4	Relationship between Afro-Cuban rhythms and their assimilation into Cuba's popular music. In Yoruban ritual ceremonies, each god is invoked by a particular rhythm. From the rhythms associated with Elegua and Inle for example one can extract the typical dance rhythm of the <i>contradanza habanera</i> .
3. Contradanza - Habanera ♯ 2/4	4. Tresillo ♯ 2/4	
5. Rumba Guaguanco ♯ 2/4	6. Son ♯ 2/4	The <i>contradanza habanera</i> is distinguished by its recurring isorhythm of African descent. By stressing the sixteenth note, the note pair becomes trochaic and the second eighth note becomes dispensable. The elision of sixteenth and second eighth note affords the 3 + 3 - 2 syncopation so characteristic of African-derived rhythms referred to in the Cuban context as the <i>tresillo</i> . Tresillo predominates in the <i>rumba guaguanco</i> whose trademark is the illustrated drum pattern. The <i>Son</i> rhythm is derived from the <i>guaguanco</i> and often omits the first sixteenth.
7. Rumba Clave ♯ 2/4	8. Son Clave ♯ 2/4	
9. Anticipated Bass ♯ 2/4		Clave patterns of West African origin. Two-bar isorhythms reveal a simple and effective call-and-response structure. Anticipated bass pattern found within the Son omits the downbeat - foreshadowed in the <i>guaguanco</i> drum pattern notated above.

Example 1: Evolution of Afro-Cuban Rhythms

The significance of *la clave* within Afro-Cuban music is essential in any examination concerning the music of Cuba. Fernando Ortiz' seminal work, *La Clave Xilofónica de la Música Cubana: Ensayo Etnográfico*, offers crucial information concerning the *clave* and its artistic relevance to Afro-Cuban music.¹³ As an instrument, the Cuban *clave* is perhaps the most primitive musical, melodic, and percussive instrument existing within the country. The concept of *clave* is essentially revealed through its perception of a rhythmic clock that keeps the overall complexity of the percussion section somewhat unified. This is carried out by the clashing together of two wooden sticks in a pattern that is said to be two-three or three-two. Essentially the pattern is based on additive rhythmic principles commonly found in traditional West African music. Melodically, an adaptation of the rhythmic pattern is manifested in such a way that the change of a measure in the percussion produces such a notorious discrepancy between the melody and the rhythm that it becomes "confrontational" to the cultivated styles of Cuban art music. The melody does not always commence with the accented measure, but the stressed time of the accented measure must coincide with the supporting point of the melodic phrase. When this is preceded by other notes, they are considered as an anacrusis, even though they have a longer duration than a standard measure. This anacrusis is at times utilized as a means of rhythmical preparation, marking the tempo of the measure, by which the syncopation of the first measure of the rhythmical outline accents its expressive value (see Example 2).



Example 2: *Clave* Rhythm and Melodic Adaptation¹⁴

¹³Vernon Boggs, "Fernando Ortiz and The History of *La Clave*," *Latin Beat Magazine* (April 1992), 23-27.

¹⁴Grenet, *Popular Cuban Music*, XII.

The aesthetic ideas assumed by composers of Cuban national music in the second half of the nineteenth century represented the typical middle-class and upper-class values of the time. The first attempts to create nationalist musical expression were made by Manuel Saumell Robredo (1817-1870) and Ignacio Cervantes (1847-1905) who cultivated the French-Hispanic *contradanza* (see Examples 3 & 4). Saumell, who is often referred to as the father of the nationalist school in Cuban music, resided in the *barrio* (neighborhood) of Guanabacoa, a district renowned for its strong Afro-Cuban cultural presence. The small, intimate salon piano pieces composed by Saumell are set in a popular European drawing room style but incorporate an extraordinary variety of rhythmic combinations associated with black musical expression. Subdued Afro-Cuban musical influences found within the *contradanza*—the prominence of Afro-Cuban rhythmic patterns—illustrated the beginnings of stylized artistic interpretations of "Africanisms". Hence, the *contradanza* in the hands of Saumell assumed the definitive characteristics of nineteenth-century Cuban conceptions of musical nationalism. Saumell established several rhythmic patterns that became central in the formulation of characteristic Afro-Cuban dance rhythms, and later cultivated by urban popular composers from the early twentieth century. The particular style created by the composer in which virtuosic display is secondary to the prevalence of rhythmic interest, is exemplified in the following example, *La Picapica*. The second section of the piece typically comprises the most national character in its presentation of the *habanera* figure and the avoidance of strong first-beat rhythmic emphasis in the lower register. In addition, triplets superimposed over a regularized quasi-ostinato bass pattern is indicative of a rhythmic fluidity that would characterize Afro-Cuban music to the present day.



Example 3: *Contradanza – La Picapica* by Manuel Saumell

Ignacio Cervantes Kawanagh (1847-1905) was one of the most influential Cuban composers and pianists of the nineteenth century. Cervantes' twenty-one *Danzas cubanas para piano*, composed between 1875 and 1895, were extremely popular in all Latin-American countries, and created a style that many imitated. These *Danzas* are rooted in the tradition of Saumell, and maintain an authentic Creole flavor by incorporating Afro-Cuban and Guajiro musical elements into a Romantic piano style. Many Cuban elements of rhythm associated with the *habanera*, *clave*, *cinquillo*, and the *conga* appear in all of Cervantes' works as a definite stylistic element.¹⁵ Essentially, the *Danzas* assume the two-part form of the *contradanza* and follow the characteristic rhythmic patterns employed by Saumell. Numerous rhythmic anticipations are also revealed in these piano pieces, as seen in the following example, showing ties over the bar lines (see Example 4).

¹⁵Gerard Behague, *Music in Latin America: An Introduction* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1979), 103.



Example 4: *Danza Cubana* No. 1 by Ignacio Cervantes

Phase Two

Throughout its history Cuba's culture has evolved within a conflictive environment, at times resulting in different views of a similar ideological statement. Essentially, the antagonistic environment of the island was provoked by continual questions and concerns regarding the Negro population. As early as the first decades of the 1800s, a strong Afro-Cuban presence was felt, and this led to their increasing representation in all cultural expression. Parodies of slave mannerisms can be found in Cuban literature and visual art created by whites in the 1830s and literary tools such as imitations of *bozal* speech are frequently found in popular fiction and popular music of

this time.¹⁶ These same elements were utilized by artists in the 1920s and 1930s who now felt their application would enhance the nationalist cause.

In the 1920s, as a result of conflicting racist, nationalist, and artistic discourses in Havana at this time, established notions of collective identity diverged into several different avenues of nationalist perception. Cuban musicologist and composer Sánchez de Fuentes considered the indigenous element as a crucial factor in recreating a Cuban nationalism, whereas Ernesto Lecuona followed the drawing-room nationalism that stemmed from the old *contradanzas*, with a superficial incorporation of various African folk elements.¹⁷ *Guajirismo* dedicated its artistic efforts to recreating images of the white Spanish country folk culture, and *Afrocubanismo* hailed the distinctive African qualities.

Indigenismo, as represented by Sánchez de Fuentes (1875-1944), proved to be of little or no importance in the creation of a modern Cuban nationalist culture.¹⁸ The rapid extermination of the aboriginal Cubans in the sixteenth century, in addition to the forced cultural and racial assimilation of those who survived, was a strong indication that indigenous music did not really exist and therefore should not be considered in the genesis of Cuban music. The contention of de Fuentes was that Cuba's aboriginal roots were crucial in shaping Cuban musicality. Numerous heated debates—based on the fundamental research of such academics as Fernando Ortiz (1881-1969) and Alejo Carpentier (1904 -1980)—argued against any attempt to bestow authenticity on an alleged Anacaona *areito*.¹⁹ The vigorous endeavors of de Fuentes to expel African cultural elements and to elevate those of the Indian population were finally put to rest; it

¹⁶*Bozal* is a term used to describe the broken Spanish dialect of recently arrived African slaves. *Bozal* speech is heard in many Afro compositions of the 1920s and 1930s.

¹⁷Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness*, 128.

The first musicologist to argue that the unique qualities of Cuban music derived from indigenous rather than Afro-Cuban sources was Antonio Bachiller y Morales (1812-1889). Later musical figures such as Sánchez de Fuentes and Moisés Simons, turned to the writings of Morales in the 1920s to justify their own beliefs about the centrality of *Siboney* expression to Cuban music. Images of the *Siboney* and *Arawak* Indians who lived in the Caribbean before the conquest provided an alternative basis for constructing Cuban cultural heritage.

¹⁸Dr. Sánchez de Fuentes (1874-1944) was both a lawyer and an outstanding composer in Cuba who became world-renowned through his habanera *Tii* composed in 1890.

¹⁹The *areito* was a sacred form of expression among Cuba's indigenous, pre-conquest population. It involved music, dancing, singing, and ritual consumption of tobacco and alcohol.

was conclusively accepted that neither the sonorities nor the musical practices of the Cuban Indians survived.²⁰

In 1939, composer and musicologist Emilio Grenet published eighty compositions together with an "Essay on the Evolution of Music in Cuba."²¹ The prologue to this work was written by Sánchez de Fuentes, who stated that "Grenet has given a most excellent picture of the development of Cuban music, although I do not fully agree with certain of his opinions...."²² The opinion being questioned was Grenet's division of Cuban music into two distinct ethnic groups—African and Spanish—that merge to form a Cuban collective. De Fuentes argued that the African should be excluded from consideration in this collective whole, which naturally would have derived from the *Siboney* and *Arawak* Indians and the Spanish colonialists. De Fuentes stated his opinions subtly in this introductory segment of Grenet's work; however, it was common knowledge that he deplored the attention that some Cuban composers were giving to African rhythms in the 1920s and 1930s.²³

According to de Fuentes, African music was a product of slavery that had contaminated Cuban music. He also felt that the deflation of Cuban music was a result of various musical events taking place in the early twentieth century, such as the advent of jazz and changing aesthetic principles occurring in Europe during the post-war era. Dances, such as the *son*, which had strongly contributed to the African essence, were responsible for the demise of a sophisticated Cuban art music. The composer emphatically stated that the *son* had constituted "...a music of lamentable regression of

²⁰Vernon W. Boggs, "Sánchez de Fuentes: Cuban Patriot or Racist?" *Latin Beat Magazine*, September 1992, 29.

²¹ Emilio Grenet, *Popular Cuban Music: 80 Revised and Corrected Compositions - Together with an Essay on the Evolution of Music in Cuba*, translated by R. Phillips (Havana: Carasa & cia., 1939).

²² Eduardo Sanchez de Fuentes, Prologue to *Popular Cuban Music: 80 Revised and Corrected Compositions Together with an Essay on the Evolution of Music in Cuba*, by Emilio Grenet (Havana: Carasa & cia., 1939), vii.

²³ On March 13, 1927, De Fuentes presided over a conference in La Habana where he launched into a condemnatory speech about AfroCuban music. In order to buttress his argument, he drew upon past writings and Cuban law in order to drive home the point that AfroCuban music should be completely disregarded when discussing Cuban music.

our customs."²⁴ Fuentes' ideas were not challenged until the late 1930s, when Fernando Ortiz began to bring an analytical perspective to this debate.²⁵

Numerous compositions by various composers incorporating indigenous subject matter were written during the early twentieth century. One of the most famous Cuban pieces evoking the *Siboney* was Ernesto Lecuona's *Canto Siboney* written in 1927. As with other compositions conflating imagery of the aboriginal population, the title and lyrics constitute the only real reference to this culture. The lyrics are set to a musical accompaniment in the style of European parlor song and essentially sound much like any other commercial tune from the 1920s. Lecuona's contribution to the nationalist cause in Cuba is significant in that his salon and cabaret compositions make reference to all of the ethnicities constituting the collective identity of the island. Beginning at least as early as 1912 with the popularization of Lecuona's *La Comparsa* for solo piano, the composer refers to Afro-Cuban folk elements in a stylized manner.²⁶ *La Comparsa* is one of a published collection of six *Danzas Afro-Cubanas* that interestingly appeared at a time when the *Guerrita del Doce* and the prohibition of traditional *comparsas* in carnival was also taking place.²⁷

Stylistically, the work is a direct extension of the syncopated idiom of Ernesto Nazareth and its more specifically Cuban form in the music of Cervantes. *La Comparsa* revolves around a clear tonal center, retaining the European musical vocabulary of the late nineteenth century, while exemplifying an alternate compositional perception of

²⁴Boggs, "Sanchez de Fuentes," 30.

²⁵Ortiz has often been referred to as the primary initiator and supporter of the Afro-Cuban movement. Ortiz' first significant research findings were published in 1921 and centered around the establishment and significance of Afro-Cuban "*cabildos*" within Cuba. Within this publication Ortiz documents Cuban legislation aimed at the suppression of Afro-Cuban dances and drumming. At this point in Ortiz' career, he neither supported nor circumvented Afro-Cuban cultural traditions, but simply described the population in somewhat unflattering terms. It was only in the 1930s that Ortiz informed the Cuban artistic population that the rhythms of the blacks were not monotonous and that their music was not mere noise. Hence, the significance of the role played by the scholarly works of Fernando Ortiz should not be overlooked but contemplated.

²⁶Other composers such as Eliseo and Emilio Grenet all produced works in this contemporary, commercial style.

²⁷*Guerrita del Doce* is also known as The Little War of 1912, a massacre of thousands of Afro-Cuban protestors in the Oriente Province by the *ejército permanente* under orders of President Gómez. (See Appendix C - Synopsis of Important Political Events in Cuba).

Afroclubanism aesthetic values (see Example 5). Similar to other instrumental works of Lecuona, *La Comparsa* reveals stereotypical Afrocluban musical elements, such as the ostinato bass motive which utilizes the *tango-congo* rhythm most effectively.²⁸ At the same time, Lecuona's compositions maintain popular salon-like features which appealed to the Cuban white middle-class conservatives.



Example 5: *La Comparsa* by Ernesto Lecuona

The appeal this work introduced to the world what was to become the most popular Cuban ball-room dance of the 1930s in Europe: the *conga*. The central figure who was recognized with this "conga craze" was the Cuban composer and pianist Eliseo Grenet (1893-1950), whose first success was achieved in Spain. Grenet moved to Paris—the European center of African-influenced artistic production—in 1934 at which time he presented numerous popular Afrocluban-inspired genres and the controversial

²⁸*Comparsas* are Afrocluban carnival bands that performed on Kings' Day (January 6).

conga drums to foreign audiences. Grenet also presented to Europe the work of Cuba's nationalist poet Nicolás Guillén in numerous musical adaptations, such as *Negro bembón*, *Quirino con su tres*, *Yambambo*, and *Tú no sabe inglés*. Guillén's attraction to the Cuban musical genre known as the *son* and his adaptation of various formal elements of the genre within his poetry is exemplified in *Negro Bembón* from the collection *Motivos de Son*. Typical features of the *son* include formal procedures such as an introduction followed by a *largo* comprised of the verses of the poem, and a final section referred to as the *estribillo* characterized by its call-and-response structure. Syncopated rhythmic patterns common to the *contradanza* and *danzon* and emphasis placed on the second half of the second beat are also typical features of the *son*. Grenet's musical settings of Guillén's poems are representative of Afro-Cuban popular music in the 1920s, a music that is clearly distinguished from contemporary compositions by members of the *Minorista* (see Example 6).

Letra de Nicolás Guillén

Música de Eliseo Grenet

The musical score is presented on four staves. The first two staves are for the piano accompaniment, and the last two are for the voice. The lyrics are written below the voice staff. The music is in a 2/4 time signature with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: "cuando te dicen negro bembón al Quirino le ba-ce san-ta. Ay- que le pa-se la bre".

Example 6: *Negro Bembón* by Eliseo Grenet

Cuban artistic development in the early 1900s found another avenue of nationalist expression in *Guajirismo*, which directed its focus to the culture of the rural Hispanic peasant. In their desire to recreate the musical expression of the *guajiro*, composers turned to Hispanic-derived genres such as the *punto*, *decima*, and *zapateo*.²⁹ This salon and theater music depicting the rural folk was applauded by white conservatives, since it provided an alternative to the increasing prominence of "threatening" Afrocuban influences. León notes that *guajirismo*-inspired music first appeared in Cuba during the Wars of Independence, serving as a refuge for whites who sought a genre that was at once distinctively Cuban and yet devoid of African-derived elements.³⁰ The final period in which composers wrote significant numbers of popular song with *guajirismo*-inspired imagery was during the *machadato* (1927-1933), when members of the *Afrocubanismo* movement turned their attention away from conservative ideals and focused on the black population.³¹ However, members of the avant-garde were also known to have composed art music revealing *guajirismo* qualities.³²

Afrocubanismo and the Minorista Movement

The nationalist proclamations of the *Minorista* and the Afrocuban movement in general affected the entire intellectual community of Cuba during the 1920s. Due to the prevalence of Afrocuban folk elements, Afrocuban art music from this period emitted a much stronger primeval essence than was found in earlier nationalist works. As was pointed out by Sánchez de Fuentes, this emphasis on African artistic expression was obviously influenced by the rise of jazz in Paris and the overwhelming attraction to the primitivistic aesthetic. Afro-Hispanic nations naturally found inherent in their cultural

²⁹See Appendix A: Cuban Genres Bordering on the Spanish.

³⁰Robin Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness: Afrocubanismo and Artistic Revolution in Havana, 1920-1940* (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997): 22.

³¹*Machadato* refers to the period from 1928 to 1933 associated with the rising violence between forces loyal to Gerardo Machado and those attempting to overthrow his government.

³²Amadeo Roldán's *Guajira vueltabajer* for cello and piano written in 1928 is one example of a work, incorporating traditional *campesino* melodies.

history these fashionable primordial elements which colored Europe's artistic environment. But the artistic recreation of images of the lower-class Afrocuban was frowned upon by the Cuban bourgeoisie. It was perhaps only because of the widespread influence of French culture that this antagonism was somewhat resolved and the cultural expression of black ethnicities could finally be validated.

As Alejo Carpentier stated, "Those already familiar with *The Rite of Spring*—the great banner of revolution at the time—rightly began to draw attention to the fact that in Regla, on the other side of the bay [from Havana], there were rhythms every bit as complex and interesting as those Stravinsky had created to evoke the primitive games of pagan Russia."³³ *Le Sacre* is immediately recognized as the initiating force in primitivistic art music in the early twentieth century. This unprecedented display of primordial elements naturally led to similar works with a more prominent cultural message, such as Ravel's *Chansons madecasses* of 1926. In the second of Ravel's *Chansons*, for instance, the composer clearly made reference to issues attendant to *art negre*, serving as a platform to sermonize on the evils of colonialism—similar to Guillén and Roldán's sermons on the evils of colonialism and anti-imperialism exposed in *Motivos de Son*.³⁴

The musical expression of *Afrocubanismo* and the *Minorista* movement was primarily represented in the works of Amadeo Roldán and Alejandro García Caturla.³⁵ Roldán and Caturla, as the primary members of the musical vanguard, were considered to be the first truly contemporary composers of Cuba.³⁶ They rebelled against the Italianized, Romantic tastes of the conservative public. The popular slogan of the time

³³Sarduy and Stubbs, eds., *Afrocuba*, 216.

³⁴Glenn Watkins, *Pyramids at the Louvre: Music, Culture, and Collage from Stravinsky to the Postmodernist* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1994), 183.

³⁵Argeliers León, "Of the Axle and the Hinge: Nationalism, Afro-Cubanism, and Music in Pre-Revolutionary Cuba," in *Essays on Cuban Music* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1991), 271. That the nationalist movement in question only consisted of these two musicians, even after their deaths is explained by the low status of the profession of music, the feeble state of musical training, and the narrowness of the music ambiance. It was only during this period that two stable symphony orchestras were formed, after the futile efforts of Guillermo Tomás many years before.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 273.

became, "Down with lyricism, up with bongo."³⁷ Roldán and Caturla had a special interest in the awakening to Cuba's black culture; Roldán was himself of mixed blood and did actual ethnomusicological fieldwork; Caturla married a black woman and between her and her sister, with whom Caturla had a love affair, fathered eleven children.

Both Roldán and Caturla considered themselves "American" composers attempting to create truly distinctive "American" artistic expression.³⁸ Despite the antagonistic relationship between the United States and Cuba at the time, the experimental twentieth-century techniques employed by Roldán and Caturla reflect their involvement with the Pan-American Association of Composers [PAAC] based in New York. The PAAC, led for many years by Henry Cowell, was significant in that it served as an important vehicle for the dissemination of the music of Caturla and Roldán. Through this group, they met modernist composers and performers from various countries and became close associates of North Americans, such as Nicolas Slonimsky, Charles Ives, Henry Brant, and Cowell himself.³⁹ Cowell had only limited exposure to Latin American countries, but this did not deter him from maintaining a lifelong interest in the music of Latin-American composers.

As a North-American composer advocating a breakaway from European influences, Cowell sympathized with composers of the Caribbean area and South America who were attempting to use indigenous materials in their work. Furthermore, he showed a profound interest in rhythm and was attracted to the complex African rhythms of contemporary Latin-American music. In 1925, Cowell established the New

³⁷Two Spanish musicians also appeared on the scene of the Cuban musical vanguard: first, Pedro Sanjuán (1887-1976) who carried out an intense educational effort in his brief stay; and later, José Ardévol (b. 1911-?) whose entry into the Cuban scene lent support to the work of Roldán and Caturla.

³⁸Asche, "Cuban Folklore Traditions and Twentieth-Century Idioms in the Piano Music of Amadeo Roldán and Alejandro García Caturla," 6.

³⁹Rita H. Mead, "Latin American Accents in New Music," *Latin American Music Review* 3/2 (1982): 207. Henry Cowell made his first and only trip to Latin America in December 1930 to perform his Piano Concerto with the Havana Philharmonic.

Music Society in Los Angeles to sponsor concerts of contemporary music. He found, however, that there was very little of the ultra-modern music being published. Since commercial publishers shied away from new music, Cowell concluded that he would have to establish a publishing house of his own. With money from Californian patrons, composers, and performers with whom he was acquainted, he founded the *New Music Quarterly* in San Francisco in 1927. Cowell had been aware as early as 1929 of contemporary composers of Cuba—Alejandro García Caturla, Amadeo Roldán, and later, José Ardévol. Amadeo Roldán's *Motivos de Son* were published twice in *New Music*: three of the songs were published in the *New Music Quarterly* in January 1934, and all eight songs were published the same year in *New Music's Orchestra Series*.⁴⁰

⁴⁰Rita H. Mead, "Latin American Accents in New Music," *Latin American Music Review* 3/2 (1982): 213.

Chapter Two

Amadeo Roldán , Nicolás Guillén, and the Appropriation of the *Son* as a Nationalist Symbol

I

Amadeo Roldán was born in Paris on July 12, 1900, to a Spanish father and Cuban mother from Santiago de Cuba. Several years later the family moved to Spain where Roldán began studies in composition and violin under the direction of Conrado del Campo at the Madrid Conservatory. He was first and foremost a violinist and composer, music always being his principal profession. In 1919 he moved to Havana to work as a music teacher, performing regularly in both the *Orquesta Sinfónica* and *Orquesta Filarmónica*, as well as in cafés and theaters. Shortly thereafter he became concertmaster of the Philharmonic Orchestra of Havana and in 1932 he accepted the post of conductor. Under Roldán's baton, the artistic and technical level of the Orchestra reached an unprecedented level; numerous classic works were performed for the first time and many contemporary works were introduced to the Cuban population. In 1931, Roldán founded and directed the *Escuela Normal de Música*, and taught harmony and composition at the Philharmonic Conservatory.¹ Roldán died at age thirty-nine in Havana from an illness due to infection.

Roldán's interest in Afrocuban subject-matter dates from approximately 1923. At this time he began to frequent *santería* and *abakúa* ceremonies with the famous novelist and musicologist Alejo Carpentier, where he transcribed melodic and rhythmic fragments he later used in his compositions.² Roldán and Carpentier were both true

¹Zoila Gómez, *Amadeo Roldán* (Havana: Editorial Arte y Literatura, 1977), 41.

²*Santería* is a term used in Cuba to refer to various syncretic religious practices fusing West African and Catholic elements. Music and dance play a central role in all *santería* worship.

advocates of the *Afrocubanismo* aesthetic ideal which attempted to recreate Cuban artistic expression in its most authentic light. Experience in and exposure to the aesthetic developments occurring in other countries allowed Roldán to view Cuban social interactions from a new perspective and to address subjects rarely studied or even discussed previously.

One finds in Roldán a composer whose expressive, colorful music goes beyond the bourgeoisie's desire for commercialized Afrocan genres as presented by Grenet or Lecuona, for instance. While capturing the essence of Afrocan culture, Roldán created complex, rhythmically-challenging compositions based on innovative compositional ideas. Numerous compositional devices that infer an allegiance to African compositional principles are found within the composer's works: rhythmic configurations derived from the Afrocan rhythmic fabric and formal principles based on variation, contrapuntal writing, and call-and-response structures.

A pronounced complexity is offered through Roldán's rhythms and, hence, an authentic resounding of the same elaborate rhythmic structures found in both African and Spanish sources. Underlying the polymetric structure of the works, the metronomic ostinato patterns of the Cuban *clave* help to maintain a sense of rhythmic cohesion. On the smallest structural level, the antecedent-consequent temperament of the *clave* pattern is equated with the call-and-response construction characteristic of African music.³ This formal device is employed by Roldán on many structural levels. Contrapuntal techniques are utilized by Roldán in both melody and rhythm. As a major aspect of rhythmic counterpoint, emphasis is placed on percussive instrumental color as the virtues of the rhythmic structure are heavily dependent on differentiating which instrument is doing

Abakuá refers to groups of predominantly Afrocan men belonging to secret social societies and are also called *nañigos*. These organizations derive from African traditions and have been described as "cults of masculinity." Their ceremonies incorporate singing and drumming as integral elements.

³*Clave* is a binary phrase consisting of a strong or syncopated measure followed by a weak or relaxed measure. This phrase may be interpreted in either forward or reverse directions determined by the number of beats within each measure. Therefore, the *clave* may be referred to as either three-two when it is played in forward direction, and two-three when played in reverse direction.

what and when. These interlocking elements of Cuban music—the *clave* patterns, the call-and-response construction, rhythmic counterpoint, and percussive instrumental color—all receive particular emphasis in Roldán's music.⁴

Roldán's musical vocabulary was constructed from many facets of modernist technique. Works by the composer display a linear conception, detailed motivic work, lyrical lines, rhythmic activity, recurring melodic leaps, and extreme ranges and timbres. As the music of this composer was written in a progressive twentieth-century harmonic idiom, both traditional and non-tradition structural cadences are found in Roldán's works. The harmonic substructure of his works reveal convincingly tonal, marginally tonal, tonally centric, and densely atonal idioms, incorporating compositional techniques ranging from a more improvisatory conception to rigidly defined structure.⁵ The correlation between Roldán's approach to dissonance can be seen in chromatic inflections of most of the *contradanzas* and in his attempt to elaborate traditional forms in a decidedly new manner. Despite added dissonance and somewhat unusual harmonic procedures, the overall vocabulary is nevertheless based on tertian chords and tonal harmony with modal inflections. Roldán also had a predilection for quartal and quintal chord structures. In addition to being a novel texture in the twentieth century, these harmonic entities were constructed of the same intervals to which many Afrocuban percussion instruments were tuned. Hence, a cosmopolitan harmonic language enhances the expressive color of what was inherent in the sound production all along.

Musicologists have often discussed elements of Impressionism within Roldán's works, indeed certain compositional devices associated with this movement are apparent.⁶ Parallel chord construction, metric shifting, and fluidity of line are obvious compositional devices used by Roldán; however, with the percussive rhythmic pulsation

⁴Erin, "Cuban Elements in the Music of Aurelio de la Vega," 5.

⁵Asche, "Cuban Folklore Traditions," 29.

⁶*Ibid.*, 27.

underlying the structure of Roldán's compositions, the Impressionistic ideal is somewhat lost. The most prevalent aesthetic movement influencing the works of Roldán was that of Primitivism which obviously lent itself well to the creation of a nationalistic Afro-Cuban art music. The primitivistic qualities found within Roldán's works are essentially relayed through rhythmic elements, although melodic, harmonic, and formal structures also play a part.

Roldán stated many times that he was trying to create new forms which had no relation to European traditions. New attempts to move away from "European" forms prompted Roldán to seek new solutions to the problems of how to organize his compositional material; however, the structural principles the composer employs retain a certain affiliation with those of European art music. Cuban music is well known for its sonorous myriad of rhythmic patterns and variations present in its popular genres of both Hispanic and African descent. The contrapuntal fashion in which these rhythmic elements are displayed proved to be significant in the formulation of Roldán's organizational principles. His use of fugal and contrapuntal procedures is similar to the methods of Stravinsky and Bartók in that the manipulative devices of counterpoint are utilized while the tonal implications and harmonic procedures are abandoned. Similar rhythmic procedures and organization had been advocated by Henry Cowell in his seminal work *New Musical Resources*, first written in 1919, and published in 1930.⁷

Roldán composed in a variety of genres, including ballet, orchestral, chamber, and vocal music—most with titles signifying their native heritage and depicting musical idioms distinguished by their Cuban peculiarities.⁸ The evolution of Roldán's compositional career is clearly demonstrated by a comparative examination of his earlier works dating from the early 1920s with those of maturity dating from circa 1930. The following example of Roldán's first published vocal work reveals a more conservative

⁷Ibid., 36.

⁸See Appendix D for List of Roldán's works and dates of composition.

approach to composing in the drawing-room style preferred by the white middle-class in Cuba at that time. Although various examples of Afrocuban rhythms are discernible in the song, the simplicity of formal, melodic, and harmonic procedures presented in a neo-romantic, popular vein reveal the artistic expression of a youthful composer who had not yet reached compositional maturity (see Example 7).

SENSITIVA
Canción

Poeta: G. VILLAESPEA Música: AMADEO ROLDÁN
1922

Moderato

La...ra me con... la...ra me con...
...es... me... la...ra me... la...ra me...
...es... me... la...ra me... la...ra me...

Example 7: *Sensitiva*, by Amadeo Roldán, *canción* (1922)

Roldán's first major work to reveal the new trend of Afrocuban nationalism was the symphonic work *Obertura sobre temas cubanos* (1925). Besides the use of authentic Afrocuban musical instruments, this and other works by Roldán explore the rhythmic character of Afrocuban music. Roldán's most celebrated work, the ballet *La Rebambaramba* (1927-28), based on a story by Alejo Carpentier, relies on numerous folk elements to convey Afrocuban nationalism—Afrocuban mythology, Cuban *contradanzas* of the nineteenth century, and popular *comparsas*. His second ballet, *El Milagro de Anaquille* (1928-29), also based on a story by Carpentier, relies on both *Guajiro* and Afrocuban (*Abakúa* initiation ceremonial music) folk traditions—conveyed in a modal, dissonant style. Within Roldán's six chamber music pieces—*Rítmicas*—written in 1930, one notices a certain refinement of Roldán's harmonic and tone-coloring language. Some pieces within *Rítmicas* are scored for percussion instruments only, suggesting a possible influence on Edgar Varése's *Ionization* written the following year. Roldán commenced work on his setting of Guillén's collection of poetry, *Motivos de Son*, in 1931. This song cycle reveals the composer's skills at creating lyrical melodies accompanied by a highly effective orchestration that effectively rhythmic intricacies associated with Afrocuban dances.

II

Born in 1902 in the provincial town of Camaguey to parents of African and Spanish descent, Guillén had lived through most of the significant moments in Cuba's recent history. It was Guillén's father who introduced Nicolás to writing and under his tutelage, the young Guillén was first exposed to the Spanish classics. His father, a veteran of the Cuban War for Independence, was also an active member of the provincial *Partido Liberal* leadership and was involved in the publication of the newspaper *Las dos repúblicas*—and, later, *La Libertad*. Guillén was permitted to sit in

during discussions of national political issues. Thus, the elder Guillén served as the child's literary and political mentor. The death of Guillén's father in 1917 was followed by a period of financial hardship and career indecisiveness for Guillén. Following one year of studies in law at the University of Havana, he decided to pursue his literary dreams. His first poems appeared in the early 1920's in *Camaguey gráfico*, a local journal of arts and letters, and by 1922 Guillén had managed to complete his first small book of poems, *Cerebro y corazón*.⁹ This collection remained unpublished (until 1965) and was followed by a five-year period of silence during which Guillén mainly wrote articles for newspapers and magazines.

The publication of the *Black Decameron* (1914) by Leo Frobenius had laid the foundation for the cult of the primitive. Focusing on the folklore and culture of the Negro, it took hold of literature and the arts in Europe after the debacle of the First World War.¹⁰ The African and New World Negro, even if not yet accepted as an equal, was admired for the uninhibited genuineness of his art and culture, which then acquired a genuine simplicity. This new interest in Black culture and the aesthetic possibilities it presented came to fruition in Blaise Cendrars' *Black Anthology*, in the short stories and commentaries of Paul Morand, in André Gide's *Travels in the Congo*, in the work of Pablo Picasso and other artists, and although of a slightly later date, in the works of Nicolás Guillén.

The interest in African culture did not reach Spanish America until about 1926 and was limited in its influence to the poets of the Caribbean. Puerto Rican poet Ulise Pales Matos introduced the new subject of *negrismo* in his poem *Danza negra* and the features of Matos' style and content were to characterize Latin-American poetic works before (and for some time after) the appearance of Guillén's work. Representative literary figures of the *negrista* movement in Cuba were José Zacarías Tallet and Ramón

⁹Keith Ellis, *Cuba's Nicolás Guillén: Poetry and Ideology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 53.

¹⁰Ellis, *Cuba's Nicolás Guillén*, 67.

Guirao, who did not differ substantially from Matos in their treatment of the black theme.¹¹ These poets, all of whom were white, regarded the world of the Negro as outside observers who tended to write highly descriptive, over-dramatized poetry. The African "invariably appeared in an atmosphere of violence, heavy sensuality, frenetic dancing and drumming, and voodooesque possession."¹² In the case of the female dancers, the most animal and sensuous aspects of her appearance and movements were emphasized. The following lines from *La Rumba* by Jose Zacarías Tallet, published in 1928, exemplify *Afrocubanista* poetry written in this more superficially descriptive fashion, emphasizing the provocative sensuality of the black Tomasa.

La Rumba

Zumba mama, la rumba y tambo
mabimba, mabomba, bomba y bombo.

The rumba and drum are buzzing, mama
mabimba, mabomba, bomba y bombo.

La negra Tomasa con lascivo gesto
hurta la cadera, alza la cabeza,
y en alto los brazos, enlaza las manos,
en ellas reposa la ebónica nuca
y procaz ofrece sus senos rotundos
que oscilando de diestra a siniestra
encandilan a Chepe Cachón.

Tomasa the black with lascivious gesture
withdraws the hip, raises her head,
and with arms raised, folds her hands,
in them she rests her ebony nape
and boldly offers her rotund breasts
that oscillate from right to left
and dazzle Chepe Cachon.¹³

The year 1929 marks the emergence in Cuba of Guillén as a notable intellectual and accomplished poet of African descent. In this same year, Guillén published a racially and socially important essay titled "El camino en Harlem." This essay is a critique of racial structures in Cuba and signals Guillén's intention to link his poetry and prose to his race and ancestral roots. Nearly all his poems from that time through 1961 show his engagement with color and culture. Guillén's contribution to the Caribbean literary canon can be measured by several factors, including his sociopolitical activities,

¹¹Nicolás Guillén, *Man-making Words: Selected poems of Nicolás Guillén*, translated, annotated, with an Introduction by Robert Márquez and David Arthur McMurray (Havana: Editorial de Arte y Literatura, 1973), xi.

¹²Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness*, 199.

¹³Ibid., 236. Reproduced from *Orbita de la poesía afrocubana 1928-1937*, edited by Ramon Guirao (Havana: Ucar García y Cía., 1938).

his prolific journalism, his boldly expressed views on cultural matters, his early interest in black nationalism, and his composition of original verse. Guillén, in fact, did not represent a distinctive voice in Cuban letters until 1930, when his *Motivos de Son* were published in a local magazine. Here was a collection of eight short poems that unmistakably parted company with the Spanish literary canon in their context, form, and thematics. The use of the *son*, the recourse to African-based folkloric elements, and the rediscovery in Cuba of the black as legitimate subject of literature were the hallmarks of Guillén's new poetry. This poetry marked the first successful development in Cuba of a vital and original aesthetic based upon the black and African elements on Caribbean soil.

The eight poetic monologues within the *Motivos* cycle for the first time allowed the Negro to speak for himself and from his own perspective. In the prologue to the book, Guillén made it clear that unlike those who came before him, he intended to "incorporate into Cuban literature—not simply as a musical motif but rather as an element of true poetry—what might be called the poem-*son*.... My *sones* can be put to music, but that does not mean they were written precisely for that purpose, but rather with the aim of presenting, in what is perhaps the most appropriate form, representative scenes created with two brush strokes... ordinary people just as they move around us. Just as they speak, just as they think."¹⁴ Although influenced somewhat by Matos's version of *negrista* poetry, the decisive catalyst that prompted the creation of *Motivos* was Guillén's meeting with Langston Hughes in 1930.¹⁵ Guillén, being of African ancestry, disapproved of the recent phenomenon of exotic and erotic depictions of the black that were being represented within the white poetic circles of Latin America. Hence, his

¹⁴Ian Smart, *Nicolás Guillén: Popular Poet of the Caribbean* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990), 40.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 33.

In the years immediately prior to Guillén's own artistic recognition, white Cubans were influenced by Pales Matos and had gone into an incredible state of creativity, producing exotic, erotic verses in which the black female persona of generously proportioned hips and *nalgas* (buttocks) literally held sway, exuding earthy, sultry sensuality. The Afro-Cuban poetic orb (*Anthology of Afro-Cuban poetry* by Ramón Guirao of 1939) best conserves the flavor of this poetry, whose chief exponents were Alejo Carpentier, José Tallet, Emilio Ballagas, and, Guirao himself.

encounter with Hughes, the mulatto who declared himself the black man's poet, was the inspiration Guillén needed in order to construct an artistic advance. However, Guillén's first published book of poems—*Motivos de Son*—was not entirely unrelated to the work of his predecessors in the *negrista* movement. This collection focuses on the sensual and frivolous features of the Black world, and though he faithfully transmitted the nuances and subtleties of popular Black speech, he highlights the entertaining characteristics of its dialect. At the same time, the book contains an implicit, compassionate, critique of life in Havana's Black slums—a social dimension almost entirely lacking in the earlier *negrista* poetry.

The *son* is a dance song and therefore implies that the melodic content would seem indispensable; however, Alejo Carpentier argued that melody is not as important as the other two basic components, voice and rhythm. Poetry (as distinct from music) in the Western tradition is an expression employing these two basic components; hence, even within the narrowest Western definition, the *son* is close to poetic expression.¹⁶ Principles of African artistic expression rely heavily on rhythmic, and this diversity is contrasted by a rhythmic unity that is implied by various repetitive figures that resound throughout the artistic medium presented. This regularity in irregularity, unity in diversity, or variety is one of the most vital characteristics of African rhythm and hence its Afro-Cuban counterpart. Guillén manages to incorporate these qualities into his poetry through the novel literary form of the *son*-poem.

The obvious synthesis of the white Spanish thesis and the black African antithesis within Cuban cultural history had existed for some time on the island by the 1920s. However, no one before Guillén had advanced such a bold affirmation of black working-class street culture. Among the few Negroes who had managed in the nineteenth century to achieve some standing in the Cuban literary field—Juan Francisco Manzano

¹⁶Ibid., 40.

and Gabriel de la Concepción Valdés, for example—the tendency was to essentially bleach out any strains of a darker sensibility. In the twentieth century, Guillén's projection against the backdrop of an essentially white literary description of the significance of the African and its crucial impact on Cuban culture enhances the significance of Guillén's *Motivos de Son* and his works in general.

III

The Son

The undeniable acculturation of Hispanic and African ethnicities and their artistic expression within Cuba found its outlet in the *son* genre which relied heavily on both black and white musical elements. In the most general sense, the *son* is a type of dance song developed by Africans in Cuba. Originally a rural folk genre, the new *son* of the 1920s significantly altered musical thought in Cuba as Afrocuban nationalism found in the genre a symbol of nationalist pride.¹⁷ Derived from a quasi-country or *campesino* music, the *son* acquired the Spanish language and sonority of the plucked string in addition to a simplistic use of European functional harmony. African musical qualities of the *son* were found in the strong syncopated polyrhythmic accompaniment and in the make-up of the ensemble featuring bongos, *maracas*, *güiro*, and *clave*. *Son* instrumentation demonstrated a high degree of cultural fusion, with Hispanic contributions, such as the string instruments performing alongside those of Afrocuban origin.¹⁸ Originally, the *botija* and the *marímbula* provided the harmony in the bass range, the *maracas* and the *clave* marked a regular rhythm, and the song itself consisted of each stanza followed by a refrain. The early *sones* consisted of a single section made by repeating a short harmonic

¹⁷ Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness*, 98.

The *Septeto Habanero*, for instance, one of the earliest commercially successful groups, formed in 1918. By the mid-1920s the *Habanero* had received national popularity as a result of recording contracts with the Victor Talking Machine Company. The group's first 78 recordings were made in 1920 in New York City at which time they also performed live in clubs for North American audiences. The *Septeto Nacional* made recordings for the Columbia label beginning in 1926. The band also accompanied exhibition rumba dancers, touring in Spain and playing at the 1933 Chicago World's Fair.

¹⁸ Argeliers León, *Del Canto y el Tiempo* (Havana: Editorial de Art y Literatura, 1984):

and rhythmic cycle. This cycle supported different events, such as improvised texts or statements of a refrain, or *estribillo*, sung by a chorus. Gradually it gained two parts derived from the Afrocuban *rumba*: a strophic section followed by a short repeated refrain called *estribillo* or *montuno*.¹⁹ The sectional form has come to be known as *son montuno* (see Example 8).

ROSA QUE LINDA ERES
SON

Juan Francisco Méndez

Allegro moderato

— 182 —

Example 8: *Son-Montuno - Rosa ;Qué Linda Eres!* by Juan Méndez

¹⁹ *Montuno* is also the term used for the short-cycle melodic/rhythmic vamp usually played by the tres or piano. More specific to the instrument is the term *guajeo*, associated with string instruments and will, therefore, be used to indicate this vamp as used in *Motivos*.

One of the most characteristic features by which the *son* is recognized is the presence of a percussive nuance found in African artistic expression. Within this expression one notices a certain transcendental quality, ascertained by unity within diversity. Although an overall tempo is given to the *son*, each percussive element enjoys autonomy through specific functions assigned to it. The urbanized *son* genre relied on the *botijuela*, *diente de arado*, or *marimbula* to provide the basic beat and harmonic foundation for the other instruments, whether the *tres* performed the *montuno* in an improvisatory manner. The *clave* and *cencerro* retained a consistent ostinato pattern throughout, underlying the more liberal projections of the *bongo* and *timbal*. The elements of this rhythm section were employed in strict conformity with their individual registers and possibilities, allowing the players to give free rein to their creative instincts as long as the singing was at all times sustained by the apparati of the rhythm section.

No one agrees on the exact origins of the *son*; however, until recently scholars have attributed the genre's birth to the late sixteenth century singer Teodora Ginés, from Santiago de Cuba. Two late 19th-century transcriptions of what was apparently Ginés' *son* exist, one of which was reprinted in Carpentier's *History of Cuban Music*.²⁰ Questions have been raised as to the validity of both the transcriptions and the historical association with Teodora Ginés. The outcome of research by Cuban musicologist Alberto Muguercia provides valuable insight into the legitimacy of various historical facts put forth by earlier writers on Cuban music. Muguercia's research examined various Cuban historical publications from the previous century that provided the impetus for the legend concerning the first *son* written in Cuba—*La Canción de Ma Teodora*, discovering that sound empirical data was lacking in the persistent myth of Cuba's first *son*.²¹

²⁰Erin, "The Cuban *Son* as Form, Genre, and Symbol," 190.

²¹Vernon Boggs, "Cuba's Persistent Myth: 'El Son de la Ma Teodora' and its Origins," *Latin Beat Magazine*, April, 1993.

One such publication discussing the various activities that were occurring in Havana around 1598 was the "The Chronicle of Hernando de la Parra" which mentioned the names of four musicians who were contracted to play at various performances in the city. Muguercia tells us that this information about Havana's musicians was repeated in various published works throughout the 19th century until it became a fact. A book published in the 20th century by Sr. Manuel Pérez Beato disputed the authenticity of this "chronicle" as

Although particular legends pertaining to Teodora have been refuted and the question remains as to the validity of her *son*, historians agree that residents in rural Orient, on the outskirts of cities such as Baracoa, Guantánamo and Santiago, were among the first to perform precommercial *son*.

Early twentieth-century Havana witnessed various types of musical activity, the two most common being the sanctioned musical practices of the white middle class and the clandestine sphere of African-influenced traditions performed in the home. A synthesis was formed by Afrocuban choral groups named *coros de clave* and *guaguanco* which offered a third alternative representing an important precursor to and stylistic influence on early *son* bands in Havana. These Afrocuban choral groups were formed in the western part of the island as imitations of the choral societies established in Havana by the *sociedades españolas*. *Coros de clave* were comprised primarily of male and female vocalists who chose Europe as their source for artistic guidance. Pieces performed by these groups consisted of two- or three- part songs in 6/8 time built on simple European harmonies, accompanied by instrumentalists playing the viola, guitar, *clave*, and occasionally the *botija*, harp or other instruments. The lyrical form of the text was most commonly constructed of ten-line decima poetry common to Hispanic verse; however, formal elements implied a definite influence of African call-and-response structure.²² *Coros de guaguanco*, by contrast, seem to have been slightly more African-influenced. The instrumentation of these groups often included the drums and other percussion

his research revealed that none of the municipal or parish writings from that period mentioned the names of these musicians. Muguercia's examination takes this research one step further and discovers that firstly, the municipality of Havana could hardly afford to pay these musicians—if indeed they ever existed—the price that the chronicle asserts was paid to them in the 16th century: "It is necessary to outbid others for their pay, in addition to this being exorbitant, bring them on horseback, give them a ration of wine and provide each one of them, and also their relative, in addition to what they eat and drink in the fulfillment of their duties, a plate of whatever is put on the table, which they take home...". Given that during the 16th and 17th centuries many residents of Havana were obliged to suffer long periods of hunger, it seems unlikely that these four musicians were experiencing a feast while the other residents were facing near famine. In addition, Muguercia discovers that the instruments that the musicians were said to have played were not incorporated or invented until a later date than was stated by the original author.

²²Manuel, *Nationalizing Blackness*, 91-92.

By 1902 there were fifty or sixty *coros de clave* in black working-class *barrios*, and at least two groups in Havana were comprised entirely of white members who publicly denied any African influence in the music they performed.

instruments associated with traditional *rumba*, yet were also known to include European instruments. Songs of the *coros de guaguanco* tended to be in 2/4 time and were popularized in the early twentieth century, somewhat later than those of *clave* groups. Patterned after the *coros de clave* were the large choral groups *coros de son* which first appeared in the second decade of the century.²³

Several other opportunities for performance by black *soneros* were available in the early twentieth century; however, at times the events and venues offered to them were associated with an authoritative disregard for the *negra* population. Organizers of such events hired small bands of black musicians to play at dances and parties. Throughout Cuba, groups of this sort were playing for private parties for some of the richest white families on the island. This proved to be a significant contributor to the *son auge*, as wealthy white politicians and business leaders began to contract *conjuntos de son* to play in exclusive parties in private residences. These events, called "*encerronas*" (lock-ins), flourished from 1914-20, and continued to the late 1950s. The tradition was to invite a few select guests, and then lock everyone into a rented house or other private location to celebrate for several days at a time. Exorbitant amounts of money would be spent on food, alcohol, prostitutes, and dance bands.²⁴ Recognized as an overtly sexual dance, the *son* attracted Cuba's élite, as it did the prostitutes who taught them how to dance. Daring to organize an *encerrona* party with *son* musicians was an indication of one's political authority, suggesting that the host was especially powerful and had the right to engage in any sort of activity without facing prosecution.²⁵

Similar dance bands were also hired to play in the *academias de baile* that once existed in Havana. *Academias* were essentially locations where young men could come to

²³Manuel, *Nationalizing Blackness*, 91-92.

²⁴Gerardo Machado and officials of the Zayas administration (1920-24), among the most corrupt in Cuban history, were well known for holding such *encerronas* and engaging in various libertine diversions.

²⁵Another musical activity was involvement in *son* publication and recording. As early as 1915, Sindo Garay had a piece registered as a "*son*" but it was not until the 1920s that the *son* became popular throughout Cuba. This popularity was perhaps stimulated by the increasing availability of record players, cheaper records, and the initiation of regular Cuban radio broadcasting in 1922.

dance. It has been speculated that these schools originated in the late nineteenth century and that in many respects they resembled the *casas de cuna* or houses of ill-repute. Whereas *casas de cuna* had traditionally been small halls managed by mulatto prostitutes or madams, *academias de baile* tended to be owned and managed by white male entrepreneurs. In addition to featuring a small orchestra or *conjunto* frequently comprised of Afrocuban performers, the establishments employed a number of female employees as instructors. In practice, *academias de baile* functioned as centers of prostitution, as almost all of the instructors, given adequate compensation, were willing to offer other services to clients. Women selected for work in such establishments were white or mulatto; black women were not hired.

Music provided by *academia* orchestras at the turn of the century consisted of *danzones*, waltzes, and two-steps; by the mid-1920s the *son* had become the genre of preference. *Academias* have been considered crucial to the early dissemination of *sones* outside the Afrocuban community as virtually all of the well-known *conjuntos* first established their reputations in such locations. Although the white elite evidently enjoyed dancing to the *son* and listening to the exciting rhythms of the blacks, public acceptance of the genre as integral to Cuban culture was slow in coming. Miguel Matamoros recalls playing in Havana in 1924 with the *Trío Oriental* singing only one *son* as in his words, "...you couldn't play *son* in Havana yet".²⁶ The same year, Alejandro García Caturla published a *danzón* called *Mi mamá no quiere que yo baile el son*, (My mother doesn't want me dancing to the *son*) indicating perhaps the similar censure jazz suffered in the early 1920s in white middle-class circles.

The cross-fertilization of various genres had occurred since the early days of colonization; however, it was only in the Afrocuban period that—as a result of research and systematic study—distinguishing elements of each individual genre became

²⁶Erin, "The Cuban *Son* as Form, Genre, and Symbol," 186.

apparent and, hence, more notable when located in other genres. The *son* has permeated and revitalized, at different times, the most varied styles of Cuban music. In turn, other genres have similarly enhanced the *son*. The African genre which was to exert such a crucial influence upon the *son* was the *rumba guaguanco*. Until around 1910, the *son* was thought to be the eastern counterpart to the *rumba* types that formed the basis of secular music among urban blacks in Havana.²⁷ The traditional *rumba*, which was flourishing among Cuban blacks by the late 19th century, was a secular music and dance genre featuring vocals accompanied by percussion. From time to time, laws had been passed prohibiting the use of real drums in the accompaniment of any genre because of the colonists' fears of slave insurrections. The colonists believed that drumming attracted crowds and incited rebellion; therefore, enslaved Africans substituted boxes to satisfy their need to make music and dance and in order to communicate. Succeeding generations of Afrocubans retained the use of boxes or *cajones* as additions to real drums, but also as substitutes for the sounds of spoons, pans, and the surfaces of doors used as instruments long ago.

In Leonardo Acosta's article, "The Rumba, Guaguanco, and Tío Tom" (1967), Acosta provides an adequate definition of the *rumba*,

It is the mulatto sonorous daughter of the Spanish and the negro. In it one finds diverse elements derived from Congo, Carabali, or Lucumi (Yoruba) sources. Textually it follows the Spanish language and meters. It is largely urban, and can be considered a song, a dance, or a general ambiance.²⁸

Essentially, this definition could also be assigned to the *son*. Acosta felt that definitions of the *son* proposed by earlier musicologists were unsatisfactory by their excessive stress on the Spanish elements. He supports this assertion by emphasizing the relation between

²⁷Peter Manuel, "The Anticipated Bass," *Latin American Music Review* Vol. 6/2 (1985), 252.

²⁸Leonardo Acosta, "The Rumba, Guaguanco, and Tío Tom" in *Essays on Cuban Music* edited by Peter Manuel (Lanham: University Press of America, 1991): 53.

the *son* and *rumba*, the latter of which definitely did not convey musical elements of the Hispanic population.²⁹

Cuban *rumberos* have reversed one of the main characteristics of many African drumming styles. Often in African musics—especially Afro-Cuban religious music—segmented rhythmic parts in lower registers carry the melodic or vocal interest. In *rumba*, concentration and musical or rhythmic interest shifts to the upper registers. This same concept is found in the *son* where the *bongo* presents the improvisatory dialogue. This is a characteristic of European musical interpretation and points to the syncretic nature of creole art forms. The song style of *rumba* is a combination of improvisation and fixed antiphonal response between a soloist and a chorus as in the case of the *montuno* section of the *son*. The lead singer begins the *diana*, or introductory song phrase incorporating melodic fragments of syllables, often called the *lalaleo*, which is passionately or playfully sung. It establishes the key of the song and the basis for the two-and three-part harmony that follows.

The verse of *rumba* songs is called a *décima* or *estrofa*, but has little relationship to the classic *décima* form. The singer comments on life, love, politics, the current ambiance, and brotherhood. When the *rumba* breaks loose (*rumba rompe*), the singer is joined by other singers who repeat the refrain (*estribillo*), most often in intervals of a third or three-part harmony, sometimes with no other musical accompaniment. The lead singer continues to improvise verses while the chorus answers with a repeated refrain in a responsorial style. The closing of *rumba* comes when the lead singer signals the chorus for the last singing of the refrain and the drummers perform a standardized rhythmic ending or coda-like break.³⁰

²⁹Ibid., 57.

³⁰Yvonne Daniel, *Rumba: Dance and Social Change in Contemporary Cuba* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), 85.

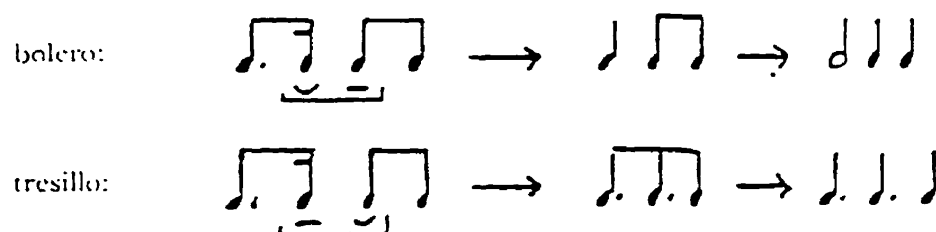
The *son* acquires many of the *rumba*'s compositional principles. Structurally, the *son* tends to be in duple meter, is based on simple European-derived harmonic patterns, and alternates between verse and chorus sections. Short instrumental segments performed on the *tres* or trumpet are also frequently included between strophic repetitions. The final section of most *son* compositions, called the *estribillo* or *montuno*, is performed at a faster tempo and involves relatively rapid alterations between the chorus and an improvising vocal or instrumental soloist. Phrases in this section are generally referred to as *inspiraciones*. The cyclical, antiphonal, and highly improvisatory nature of the *estribillo* bears a striking similarity to the formal organization of the *rumba* and other traditional West-African music; initial strophic sections, by contrast, more closely resemble Iberian music. *Son* lyrics are most often in Spanish, although some African terminology can be found as well. Lyrical references, which often include sexual innuendo, may refer to current social themes and political issues, or invoke regional nationalism.

Distinctive rhythmic elements have often been recognized as the most definitive characteristic of Afro-Cuban music and indeed the rhythmic aspect must be considered. Generally speaking, two meters predominate in popular Cuban music: 6/8 appeared shortly before 1800 in the *punto*, in creole music, and in what used to be called *el zapateo*; 2/4 predominated after 1800 and was almost always syncopated.³¹ Later in the nineteenth century, syncopation became more complex, nationalism influenced Cuban music, and forms distinct from the music of Spain evolved. Among the most distinctive rhythmic characteristics of the *son* genre are its prominent *clave* pattern, a tendency for the guitar and *bongo* to emphasize the fourth beat of the measure more strongly than the first, and a unique bass rhythm, emphasizing the "and-of-2" and "4".³² This in itself was a natural development of tendencies inherent in the rhythms of the *rumba guaguanco* and

³¹See Appendix A.

³²Manuel, "The Anticipated Bass," 253.

the Europeanized *habanera* and *danzón*. Peter Manuel offers an informative survey of the development of this rhythmic device in his article "The Anticipated Bass." The following synopsis conveys the essential rhythmic points asserted by the author of the article. Depending on how one views the importance of the sixteenth note in the *contradanza* rhythmic motive, stressed or unstressed, two different dance rhythms emerged—the *bolero* and *tresillo*. If the sixteenth-eighth note pair would assume a trochaic meter, the eighth note would become dispensable and the resultant rhythm becomes a 3 + 3 + 2 construction revealing a syncopation commonly associated with African-derived rhythms. This syncopated rhythmic pattern is referred to as the Cuban *tresillo*. As an individual rhythm and as an essential part of the *clave* rhythm, it has become the primary identifying factor of Cuban music (see Example 9).



Example 9: Development of the *Tresillo* Rhythmic Pattern as discussed by Manuel

Chapter Three

Stylistic Features and Formal Structures of *Motivos de Son*: An Analytical Discussion

I

General Musical and Literary Considerations:

Roldán's musical setting of Guillén's *Motivos de Son* is scored for soprano with a small orchestra that includes clarinets, trumpet, string quartet, and Afrocuban percussion instruments. Consistent with its title, the work employs many of the characteristic features of the *son*, features that are nevertheless employed in a stylized manner. These features include a fundamental simplicity in musical structure that is, however, marked by a considerable surface complexity, specifically in matters of rhythm. Together with these rhythmic elements—the clearest manifestation of Afrocuban popular music—there is an overlay of free dissonance in the harmony that imbues the music with a distinctive feeling of "modernity."

The songs that comprise the cycle are, in the broadest sense, characterized by angular, dramatic treatment of individual melodic lines, arch forms, distinctive rhythmic cells, and an intense preoccupation with instrumental color. Both musically and poetically, Afrocuban rhythms are contained within a structure that is based on a responsorial approach exemplifying various Africanisms found in the *son* genre. A variety of rhythmic and melodic ostinatos are heard over a steady rhythmic bass provided by the percussion group of bongo, *güiro*, *clave*, *cencerro*, and *maracas*. Against the background of this regularity, there is a free motivic manipulation that imparts an improvisational quality associated with Afrocuban music. In emulating the sonorous milieu of the percussion consort and in keeping with more avant-garde harmonic principles, Roldán used compositional devices such as sharp dissonance, secundal,

quartal and quintal harmonies which nevertheless retain the simple tonal/modal progressions of the *son*. That Roldán was well-aware of the significance of various rhythmic features associated with the African is apparent in his use of polyrhythms, metric modulations,¹ and rhythmic counterpoint. Other compositional devices, such as pentatonic and heptatonic scales, and strongly accented tone-clusters in the lower tessitura emulate characteristic attributes of the *son*. It is important to note here that commercial *son* recordings from the 1920s reveal these same general characteristics, including a strikingly similar level of surface harmonic dissonance. In the case of popular *sones* composed for dance halls and other festivities, however, the dissonant edge is more subdued. Roldán humorously plays on these subtleties of harmony and texture and brings them to the fore in his setting of *Motivos*.

Roldán closely follows the characteristic format of the *son* in numerous ways. First, he uses the traditional *son*'s two-part format: an opening section (*largo* or *son*) containing the stanzas of the poetry, followed by a faster *estribillo* or *montuno* section. Second, Roldán's *son* features exchanges between a solo part and an implied choral section in the typical Afrocuban call-and-response form. Third, Roldán employs the *son clave* rhythmic cell associated with the genre. Together with these elements, several of the songs demonstrate a certain affiliation with European art song tradition. Issues pertaining to the *son* form subtly blended with binary and ternary form, will be discussed in the forthcoming examination of the structural aspects of the song.

Roldán's predilection for continual meter changes prevents the bar-line (and the *clave*'s two-measure ostinato pattern) from becoming overly regular. This flexible metric approach lends itself well to the nostalgic evocation of African and Afrocuban drum consorts, the individual lines of which rarely conform to the controlled regulation of

¹Lezcano, "Afro-Cuban Rhythmic and Metric Elements," 9. This differs from the technique of the same name commonly used to refer to tempo modulations in the music of Elliot Carter. Afrocuban metric modulation occurs when a subsidiary accent becomes the principal accent within a new foreground metrical pattern.

time characteristic of the Western concept of the bar-line. The anticipated bass pattern and corresponding *montuno* or *guajeo* vamp—characteristic traits of the *son* genre—are treated in *Motivos* in a modernist fashion.

The *son* genre represents the epitome of syncretism between African and Spanish artistic expression. The afore-mentioned musical characteristics of the *son* may therefore be derived from either African or Hispanic descent. Due to the long history of acculturation, it is often difficult to untangle the supposedly distinctive musical features of the individual ethnicities. The distinct categorization of African rhythm and Spanish melody is deceptive in some respects since it overlooks the many similarities which have existed between the two "distinct" traditions since before colonial times in Cuba. Roldán's setting of Guillén's poetry illustrates the correlation between the compositional tendencies of each tradition, but it also retains many specific features associated with either the black or white cultures within Cuba. For instance, several of the Afro-Cuban musical elements that Roldán incorporates into the setting of the *Motivos* cycle are commonly associated with the chants of *Santería*. This is exemplified in an essentially independent vocal line that is colored but not necessarily supported by its orchestral accompaniment. Furthermore, the expressive tension of the vocal line is achieved through rhythmically flexible phrases which generally move, rising and falling, around a fundamental sound axis, acquiring an improvisatory quality that is characteristic of the *Santería* hymns.

Roldán incorporates traditional Afro-Cuban percussion instruments into the basic texture of a European chamber ensemble. However, instead of being merged into a generalized quasi-orchestral blend, the individual percussion parts retain their self-identity and are presented contrapuntally in the Afro-Cuban manner of the *son*. Although the characteristic Cuban *tres* is not actually present in Roldán's orchestration, its primary role in the *son* is taken over by the violin and viola. Along with the voice, trumpet and

clarinets assume the leading melodic roles; however, they also display the typical rolled chords and chordal figurations such as the *guajeo* or *montuno* pattern intended to evoke the *tres*.²

It is noteworthy that wind instruments included within the orchestral medium are treated in a manner curiously similar to Stravinsky's *L'Histoire du Soldat*. Thus, while the ensemble evokes the typical instrumentation of the son, it also shows Roldán's preoccupation with international artistic trends. The style of instrumentation is not the only correlative found between Roldán's cycle and Stravinsky's narrative composition. There is also a similar use of folk-flavored melodies, the varied repetition of melodic fragments, the prominence of ostinato figures, a structural cohesiveness offered through stratification, and metrical oddities—all elements characteristic of Stravinsky's neo-classic works from this period. In addition, there is a sense of lightness and humor suggestive of street entertainment and the adaptation of popular musical genres. Finally, the harmonic palates of the two composers are similar in their blend of tonal elements spiced with sharp dissonances.

The following measures of the "Soldier's March" from Stravinsky's *L'Histoire du Soldat* illustrate several compositional procedures similar to those used by Roldán (see Example 10). For instance, the ostinato figures found in the double bass, violin, and percussion parts provide an underlying foundation of regularity similar to Roldán's rhythmic ostinatos, elements that are subjected to rhythmic manipulation akin to the African concept of metric modulation.

²The terms *montuno* and *guajeo* are interchangeable, as are the terms *montuno* and *estribillo*; therefore, as a means of making the text more comprehensible, the term *montuno* will not be used for the remaining discussion.



Example 10: Stravinsky's *L'Histoire du Soldat* - "The Soldier's March," mm. 66-73

The rhythmic structure of Cuban melodies are constructed on a two-measure rhythmic pattern that is treated as a single unit. The first is the antecedent element and is strong, the second forms a consequent phrase and is weak. This is characteristic of both instrumental and vocal music. Felipe Pedrell writes in his *Cancionero Musical Español*: "The persistence of musical Orientalism in various Spanish popular songs is the deep-rooted result of the influence exerted by the most ancient Byzantine civilization..."³ Pedrell described elements of Byzantine chant to be the tonal modes of the primitive systems; the use of enharmonic intervals typical of primitive modes, and, finally, the absence of a metrical rhythm in the melodic line that encompasses a wealth of modulating inflexions. These characteristics are likewise present in Moorish

³Manuel de Falla, *On Music and Musicians* (London: Marion Boyars, 1979), 107.

Andalusian song. One is reminded of the haunting *cante jondo* from Andalusia which demonstrates clear musical affinities to African folk music. This may be demonstrated in a melodic field that seldom surpasses the limits of a sixth and the repeated use of one note, frequently accompanied by an upper or by a lower appoggiatura which permits the destruction of every feeling of metrical rhythm. Hence, the illusory rhythmic flow of the *cante jondo* creates the same effect as that of African expression. This quality pervades the *sones of Motivos* as is evident by the metrically flexible lyrical arches displayed by the voice. These lines effectively recreate the images referred to in Guillén's poetry.

The protagonist in Guillén's poems is the black inhabitant of Havana's slums who, within the eight "son-poems," offers an inside picture of the *negra's* understanding of current racial affairs. Although these prejudices appear to be cast in a more humorous, happy-go-lucky view of ghetto life, Guillén affirms the severity of this appalling state of affairs. The people of *Motivos de Son* (1) do not have enough to eat, (2) are often ashamed of identifiably Negroid features or coloring, and (3) commonly live in exploitative sexual promiscuity. While it was necessary for the larger society to rely on the distribution of political power, wealth, and education to establish its hierarchy of prestige, the characters within Guillén's poems have little evident means of marking social differences among themselves. Since they are inserted in a social order where the evidence of differential status is masked by a more obvious polarization along the axis of race, the human body easily becomes a primary indicator of social rank. A greater or lesser degree of blackness therefore comes to have more than personal significance.

In his desire to be the poet of the black people, to "*hablar en negro de verdad*" (to speak in real black), Guillén tried to depict as realistically as possible in *Motivos* the actual speech of the black Cuban population. In literary composition, the simplistic speech peculiar to the milieu of black street culture known as *bozal* is defined by consonant groups that are simplified through the process of assimilation. This is

exemplified in such words as "*poqque*" which takes the place of *porque*. The loss of final consonants is also a method of imitating *bozal* speech ("*pode*" for *poder*), as is the loss of the final *s* on various words. Other examples of *bozal* speech may be found in syllabic extractions from certain vocabulary such as "*pa*" for *para*.⁴

⁴Josaphat Kubayanda, *The Poet's Africa: Africanness in the Poetry of Nicolás Guillén and Aimé Césaire* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 12.

It is important here to refer to the long and distinguished tradition of *negrismo*, the use of a literary black Spanish, which goes back to the Golden-Age theater of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. With two ethnicities that have shared such a wealth of cultural exchange throughout history it should not be surprising that a merging of Afro-Hispanic elements was to finally take place.

II

1. "Negro bembón"

The title and more specifically the text of this first song within the *Motivos* collection sets the stage for the upcoming presentation of musical interpretations of the cultural prejudices apparent on the island at this time. The poem *Negro bembón* begins with a declamatory verse that corresponds to the introductory *largo* of the *son* structure. Guillén emphatically presents the physical problem of the lower-class black street culture in early twentieth-century Cuba:

"Negro bembón"

Po qué te pone tan brabo,
cuando te disen negro bembón,
si tiene la boca santa,
negro bembón?

Bembón, así como ere
tiene de tó;
Carida te mantiene,
te lo da tó.

Te queja todavía,
negro bembón;
sin pega y con harina,
negro bembón;
majagua de dri blanco,
negro bembón;
sapato de do tono
negro bembón...

Why do you get so mad
when they call you thick-lipped black man
if your mouth is beautiful, black man
thick-lipped black man?

Thick-lipped just as you are,
you got everything;
Caridad keep you,
she give you everything.

Still you complain,
thick-lipped black man;
no gig and with bread,
thick-lipped black man;
white drill suit,
thick-lipped black man;
two-tone shoes,
thick-lipped black man...⁵

The term "*bembón*" (thick-lipped), classifies the person of African descent as a foreign presence in Cuba. The poetic structure reveals the hopelessness felt by the character whose racial identification, clearly marked by physical attributes, prevents any chance at social or economic mobility. The position of the heavily-accented phrase, "*negro*

⁵Translations of texts for "Si tú supiera..." and "Búcate plata," are taken from *Cuba's Nicolás Guillén* by Keith Ellis; "Mi chiquita," is translated by Robert Marquez and is taken from Guillén, *Man-making Words*; "Negro bembón" and "Mulata" are taken from Lorna Williams' *Self and Society in the Poetry of Nicolás Guillén*; "Sigue" is translated by Bryon Asche in his dissertation, "Cuban Folklore Traditions and Twentieth-Century Idioms in the Piano Music of Amadeo Roldán and Alejandro García Caturla;" "Tu no sabe inglés" is located in Kubayanda's *The Poet's Africa*; and "Ayé me dijeron negro" was translated by the author.

bembón" within the first poem calls attention to the very quality that the character wishes to deny. Both in the first stanza of the poem and in the call-and-response structure of the third verse, where it functions as a refrain, the prominent placement of the phrase "*negro bembón*" emphasizes the futility of this racial situation. The significance of this particular motive will be referred to throughout the following analytical discussion as the motive is found or implied within each of the songs of the cycle. Through motivic manipulation and the placement of this motive in structurally important sections of the work, Roldán finds a means of musically unifying the cycle. Further, the social implications conveyed by Guillén's poetic texts are metaphorically revealed by the *negro bembón* motive. As the unit's underlying text often refers to the black physical syndrome, the motive acquires an associative function similar to that of a Wagnerian *leitmotif*.

In Roldán's musical setting, the unvaried melodic repetition of the *negro bembón* motive in the refrain functions as an ostinato that serves as a persistent reminder of the persons' unalterable physical condition. Alternating poetic statements concerning the psychological and material condition of the protagonist vary in melodic content, but are consistent rhythmically. This in itself is significant in that melody in general—considered by the Cuban bourgeoisie to be of Hispanic descent—in its altered states effectively relays the differences marked by the white population, whereas the unaltered rhythmic propulsion of the work represents the unchangeable economic and social condition of the black.

Essentially all the afore-mentioned musical characteristics of the *son* genre may be exemplified in "Negro bembón". Roldán's setting of the poem assumes the structural principles of the *son*; however, his application of these formal devices are cast in the guise of European art song.

Table 1: Formal Precis of "Negro bembón"

<u>Measures 1 - 25: Introduction and Stanza 1</u>	<u>Harmonic Implications</u>
1-5: Introduction (Quarter Note = 88)	Background key: A
6-12: Antecedent phrase (Quarter note = 72)	A
12-17: Consequent phrase	A - E
17-25: Interlude	E - E: V of A = I of E
	E/B
<u>Measures 25 - 36: Stanza 2</u>	
25-29: Antecedent	D
30-34: Consequent	G
34-36: Interlude	
<u>Measures 37 - 62: Estribillo (Quarter note = 88)</u>	
37-62: Call-and-response structure	A - E
<u>Measures 62 - 72: Return functions as Coda-Material from Verse 2 (Quarter note = 72)</u>	Presented a Whole-tone Higher
62-66: Antecedent	E
67-72: Consequent	A

Roldán begins the work with the introductory *diana* associated with the *rumba*. This initial prelude of "Negro bembón" is significant in that it immediately introduces to the listener numerous compositional procedures that add to the eclectic nature of Afro-Cuban song. Harmonically, the opening measures of "Negro bembón" offer the familiarity of the Phrygian descent ending with the traditional cadence on the dominant. This cadential scheme is a descendent of Spanish folk music traditions adopted by Cubans in the *guajira* folk tradition, the evocation of which is enhanced by the strings plucking in a *tres*-like fashion before announcing the entrance of the actual melody. Evidence of modern harmonic principles are simultaneously displayed in the descending chromatic octaves of the pitch gamut presented in the *diana*. It is interesting to note how Roldán so quickly achieves a tonal complexity within what appears to be an essentially straight-forward scoring (see Example 11).⁶

⁶All measure numbers within the scores of Roldán are placed at the end of the measure.

I Negro Bombón

AMADEO ROLDÁN

Example 11: "Negro bombón," Introduction, mm. 1-5

Polyrhythmic tendencies typically found within primitivistic African song are also apparent in the opening measures. Unlike polyrhythms found in European music, in which each individual line is subject to a single controlling meter, Roldán's adaptation of "Negro bombón" reflects African rhythmic devices whereby each line has its own meter and accentual patterns. This fluidity, though subjected to more of a visual representation of measured time, is apparent in Roldán's incessant meter changes that are supported by the underlying rhythmic pulse of the *clave*. Each percussion instrument is assigned a specific rhythmic figure which forms the rhythmic matrix associated with the *son* genre. For example, different two-bar motives are presented simultaneously by the string *guajeo*, the various percussion parts, and by the anticipated bass. This is found in the staggered down-beats presented by the viola and cello parts in measures 5-15 where syncopations and agogically-accented tied sixteenth-notes anticipate the main beat (see Example 12).

The image shows a musical score for the piece "Negro bembón," measures 8-12. The score is written for a large ensemble. The instruments listed on the left are: Voz (Vocal), Clarinete (A), Clarinete bajo, Trompeta, Violin, Viola, Violoncello, Contrabajo, Bongü, Maracas, and Clave/Cencerro. The vocal line in measure 10 (which is boxed) has the lyrics: "bra - bo quan - do te di - sen ne - gro bembón, sí". The music features a complex rhythmic pattern, particularly in the lower strings and percussion, which is the focus of the example.

Example 12: "Negro bembón," mm. 8-12

Numerous formulated Afro-Cuban rhythmic cells are present throughout the *Motivos* collection. The recurring rhythmic pattern of the *tresillo* formed by the cello, bass, and *clave* is also heard throughout the melodic line, most prominently in what will be referred to as the *negro bembón* motive, first heard in measure 10 (see Example 12). This rhythm, one that does not follow the regular subdivisions of the meter, is illustrated by the string's scalar descent in measures 34-36, where 3 + 3 + 2 construction is clearly displayed (see Example 13).

35

Voz
te lo da to. *acel.*

Clarinete (A)

clarinete bajo

trompeta

Violin *pizz.* *acel.*

Viola

Violoncello

Contrabajo

Bongó *acel.*

Maracas

Clave

Cencerro

Example 13: "Negro bembón," *Tresillo* rhythm, mm. 34-36

The opening *largo* of the *son* (mm. 1-35) is divided into two semi-contrasting sections (mm. 4-18; and mm. 19-35) presenting the first and second verse of the poem respectively. Each section is identified by tonal stratas centered around A and E respectively. The harmonic ambiguity heard within Roldán's setting of the first verse of Guillén's poem is partially due to the modal coloring of the vocal line superimposed on an accompanimental figure with clear diatonic tonal reference. The first verse of the *largo* is heard over A major and E major tonalities consecutively, this imbues the piece with an aura of harmonic simplicity inherent in the *son*'s typical cycle of I-V harmonic progressions. While retaining a sense of tonal cohesiveness, harmonic clarity is denied as

Roldán seldom allowed a traditionally functional chord to exist without the addition of seconds, fourths, sixths, and ninths. In a manner similar to Cowell and Ives, Roldán plays with tone clusters and a harmonic vocabulary which is expanded by added dissonances. The following excerpt is taken from the piano transcription of "Negro bembón" (rather than the orchestral score) as a means of clearly indicating Roldán's use of tone clusters and added seconds (see the lower register accompanimental figure in measures 5-15 of Example 14). The aural sensation of these harmonic clashes reflects not only the consort of drums, which are intervallically tuned to fourths and fifths, but also the intonation produced by the strings and winds. For example, the tuning of the *marímbula* (the pitches of which are obviously limited by its number of metal strips) is achieved by adjusting the strips within the metal bars holding them in place. A fine tuning as such is impossible to obtain and, thus, a certain ambiguity of pitch is always present. Roldán's placement of harsh tone clusters in the bass part also provokes the tuning of the authentic ensemble (see Example 14).

Example 14: "Negro bembón" (Piano Transcription), I-V harmonic progressions, added dissonance, bass clusters, mm. 9-14

Through slight intervallic alteration of the opening motive, Roldán concludes the first phrase melodically on D, which appears to act as the dominant of a tonality centering around G. This tonal center (G) functions on several different levels. In measures 29-36, G acts as the temporary tonal center accentuated by the prominence of F sharp. A certain harmonic ambiguity is heard at this point as D is emphatically presented in the vocal line and is accompanied by its dominant A-E in the bass, suggesting that D is perhaps a temporary tonal center. The gravitational pull to this key is enhanced by the progression from a D major to A⁷ chord in measure 31 which proves to be the only clear progression within the song. This fleeting reference to tonal clarity assumes the utmost importance when considering the overall harmonic hierarchical structure of "Negro bembón" which is compositionally compatible with two essentially different harmonic views of the work. In order to appreciate the harmonic complexity of "Negro bembón", it is necessary to turn to the concluding segment of the song.

Roldán concludes the first song of the cycle with an interesting twist to the typical *son* structure that is conveyed by the addition of a 12-bar codetta-like section that repeats the second verse of the poem. The final melodic statement concludes on A as either the central tonality of the song or as the tonic pitch of an A⁷ chord. The ending of the work on a dominant-seventh chord is typical of the *son* and *guajira* with their characteristic predominance of open forms. This, then, would imply, that the work may actually have D as its overall tonal center, justifying the significance of measure 31 and the clarity of its harmonic progression in D major. The persistence of E as an integral pitch and harmonic center would be seen as functioning as the supertonic, and G as the subdominant. One could also perceive the concluding tonality (A) as representing the tonal center of the song, a view that would appear to be more plausible when considering the structural implications offered by the addition of a coda (see Example 16).

The image shows a musical score for the Coda of "Negro bembón," measures 68-72. The score is written for a large ensemble. The vocal line (Voz) is at the top, with lyrics "dá te man - tie - ne, te lo dá tó." and a measure number 70 above it. Below the vocal line are staves for Clarinet (A), Clarinet Basso, Trompeta, Violin, Viola, Violoncello, Contrabajo, Bongó, Maracas, and Clave/Cencerro. The instrumental parts include various woodwinds, brass, strings, and percussion. The score is in a single system, with measures 68-72. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Example 16: "Negro bembón," Coda, mm. 68-72

The vocal line within the *estribillo* (mm. 37-59) of "Negro bembón" assumes the roles of solo and implied *coro* in the typical call-and-response refrain (see mm. 37-42 of Example 17). The vocal call and choral response based on the *negro bembón* motive revolves around the melodic axis of E and concludes each successive statement on D. Melodically, the call and response remain unaltered while the accompaniment is varied rhythmically and intensified by Roldán's dissonant additions to the chords with each consecutive phrase. Polytonal implications are strongest at this point as the accompanimental figures outline fifth relationships between C#/F# and D/G in measures 37-47. The G major triad in the response now seems to function as the

Neopolitan of F-sharp major, a chord progression evoking Hispanic compositional qualities (m. 40). The intervallic relationship between F#-C#, implied in the opening stanza as the lowest note of the bass cluster, in addition to its prominence within the accompanimental figure of the *estribillo*, is significant as it anticipates the transposition of the initial phrase of the coda in F-sharp in measure 62 (see Example 18).



Example 17: "Negro bembón," opening call-and-response of the *estribillo*, mm. 42-46

Example 18: "Negro bembón," opening phrase of coda, mm. 62-66

Roldán's expanded harmonic vocabulary and formal procedures—influenced by European and American sources—and rhythmic complexities offered by African musical traditions obscure the structural clarity of "Negro bembón;" however, the simplicity of primitivistic folklorism is retained. This aesthetic principle is to be observed in each of the songs within the *Motivos* cycle.

2. "Mi chiquita"

Guillén's poetry is often treated in separate categories with different poems and collections considered as being representative of the distinct groups. "Mi chiquita" discloses a rich concentration of poetic semblances identifying these various elements as they concern the black population of Cuba. The folkloric and social aspects of the poem are emphasized through formal simplicity, the use of *bozal* vocabulary, and Guillén use of "prosaic" speech. There is a love element involving the romantic attachment between a black man and woman. "Mi chiquita" also shows Guillén's feeling for the whimsical, humorous manner in which color gradation among non-whites is evidently to be taken in stride.

"Mi chiquita" speaks directly and descriptively of the enormous pride the speaker feels in his prize possession—a "black" woman. Within the appended couplet to the first stanza, the speaker describes with excitement the woman's many contributions to their relationship, suggesting a quasi-role reversal in which the indolent male functions primarily as sexual entertainment. The second quatrain amplifies an affirmation of being black employing a stylized irregularity that carries over to the *estribillo* of this *son*-poem. Particularly within the textual refrain, "*búcame*" ("come, get me"), there is a suggestive playfulness, as Guillén utilizes the spirit of the dance to convey a romantic mood.

"Mi chiquita"

La chiquita que yo tengo
tan negra como e,
no la cambio po ninguna,
po ninguna otra mujé.

Ella laba, plancha, cose,
y sobre to, caballero, ¡como cosina!

Si la bienen a bucá
pa bailá,
pa comé,
ella me tiene que llebá,
o traé.

Black as she is,
I wouldn't trade
the woman I got
for no other woman.

She wash, iron, sew,
and, man, can that woman cook!

If they want her
to go dancing
or go eat,
she got to take me,
she got to bring me back.

Ella dice; mi santo,
tú no me puede dejá;
búcame,
búcame,
búcame,
pa gozá.

She say: "Daddy,
you can't leave me't all,
come get me,
come get me,
come get me,
let's have a ball."

"Mi chiquita" is scored for voice, clarinet, string quartet, bongo, *güiro*, *clave*, and *cencerro*. Poetically, the poem is exceptional within the cycle in its expression of contentment with the lifestyle of the Cuban black life. The simplicity of everyday life is expressed musically by a straightforward formal structure, texture, and rhythmic and harmonic vocabulary. Enveloped in a texture that is more sparse than that of the preceding song "Negro bembón", Roldan suggests the simplicity of a "folk" idiom. Cello and bass set the stage for this folk-like simplicity by introducing the pitch gamut of the song (B - F#); the *Afro* rhythm is present in its traditional two-bar units (mm. 1-6). The first stanza of the poem is set as a regular eight-bar period consisting of two four-measure antecedent-consequent phrases. The regularized melodic phrase structure is strongly supported by the consistency of the *clave* pattern and the *Afro* rhythm presented in the introduction (see Table 2).

Table 2: Formal Precis of "Mi Chiquita"

Section A: Largo - Stanza 1 and couplet
(Quarter note = 92)

1-6: Introduction
7-11: Antecedent
11-15: Consequent
15-16: Interlude
17-24: Couplet (*copla*) "Negro bembón" motive
- cadential function

Harmonic Implications:
Background key: B Mixolydian
B
B - f#
f# - B
B
B - c# - f#
N.B. = 4-6-5 - F#

Section B: Largo - Stanza 2, couplet and refrain

25-27: Interlude
27-31: Antecedent
32-35: Consequent
36-41: *Estribillo* based on material from the couplet
41-45: Refrain
46-48: *negro bembón* motive - cadential function

B/c#
B - B
c# - B
B - f# - c#
f# - c#
Motive = 4-6-5 - F#

The song possesses a dance-like quality in which the formal elements associated with the *son* genre are difficult to ascertain. Essentially, Roldán incorporates the primary structural elements associated with the *son*—two stanzas separated and enclosed by instrumental interludes, and an *estribillo* refrain—into a bipartite structure that is most clearly indicated by the cadential function of the *negro bembón* motive (see Example 12 for *negro bembón* motive). The attributes of the speaker's woman that qualify her as a good mate are emphatically pronounced in Roldán's musical interpretation. Cast in a higher tessitura, the melodic line is supported by a more congested texture in which the rhythmic complexity is pronounced by the metric modulation of the *clave* pattern. The intensity heard within this concluding segment of Section A is somewhat resolved by the *negro bembón* motive and its realignment with the *clave* pattern. Harmonic and melodic closure is denied, however, by a half-cadence suggesting the influence of *guajira* folk music which tends to close structurally significant areas in the same manner. Implications of the dance that define the second half of the song are first revealed in measure 23 where the cello, functioning as the *tres*, plays a brief snippet of the *guajeo* vamp heard in the *estribillo* of the popular *son*. Further reference to the dance is offered in measure 25 where the violin and viola present the *cinquillo* rhythm which identifies the Cuban *danzón* (see Example 19).

Example 19: Cadential function of *negro bembón* motive, underlying *guajeo* vamp, *cinquillo* rhythm, mm. 23-26

The second large structural division commences with the second stanza of the poem supported by similar accompanimental material and textural clarity heard at the beginning. The sense of panic and confusion is in the text as the speaker imagines other men pursuing his woman is reflected musically by fluctuating meters and a fluidity of the line that was not apparent in the opening phrases of the song. Roldán concludes this subsidiary segment of the work with an inversion of the *negro bembón* motive in measures 34-35. In the larger two-part form of the work, the inverted motive effectively suggests a structural division of secondary importance. On the other hand, this structural cadence is the only one which provides full closure both melodically and harmonically, in so doing, indicating a critical structural division (see Example 20).

Example 20: "Mi chiquita," structural cadence, mm. 34-35

With the exception of "Mi chiquita" and "Tú no sabe inglés," Roldán clearly delineates the *son* structure by incorporating literal indications of tempo changes, particularly at the beginning of the *estribillo* section. In the absence of a literal tempo marking within "Mi chiquita," Roldán incorporates a full-cadence as a means of concluding the *largo* and introducing the *estribillo*. The typical rhythmic acceleration that occurs in the *estribillo* of the traditional *son* is implied in Roldán's setting by increased rhythmic activity and metric irregularity. The opening call of the *estribillo* resembles mm. 21-24, conveying a certain parallel to the internal structure of Section A; however, the imitative nature of the *estribillo* is fully reflected here by the contrapuntal interplay between the voice and clarinet (mm. 36-46). The implied choral response leads to the cadential *negro bembón* motive which concluded Section A, evoking the open-ended essence of the *son estribillo* by denying full cadential closure (see Example 21).

35

Voz
E: - la me di - do! mi san - to.

Clarinete

Violin

Viola

Violoncello

Contrabajo

Bongó

Güiro

Clave

Example 21: "Mi chiquita," *estribillo*, mm. 36-38

Roldán's harmonic peculiarities are clearly reflected in "Mi chiquita". Although simple tonal progressions define the structure of the song, added dissonance and modal coloring inhibit tonal clarity. The entire work revolves around the tonal center of B and is consistently supported by its dominant F#. The vocal line clearly supports a B major tonality; however, the Mixolydian mode is suggested by the lowered seventh (A-natural) heard in the cello line. The harmonic cadence heard in measures 10-11 exemplifies an uncertainty regarding modal status that is apparent in most of the *sones* of the cycle. The *estribillo* fluctuates between B and F# and between F# and C#; the latter progression overpowers the other and one anticipates closure on F#. Although the pitch itself is exposed in its final declamation, it functions as the seventh of an implied G#-seventh chord and not as the dominant of the central tonality, B (see Example 22).

The image displays a musical score for the song "Mi chiquita." It consists of two systems of staves. The first system is marked with a box containing the number 40, and the second system is marked with a box containing the number 45. Each system includes staves for the following instruments: Voice (Voz), Clarinet (Clarinete), Violin, Viola, Violoncello (Vcloncello), Contrabasso (Contrabajo), Bongo, Oboe (Oboe), and Cello (Cello). The lyrics "de de mi, bu en mi, bu en mi" are written under the voice staff in the first system, and "bu en mi, ipa go mi" are written under the voice staff in the second system. The score is written in a standard musical notation style with various musical symbols and clefs.

Example 22: "Mi chiquita," implied choral refrain and concluding cadence, mm. 41-47

"Mi chiquita" conveys the positive affirmation of the black speaker in Cuba in the early twentieth-century. The simplicity associated with black street culture is displayed musically by Roldán's clarity of structure and texture, and by rhythmic and harmonic simplicity that is not so obvious within other songs of the cycle. Roldán's keen sense of text expression is illustrated by a form that follows the poetic text. As a result, the structural principles associated with the *son* are implied but not enforced. It appears that Roldán compensates for the lack of formal elements of the *son* by conveying the spirit of the genre through musical elements associated with the dance.

3. "Mulata"

The image of the *mulata* has been frequently represented in Cuban novels, popular song, and in the theater. Of mixed Caucasian and Negro ancestry, the *mulata* is depicted as the epitome of sexual desire and is usually considered the source of marital infidelity. In the manner of "Mi chiquita," Guillén's *Mulata* alludes to positive racial affirmation, where a black man responds to the derisory remarks of a light-brown woman. The speaker is very content with the fine black woman he has at home, and therefore need not concern himself with the likes of the lighter-skinned female.⁷

"Mulata"

Ya yo me enteré, mulata,
mulata, ya sé qué dise
que yo tengo la narís
como nudo de cobata.

Y fíjate bien que tú
no ere tan adelanta
poque tu boca e bien grande,
y to pasa, colora.

Tanto tren con tu cueppo,
tanto tren;
tanto tren con tu boca,
tanto tren;
tanto tren con tu sojo,
tanto tren.

Si tú supiera, mulata,
la veddá;
que yo con mi negra tengo,
y no te quiero pa ná!

I just found out, mulatto woman,
mulatto woman, I now know that you say
that my nose is
like a bow tie.

And look, you
ain't so light,
cause your mouth is well big,
and your nappy hair, dyed.

All those airs with your body,
all those airs;
all those airs with your mouth,
all those airs
all those airs with your eyes,
all those airs.

Mulatto woman, if you only knew
the truth;
that I am satisfied with my black woman,
and I don't want you at all!

The particular genetic attributes of the African carry with them negative social connotations, the implications of which are conveyed by the black speaker. Because of the visibility of color and other negroid features, Cubans of African descent were forced to assume the lowest ranking of class distinction; therefore, a greater or lesser degree of

⁷Lorna V. Williams, *Self and Society in the Poetry of Nicolás Guillén* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 35-37.

blackness comes to have more than personal significance. By virtue of the *mulata*'s closer approximation to the skin color of the dominant class, she automatically assigns herself a higher social status than is accorded the black man. To further distance herself from the darker members of her society, the *mulata* dyes her hair and enhances her biological approximation to the white population. The black speaker, on the other hand, claims to have recognized her denial of a biological reality and in turn he rejects her for this self-estrangement. The final stanza of the poem ultimately reinforces the black man's sense of racial pride; however, the sarcasm offered by the speaker suggests that he is well aware of the social realities surrounding the black population.

The social implications of Guillén's poem are musically represented by the prominence of the *negro bembón* motive emphatically expressed in the opening measures of Roldán's musical setting. One is reminded of the accompanying text to this motive in the opening song of the cycle and its reference to the thick lips of the *negra*. In light of its leitmotivic function in "Mulata," the motive has more than structural significance; however, its cadential function is retained in measures 10-11, mm. 15-16, and mm. 25-26. Although varied intervallically and rhythmically, the significance of the motive is enhanced by its placement on the first beat of measure 24 supporting the word "*grande*," implying that the mouth of the *mulata* is as big as that of the "*negro bembón*". The importance of the motive is most apparent in the *estribillo*, where it melodically conveys the physical attribute of *negro bembón* that represents one biological truth of the *mulata* that is impossible to deny (see *negro bembón* motive in the introduction and the same motive accompanied by the text "all those airs" in measures 39-40 of Example 23).

Example 23: "Mulata," *negro bembón* motive, mm. 1-5; mm. 37-40

The instrumentation of "Mulata," is unique in that it is comprised of strings and percussion only. By omitting the wind instruments from the ensemble, the song acquires the sonority of the rural *son*.⁸ The form of "Mulata" closely resembles "Negro bembón" in that both songs consist essentially of a repeated central section and a coda. The coda provides a sense of closure that is foreign to the *son* genre but typical of European art music. It is noteworthy that Roldán's formal considerations in "Mulata" are a

⁸The addition of the trumpet to the *son* ensemble occurred in the second decade of the twentieth century with the advent of the *septeto* in Havana.

requirement of text-setting whereas those of "Negro bembón" are applied for reasons that are difficult to substantiate (see Table 3).

Table 3: Formal Precis of "Mulata"

<u>Measures 1 - 27: Largo (Quarter note = 72)</u>		<u>Harmonic Implications</u>
		<u>Background key: A</u>
1-6:	Introduction	A
7-11:	Antecedent	A - E
12-16:	Consequent	D - A
16-18:	Interlude (<i>guajeo</i>)	A
18-22:	Antecedent	A - e
22-26:	Consequent	e - A
26-27:	Interlude (<i>guajeo</i>)	A
<u>Measures 28 - 40: Estribillo (Quarter note = 88)</u>		
28:	Rhythmic/Melodic call to introduce <i>estribillo</i>	
29-32:	Call and implied choral response	e - A
33-36:	Call and implied choral response	e - A
37-40:	Call and implied choral response	e - A
<u>Measures 41 - 52: Return (Quarter note = 72)</u>		
41-44:	Interlude	E
44-47:	Antecedent	A - E
47 - 52:	Consequent (mm. 51-52)	A

"Mulata" exhibits the structure of the *son* with an opening *largo* presenting the first two stanzas, and an *estribillo* that is marked by an acceleration of tempo and a call-and-response format. Comparatively speaking, "Mulata" reveals a more conservative harmonic approach than is in most other songs within the cycle. The tonal clarity heard within this particular song is a result of a harmonic vocabulary based primarily on tertian chord construction (rather than quartal and quintal) and the broken chordal vamp that functions as the *tres montuno* clearly outlining an A-major chord (see mm. 13-17 of Example 24). In seeking to evoke the folk element, Roldán occasionally provides a modal coloring and added dissonances. The contrapuntal interplay between the strings and voice convey Roldán's predilection for the simultaneous presentation of both tonal and modal elements. To convey a sense of Afrocuban musical style, Roldán

continuously resorts to rhythmic counterpoint within all the songs of the cycle (see Example 25). A distinguishing feature of "Mulata" is that the *clave* enters after the introductory material and remains unaltered throughout the work. This is unique among the *Motivos*, and the steadfast rhythmic foundation appears to resemble a type of metaphor for the poem's underlying sense of whimsy and humor.

Example 24: "Mulata," tertian chord construction and *guajeo* vamp; mm. 13-16

Example 25: "Mulata," melodic and rhythmic counterpoint, mm. 19-22

4. "Búcate plata"

The whimsical nature of the preceding poems is lost in "Búcate plata" as the unfavorable effects of poverty are transferred to intimate human relations. At the outset of the poem, a sense of urgency is implied as the female speaker commands her lover to "go get money". Images of the poem connote hunger, unemployment, and destitution. The speaker's willingness to be understanding in the light of extreme financial need is implied by her statement, "I know very well how things are"; however, the asserted declamation "*qué bá!*" in the refrain indicates a helpless deprivation. Although the poem suggests that the speaker is directing her anger towards her lover, the terms she uses to address him—"biejo," "*compadre*," "*mi negro*"—indicate otherwise.⁹ The contrast between affluence and destitution are also implied by the material items introduced into the text of the *estribillo*. The antithesis between hunger and the luxuries of new shoes and watches, underlines the sense of hopelessness that provokes the "hell!" reaction.¹⁰

"Búcate plata"

Búcate plata,
búcate plata,
poque no doy un paso má:
etoy a arró con galleta,
na má.

Yo bien sé cómo etá tó,
pero biejo, hay que comé:
búcate plata,
búcate plata,
poque my boy a corré.
Depué dirán que soy mala,
y no me quedrán trat,

pero amo con hambre, biejo.

¡Qué bá!
¡Con tanto sapato nuevo,
¡qué bá!
¡Con tanto reló, compadre,

Go get money,
go get money,
for I can't go a step further:
I'm down to rice and crackers,
that's all.

I know very well how things are,
but goodness man, one's got to eat:
go get money,
go get money,
cause I'm going to run away.
Then they'll say I'm bad
and won't want to have anything to do
with me,
but I love with hunger, man.

hell!
With so many new shoes,
hell!
With so many watches, my friend,

⁹Although these words may be understood in a derogatory sense, they are also used as terms of endearment.

¹⁰Ellis, *Cuba's Nicolás Guillén*, 69-70.

¡qué ba!
 ¡Con tanto lujo, mi negro,
 ¡qué ba!

hell!
 With so many luxuries, my brother,
 hell!

The more serious connotations implied by this particular poem are relayed musically by an overall complexity of structure and dissonant intervallic clashes. The entanglement of social issues and their resultant emotional states of understanding, fury, urgency, and hopelessness, is evoked by the blurring of structural divisions within "Búcate".

Table 4: Formal Precise of "Búcate plata"

<u>Measures 1-42: Largo (Quarter note = 100)</u>	<u>Harmonic Implications</u> <u>Background key: C</u>
<i>Stanza 1:</i>	
1-5: Introduction	C - G
6-11: Antecedent	C - C
11-15: Consequent	C - G
15-17: Interlude	G
<i>Stanza 2: (Quarter note = 88)</i>	
18-21: Antecedent	G - C
22-24: Consequent	C - b
<i>Measures 25-31: Mini-Estribillo (Quarter note = 100)</i>	C
<i>Final couplet of Stanza 2</i>	
32-34: Interlude (introductory material)	
35-38: Antecedent (recitative)	C - G
38-42: Consequent (recitative)	G - G
<u><i>Measures 42 - 58: Estribillo Proper</i></u>	
42-44: Interlude	D7
45-48: Call and implied choral response	G - D7
49-53: Call and implied choral response	G - D7
54-58: Varied call and implied choral response	C - G

Fragmentary two-measure phrases constitute the opening stanza of the song. The strong dominant-seventh chord that concludes this verse incites a dialogue between the voice and trumpet. Here, the trumpet assumes the character of the missing member of this conversation attempting to relay his side of the argument (mm. 15-17). The

The musical score for Example 26, "Búcate plata," measures 10-21, is presented in a multi-staff format. The staves are labeled on the left: *Voz*, *Clarinete (B)*, *Clarinete (A)*, *Trumpeta*, *Violín*, *Viola*, *Flauto*, *Contrabajo*, *Bongó*, *Maracas*, and *Clave Ocasero*. The top staff, for the voice, includes the lyrics "Yo bien sé co - mo y - tá pe - ro" and is marked with measure numbers 17 and 20. A tempo marking "J = 88" is placed above the voice staff. The score shows various musical notations including notes, rests, and dynamic markings across all instruments.

Example 26: "Búcate plata," mm. 10 - 21

The voice responds to the assertion of the trumpet in an imitative manner in measure 22 and the intensity of the conversation leads to a return of the opening plea (at its original tempo) to go get money (m.25). The urgency is musically resounded by an intensification of rhythmic activity, biting surface dissonances, and the disjunct nature of melodic motives presented at this point. This exigency is further amplified in measure 25 by what appears to be the introductory call announcing the *estribillo*. Measures 25 - 31 do in fact function as an *estribillo* as is indicated by an increase in tempo and a return to the refrain "*búcate plata*" heard as the opening lines of the poem. This micro-*estribillo* concludes in measure 31 with a full cadence in the opening key, hence revealing a self-contained unit within the macro whole (see Example 27).

Vo: $\text{♩} = 100$ 25
 bú-ca-te plá-ta, bú-ca-te plá-ta,
 Clarinete (B)
 Clarinete (A)
 Trompeta
 Violin
 Viola
 Violoncello
 Contrabajo
 Bongo
 Maracas
 Clave/Cencerro

Example 27: "Búcate plata," Mini-Estribillo, mm. 25-28

The percussive prelude that is interpolated between the call-and-response phrase refers to the emphatic syncopated motive first presented by the winds in measures 3-4. The *clave* rhythm briefly brings the intensity of the previous section to a point of repose; however, in measure 35, the vocal line presents a declamatory statement in recitative style that conveys what she will be forced to do if the situation is not rectified. The vocal line is counterbalanced by a strong supporting rhythm section that prominently employs the *cinquillo* rhythm. Reaching its point of furthest intensity, the protagonist cries out "¡qué ba!" in a similar fashion to the *cante jondo* vocal "¡Ay!". This desperate cry also serves to announce the *estribillo* proper in measure 42 (see Example 28).

Example 28: "Búcate plata," mm. 35-42

The vocal call is first heard in measure 45 and is answered by a response resembling the *negro bembón* motive (mm. 47-48). The trumpet line, which has remained silent since measure 31, regains his voice in measure 41, and the previous dialogue between trumpet and voice resumes in a more intimate manner (see Example 29). Although the speaker has previously threatened to leave the relationship, the poem implies that the lovers will deal with the issues at hand and the couple will remain partners. This is referred to musically by a new melodic relationship formed between the speaker and the trumpet. Roldán's keen sense of instrumental coloring is fully revealed in "Búcate plata," through the role played by the trumpet and the relationship presented between the strength of this instrument and its personification of the recipient of the poem.

55

Voz
Con tan - to lu - jo, mi ne - gro, ¡que bá!

Clarinete (B)

Clarinete (A)

Trompeta

Violín

Viola

Violoncello

Contrabajo
pizz.

Bongo

Marcas

Clave
Cencerro

arco

Example 29: "Búcate plata," mm. 50-58

5. "Ayé me dijeron negro"

The eight poems of *Motivos de Son* were originally published in the *Diario* in 1930. Later that year, Guillén substituted one of the original *son*-poems, *Hay que tene bolunta*, with *Ayé me dijeron negro* to comprise a definitive collection.¹¹ Once again, Guillén puts forth various issues regarding gradations of color among the *negra* population of Cuba. The opening line of text offers the insult which has been directed toward the speaker of the poem as the term "Negro" is taking in a derogatory sense within this context. The insult angers the speaker as his opponent biologically has the same attributes, but of a lighter shade of black. The poetic voice exposes the biological truth of the *mulato* as the protagonist makes reference to the color of his grandmother who remains hidden because of her blackness.

"Ayé me dijeron negro"

Ayé me dijeron negro
pa que me fajara yo;
pero e que me lo desía
era un negro como yo.

Yesterday they called me black
so that I put myself in a state to fight
but he who told me
was as black as I.

Tan blanco como te be
y tu abuela sé quién e.

As white as you are I know
who your grandmother is

Sácala de la cosina.
sácala de la cosina:
Mamá Iné.

Go get her out of the kitchen,
Go get her out of the kitchen,
Mama Inez.

Mamá Iné, tú bien lo sabe,
mamá Iné, yo bien lo sé;
Mamá Iné, te llama nieto,

Mama Inez, you know it well,
Mama Inez, I know it well;
Mama Inez, it is me your grandson who is
calling you
Mama Inez.

Mamá Iné.

The introductory measures of "Ayé me dijeron negro" illustrate a distinctive feature of the *rumba* in its *diana*-like display of the pitch gamut revealed in the *son* proper. In contrast to the rhythmic and harmonic complexity heard in the *diana* of

¹¹*Ibid.*, 67.

"Negro bembón", "Ayé me dijeron negro" is introduced by a haunting lyrical line of simplicity that is built on a pentatonic scale and triplet figures that clearly refer to the African realm from which the song evolves. The opening melodic segment and its motivic tag neatly divide the introduction into two three-measure units, providing all the necessary motivic material required for the development of the song (see Example 30).

The musical score is for the introduction of the song "Ayé me dijeron negro". It consists of ten staves, each labeled with an instrument or voice part on the left. The parts are: Vox, Trompetas en Do, Violin, Viola, Violoncello, Contrabajo, Bongó, Güiro, and Clave. The score is written in 3/4 time, indicated by a '3' over a '4' at the beginning of the first staff. The tempo is marked '♩ = 88'. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The music features a pentatonic scale and triplet figures. The introduction is divided into two three-measure units by a motivic tag. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'pizz.' (pizzicato) and 'arco' (arco). The instruments play in a coordinated fashion, with the vocal line being the most prominent.

Example 30: "Ayé me dijeron negro," Introduction, mm. 1-6

Rhythmically, "Ayé me dijeron negro" is substantially differentiated from others within the collection in the following ways: it is the only song to maintain a consistent meter throughout the *largo* section. It is an isolated example of polymetricity in the collection; and is the only song to be composed primarily of compound meters (see Example 31). These elements, together with the pentatonic coloring of the song, the

plucking effects of the violin, and the shifts from minor to major modalities suggest a strong influence of white campesino music.¹² This evocation of white rural folk music enhances the poetic assertions of the antagonist who claims to be white. Hence, the antagonistic relationship between implications of "black" and "white" are conveyed in Roldan's text setting by musical elements associated with African and Hispanic traditions.

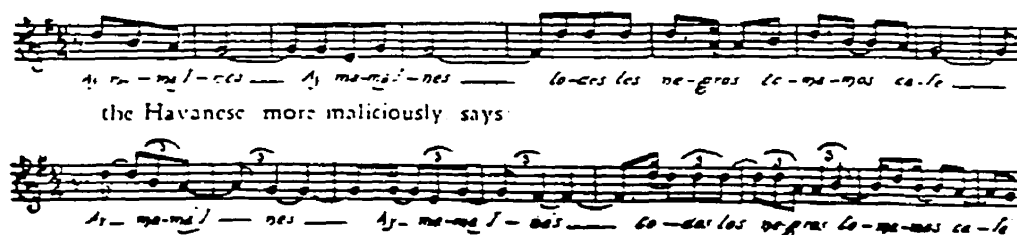
The musical score for "Ayé me dijeron negro," is presented in a multi-staff format. The staves are labeled on the left: Voz, Trompeta, Violín, Violoncello, Contrabajo, Bongó, Guaro, and Clave. The Voz staff includes the lyrics: "yé me di-jer-on ne-gro, pa-que me di-jer-on ne-gro". The Trompeta staff features a melodic line with a tempo marking of "Allegro". The Violín staff has a melodic line with a tempo marking of "Allegro". The Violoncello staff has a melodic line with a tempo marking of "Allegro". The Contrabajo staff has a melodic line with a tempo marking of "Allegro". The Bongó staff has a rhythmic line with a tempo marking of "Allegro". The Guaro staff has a rhythmic line with a tempo marking of "Allegro". The Clave staff has a rhythmic line with a tempo marking of "Allegro".

Example 31: "Ayé me dijeron negro," metric consistency, polymetricity, compound meter mm. 8-11

Roldán's propensity for imitative writing is revealed within the opening stanza of the work as the trumpet imitates the vocal line a third higher. Marked at a slower tempo than the introduction, the first line of the text is stated in a straightforward manner in a clearly defined four-measure phrase. In the following phrase (mm. 12-15), the trumpet offers a rhythmically varied imitation of this line in an improvisatory manner, clearly exemplifying Emilio Grenet's description of the rhythmic flexibility heard within the Cuban *son*. This is most apparent as the mimetic line is presented against the backdrop

¹²See Appendix A.

of even eighth notes (see Examples 32 & 33).¹³ The rhythmic foundation of the final phrase of the *largo* (mm. 17-20) is noteworthy in that it reveals a percussive dual between the guiro and *clave* in 2/3 and 3/2 *clave* patterns concurrently. The antagonistic rhythmic elements that are pronounced within "Ayé..." find their poetic counterpart in the inimical differences between black and white.



Example 32: Rhythmic flexibility as exemplified by Eliseo Grenet in "Essay on the Evolution of Music in Cuba"

Example 33: "Ayé me dijeron negro," melodic fluidity, mm. 12-15

Sound stratification as a means of delineating structure is a significant compositional tool that Roldán incorporates throughout the *Motivos* cycle to a greater or lesser degree. "Ayé..." most clearly exemplifies Roldán's use of sonorous blocks of sound

¹³It is interesting that Grenet cites the example from one of his own *son* compositions entitled *Mamá Inéz*.

as a means of allocating form. The *largo* is distinctly identified by the congested texture of the accompaniment that supports the vocal and trumpet melodic lines, as is the *estribillo* which retains the strumming quality of the *largo* but assumes a more simplified texture. The hemiola heard within the final section of the work (mm. 24-46) conveys a rhythmic clarity peculiar for the *estribillo* as the call-and-response format is usually accompanied by intensified rhythmic activity (see example 34). Consequently, the accumulative quality of the *son* genre are reversed in Roldán's stylized version. The bongo finally increases its activity in measure 38 helping to propel the musical movement.

Example 34: "Ayé me dijeron negro," hemiola, mm. 21-26

Table 5: Formal Precis of "Ayé me dijeron negro"

Measures 1-21: Largo

1-6: Introduction (Quarter note = 88)

Stanza 1:

7-11: Antecedent

12-16: Antecedent

Harmonic Implications

Background key: b-flat

b-flat

b-flat (5)

b-flat (3)

Couplet:

17-21: Consequent

b-flat (1)

*Couplet:*21-25: Introduction (*Quarter note = 88*)

b-flat

Measures 21-46: Estribillo

26-30: 2 presentations of the call

b-flat - f

31-32: "Mamá Inez" response

B-flat

33-34: Instrumental response

B-flat

35-37: Response - call

B-flat

38-40: Response - call

B-flat

41-43: Response - call

B-flat

44-46: Response

B-flat

6. "Tú no sabe inglés"

"Tú no sabe inglés" relays the story of Victor Manuel—Bito Manué—a negro from the tenements who attempts to pursue a relationship with a white American tourist. Guillén convey's the linguistic manner of Bito Manué who aspires to reach a higher social recognition. "Tú no sabe inglés" introduces a new cause of frustration—the unequal status *Bito Manué* has with the American woman as evidenced by his extreme embarrassment at not being able to speak English in Cuba. Bito's total English vocabulary consists of the baseball expression "strike one" and the individual numbers one, two, three, all pronounced with a strong Cuban accent, "guan, tu, tri".¹⁴ The inanity of the situation is conveyed by a sarcastic humor relayed in the speaker's opening comment, "With the plenty English you know," and the language Guillén uses to represent Bito's knowledge of English. Underlying this playfulness lies the social issue of obvious class distinction, now conveyed as an educational aspect. In reality, it is not only the lack of knowledge that is preventing the relationship from happening, but the physicalities of the black population which prevent social mobility and therefore relationships between black and white.

"Tu no sabe ingles"

Con tanto inglés que tú sabía
Vito Manuel,
con tanto inglés, no sabe ahora
decir: yé

La americana te busca,
y tú le tiene que huir:
tu inglés era detrai guan,
detrái guan y guan tu tri

Bito Manué tú no sabe inglés

With the plenty English you know
Bito Manue
With the plenty English you know
Now you don't know how to say: yes

The American woman is looking for you
and you have to flee:
all the English you know is etrai guan,
etrai guan and guan tu tri.

Bito Manue, you don't know how to speak
English

¹⁴Kubayanda, Josaphat, *The Poet's Africa: Africaness in the Poetry of Nicolás Guillén and Aimé Césaire* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990): p. 73.

tú no sabe inglés,
tú no sabe inglés,

you don't know how to speak English
you don't know how to speak English

No te enamore má nunca,
Bito Manué,
si no sabe inglés,
si no sabe inglés.

Don't fall in love ever again,
Bito Manué
if you don't speak English
if you don't speak English

Musically, the genetic inheritance which prevents Bito from establishing a relationship with "*la americana*" is referred to by the *negro bembón* motive which supports the text "*Bito Manué*". The leitmotif is prominently placed in structurally significant points within the *largo* assuming its usual cadential function, and is also heard as the response in the *estribillo* (see vocal line in mm. 8-9 of Example 35). The unequivocal humour relayed in "*Tú no sabe inglés*" is suggested by the quirky rhythmic and melodic behavior of the motive presented by the clarinet and viola that seems to suggest the uncomfortable situation that surrounds Bito. This motive illustrates Roldán's rhythmic predilection for strongly accented syncopations and the "anticipated feel" associated with the *son* genre in general (this motive is first heard in mm. 1-2 and remains essentially unaltered throughout most of the song; see clarinet and viola lines in Example

Example 35 is a musical score for a song. It features a vocal line and several instrumental parts. The vocal line is in Spanish and includes the lyrics: "glé que tu sa - bí - a, Bi - to Ma - - nué,". The instrumental parts include Clarinete (A.), Clarinete bajo, Viola, Violoncello, Contrabajo, Maracas, Cencerros, Clave, and Bombo. The score is marked with a box containing the number 5. The instrumental parts feature a prominent syncopated rhythm, which is the "negro bembón" motive mentioned in the caption. The score is written in a key with one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature. The vocal line is in a higher register than the instrumental parts. The instrumental parts are arranged in a way that they all play the same rhythm, creating a strong, unified sound. The score is a good example of the "negro bembón" motive and its use in a song.

Example 35: "*Tú no sabe inglés*," *negro bembón* motive and accompanimental motivic unit, mm. 6-9

The full ensemble, with bass clarinet substituting the trumpet part, introduces "Tú no sabe inglés" in a highly concentrated texture which prevails throughout the song. Lower register instruments and percussion provide consistent rhythmic ostinatos as a means of maintaining a sense of regularity within the context of continuously changing meter. The bass displays a variation of the usual "anticipated bass" groove with its emphasis on "two-and," and omission of the first beat in every other measure (see cello and bass motives in mm. 18-20 of Example 36). The diverse sound stratas illustrated in "Ayé me dijeron negra" are non-existent in "Tú no sabe inglés" and Roldán therefore returns to more traditional means of delineating structure. Although the phrases are presented in a declamatory fashion and are therefore more fragmentary, structural cadences reenforce the overall form of the song.

The musical score for "Tú no sabe inglés" (mm. 18-20) features a complex arrangement of instruments. The vocal line (Voz) is accompanied by a Clarinet (A) and a Clarinet bajo. The string section includes Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabajo. The percussion section consists of Maracas, Castanets, and Clave/Bombo. The bass line (Contrabajo) is characterized by a "two-and" pattern, emphasizing the second and fourth beats of the measure while omitting the first beat in every other measure. This creates a consistent rhythmic ostinato. The lyrics "La - me - ri - ca - na - to" are written under the vocal line.

Example 36: "Tú no sabe inglés," anticipated bass groove, mm. 18-20

As there are no literal indications of change of tempo for the *estribillo*, and the usual introductory call announcing the call-and-response is wanting, formal divisions are not easily distinguished (see Table 6). Roldán enhances the characteristic vitality of the section by increasing the rhythmic activity and complexity in measure 35. The intensification of this segment of the song suggests that the *estribillo* commences at this point. However, as reference is made to the call-and-response melodic and textual unit in measure 30, it seems more likely that the section begins here. In actuality, Roldán blends elements of the *largo* with the *estribillo* by placing a portion of the call in the final phrase of the second stanza. Therefore, the *estribillo* conveys two call-and-response statements, the first of which commences in measure 25 and is interpolated with instrumental interludes (compare the *negro bembón* motive in the vocal line of measure 25 with the *Bito Manué* call in measure 30 of Example 34). Roldán's elision of formal divisions and incessant changes of meter attain a fluidity of line that evokes the improvisatory nature of Afrocuban song. The composer clearly portrays the awkward situation of Bito in the sextuplets and the antagonistic social forces behind black-white relationships in the simultaneous presentation of opposing rhythmic units (this is exemplified by the rhythmic counterpoint found in measures 36-39 of Example 37). In addition, the obvious crossing of the *clave* pulse would certainly present an audible disturbance, particularly to those accustomed to hearing the necessary synchronicity between *clave* rhythm and melody.

35

Voz: No te - na - mo - re - má nun - ca,

Clarinet (A)

Clarinet bajo

Viola

Violoncello

Contrabajo

Maracas

Cencerros

Clave Bombo

Example 37: "Tú no sabe inglés," *estribillo*, mm. 36-39

Table 6: Formal Precis of "Tú no sabe inglés"

Measures 1-29: Largo (Quarter note = 92)

Stanza 1:

1-4: Introduction

5-9: Antecedent

10-14: Consequent

14-18: Interlude

Stanza 2:

19-23: Antecedent

23-27: Consequent (Indication of *estribillo* call)

27-29: Interlude

Harmonic Implications

Background Key: B

B

B - F#

F# - B

B

B - F#

F# - B

Measure 30 - 34: Estribillo

30-34: "Bito Manué" call-and-response

34-35: Interlude

36-40: Call

41-44: Response

c# - F# - B

B

B - c# - F#

F# - B

7. "Si tú supiera. . ."

In contrast to the light-heartedness of "Tú no sabe inglés," the penultimate song of the *Motivos* collection provides an image of the damaging effects of poverty on a relationship. In "Si tú supiera. . .," the intense dramatic monologue is presented by a black man who, spurred by jealousy, blames his poverty for the loss of the woman to whom the conversation is directed. The poetic images connoted in "Si tú supiera..." suggest those of "Búcate plata" in the relationship that Guillén displays between material possessions and romantic love. In this relationship, however, the woman is intimate with at least two men and the male's expressed anger is therefore legitimized.

"Si tú supiera. . ."

Ay, negra, ¡si tú supiera!
 Anoche te vi pasá
 y no quise que me biera.

A e tú le hará como a mí,
 que cuando no tube plata
 te corrite de bachata
 sin acordarte de mí.

Songoro cosongo,
 songo be;
 songoro cosongo
 de mamey.¹⁵

Songoro, la negra
 baila bien;
 songoro de uno
 songoro de tre.

Ay, negra, if you knew!
 Last night I saw you walking
 and I didn't want you to see me.

You'll do to him what you did to me,
 for when my money ran out
 you went off partying,
 without remembering me.

Songoro cosongo,
 Songo be;
 Songoro cosongo
 de mamey.

Songoro, black woman
 you dance well;
 songoro of one
 songoro of three.

¹⁵The only generally intelligible term in the entire stanza is "Mamey," a succulent tropical fruit. Reference made to fruits and vegetables within Cuban lyrics is common and is often filled with some sort of sexual innuendo.

Significant structural features incorporated by Guillén deserve consideration as a means of understanding the textual-musical relationship as perceived by Roldán. Besides the structural clarity apparent in this particular *son*-poem, one finds within the poetic content of "Si tú supiera. . ." Guillén's adaptation of the literary device referred to as *jitanjáfora*, a word of no particular meaning used for its suggestiveness. In the developmental years of Guillén's literary career, the poet was obviously imbued with the literary ideals of the Afro-Antillean culture which drew heavily on the tradition of literary *negrismo* with its artificial, stereotyped black speech. The highly onomatopoeic and rhythmic effect of *jitanjáfora* was one tool utilized by Euro-Antillean poets to create "*hablar en negro de verdad*" (true black speech).¹⁶ The refrain of "Si tú supiera. . ." is a significant example of *jitanjáfora* within Guillén's poetic output. The nonsense syllables presented in the *estribillo* "*songoro cosongo*" are interpolated with recognizable words such as "*de maney*" or "*baila bien*" that seem to direct the audience to the image of the dancing woman. The *jitanjáfora* assists in creating the image of a frenzied dance party where either the woman may be found thoroughly enjoying herself, or the dejected speaker finds himself attempting to soothe his misery.

Table 7: Formal Precis of "Si tú supiera. . ."

Measures 1 - 30: Largo

Stanza 1: (Quarter note = 72)

1-7: Introduction

8-14: Antecedent

15-22: Consequent

20-23: Instrumental Interlude

Harmonic Implications

Background Key: B-flat

B-flat

B-flat/c - B-flat

B-flat

B-flat

Stanza 2: (Quarter note = 88)

23-31: Second verse of text

31-36: Instrumental Interlude (Quarter note = 100)

G

F

¹⁶Ellis, *Cuba's Nicolás Guillén*, 67.

<i>Measures 31 - 63: Estribillo A-B-A</i>	
37-45: Preamble - first four lines of estribillo	B-flat - F - B-flat
44-47: Instrumental Interlude	b-flat
44-56: Call-and-Response (Introductory material)	c - B-flat
(Quarter note = 100)	
56-62: Material from Preamble	B-flat - F - B-flat

The intensity of "Si tú supiera. . ." is effectively conveyed by the opening vocal line "Ay, negra, ¡si tú supiera!", supported by the *negro bembon* motive as a *cante jondo* cry of sorrow. This forceful image is strengthened by underlying ostinatos regulated by the *clave* rhythm. Roldán achieves structural unity, diversity, and unity within diversity primarily through textural stratification. Clarinets are heard over a basic pulse that clearly displays the rhythmic call of the *conga*. This primordial call is repeated in measure 5 and is now accompanied by a rhythmic vamp played by the violin and viola in the style of a guitar "*como guitarra*." This strumming *tres*-like pattern is constructed of two-bar rhythmic units reiterated throughout the setting of the first stanza of the poem. A similar ostinato is heard by clarinets that reinforce this structure through a repetition of a truncated version of the opening four measures of the song. The rhythmic ostinato presented by the contrabass and cello in "Si tú supiera. . ." represents the most significant example of the "anticipated bass" within *Motivos*. The rhythmic structure is strengthened by the addition of extra percussion instruments to the consort—all of which essentially maintain the same pattern throughout the opening stanza. The rhythmic clarity that resulting from the simultaneous presentation of these ostinatos conveys a propulsive quality suggesting the intensity of the poetic circumstances (see Example 38).

The musical score for Example 38 consists of eleven staves. The top staff is for the Voice (Voz), with lyrics 'A - y, ne - gre, si - tu - eu -'. Below it are two Clarinet (B) staves, a Trumpet (Sord.) staff, and a Violin staff. The bottom section includes Viola, Violoncello, Contrabajo, Bongo, Gu. c., and C. b. a. staves. The score illustrates a rhythmic drive created by layered ostinatos across the instrumental parts.

Example 38: "Si tú supiera. . .," Rhythmic drive provided by layered ostinatos, mm. 8-12

The second stanza commences in measure 23 with the voice projecting the lament of the speaker in a declamatory manner. This verse is distinguished from the first by its clean but strongly syncopated texture, literal tempo indications, an increased rhythmic activity heard by the bongo, and the poetic text which is presented as one musical phrase (mm. 26-31). The instrumental interlude interpolated between the *largo* and *estribillo* is significant in that the *guajeo* which is usually performed by the strings is now heard in the trumpet line (see Example 39). It is noteworthy that Roldán supports this melodic vamp with the same rhythms that were revealed in the opening verse; thus, the *largo* receives a sense of closure that at the same time introduces the *estribillo*.

25

V. a

Clarinet

Clarinet

Trompeta

Violin

Viola

Violoncello

Contrabajo

Bongo

Guiro

Clave 1
Clave 2

CUAN-to no tu-be pla-ta te cor-ri-te de ba-cha-ta sin a-cud-dad te-de

Example 39: "Si tú supiera. . .," Second stanza, mm. 26 - 31

The structural clarity found within the vocal line is conveyed through a clear presentation of antecedent-consequent phrases supported by a rhythmically-amplified accompaniment that demonstrates the unity-within-diversity concept. Considering the numerous contrapuntal lines that are simultaneously presented throughout this segment of the work, it is possible that an unaltered musical line may be incorporated here as a means of grounding the fantasy of the party conveyed in the text. The declamatory nature of this passage (mm. 38-45) assumes the function of a preamble to the *estribillo*

proper (see Example 40). This is more obviously indicated by the tempo marking in measure 45 and the change of meter to 6/8 time occurring in measures 44 - 55.

40

Voz
songo songo bé; — songo-ro, co - son-go de ma - mey; — songo-ro, la ne-gra bai-la

Clarinete (B)

Clarinete (B)

Trompeta

Violin

Viola

Violoncello

Contrabajo

Bongó

Cencerros

Clave 1
Clave 2

Example 40: "Si tú supiera. . .," Preamble, mm. 38 - 42

As the poetic image conveyed in the *estribillo* evokes a frenetic dance, it is significant that Roldán chooses a so-called "white meter," which usually implies a more conservative approach to the music. It is possible that in Roldán's interpretation of the text, the deceitful woman is thought to be with a man of a lighter color. This view would certainly justify the rejection felt by the male protagonist of the poem. Roldán is, in essence returning to the opening of the song with the omnipotent Andalusian cries, a high tessitura, the *negro bembón* motive, and long lyrical melodic lines. Roldán concludes this *son* with the verbal *jitanjáfora* that was presented in the *estribillo*; therefore, the *son*

structure in Roldán's hands resorts to the Western European notion of song form and its notions of departure and return (see Example 41).

50

Voc
 Clarinet (B)
 Clarinet II
 Trombone
 Violin
 Viola
 Violoncello
 Contrabass

Example 41: "Si tú supiera. . .," call-and-response, mm. 51 - 55

8. "Sigue"

In "*Sigue...*," the black poetic voice presents the woman as promiscuous and "bad." The pursuits of another man towards the woman of the scorned speaker provoke the text on the surface; however, deeper social issues are also conveyed. As Guillén has already made passing reference to the United States in "*Tú no sabe inglés*," it is possible that the traveler in "*Sigue*" is also of this nationality; thus, the antithesis is between the two distinct nationalities of the males of the poem rather than between a Cuban male and "*la americana*". The woman's powers of seduction are indicated by the warnings of the spurned lover through the poetic line, "don't look at her if she calls you." As the *mulata* is considered the epitome of carnal pleasure, it seems logical that the woman depicted in the poem be of a lighter color.

"Sigue"

Camina, caminante,
sigue;
camina y no te pare
sigue

Cuando pasé por su casa
no le diga que me viste:
camina, caminante,
sigue.

Sigue y no te pare,
sigue:

no la mire si te llama,
sigue;

acuédate que ella es mala,
sigue.

Walk on traveler,
Go on;
Walk on and don't stop
go on.

When you pass her house
don't tell her that you saw me:
Walk on traveler,
Go on.

Go and don't stop,
Go on,

Don't look at her if she calls you,
Go on,

Remember that she is a bad one,
Go on.

Musically, Roldán composes a song of structural clarity that reveals the same quality found in Guillén's poem. Melodic simplicity and clear textural identification help to delineate form and at the same time, evoke the image of the folk. All the songs within *Motivos* have revealed some indication of structural complexity. Although formal

elements of the *son* are always referred to in a convincing manner, an underlying blurring of structural divisions is always attained. "Sigue" offers the most definitive example of the *son* structure; at the same time, the melodic construction prevents a clear indication of *estribillo* material. For instance, the melodic material of the call-and-response is essentially the same phrase (a) prevalent throughout the song. The descending intervals concluding each call and response clearly are meant to convey the walking of the traveler within Guillén's poem. The last five measures of the song indicate a return to the original tempo of the *largo* and the final call and response is given. In the concluding chord of "Sigue" Roldán returns to quintal and quartal chord construction and the use of sharp dissonances. Hence, the composer provides a suitable conclusion to the *Motivos* cycle. It is significant that *Motivos de Son* ends with the same inconclusiveness that is characteristic of the genre from which the title derives its name (see Example 42).



Example 42: Concluding chord of "Sigue" and the *Motivos* cycle

Table 8: Formal Precis of "Sigüe"

<i>Measures 1 - 27: Largo (Quarter note = 72)</i>	<i>Harmonic Implications</i>
	<i>Background Key: B-flat</i>
<i>Stanza 1:</i>	
1-5: Introduction	B-flat
6-9: Antecedent (a)	F (5)
10-14: Consequent (a)	B-flat (1)
15-16: Instrumental Interlude	B-flat
<i>Stanza 2:</i>	
17-21: Antecedent (b)	g
22-25: Consequent (a)	B-flat - F
26-27: Instrumental Interlude	B-flat
<i>Measures 28-40: Estribillo (Quarter note = 92)</i>	
27-30: Call and Response	B-flat
31-35: Call and Response	B-flat
36-40: Call and Response (Quarter note = 72)	B-flat

Chapter Four

Conclusion

Racial categories are central to the construction of collective identity in Cuba and one cannot fully appreciate the meaning of musical nationalism without considering them. The existence of three socially significant ethnic groups within Cuba—*negros*, mulattoes, and *blancos*—enhanced the island's distinctive folk culture, and in turn the artistic expression of the island as a whole. When considering nations that are as ethnically diverse as Cuba where a perpetual struggle for domination had existed since the beginning of colonization, any doctrine of nationalist thought could only be precariously maintained and at times artificially contrived. Cuba in the nineteenth century sought to present its national identity by means of a "unified", authentic self-expression.¹ However, this unification was limited in its sole representation of the Hispanic-European population and its denial of any possible influence of the African people who were central to the ethnic formation of the island. It was only in the twentieth century with the advent of the *Afrocubanismo* movement that black ethnic factors were recognized as an integral part of Cuba's national make-up.

In the early twentieth century, musical nationalism became the most important motivating force in the creation of art music in Cuba. The term *Afrocubanismo* refers to a wide variety of artistic expression in Cuba since the late 1920s. Many artists associated with this movement, such as Eliseo Grenet and Ernesto Lecuona, achieved tremendous national and international recognition during their lifetimes and their works continue to be reinterpreted and performed today. The avant-garde artistic works of the *Minoristas*, however, has not been as widely disseminated as the works of those who wrote in a

¹ Smith, *Nationalism*, 87.

more stereotypical Cuban way. Members of the *Grupo Minorista* represented the elite of the 1920s Cuban art world; they came from relatively wealthy backgrounds, were white, well-educated, and often prominent social and political leaders. *Minorista* artists kept abreast of progressive intellectual currents in Europe and the United States and created unique works that demonstrate both the influence of *Afrocubanismo* nationalism and of modern aesthetics. The decade of the 1920s witnessed a profusion of new and polemical artistic activity closely linked to political events. Virtually all *Minoristas* were younger men born at the turn of the century who began their professional careers in an epoch of disillusionment following the "Dance of the Millions." When the Americans took over militarily in 1902, they had already taken over economically. By the beginning of the century approximately 70 percent of the land in Cuba was in U.S. hands. U.S. capitalist development brought to the island new technology and new jobs, and Havana quickly developed; however, the corruption and repression which accompanied the intervention of the United States proved frustrating to a country who had been fighting for its independence through two prolonged wars. The economic turbulence of the 1920s thus directly contributed to the rise of a new intelligentsia concerned with both political and cultural change.

Among the fundamental characteristics of the *Afrocubanismo* and *Minorista* movements was a desire on the part of artists to unite with the international avant-garde of the 1920s and 1930s while simultaneously addressing issues relevant to the Cuban people. *Minoristas* were recognized as liberal thinkers who actively promoted the acceptance of Afro-Cuban expression in a more inclusive sense than most of their contemporaries. In many cases, they continued to produce Afro-Cuban-inspired art despite severe criticism and professional marginalization. Advocates of *minorismo* believed that the fundamental problems of their country could be solved through the creation and dissemination of modern art. They hoped that their works would replace

less "sophisticated" works and raise cultural standards throughout the island. These hopes proved to be ill-founded as the *Minoristas* gave substance to their nationalistic works in a highly experimental form unintelligible to the vast majority of the population. Although inspired by working-class genres, the complex artistic forms cultivated by *vanguardistas* did not appeal to the bourgeois public but ultimately constituted only an art produced for artists.

Two of the primary artists inaugurating the *Minorista* movement in the 1920s were Amadeo Roldán and Nicolás Guillén. Guillén's poetic cycle *Motivos de Son*, and Roldán's musical setting of them elevated Cuban poetry and art music to an unprecedented level of significance. Guillén specifically chose the *son* as the mixed artistic creation of the two races that make up the Cuban population. During the 1920s as the *son* swept through Havana; many racial barriers were broken by bringing black music and black musicians into employment at white middle and upper class social and private functions. Artistically the inherent musical qualities of the *son* genre blurred cultural boundaries as elements of the Spanish, African, and ultimately Afrocuban cultures were brought together as never before.

Although not a collaborative effort, the musical cycle *Motivos de Son* reveals an innovative interpretation of popular expression while conveying the more serious social concerns of the black population. The diversity of stylistic traits within *Motivos* effectively illustrates the same diversity of cultural elements inherent in Cuba itself and reinforces the ideology put forth by the *Minorista* — recognition of minorities as an essential ingredient of the island's cultural heritage. Through the simple, nationalist forms of Guillén's collection, the poems offer a rich concentration of images and devices that work to open a window on the life of the humble black sector of the Cuban population. Paramount within the collection's richness and significance are folkloric and social aspects; the use of the *son* rhythm and of a level of popular speech,

supplemented by *jitanjáfora* and *onomatopoeia*, supports the folkloric findings, while the characters and their circumstances have suggested the social categories.

Roldán's setting of Guillén's poetry conveys a number of Afro-Cuban-influenced musical elements. Through the analyses presented in Chapter Three of this thesis, numerous innovative compositional devices are apparent. Such musical elements preferred by Roldán are: 1) the use of polyrhythms, especially contrasting time signatures of duple and triple meter; 2) *tresillo* and *cinquillo* figures, and other characteristic Afro-Cuban rhythmic cells as compositional motives; 3) orchestral scoring that incorporates instruments such as the *clave*, *bongo*, *guiro*, and *maracas*; 4) an avoidance of strong-beat rhythmic emphasis—typical of most *sones*—and a tendency instead to emphasize "4" of the 4/4 measure; 5) a tendency to convey an overall sense of tonality colored by added dissonances, quartal and quintal harmonies, and modal coloring.

Although the poetic and musical conception of *Motivos* seems to relay the lighter side of life in the *barrios* or tenements of Havana, subtle reference is made to the harsh reality of racial issues confronting Cuban society at this time and a certain bittersweet quality pervades each of the *sons* within the collection. Roldán's sensitivity to such issues and a primary artistic concern for universalizing Afro-Cuban musical expression aided in retaining these qualities in his setting of Guillén's *Motivos*. Drawing from the wealth of musical elements attributed to each of the diverse cultural entities forming the collective identity of Cuba, Roldán successfully accomplished his ultimate goal of creating a national identity and a idealistic state of authentic, Cuban self-expression. At the same time, Roldán realized that this authenticity required a different musical language as a means of effectively maintaining a sophisticated level of nationalist interpretation. Roldán found that the distinctive vocabulary deemed necessary for this creation could be found in the contemporary cosmopolitan musical tendencies of the

time and therefore an authentic nationalism could be portrayed by means of a modernist musical vocabulary as represented by various artists in Europe and America. Hence, Amadeo Roldán created within *Motivos de Son* a nationalist music representative of all Cubans—including the *negra* element—giving substance to their aesthetic values in a highly experimental form. Roldán's music demonstrates that unique stylistic elements of Cuban music, beyond folk melodies and harmonies, can be successfully utilized in creating a modernist compositional language.

II

The prominence of African themes that had affected the artistic expression of middle-class Cuban artists from the early 1920s through the late 1930s started to disappear by the mid-1940s. After the deaths of Roldán and Caturla, Cuban music began to adopt a more international, neoclassic approach. Composers of the 1940s expanded greatly on the experimentalist tendencies initiated by *Minorista* artists while avoiding the social ideals to which that group had also adhered. No longer did middle-class musicians, poets, and writers search for inspiration in popular culture or themes of national relevance. Instead, they chose modes of expression based exclusively on the cosmopolitan bent of the international avant-garde. The most influential art music institution of the period was undoubtedly the *Grupo de Renovación Musical*, created in 1942, by Spaniard José Ardévol. All members of this group downplayed Afro-Cuban themes, and therefore effectively ended the *afrocubanismo* movement. Only after the emergence of composers such as composer/guitarist Leo Brouwer, in the 1960s, would a new reconciliation of universal and traditional Afro-Cuban expression be achieved.

Since the early years of the revolution, Cuban scholars and the Ministry of Culture in general have had a continuing interest in neo-African culture which commenced in the 1920s, and was expressed in the nationalistic composition of

Roldán and Caturla, the poetry of Nicolás Guillén, and the scholarly works of Fernando Ortiz. Since the Revolution in Cuba, the country has promoted the aesthetic ideals of the *Afrocubanismo* movement as a means of intensifying nationalist sentiments of the Cuban population. However, classical music in Cuba has a different meaning and function in Cuban Revolutionary society because it no longer serves the bourgeoisie alone, but rather the entire working class. The desire for Cuban national unification that had occurred as a result of the Wars of Independence in the early twentieth century reached an unprecedented level of intensification with socialism under the government of Fidel Castro. In the preface to Peter Manuel's article entitled "Musical Pluralism in Revolutionary Cuba", the author states, "...musical pluralism derives from the idiosyncratic nature of Cuban communism, which, in Revolutionary ideology, is at any rate regarded as secondary in importance to nationalism."

The Cuban government has fully supported the aesthetic ideals of the *Afrocubanismo* movement and has heavily subsidized classical music and dance since 1959. As part of the new-founded socialist nationalism, the government vigorously promotes Afro-Cuban music and dance on folkloric levels as vital and cherished parts of national culture. Student, amateur, and professional folkloric groups now perform cult music and dances throughout the country. Cuban ethnological scholarship, meanwhile, has concentrated its attention on the Afro-Cuban heritage much more so, for example, than on the country's Hispanic roots.

Several significant political aggravations to the Cuban government have resulted in persistent shortages of consumer goods on the island and the general deflation of the Cuban economy. The question then arises as to why such heavy state subsidy is offered to the promotion of musical performance, composition, and research on the island. Fidel Castro has repeatedly asserted that the cultural level of the island is part of the standard of living and thus should not necessarily be seen as a luxury. Moreover, a

general consensus reveals that revolutionary Cuba is renowned for its achievements in three fields: health, education, and music and it is partly to perpetuate this international prominence that music continues to receive such lavish state support.

Music in Cuba is not conditioned by the same class interactions that characterize capitalist societies. Cuban society is classless in the sense that almost all adults are employed by the state. Thus, while there are distinct levels of income, wealth, and power in Cuba, the members of these levels do not constitute classes as such. Cuban musical life operates in an ideological and economic milieu quite distinct from that of capitalism. Music is never subordinated to use in advertisements, nor does the state force performers to overtly politicize their art. Official Cuban policy, both in theory and practice, is to promote a cosmopolitan diversity of musics, including modern and traditional Western art music, Afrocuban cult music, regional folk genres, and all manners of local and foreign popular musics.

It has obviously been beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss the numerous effects that Castro's government has had on the production and consumption of music since the early 1960s. As Cuba, in recent years, has become one of the very few remaining communist countries on earth, the study of its contemporary culture has acquired particular importance. One of the characteristics of Cuba and Cubans in general is the interesting way it and they defy neat classification. Cuba is peculiar in terms of political and social models where certain political forces are historically fused and embodied in the persona of Fidel Castro. All marginal elements in Cuban society, such as blacks, women, and poor people, have been integrated into a revolutionary discourse. Castro met personally with Cuban intellectuals and artists in 1961 and categorically affirmed the artist's freedom to choose his own theme and his own style provided they were not antirevolutionary. Castro proclaimed the freedom of the artist by stating that the government did not prohibit anyone from writing on his favorite

theme. Further, Castro stated that each artist should express himself in the manner that he deemed appropriate and should express freely the ideas that he wants to express.

The topic of Cuban classical music within a classless society itself offers to ethnomusicologists numerous avenues of scholarly inquiry. Three tendencies can be discerned in the work of composers that have worked in Revolutionary Cuba: 1) there is an avant-garde, headed by Leo Brouwer who follow international developments; 2) another group tends rather to continue the nationalistic line of Roldán and Caturla; and 3) the youngest base their aesthetic goals on the theory that all American and European influences must disappear from the art of Latin America. The artistic goals of and aesthetic positions of each of these groups all take place in public under Fidel's motto: "With the revolution, everything is allowed and welcomed; against the revolution, nothing."

The reality of this statement is difficult to determine for obvious reasons. Firstly, the U.S. blockade and the internal Cuban economic crisis has prevented the dissemination of compositions by Revolutionary artists. Scholarly works by Cuban musicologists devoted to the topic of artistic development in Cuba are obviously tinted by government censorship, and those by North American scholars at times tend to be biased by the hostile relationship between the governments of the United States and Cuba. Further investigation into this grey area of Cuban musical expression enveloped in socialist Cuba requires extensive field research within Cuba itself. It is the intent of the author to attempt such field-work, delving into various musicological issues regarding the complicated environment in which Cuban composers create their artistic works. Although much more difficult to ascertain, the author wishes to determine to what extent artists may in the words of Castro, "express freely the idea that he wants to express."

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Appendix A

Genres of Popular Cuban Music Bordering on the Spanish

Decima: A form of sung poetry formally composed or improvised and a subgenre of *musica guajira*, the music of rural Hispanic farmers. The metrical form, first developed in medieval Spain, consists of ten eight-syllable lines with the *espinela* rhyme scheme (abbaaccddc). Melodies associated with *decimas* are stylized and formulaic, while the lyrics are of primary importance.

Guajira: Music of the rural Hispanic farmers. Associated with rural areas, the genre is performed in a moderately slow duple meter and features the guitar and *tres* or *bandurria*, *maraca*, and *cowbell*, among other instruments. Its lyrics often celebrate the beauty of the Cuban countryside. The first section tends to be in the minor key changing to the major for the second.

Habanera: This genre is possibly the most universal of Cuban musical types. A Cuban vocal music and dance genre derived from the *danza* that reached the height of its popularity in the late nineteenth century. It is performed in a moderate 2/4 meter, incorporates major-minor sectional modulations, and is associated with a unique isorhythmic pattern. This genre became popular in Argentina, influencing the development of the tango.

Paso Doble: A music and dance genre from Spain in duple meter that enjoyed great popularity in Cuba in the early twentieth century. It was especially common in dances sponsored by the *sociedades españolas*.

Punto Cubano: A subgenre of *música guajira*. Primarily a form of instrumental string music played on the *tres*, and *bandurria* as well as the guitar, and accompanied by *maracas* or other hand-held percussion. It often accompanies improvised vocal performance.

Zapateo: A Spanish-derived dance music genre in 3/4 or 6/8 time performed primarily on the guitar and other string instruments.

Zarzuela: Cuban theater in the 1920s established a nationalist light opera that endeavored to accent the dramatic quality of the racial duality between the Negro and the Spaniard. It has followed the lyrical forms of the Italian opera or the Spanish *Zarzuela*, a form of Spanish musical theater. A majority of Cuban *zarzuelas* written during the *afrocubanismo* period continue to be performed today. They are typically set in the nineteenth-century and make reference to everyday life in colonial Havana as well as to slave culture. Plots almost invariably revolve around a sensual *mulata* figure who attracts multiple suitors.

Appendix A¹

Genres of Popular Cuban Music Bordering on the African

Afro: A musical genre first popularized in Cuba during the 1920s and 1930s that makes overt lyrical and musical reference to Afro-Cuban culture. Lyrics refer to *santería* ceremony, African deities, or descriptions of slave life in the nineteenth century. They tend to be written in *bozal* speech and frequently incorporate the two-measure *tango-congo* rhythm.

Conga: A ballroom dance deriving from remote African origins. Its formal channel is the *comparsa* which employed costumes and lanterns and songs which were conceived with a certain artistic intention. The *conga* as a rhythm and dance became popular in Europe and the United States in the 1930s.

Guaguanco: One of the best known and most commonly performed subgenres of traditional *rumba*. Its choreography represents a stylized enactment of attempted sexual conquest. The *guaguanco* was adapted at the turn of the century for the *teatro vernaculo* and as cabaret entertainment after the 1930s.

Lamento: Slave lament, a slow, melancholy song of a slave who cries out for freedom. The genre, popular among *afrocubanismo* composers of the 1920s and 1930s, often featured a *tango-congo* rhythm in the accompaniment and *bozal*-style lyrics.

Nañigo: Songs and dances deriving their principal elements from African rhythm. The percussion consort accompanying the *nañigo* employs African drums of different dimensions, percussion instruments of metallic sound, rattles, animal jaws, and many other picturesque percussion instruments which produce varied pictures of rhythmic combinations of magical emotive effects on those who submit to their influence. These songs and dances always accompany a liturgical act.

Rumba: A heavily African-influenced form of secular entertainment unique to Cuba. Traditional *rumba* is a complex and highly improvisatory form involving performance on various percussion instruments, song, and dance. It developed in the mid-nineteenth century in the provinces of Havana and Matanzas and was a great influence on the *son*.

Tango Africano: A nineteenth-century name for slave dance or African dance.

Tango Congo: A term used by middle-class Cubans to describe the music, dance, and rhythmic patterns executed by slaves while parading through the streets on Kings' Day in the nineteenth century. This genre has produced a work which has met with great success referring to the very popular *Mama Ines* by Eliseo Grenet.

Toques de Santo: Sacred Afro-Cuban musical performances that serve as the liturgical basis of *santería* ritual. They are performed instrumentally and as an accompaniment to singing and dancing. Pieces must be performed in a predetermined order, each praising a major deity.

Yambu: A form of Afro-Cuban music and dance predating yet similar in many respects to the *rumba guaguanco*. It is performed at a slower tempo, and its dance movements are often mimetic.

Appendix A²

Cuban Musical Genres of Equitable Black and White Influence

Such genres included the *contradanza* the *danza*, *danzonette*, *conga*, *bolero*, *guaracha*, *criolla*, and *pregón*. Essentially these genres were derived from the mother country of Spain; acclimatization in Cuba resulted in the loss of their original features.

Contradanza: A nineteenth-century ballroom dance genre, derived from English-French European origin brought to Cuba at the end of the eighteenth century by those fleeing from the Haitian Revolution. After acclimatization, original features were given to a new expression essentially assigned to the rhythm superimposed by the *negra* population. Its form consists of two primary sections, of ten and six measures each. The *contradanza* was the root from which sprang the ballroom *danza* in the second half of the past century. The *danzón*, appearing in the last quarter of the century, and the *danzonete*, in which the *danzón* allies itself with the *son*.

Danza: The *danza* is very similar to the *contradanza*; however, the second part tends to accent a different character which distinguishes it from the first. The rapidity of the dance and its sudden contrasts of six-eight and two-four time are also characteristics which differentiate the *danza* from its successor. The *Danzas* of Ignacio Cervantes written for piano are the definitive examples of this Cuban genre although Laureano Fuentes and Ernesto Lecuona both similarly enriched the genre. Alejandro García Caturla elevated the genre to the orchestral level with his *Tres Danzas Cubanas*.

Danzón: An instrumental dance genre that was developed in Matanzas during the late nineteenth century (the first *danzon* was written by Maguel Faílde in 1879) and became popularized in black middle-class *sociedades de color*. The addition of a final section of the *danzon*, which almost always has the faster movement of the *rumba*, show some influence on the *son-montuno*. The *danzon* is built on a fundamental rhythmic pattern known as the *cinquillo*, a figure which is essentially inherent to the movement of this dance genre and is characteristically Cuban. The popularization of the *danzon* corresponded closely to the final years of war against Spain. After 1898, *danzones* became an important national symbol.

Danzonete: This genre became popular in Cuba in the late 1920s as a subgenre of the *danzon*. Essentially it is an adaptation of the *son* to the form of the *danzon* which to this point had always been an instrumental piece without intervention of the voice. The popularity attained by the *son* must have originated the idea of adapting the authority of the voice to the *danzon*, forming a sort of alliance. In its final section the *maracas* take the place of the *guíro* and the music is accompanied by song with the entire orchestra chorusing the refrain. The tempo is the same as that of the slightly accelerated *montuno* in the *son*.

Conga: The dance is in fact nothing more than a marching to the rhythm in which alternately a syncopation is accented on all even measures; dancers mark the syncopation by slightly lifting one leg and accenting the beat with a brusque movement of the body. Obviously this lascivious movement could only be attributed to the negro slaves who originally expressed themselves to this dance. The characteristic rhythm of the form became a sort of obsession bordering on delirium. Eventually after due stylization, the originality of this rhythm resulted in a new form of ballroom dancing.

Bolero: This dance is an adaptation of the Spanish *bolero* which appeared on the Island at the beginning of the past century. Regardless of the indisputable Spanish origin, the *bolero* is now

one of Cuba's most characteristic genres. Its original rhythm, written in three four time, rapidly acclimates itself and takes the customary two four time of Cuban music. Its form consists of a brief introduction and two parts of sixteen to thirty-two measures though there is no hard and fast rule to these dimensions.

Guaracha: An Afrocuban genre of vocal and often dance music that developed in the nineteenth century and was popularized through *teatro vernaculo*. In this century *guarachas* have been heavily influenced by the Cuban *son*, differing from other *sones* in being faster in tempo and incorporating bawdy or satirical lyrics. The name of the genre is common to a Spanish dance which was undoubtedly introduced in Cuba where it underwent a process of adaptation ending in an accustomed submission to Cuban rhythms. Essentially, the *guaracha* is a group of rhythmical combinations (six-eight or three-four, with two-four) without any regulated order but which appealed to its audience with the sudden and surprising contrasts of the rhythms. The voluptuous forms and movements of the female *mulata* in the streets of Havana always animated the substance of these compositions in which popular lyrics overflow in their most spontaneous manifestation. It may be deduced that it is not the form which determines the genre in the *guaracha*, but the substance and the theme. The *guaracha* presents in its six-eight time a peculiarity which is common to the *clave*, that is, using notes of less value at times in the accented beats of the measure than in the unaccented beats, thereby violating the rules of the traditional classic writing.

Criolla: A middle-class Cuban vocal genre, similar to the *cancion*, that borrows heavily from European parlor music and art song of the early twentieth century. The *criolla*, typically in moderate six-eight time, contains lyrics that allude to Cuba's natural beauty or other nationalist themes.

Pregón: The *pregon* originates in the song of Cuban peddlers who make their work less arduous by singing. Pieces incorporating the musical cries of street vendors (used to attract customers), was a tradition that comes from Spain and is found throughout Latin America. In the 1920s, lyrics fashioned after the *pregon* also appeared in *sones* and other dance music. In this field we find legitimate models of Cuban folkloric musical expression, as some of these calls of vendors are transmitted from generation to generation without suffering any alteration, and have the most authentic popular quality.

Son: A highly syncretic genre of dance music created by Afrocuban performers in eastern Cuba towards the end of the nineteenth century. In terms of its form, lyrical content, and instrumentation, the *son* demonstrates the fusion of both African and European elements. It first achieved national recognition in the 1920s. The *son* has become a powerful symbol of Afro-Hispanic cultural fusion and Cuban nationalism.

Appendix B

Afrocuban Instruments

Bandola: A Spanish-derived string instrument similar to the guitar.

Batá drums: A set of three sacred, double-headed drums used in *santería* ceremony. In decreasing order of size, they are: *iya*, *ikónkolo*, and *itótele* (Yoruban names).

Bongo: The Cuban term for the drum consisting of two single-headed drums of slightly different size fastened together in a wooden frame. The smaller drum is called the *macho* or male, the larger drum the *hembra* or female. This instrument usually assumes an improvisatory role in the percussion ensemble.

Botija: A bass instrument (originally containing imported olive oil) made from a ceramic jug associated with Cuban *conjuntos de son* before about 1925.

Cencerro: Cow-bell played with a stick used to emphasize rhythmic pulse.

Chéquere: An African-derived musical instrument used to create percussive sounds consisting of a dried gourd around which a net with seeds, nuts, or beads is fastened. The gourd itself can also be struck on the bottom, producing a clear, resonant tone.

Clave: The *clave* sticks on which *clave* rhythms are performed. Essential in the performance of most Cuban music.

Conga: A stave drum in various sizes played with the hands patterned after African percussion instruments but created by the AfroCuban community.

Güiro: Gourd scraper—an AfroCuban percussion instrument created from a notched dried gourd scraped by a stick.

Maraca: A Cuban percussion instrument traditionally made from small dried gourds into which seeds or similar objects are placed.

Marímbula: An African-derived instrument used to provide a bass accompaniment in some early *conjuntos de son*. *Marimbulas* are constructed from large box resonators with a hole cut in them. Near this opening a number of steel metal strips are fastened. *Marimbula* players sit on the box itself and pluck the strips of metal, each of which has been tuned to a particular pitch.

Timbal: A percussion instrument (also called *Paila*) developed by AfroCuban performers in military bands and street ensembles during the nineteenth century. The instrument consists of one or two round metal single-headed drums similar in shape to the snare drum. It is played with sticks both on the head and on the shell or *cascara*. *Timbales* first gained national popularity in *danzon* orchestras substituting for the *timpani* and in the blackface theater as a means of parodying African drumming.

Tres: A small guitarlike Cuban instrument with three double sets of metal strings used in many *conjuntos de son*.

Appendix C

Important Political Events Occurring in Cuba: 1868 - 1962

- 1868 - 1878: The First War of Independence, led by Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, against Spain.
- 1895 - 1898: The Second War of Independence led by José Martí, Antonio Maceo and Maximo Gomez won by Cuba with the assistance of the United States. First occupation of the U.S. in Cuba.
- 1901: In return for American troop withdrawal, Cuba agrees to the Platt Amendment which grants the USA the right to intervene in the affairs of Cuba. This Amendment gives the United States the right to oversee international commitments, dominate the economy, intervene in internal affairs, and establish a naval station at Guantanamo Bay.
- 1902: The Republic of Cuba is formed. Cuba agrees to lease Guantanamo military base to the USA ad infinitum.
- 1906: Second U.S. occupation of Cuba begins. Charles Magoon takes over the administration of the island for the United States. North American influence sharpens the overt forms of racism and color prejudice on the island. The official American occupation ends in 1909 when Magoon hands the reins of power to the second president, José Miguel Gómez.
- Period marks continuing political instability and a steady economic expansion as the price of sugar continues to rise until the 1920s. Havana becomes especially attractive during the period of prohibition in the U.S. as a place where the well-to-do can find ready liquors and diverse pleasures.
- 1909 - 1913: Gomez administration. Corruption, maladministration, and social insensitivity—especially toward the Afrocubans are the most outstanding characteristics. Afrocubans led by Evaristo Estenoz and Pedro Ivonet, organize a political party called the *Partido Independiente de Color* to secure better jobs and more political patronage and to protest the 1910 law prohibiting parties based on race or color.
- 1912: Under U.S. pressure, government troops move against the colored rebels killing an estimated 3000 Afrocubans. No major black demonstrations occur again in Cuba.
- 1913 - 1920: Menocal Administration—Under this administration an ongoing condemnation of the *son* by middle-classes results in a campaign against it by local authorities.
- 1920 - 1933: The era of the dictatorship of Gerardo Machado officially elected as president in 1925. Distinguishing features are their notorious use of political assassination, constitutional manipulation, and military power either to gain

or maintain office. Machado has Julio Antonio Mella, the founder of the Cuban Communist Part, murdered in Mexico in 1929.

- 1933: Ramon Grau Administration.
- 1933 - 1940: Cuba is ruled by a succession of eight different presidents. Many political parties and factions arise in this period of political upheaval. The communist and socialist influence is seen in such groups as the "ABC," "Grupo Minorista," "Grupo Avance," and various student groups at the University of Havana.
- 1934: Batista ousts the elected Dr. Ramon Grau and remains in charge until 1944 when Grau is re-elected. Batista remains the Cuban strongman from 1933 and is a significant figure in Cuban politics from 1940-44 and 1952-1959.
- 1952: Batista returns from the USA to overthrow the government of Carlos Prio Socarras in a coup d'etat.
- 1953: Castro and members of the July 26th Movement attack Moncada Barracks in Santiago de Cuba.
- 1956: Castro and Che Guevara sail from Mexico in the cabin cruiser *Granma* spearheading an insurrection against Batista.
- 1959: Castro enters Havana and the victory of the Communist Revolution is secured.
- 1960: Castro uses the slogan *Patria o Muerte* for the first time. Cuba restores diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and nationalizes all major foreign banks. The USA imposes an embargo on all imports to Cuba.
- 1961: The U.S. severs diplomatic relations with Cuba. The Bay of Pigs invasion fails and Castro announces that Cuba is to become a socialist country.
- 1962: Cuba is expelled by the Organization of American States.

Appendix D

Works of Amadeo Roldán

Ballets:

La Rebambaramba - Afrocuban Ballet, Scenario by Alejo Carpentier (1928)
El Milagro de Anaquille - Afrocuban Ballet, Scenario by Alejo Carpentier (1931)

Symphonic Works:

Obertura Sobre Temas Cubanos (1925)
Tres Pequeños Poemas (1926)
La Rebambaramba Suite (1928)
Tres Toques (1931)

Chamber Music:

A Chango (1928)
Rítmicas I, II, III, IV, V, VI (1930)
Poema Negro (1930)

Vocal Works:

Sensitiva - Text by G. Villaespesa (1922)
Fiestas Galantes - Text by P. Verlaine (1923)
Danza Negra - Text by F. Pales Matos (1928)
Curujey - Text by Nicolás Guillén (1931)
Motivos de Son - Text by Nicolás Guillén (1934)

Piano Works:

Preludio Cubano
Dos Canciones
Mulato - (1934)
Piezas Infantiles: "El diablito baila", "Canción de cuna del niño negro" (1937)

Various Works:

La Muerte Alegre - Incidental music for the work by N. Evreinoff (1932)
Dos Canciones Populares Cubanas - Cello and Piano (1928)
Marcha Solemne - (1936)