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MUSIC, SOCIAL CLASSES, AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION OF PUERTO RICO

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This is an essay on popular music. But since it is a sociological elaboration on music, it follows the form of elaborated music: it is divided into four movements--**prelude, allegro ma non troppo, andante,** and **finale presto.** Although I had presented some of the ideas of this essay in other writings, the first draft of the present argument, as a unit, was prepared for a symposium organized by the Center for Caribbean Studies of the University of Warwick, England, where I enjoyed the status of visiting fellow in the autumn of 1985. I appreciate the encouragement I received from my colleagues at Warwick, Prof. Alistair Hennessy, Prof. Robin Cohen, and most especially, Dr. John King to write down what was then only a talk. The andante section uses some paragraphs of a previous article translated from the Spanish by Oscar Montero and I would like to acknowledge his collaboration. I would like to express also my appreciation for stimulating discussions on this topic with CEREP (Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Puertorriqueña) comrades, especially Lydia Milagros González, Luis Manuel Alvarez, and Edgardo Díaz and with Latin American brothers Aníbal Quijano, Hernán Ibarra, Jean Casimir, and Fernando Calderón. I would like to acknowledge also the enormous help of Minerva González Sosa with the typescript and polishing the draft and, finally, Dr. Richard Morse of the Wilson Center for his encouragement to complete the essay as it stands now.

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A Salsa Prelude

In the 1970s, when everyone thought that Isadora Duncan had been completely forgotten in Puerto Rican culture, Puerto Rico's most important salsa composer (who is not a professional musician, but a mulatto postman), Catalino "Tito" Curet-Alonso, dedicated a song to the turn-of-the-century ballet dancer.

Cuando bailó, se liberó talvez,
auténtico fue el mensaje de Isadora.
En cada amor una pasión vivió
y a nadie se encadenaba Isadora.

El baile que dominó
cual llama de su placer
el mundo entero ovacionó.

Isadora Duncan formó la liberación.
Isadora Duncan leyenda que no murió.

Tuvo el encanto, la simpatía, la valentía,
la bailarina de una pureza que no mentía.

En las piernas de Isadora
bailaban muchas razones.
Impuso una nueva moda
con sus improvisaciones...

Isadora Duncan bailaba sin reglas ni posición;

Interpretaba sus danzas con dulce improvisación...

Se liberaba al danzar, se liberaba al amar...
por eso Isadora Duncan yo te tengo que cantar.[1]

Through this homage to this revolutionary classical ballerina in a guaracha, a traditional popular dance and musical form in the Hispanic Caribbean, Curet-Alonso is making a statement about the broadly human character of some basic social values of the national alternative culture that his salsa represents. The defiant nature of Isadora's symbol is evident: she challenged established patterns both in her work (creation or performance) and in her personal life. The encounter of both these spheres of defiance has particular social importance, as their integration testifies to the capitalist alienation of life and work. In her art and her personal life, intimate feelings turn into public defiance as they clash with norms. And most important, her defiance was her triumph. Isadora Duncan advanced the aspirations of a counterculture in transformation by the very historical transcendence of her daring. Through her dancing legs and his love for daring Isadora, Curet-Alonso is praising liberty and spontaneity. These values have not only been central themes of some of the most important and popular salsa lyrics,[2] they are also elements of the musical structure of contemporary Puerto Rican popular music. This paper examines how Puerto Rican musical language expresses the basic values of an alternative culture and on a sociohistorical level tries to explain how these values came to integrate the musical language of the island.

Within contemporary Puerto Rican popular music the salsa has been particularly important. It is a heterogeneous movement that has given a more modern and harsh urban character to traditional Hispanic Caribbean musical genres, being a part of the transformations that "popular" classes are experiencing in our countries. Salsa has a long history, but it took form as

a movement with its contemporary characteristics and under its present name in the late 1960s and early 1970s. [3] It emerged as part of the constant communication between New York City and Caribbean societies and is closely linked to the sociocultural phenomenon of migration. [4]

The experience of migration, particularly to New York, is present in the daily life of most people in all the Caribbean, but most strongly in Puerto Rico. Puerto Ricans are not only the most numerous Caribbean migrants in New York City but also have cohesive and historically rooted communities. It is therefore not surprising that the music emerging from this situation bears dominant traces of Puerto Rican tradition notwithstanding the fact that it is a broadly Caribbean cultural phenomenon. In analyzing Puerto Rican popular culture, it is thus possible to quote songs composed by the Panamanian Rubén Blades or sung by the Cuban Celia Cruz or enriched by the marvelous Venezuelan double bass Oscar D'León. Salsa, in fact, shows that one of the most important characteristics of contemporary Puerto Rican popular alternative culture is its comprehensive Caribbean character. Salsa integrates not only different national musical traditions with their ultimately shared Caribbean roots but also performers of different national origins. This represents not a mere compilation of elements but a heterogeneous integration. Cuban ensembles and musical tradition held indisputable hegemony in Latin Caribbean music until the U.S. blockade which isolated Cuba after the 1959 Revolution. Salsa is not a new musical rhythm, but an incorporation of traditional genres, musicians, and music commentators. Many, especially Cubans, attack the use of the salsa classification as a commercial slogan to sell "neoyorican" groups that are playing just good old Cuban music with some modern sound techniques. This

may well be true for certain recordings. Yet the most important salsa recordings, those which have enjoyed the greatest popularity and impact, have enough new elements with deep sociological meanings to delineate salsa clearly as a new movement. This movement did not break traditional forms but developed them, as I will try to show. [5]

There are three particular ways in which liberty and spontaneity are expressed within the musical structure of most contemporary Puerto Rican popular music, most notably in salsa. The first is the free and significant combination of forms. Salsa is not an exclusive genre of music. It is a movement that includes and combines different traditional genres, mainly: son, guaracha, bomba, plena, and guaguancó, but also various types of seis, bolero, cumbia, rumba, samba, guajira, chachachá, and others. Throughout this century, Latin music has experimented with combined forms as a means of creating of new genres,[6] the bolero-son being probably the most famous. The combinations within salsa of other contemporary Puerto Rican popular music are innovative because they do not result in new structures or genres. Salsa composers move freely and spontaneously within different traditional genres according to the message they want to put forward. For example, some transitions between musical forms are related to the development of the lyrics. When there is an important twist in what the lyrics are trying to express, the musical form changes.

An excellent example of a shift in genre is Rubén Blades' Tiburón ("Shark"), which was number one for several weeks on Puerto Rico's hit parade a few years ago. Tiburón is an allegorical denunciation of U.S. imperialism, using very subtle and poetic yet popular language. Its reception was surprising in view of the fact that anti-imperialist feelings

as they are expressed in electoral politics do not seem generally present in Puerto Rico. Tiburón begins with the rumba form, through which the lyrics evoke the setting of the shark's attack, contrasting the sinister and treacherous character of the shark with the generosity of colors and sensations of the Caribbean setting. Mystery and extravagance have long been associated with the marvelous complexity of the rumba rhythm. By the middle of the first section, the song begins to develop the symbol with double entendre phrases. By the second part of the song, the symbolic meaning of these phrases becomes clear. The musical form changes when the clue is presented, that is, when the first openly sociopolitical reference appears--"Tiburón ¡respeta mi bandera!" (shark, respect my flag, i.e., my nationality). It incorporates harmonic elements of the seis, and in this new musical form, the lyrics develop the symbol overtly. The estribillo or refrain regularly encourages the conteroffensive against the shark:

> "si lo ves que viene, ¡palo al tiburón!"
> (if you see the shark coming, hit him).

The seis is a traditional Puerto Rican country music form used mostly in Christmas songs. It is identified with the Christmas values of communal friendship and generosity. It is also strongly identified with the autochthonous, with traditional popular cultural values that here provide historical support for new, militant lyrics with a vision of a different future. The song ends with the phrase:

> "Y luego a trabajar en la reconstrucción."
> (And on to national reconstruction.)

which was popularized by the Sandinistas in Nicaragua.

The free combination of forms is but one of the ways in which liberty and spontaneity penetrate contemporary Puerto Rican popular musical structure. A second is the importance given to the soneo. Regardless of the musical form adopted, most salsa genre compositions observe the son, guaracha,and soneo formulas formed by a short song section introducing the main theme, followed by a long section of improvisation in soneo. Soneo is a traditional call-and-response technique whereby the lead singer improvises on a theme repetitively brought to mind by a refrain in the chorus: "si lo ves que viene, palo al tiburón" in the quoted example. One of the most important attributes of a singer, as important as his voice and tuning, is his ability to do the soneo. In fact, the best Puerto Rican singer in this tradition, Ismael Rivera, is nicknamed el sonero mayor, "the greatest sonero." Salsa incorporates the soneo in all of its forms, even the bolero. When songs move amongst different musical forms, sometimes a double soneo is introduced. The previously quoted Tiburón, for example, has a small soneo section in the introductory rumba, then the long soneo which forms the second section.

The final example of how liberty and spontaneity are stressed through music is the salsa descargas (literally "burst" or jam session). Puerto Rican contemporary popular music with its strong jazz influence gives enormous importance to free improvisation with different instruments around the theme of the song, turning simple songs into long jam sessions of marvelous subtlety and variation. The most important descargas in salsa are the percussion "bursts", followed by the trombone or brass section and the cuatro (native lute-type instrument); yet the piano, flute, bass, or other instruments also get their chance to manifest creativity and virtuosity.

Allegro Ma Non Troppo: Bomba, Seis and Marronage

Improvisation of both the soneo and descarga has a long tradition in Caribbean music and is in part responsible for the transformations of salsa and other forms of Puerto Rican music. Peasant music in Cuba and Puerto Rico, punto cubano and seis puertorriqueño, is based on improvisation. The improvisation in this tradition is, nevertheless, almost exclusively in the lyrics and within previously established patterns. The seis, for example, which is a much more complex and developed music than the punto, shows an ample range of variations (mapeyé, villarán, chorreao, farjardeño, etc.) each with its fixed melodic phrases, harmonic patterns, and rhythm. Either the singer chooses one of the variations in which to improvise his song, or the musical group (conjunto) announces to the singer that they will play one specific variation over which the singer will need to improvise suitable lyrics. Once the singer begins to improvise, he must continue in that pattern until he finishes his song. The lyrics are usually décimas espinelas, an old Spanish poetic form with its own metrics and versification.

There are several ways in which improvisation in the seis can be structured to make it more challenging. The improvisator may decide to use a pie forzado, which means that the last line of each of his ten-verse espinela is repeated. Another variation to this formula is to decide on some famous copla (four verses) and use it as a pie forzado. The singer improvises four décima espinela: the last line of the first must be the first verse of the copla; the last line of the second ends with the second line of the copla; until he ends his last espinela with the last line of the copla. Duels can be part of the seis-improvisation, as present in the Cuban punto and in rural music of other Latin American countries. A first singer improvises a challenging, teasing décima, and the second must improvise a response with

the next décima. The duel goes on until one of them makes a versification mistake, gives up, or until the musicians decide it is time to stop. Seis improvisation has the characteristic of being a challenge, with liberty and spontaneity being valued within a context of increasing difficulties. This has profound sociocultural significance to which we will return later.

The musical aspect of improvisation in the seis occurs only in its "second voice". As mentioned earlier, the three basic elements of music--melody, harmony, and rhythm-- usually show no improvisation in the seis. Improvisation takes place in a kind of accompaniment similar to what in classical music is called the obbligato, a second melodic voice that forms "an independent part in concert music, ranking in importance just below the principal melody and not to be omitted."[7] The musical conjunto for the seis is usually formed simply by a guitar, a lute-type cuatro, and some percussion, usually a scraper of Indian ancestry called the güiro. The singer improvises his lyrics within an established melody; the guitar provides the basic rhythmic and harmonic patterns, and the guiro stresses the rhythm. The cuatro, identified as a Puerto Rican national instrument, plays a special musical role. All seis music starts with an instrumental introduction by the cuatro and to establish the melodic theme, and thus identify the particular seis variant for the singer's improvisation. When the versification begins, the cuatro accompanies the singer with a sort of improvised obbligato through subsidiary melodic phrases which are harmonic variations (or cadenzas) of the defining theme of the introduction. Through this obbligato, the seis musician can show enormous virtuosity in a "discreet" form, as an accompaniment which should not compete nor interfere with the singer's melody. In cuatro improvisation seis music achieves its

highest creativity. It is socially significant that this depends on the discreet role of accompaniment.

The seis has contributed importantly to the development of contemporary Puerto Rican popular musical forms. Of comparable importance is la bomba, derived from traditional plantation music. Its obvious African roots link the bomba historically to black slavery.[8] They are reflected in the decisive role of rhythm.[9] Bomba has opposite characteristics to those of seis, but here too improvisation is a key ingredient. This is call-and-response music, whose melody and lyrics are usually simple, repetitive, and even monotonous. There is almost no improvisation in this sphere; on the contrary, some of the lyrics sung now are more than a century old and some even contain African words (or deformations of them) no longer understood in Puerto Rico. [10] The basic instruments in the original bomba were drums and the human voice. One of the drums establishes the particular toque of the bomba, the basic rhythmic pattern. These toques are also traditional. Still today, one of the most important assets of a drummer in an ensemble of Hispanic Caribbean music is his knowledge or repertoire of the numerous traditional toques.[11] On the basis of the established toque of a particular bomba, the second drummer involves himself in long series of improvisations. And it is in these marvelous variations, inconceivable within the European musical tradition, that the bomba achieves its greatest sophistication.

The bomba is dance music, and in the traditional form a group sang with the drummers, and a dancer in turn began to improvise his dance, drawing on traditional patterns in a sort of dialogue with the second drummer. He or she does not develop his or her rhythmic movements following the toque, which

is the usual dancing form in popular Latin music. The toque is left as an implicit rhythmic background, but the movements are developed in dialogue with the creative improvisation drum. Some traditional patterns are still followed, but the success of the dancer lies not only in his or her knowledge of those patterns but an ability to exceed the versatility of the second drummer. After some time he or she steps out and another dancer continues with his own improvisation. When he finishes, then a third one steps in, and so on.[12]

Liberty and spontaneity are fundamental aspects of black American jazz and Jamaican reggae and other forms of music related to the history of plantation societies. Focusing on Puerto Rican history, we will examine the relationship between these cultural values in music and the dynamics of social formations. This will be a preliminary and partial analysis of a subject that requires much further research.

Some social scientists have defined Caribbean societies as plantation-related social formations and argued that black slavery defined the common culture of our first centuries of existence. This is only partially correct. While slavery was the basis of productive relations, it entailed such dialectical contradictions as plantation and counter-plantation agriculture; slavery and cimarronería (marronage). The Caribbean tradition reflected these dialectical tensions. Given our role in European expansion, the tension between plantation and counter-plantation remained present throughout the region, although societies like 18th-century Saint Domingue or 19th-century Cuba contained both terms of the polarity while others like Barbados were mainly plantation islands and still others, like the Hispanic Caribbean until the 18th-century, were basically counter-plantation societies.

Slave plantations did not originally shape the internal structure of Hispanic Caribbean societies, for the Antilles were initially of only military-commercial importance for Spain. Here, that is, marronage was not solely a response to the eventual regime of plantation slavery but could be traced to the garrison city implanted by the colonial state. At the start, rural society was gradually formed by runaways who had escaped the initial city-based form of colonialism. Some, to be sure, had fled early encomiendas or incipient plantations,[13] but many ran away for reasons linked to Spanish prejudice against descendants of Jews and Moors, [14] to the Inquisition and blood-purity procedures,[15] to the picaresque attitude toward lower-echelon, non-inheriting nobility,[16] and to other causes. Marronage therefore involved several intersecting factors such as opposition to forced labor, political opposition to state policies, and the sociocultural significance of isolation from a previously tolerant society that was still heterogeneous but was now undergoing a state-fostered unifying or "purifying" crusade.[17] Dissidents avoided confrontation by escaping to the hinterland from the jurisdiction of the colonial state.[18]

There has been much controversy in the Hispanic Caribbean about the relative importance of the cultural backgrounds of the varied ethnic groups that formed Caribbean societies. These were important, but the shared situation of cimarronería or marronage was more so, to the extent that it produced radically new cultural patterns, as the analysis of the music will show. The traditional controversy rests on the notion that our societies were formed through a mixture of three cultural groups --European, African, and Amerindian--and fails to consider that these cultures experienced profound processes of transformation and disintegration. During the first

three centuries our countryside, faced with the colonial garrison city, witnessed a meeting of persons whose culture had been menaced with destruction. The basic elements of Indian culture were destroyed with the dismantling of its villages and the elimination of its communal mode of production. Africans were similarly vulnerable to deculturization.[19] Many Spaniards too-- especially those whose culture had been influenced by the previously Moorish "Al-Andalus", by Jewish norms of personal life, or simply by a hardening of the tradition of ethnic convivencia or coexistence-had experienced a dramatic transformation of their culture by the statist nobility.[20] The famous Hispanist Américo Castro said of Spaniards emerging from this transformation that they are "at the same time of one type and need to live as another."[21] And the Spanish historian Domínguez Ortiz, referring mainly though not exclusively to American conversos (Jews or Moors who had adopted, by conviction or necessity, the Christian faith) and their descendants, has stated that colonists of "suspicious" antecedents "must have been frequent, for America was the escape, the refuge of those in Spain who for one or another reason were not well thought of". [22] Cultural elements of all these groups of course remained but our modern cultures cannot be seen simply as a mixture of such remnants. The matrix of our class and cultural formation was the counter-plantation nature of that society.

To analyze the counter-plantation culture in the Hispanic Caribbean one must recognize the original meaning of the term "marronage". Maroons have come to be identified with runaway slaves of African descent, but this limits the concept to a particular type of marronage. Both the English word maroon and the French marron come from the Spanish cimarrón, which originally had the broader meaning of those who escaped in order to

avoid domestication.[23] It is noteworthy that the word used in Puerto Rico since late 18th-century to designate people from this rural background is jíbaro, while in Cuba this word was a synonym of cimarrón dog.[24] I therefore use the term cimarronaje (marronage) in the ample sense of, for example, the Cuban novelist Alejo Carpentier in a story based on the early colonial period where he describes a meeting in the Cuban hinterland of the different types of runaways that I mentioned above.[25] This ethnic amalgamation helped to engender a counter-plantation social formation based necessarily on new values and patterns of relationships. It took place within a shared situation of cultural readjustment, and was based on the maroons' desire to place themselves beyond the reach of encompassing authority or the jurisdiction of the state.

Like all counter-plantation cultures, Caribbean counter-plantation cultures vary with the presence of their opposite. In periods of strong slave economies the counter-plantation is a menace because of the attraction it implies for working slaves. Runaways are chased ferociously, and runaway societies are attacked. The runaways form villages (palenques) for mutual defense and for the organization of an alternative, but menaced, living structure.[26] Also, plantation slavery differs from older forms of slavery in that the reproduction of its labor force is generated not internally but externally through the slave trade. Exploitation was such that the life span of slaves was very short, and they were replaced not by their offspring-- most did not have any-- by imported slaves. This renewed the memory of Africa and permitted the continuing adoption of modified African social forms.[27]

In societies where the plantation economy was weak but where a strong

garrison city existed, as in Puerto Rico, marronage represented seclusion rather than active opposition. The urban soldiery saw the rural world not as a menace but as a world of primitive indolence. Thus runaways felt no need to organize (to become a menace), while their anti-urban feelings hampered the formation of palenques. This type of counter-plantation society was characterized by isolated dwellings and a family-based mode of subsistence production. Owing mainly to shifting cultivation, this form of life acquired a semi-nomadic character. The agrarian structure was radically different from that predominant in Spain (organized around small towns or villages) and which state policy had attempted to reproduce in the Americas.[28] This was basically a natural economy, the opposite of plantation commercialism. It developed nonetheless in a time and place of growing international trade. Such commerce was channeled outside state jurisdiction by smuggling, whose importance is emphasized again and again in reports on the period for all three Hispanic islands. The runaway world of the first peasantry was contradictory and vulnerable, despite the rebelliousness of its maroon origins. Its challenge was escape, not attack. Its quest was to live outside state jurisdiction, not because of opposition to the state, but because of the maroons' devotion to their own way of life and to peasant farming. Eighteenth-century descriptions of Puerto Rico [29] all emphasize the peasant's love of freedom; but it was the freedom of retreat, characterized in a sense by inferiority complexes. For a Christian of some Moorish ancestry in Cádiz in 1492, there was nothing worse than the Moorish part of his ancestry. Spaniards were the conquerors and Indians the defeated; black was identified with the slave plantation, the opposite of marronage liberty. Therefore the state--the world from which maroons retreated, not because it

was ideologically wrong, but because it had vanquished them--justified itself in clear racial tones.

Studies on 16th-century Spain describe the contrast between "great liberty enjoyed by humble poor people to speak and criticize, and the intransigent situation, on the other hand, toward foreigners and in matters of faith."[30] Both types of intransigence were related insofar as ethnic conflicts had nurtured the identification of religion with nationhood. To be an "Old Christian" (i.e., with Christian ancestors in contrast to "New Christians," who were Jewish or Moorish converts) was to be truly Spanish. In this context the Puerto Rican runaways' aim of preserving liberty (of retreat, not of confrontation) gave way to contradictory attempts at non-statist Hispanization. To avoid conflicts it was important not to be identified as a foreigner. One non-statist Hispanization strategy was "to better" or whiten the race (mejorar la raza). An 18th-century chronicle describes the ease with which hinterland peasants gave their daughters in marriage to poor white stowaways and deserters so as to get a whiter family.[31] The chronicler adds that although most Puerto Rican creoles were pardos (dark), "they show pride in their Spanish origin."[32]

Another example of non-statist Hispanization was the development of non-institutional, popular religiosity. One of its most beautiful and significant manifestations was the wood-carving of saints' images (santos). One way to identify a Indian straw hut or bohío as a Christian home and therefore as non-foreign or Spanish is the presence of el santo, a Christian image. Yet the image is never fixed nor static. The liberty and spontaneity of marronage living manifests itself in the way the saint is dressed as shown by the painting of the wooden image in accordance with

different festive occasions.[33]

Popular or non-institutional religiosity is of non- foreign inspiration yet simultaneously reveals the camouflaged but spontaneous style of life of an ethos that resists state domination. People lived in quotidian isolation, and social gatherings took place around some Christian (or Christianized) celebration: at Christmas, for baptism of a child or for his baquiné (celebration of the death of a baptized child who is assumed to go straight to heaven). At Christmas and probably at all important social celebrations, pork was eaten, a custom that became a national tradition. In spite of their Jewish or Moorish ancestry[34] new Christians ate pork at Christmas in order to avoid arousing the suspicions of the authorities; they were Christian on this occasion, and it was important to demonstrate it. They probably would not eat pork the rest of the year (the Spanish custom of eating ham or chorizos daily is not common to Puerto Rico) but at Christmas they would not only eat it but offer it to guests as well. It was also important to maintain a pig near the bohío, feeding him with leftovers all year round in order to fatten him for the Christmas feast. Anybody who passed by, especially priests who were those who traveled the most, would see the hog: the sign of Christianity.

One 18th-century chronicle vividly describes the importance that Puerto Rican peasants attached to these social gatherings and how because of their isolation they walked miles to participate:

> The most beloved diversion or amusement of these Islanders are the dancing parties...for which hundreds show up from everywhere, even if they have not been invited.... These dancing feasts usually last a whole week.... They travel two or three leagues with no other purpose than to participate in the fandango [feast].

> The music, chants, and obstreperous kicking leave hare-brained for long after the most resistant head. [35]

Seis, the music of those gatherings, is revealing. At most important religious celebrations in 16th- and 17th-century Spain [36] it was danced in the temple before the altar as an offering to the Eucharist.[37] In Puerto Rico, Castilians considered the dance movement of the black or black-influenced population to be lascivious,[38] and seises were banned from the San Juan cathedral by the ecclesiastical authorities.

> At the feast of Corpus one could observe in Puerto Rico the original custom of Seville, where it is still practiced by choir boys called seises. A group of free mulattos attend the cathedral in the vesper hours to dance without taking their hats off in the presence of the Holy Sacrament being manifest. In 1684, the bishop Don Fray Francisco de Padilla expelled the dancers. There was no lack of dancing yet it was suppressed in the church.[39]

The seis therefore took refuge in the hinterland, transformed by cimarrón social formation. At a celebration, isolated peasants of a region gathered before the bohío of the family hosting the feast. Together they sang the saludo (greetings) and the host invited them in. Inside the house, as in a temple, they danced the seis [40] in front of el santo. This initial homage to a religious symbol camouflaged more heartfelt homage to spontaneous friendship and the joy of living in liberty.

As mentioned earlier, the lyrics in the seis follow the espinelas of Spanish literary tradition, but some forms of singing them betray a Moorish heritage. Puerto Rican ethnomusicologist Luis Manuel Alvarez identifies parenthetical phrases that frequently break the espinela metrics (oígame company, for example), and show affinity with the Arab tradition of the zegel.[41] Moorish influence also appears in the generalized use of the cadencia andaluza harmonic pattern and in use of the sound patterns le-lo-lai

ay-el-ay in Cuba [42] to initiate improvisation while searching for "inspiration". Another example of camouflaging ethnic amalgamation by the music of popular religiosity appears in the significance attached to the rosary.[43] The Catholic rosary was used to measure calendar time in accord with the phases of the moon (as in the practice of the Indians), and some variants of singing it seem to have followed Amerindian forms.[44]

Coparenthood through baptism (compadrazgo) was particularly important in social relations.[45] Coparenthood bonds friends into each other's families and was a way of sharing life's problems more closely. On the other hand, coparenthood ties cast a strain of formality into previous spontaneous sharing: compadres never address each other as tú, but as usted. The marronage peasantry also used the term cristiano (Christian) as a form of address, but only when some sort of surprise was involved. Meanwhile, in the colonial garrison city the popular classes, basically mulatto or free pardo artisans, were likewise camouflaging their libertarian values with popular religiosity. In their cofradías (guilds) Brau states that "el culto tributado a las imágenes en los templos terminaba en la calle con regocijos nada piadosos." (The worship rendered to the images in the temples ended in the streets with far from pious celebration.)[46] The bishop condemned them in 1712 complaining that "los cófrades contentaban al alto con una misa, gastándose los dineros de la hermandad en bailes, comedias, corridas de cañas y profanidades pecaminosas."(The participants paid homage with a mass, spending the money of the brotherhood on dances, comedies, liquor and sinful profanities)[47] It is revealing that two of the city's most important popular religious celebrations were the eve of Saint John's day (víspera de San Juan) and the Holy Cross feasts (fiestas de la Cruz de Mayo). At that time in

Spain, these were considered the most "pagan" and profane of the religious celebrations, the eve of Saint John's day being known as the night of liberty and licentiousness.[48] But we will return to the artisans in the next "andante" section.

The basic characteristic of social action in marronage is camouflage, through which libertarian values were maintained and confrontation avoided. Camouflage however, limits the spontaneity so valued by the maroons, forcing it to shift onto unstable grounds and show calculated points of luminosity. It is therefore significant that the most compelling expressions of seis music are at the level of accompaniment. The cuatro obbligato, a burst of creativity and virtuosity, merely supports the singer's melody. The lyrics present the melody, challenging the growing narrowness of verse--espinelas, pies forzados, controversias--with spontaneity. The counter-plantation society of Puerto Rico nurtured the musical languages of bomba and seis, amalgamating different musical traditions such as Moorish, African, European, and perhaps maybe Amerindian, and developing new musical forms for the alternative world of escape. The seis was the music of the runaways who avoided confrontation; the bomba was the music of the runaway dream.[49]

In the second half of the 18th century and during the 19th Spain redirected its Antillean policies, fostering commercial agriculture through institutional channels of trade. It waged an intensive battle against smuggling and encouraged rural colonization, first through farmers' estancias and later through seigniorial haciendas or slave plantations. Original documents of this rural colonization refer to official preoccupation with possible marronage opposition,[50] but this never materialized. What opposition did emerge expressed the contradictory world of maroon liberty and

the individualized character of marronage: namely, the social banditry[51] of the native "pirate" who, without taking orders from a foreign country, resisted officialdom by his own intrepidity and courage and could count on the protection of the maroon community.[52] It is revealing that in 1825, when the official mercantile economy was beginning to take shape, and the maroon world was disappearing owing to the transition to _haciendas_ and plantations, Puerto Rico's social bandit par excellence, the smuggler-pirate Roberto Cofresí, was captured. He is still remembered as a popular hero. The death of Cofresí, the last important Caribbean pirate, took place precisely when the maroon world was yielding to commercial agriculture.

With the development of an _hacienda_ economy, of growing seigniorialism, and of personal relations based on dependence, the maroon tradition of independence was channeled through a cultural tradition of deferent distrust known as the _unjú_. When a city man or an _hacendado_ speaks to a peasant and the latter replies _unjú_, this means overt acceptance but with internal disapproval and distrust. It means that socially, he accepts what he is being told and will act accordingly but that internally he reserves judgment. The noncommittal _unjú_ masks a latent rebellious impulse.

The Danza Andante

Bomba and _seis_ were musical languages of particular sectors of Puerto Rican society. Analysis of the musical expression of an alternative culture leads us to examine the country's first national genre. This was the Puerto Rican _danza_, which had emerged by the mid 19th-century and achieved glory in the final decades. The national anthem of Puerto Rico is in fact a _danza_, to the astonishment of many foreigners. I have published an essay on the

emergence and significance of that first national music,[53] and will here summarize the arguments.

With the development of commercial agriculture, a class of landowners began to take shape in the country. Originally allied with metropolitan policies, it began to consolidate its own hegemonic aspirations by the last third of the 19th century. This class conformed ambivalently to the ideology and politics of a national character as it achieved social predominance and increasing control of the production process. The metropolis and its colonial policies limited the development of that predominance and control.

This emerging class of hacendados embodied the contradictions of the economy whereon it rested: an economy directed toward capitalist development but based on precapitalist forms of labor exploitation, namely slavery and, above all, seigniorial or semifeudal forms. The class was seigniorial with bourgeois aspirations. In its struggle to extend its predominance to the economy as a whole, which was still controlled by Spanish merchants, and to the public sphere and life in general, governed by colonial officialdom, the hacendados needed the subservient backing of the diverse groups forming the majority. Attempting to present their interests as the general interests of society, the hacendados gradually developed a policy of Puerto Rican affirmation through their Autonomist Party, defining social conflicts as an opposition between Puerto Ricans and peninsular Spaniards.[54] The bourgeois-seigniorial tension of their ideology produced a contradictory national vision: a paternalistic conception of the fatherland as an all embracing family along with a stratified family ruled by the padre de agrego, the hacendado, but a family which after all included the "honest children of labor." The emergence of the danzas is linked to the confirmation

of the hacendados' national politics.[55]

As was explained in the Allegro ma non troppo movement, San Juan was the city of Spanish officialdom, military and bureaucratic. With the growth of commercial agriculture, San Juan retained its importance as the main port for imports, a trade dominated by Spaniards and associated with colonial rule,[56] while the second and third largest cities of Ponce and Mayagüez thrived on exports,[57] developing as cities of the agroexporting classes.[58] With the orientation of the latter to rural interests, the urban/rural distinction was definitely less pronounced here than in San Juan. In this sense, Ponce and Mayagüez were centers of an agrarian world as opposed to the capital garrison city.

The Autonomist Party had as its bastion the city of Ponce, the principal exporting city, grounded in hacienda agriculture and nursing national aspirations. The most important assemblies of this Party were held in Ponce, and in that city the Party published its newspaper, La Democracia, which became the most important newspaper in the country. In this stronghold of the class with nationalist aspirations appeared the music which musicologists designate as our first national music. In 1864, street lamps were set up in the Plaza de las Delicias and open-air band concerts began.[59] The most innovative musicians, such as Tavárez, tired of the military and ecclesiastical music of San Juan,[60] began to move to Ponce. During the 1880s, the decade of consolidation of the hacendados' Party, the danzas of Juan Morel Campos, their greatest composer, flourished in Ponce.61 The "seigniorial City of Ponce" was the bastion of a historically ascendant class and the alternate capital of the country culturally, economically, politically, and socially.

But the danzas were not composed by hacendados, whose national struggle explains only in part their emergence. It was in the world of labor, from the class of artisans in its relationship with other classes, that the danzas took form. [62] The majority of artisans were black or mulatto. Some had been skilled slaves in sugar mills and had emigrated to the city after abolition. Others had a long tradition as black freemen. Slavery had left society deeply scarred by racism. As initial struggle of artisans was for dignity, for recognition of their civil existence as both individuals and citizens. Their struggles were later radicalized, late in the 19th century and particularly at the beginning of the 20th they took on a defiant, independent character.[63] When the danza first appeared, the struggle for dignity was still set within the politics of the hacendados, whose concept of "the all embracing Puerto Rican family" meant an acceptance, although subservient, of the role of "honest children of labor" within the civil community. The Autonomist Party defended general education and the extension of suffrage. There exists clear evidence of the subservient participation of artisans in the reform movements of hacendados.[64]

Significantly, it was also in Ponce, the urban arena for these political movements, that the first artisans' newspaper El Artesano (1874) was published. Its masthead bore the label "Republican Federal Newspaper". Federative Republicanism had been precisely the battle flag of the hacendados in their struggle for their own autonomous government. It is also highly significant that before Ensayo Obrero (1897), which marked the radical transformation toward an independent labor movement, four of the six artisan newspapers were edited in Ponce. These papers sought to dignify labor within the liberal struggles. El Artesano, the Heraldo del Trabajo (1878-80), El

Obrero (1889-90), and the Revista Obrera (1893) were edited in Ponce.

Musical analysis of the danza is extremely revealing because it was music produced by artisans precisely in the process of their struggle for civil recognition. It is a music by artisans but for the hacendados, a music that was part of the relationship between those two classes as an authentically popular expression that nonetheless carries the mark of hacendado hegemony. A series of popular elements, from the peasant seis to the plantation bomba, was transformed, with obvious Cuban and Spanish influences,[65] into sophisticated ballroom music suitable for landowners dancing stiffly in their exclusive clubs.[66] From its early development the bastonero, who would call out the steps for the contradanza, was eliminated, thus allowing a couple to shine in the full freedom of its own expression.[67] The danza nonetheless still retains elements of figure dancing, betraying the bourgeois-aristocratic tension which the contradictory project of the hacendados exhibited at that time.

The confrontation between San Juan and the rural world, and the alien character (identified with the Spanish government) of its dominant class, did not favor an integrated hegemony in the capital. During festivities of the patron saint's day military bands, artisans' bands, and country songs alternated, and the "people" dancing until six in the morning amused themselves "by startling the poor country folk who arrived with their loads for the market," a document of the period points out.[68] On the other hand, the ambience of Ponce facilitated stratified integration in the cultural realm. The city was the urban center of a rural world, which included the three principal agrarian sectors of the country: the slave plantation, the seigniorial hacienda, and the independent peasantry. As we have pointed out,

it was the center for a national class with hegemonic aspirations which through the service sectors, the port, and its commerce linked the different segments of the rural sector to the urban world. The social character of the city thus made possible the development of an integrative hegemony--an integration which the artisan class, in its efforts to obtain recognition of its civil existence, helped to achieve for the hacendados.

The danza's triplet rhythm (or flexible triplet), used earlier by the seis,[69] within the classical 2/4 mold breaks the rhythmic monotony of European dances of the period, introducing the flavor of the African rhythmic heritage.[70] In the bomba, for example, the importance of rhythm is such that the melody accompanies the percussion instead of vice versa. The danza incorporates that fundamental role of rhythm, but not in the protagonist position that it has in bomba: on the contrary, in a quite discreet role, not competing with the melody, never overpowering it. That humbler role of rhythm is achieved in the danza through a second melodic-harmonic voice. That is to say, the basic rhythmic pattern is not percussive; it is not given by the drum but by the bombardino (a metal instrument or saxhorn) which, not coincidentally, is one of the melodic instruments whose tone most resembles the drum.[71] Referring to the bombardino, the instrument of the most renowned danza composer, Juan Morel Campos, Mirabal points out: "We have stopped before this obscure instrument because it is something like a point of departure for any serious study of harmonization in the danza that might be undertaken in the future."[72]

In an exclusive "first-class" club (casino de primera) it was inadmissible at that time to introduce in a heroic role the rhythm of the drum, identified as it was with the songs of slaves. The artisans

camouflaged it with the "obscure" bombardino.[73] So subtle and effective was this camouflaging that even one of the most important Puerto Rican musicians of the beginning of the century, Braulio Dueño Colón, whose school songs must be examined in classist terms, points out in an essay which received a prize from the Ateneo Puertorriqueño in 1914: "We will not deny that there was a time in which our danza degenerated deplorably owing to the bad artistic taste of certain composers and orchestra directors who used the African bomba, imprinting on the danza a grotesque and therefore antiesthetic rhythm. Fortunately, the exquisite taste of artists such as Tavárez, Ramos (Heraclío), and Campos triumphed, and the native danza again regained the soft, gracious rhythm that always characterized it."[74] Even so, Dueño Colón, unable to hide his musical whiteelitism (blanquismo), points out later "the [still] faulty rhythmic relationship between the melody and the accompaniment," pleading for the correction of "that formal defect."[75]

It was through that supposed "formal defect" that the bombardino introduced, as accompaniment to the danza, basic forms of the diverse traditions of popular music into the grand ballroom. In what was then called the merengue, or the danceable part of the danza, the bombardino obbligato was basic. It supplied the rhythm which was at the same time harmony, through a second complementary melodic part.[76] With this extraordinary integration of musical elements, the bombardino obbligato transformed the danza into polyphonic music (i.e., a highly sophisticated musical form, made up of simultaneous multiple voices). In contrast, in European ballroom music at the time the homophonic structure (i.e., one melody part accompanied by harmonies of chords and arpeggios) prevailed almost absolutely.[77] It is significant that the danza picks up the polyphonic texture from peasant

music, from the seis, in which the cuatro accompanies the song with an extremely varied, supplementary melodic voice, thus achieving astonishing melodic interplays of several voices. The innovative feature of fact in the danza is that polyphony also provides the rhythm.

The bombardino, however, is a discreet instrument. Despite its fundamental importance in the danza the instrument that gives it its character, the bombardino, remains subordinate to the violins and the clarinet throughout the entire composition. These carry the principal melody, and the bombardino subtly accompanies them. The bombardino in the danza illustrates the ideology of artisans of the period or rather, this ideology manifests itself through the bombardino's function in that music. This ideology conceived of work as the center of social life, but subordinated to the leadership of hacendados and professionals. The most that the bombardino dares in the danza is to carry the melodic part in one of the four sections of the merengue,[78] moreover, always the third part. Such is the case, for example, in danzas such as "Sara" by Angel Mislán or "Impromptu" by Luis R. Miranda. It is important not to overlook the melodic form of that bombardino solo in the third danceable section of the danza because the similarities with the cadences of the cuatro and the seis are newly evident, although again camouflaged by the radical change in resonant tone. It was impossible to introduce the rustic cuatro into the regularly performed music of a "first-class" dance hall as in the case of the drum. The artisans incorporated the cuatro's tradition through the bombardino. Even the incorporation of the güicharo in the mid-19th century, says Fonfrías, "proved to be somewhat blasphemous, but this instrument stayed on meekly," [79] probably because of its discreet role in reemphasizing (not

establishing) the lilting sweet-swing rhythmical pattern of the danceable part. The danza is, then, a sophisticated tribute of the subordinate classes to the dominant class. The dominant culture could identify it as national music. The analysis of this music shows the enormous potential for national integration that the artisans had. This potential was eclipsed (as the music itself shows) by their subordination, that is, by their struggle to attain dignity through recognition of their civil existence and by the hacendados' success in paternalistically preempting that recognition.

Finale presto: salsa, democracy, and utopia

We must now take a large historical leap and return to our starting point in the analysis of contemporary music.The finale will be presto. This means omitting examination of intervening social processes as well as study of the important plena and bolero forms.

My contention is that contemporary popular music in Puerto Rico, and particularly salsa, is national in character. It is not, like the danza, national in subordination to the culture of a hegemonic class[80] but national with respect to an alternative culture being shaped and advanced by the popular classes. Bomba and seis were musical languages through which particular sectors or classes of Puerto Rican society expressed themselves.[81] Salsa and other contemporary Puerto Rican music like the danza are a not merely a music of class expression but also of class interaction. Contrary to the traditional danza, popular classes are not in this musical language in a subordinate position, but in a struggle for hegemony. The salsa, danza, and other contemporary Puerto Rican music incorporate creatively the

previous Puerto Rican musical traditions of bomba, seis, and the danza itself,with the libertarian spontaneity of the former two greatly enhanced.

The instrumentation in salsa is revealing in light of the sociohistorical significance we have analyzed for the different sounds (timbres) of instruments. The essential but subordinated role of the bombardino in the danza is radically transformed in its successor: the trombone is the leading instrument in salsa. The sounds of these two instruments are similar, but while the bombardino is somewhat dry, the trombone is hoarse; the bombardino is modest, while the trombone is defiant and daring. In salsa the trombone solos are no longer camouflaged in a discreet third section but open the song or appear at decisive agonistic moments. (Willie Colón's extraordinary song El día de mi suerte[82] provides one among many excellent examples.) The salient incorporation of cuatro and drums in salsa is also significant. These timbres, reminiscent of the maroon traditions of plantation and counter-plantation, are not camouflaged as in the danza but exhibited daringly and developed in skillful integration with the brass winds. The jazz-type descargas of trombone, percussion, and cuatro mentioned in the Prelude are clear evidence of this.

In a record with the revealing maroon title of Vámonos pa'l monte ("Let's go to the hinterland"), New York-born Puerto Rican Eddie Palmieri, famous for his jazz innovations in salsa (a manifesto of spontaneity within inherited molds), included a song he called La libertad: ¡lógico! (Liberty: of course!). Venezuelan disc jockey César Miguel Rondón acutely describes the song as follows: "All the melody springs from an absolute and aggressive line that runs from beginning to end. In response to the insistent refrain [of the call-and-response structure] the lead singer plays freely with four

phrases, which he repeats according to changes in the force of rhythm."[83]

The four phrases are the following:

La libertad, caballero, no me la quites a mí...	(Liberty, man, don't take it away from me...
Pero mira que también yo soy humano y fue aquí donde nací...	But can't you see I am also human? and it was here where I was born...
Económicamente, económicamente esclavo de ti...	Economically speaking, economically enslaved by you...
Esclavo de ti, caballero, pero, qué va, tú no me engañas a mí, tú no me engañas tú no me engañas...	I am your slave, man, but, no way, you can't fool me, you can't fool me, you will not fool me...)

And the refrain repeats:

No, no, no, no me trates así.	(No, no, no, do not treat me that way.)

Rondón adds: "Arranging the number in this way always seemed to me a very nice touch. A linear development of the theme in the name of lyrical consistency would have reduced the effectiveness of the refrain. Very much so, in fact, if the theme is the demand for liberty in a world that oppresses the Puerto Rican. If this demand is desperate and aggressive, then the song should not be less so".[84]

One of the first great recordings of salsa, released in late 1960s, had as its title Justicia (Justice). It was also by Eddie Palmieri. The record begins with a hot guaracha-type salsa whose the lyrics in denouncing tyranny claim, with optimism, justice for Puerto Ricans and American blacks ("pa'los boricuas y los niggers"):

Justicia tendrán justicia verán, en el mundo, los discriminados.	(Justice they'll have, justice they'll see, in this world, the discriminated ones.
Con el canto del tango mira, justicia yo reclamo.	With the chant of my tango see man, justice I demand.
...Si no hubiera tiranía todos fuéramos hermanos...	...If there were no tyranny we'd all be brothers...
Tú verás, mi socio, como vamos a guarachar	You'll see, pal, how we're gonna dance
y cuando llegue (la justicia), será felicidad. everything.	guarachas and the day justice ese día tó' comes happiness will be
Justicia tendremos...	Justice we'll have...)

As in this first song, the record ends with the certainty of future happiness. Transforming with jazz-type modulations and a Puerto Rican accent the modern maroon utopia of the New York musical West Side Story, the record concludes with:

> Somewhere, a place
> for us...
>
> Some day, a time
> for us...
>
> open-aired and time
> to spare...
>
> hold my hand and we
> are half way there.
>
> Some day, somewhere
> we'll find a new
> way of living...

NOTES

1. Sung by Celia Cruz and included in Fania collective L.P. record Crossover, New York, (1976). The following is my translation:

While dancing, she may have liberated herself,
the message of Isadora was authentic.
In every love, a passion she lived,
and to no one would Isadora enchain herself.

For the dance she dominated
which was like a flame of her passion,
she got world-wide acclaim.

Isadora Duncan formed liberation.
Isadora Duncan is a legend that never died.

She had charm, sympathy, courage: she was pure sincerity.
Through Isadora's legs, many ideals used to dance.
With her improvisations, she imposed new fads.

Isadora Duncan danced,
without rules nor established positions:
she danced with sweet improvisation.

She liberated herself while dancing,
she liberated herself while loving.
That's why, Isadora Duncan,
I can't stop singing in your honor.

2. César Miguel Rondón, El libro de la salsa, crónicas de la música del Caribe urbano. (Caracas: Ed. Arte, 1980). This book includes many examples.

3. Ibid. and John Storms Roberts, The Latin Tinge (New York: Oxford U. Press, 1979), pp. 187, 232.

4. It is thus erroneous to characterize salsa as a music of an ethnic minority in the United States. This limited vision constitutes an enormous shortcoming for John Rockwell's analysis of salsa musician Eddie Palmieri: All American Music, Composition in the Late XXth Century (N.Y.: Vintage, 1984), chap. 17. This excellent book tries to cover an ample range of composition in the U.S., from most avant-garde classical music to hard rock. One of its twenty chapters is on salsa and is probably the weakest, precisely because salsa is not an "all American music."

5. See also Rondón, op. cit.

6. Cristóbal Díaz Ayala, Música cubana, del areyto a la nueva trova (San Juan: Cubanacán 1981) describes many of these attempts. Also Natalio

Galán, Cuba y sus sones (Valencia: Pre-textos, 1983), e.g., p. 212.

7. Stanley Sadie, ed., New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (London: Macmillan, 1980) Vol. 13, p. 460.

8. Héctor Vega Drouet, Historical and Ethnological Survey on Probable African Origins of the Puerto Rican Bomba, Ph.D. diss., Wesleyan University, Connecticut, 1979.

It is significant that in Spanish Saint Domingue, today the Dominican Republic, the black music most within the African tradition was also called bomba. See Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi, Música y baile en Santo Domingo (Santo Domingo: Lib. Hispaniola, 1971), p. 55.

9. Among various possible sources, illustrations can be seen in John Storm Roberts, Black Music of the Two Worlds (N.Y.: Morrow, 1974).

10. Manuel Alvarez Nazario, El elemento afronegroide en el español de Puerto Rico (S.J.: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña 1974), p. 298.

11. Roberts, The Latin Tinge

12. See Lydia Milagros González, filmscript of documentary La herencia de un tambor, S.J., 1984. Other descriptions in Manuel Alvarez Nazario, "Historia de las denominaciones de los bailes de bomba," Revisita de Ciencias Sociales 4,1 (1960); Edwin Figueroa Berríos, "Los sones de bomba enla tradición popular de la costa sur de Puerto Rico", Revista del Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña 21 (1963); and Francisco López Cruz, La música folklórica de Puerto Rico (Sharon, CT: Troutman Press, 1967), pp. 48-50.

13. It is revealing that in the 18th century to live isolated in the mountains and hills was said to be "living like Indians." Iñigo Abbad y Lasierra, Historia geográfica, civil y natural de la Isla de San Juan Baptista de Puerto Rico (1782) (S.J.: Ed. UPR, 1959) p. 185. The settlement pattern of the Taíno was actually the opposite living as they did in yucayekes or villages. Amaryllis Colón Vázquez, Documental de la maqueta de un yucayeke en Borinquén, fundamentado en las crónicas y documentos de la época de la colonizacíon, B.A. thesis, University of Puerto Rico, General Studies, S.J., 1974. Also Samuel Eliot Morison, ed., Journals and Other Documents of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus (N.Y.: Heritage Press, 1963).

14. Among various works on the subject, Charles Lea, The Moriscos of Spain, their Conversion and Expulsion (N.Y.: Greenwood Press, 1968) and Cecil Roth, History of the Marranos (Spanish ed., Madrid: Altalena, 1979) are considered classic studies. Although distressingly pro-Christian, the works of Antonio Domínguez Ortiz are important historical studies: Los judeoconversos en España y América (Madrid: Ed. Istmo, 1978) La clase social de los conversos en Castilla en la Edad Moderna (Madrid?: Inst. Barnes de Sociología, 1958) and with Bernard Vicent as coauthor, Historia de los moriscos (Madrid: Rev. de Occidente, 1978). In Los judeoconversos..., for example, he states that Spaniards of some Jewish or Moorish ancestry "podían

enrolarse como marinos o soldados en una armada y, una vez llegados a América desertar y perderse en el inmenso continente" (p. 129). A Spanish chronicle on Puerto Rico by O'Reylly (1765) (included in E. Fernández Méndez, ed., Crónicas de Puerto Rico (Vol. I, S.J.: ELA, 1957), states that the island "habiéndose poblado con algunos soldados... agregáronse a éstos un número de polizontes, grumetes y marineros que desertaban de cada embarcación que allí tocaba: esta gente por si muy desidiosa, y sin sujeción alguna por parte del Gobierno, se extendió por aquellos campos y bosques..." (p. 241). The description has such similarities with Domínguez Ortiz' analysis, that the reasons for such frequent desertions seem to be those explained by him. One must remember that Puerto Rico was the first stopover of ships from Spain to America in one of the two flotas Geoffrey Walker, Spanish Politics and Imperial Trade 1700-1789 (London: Macmillan, 1979). Domínguez Ortiz adds that "La eficacia de estas disposiciones [against Marrano or Morisca emigration to America] debió ser escasa" (p. 129).

Rodolfo Puigross in La España que conquistó el nuevo mundo, (Buenos Aires: Cultural, 1965), describing the strict state regulations against migration to America of Spaniards Jewish or Moorish ancestry adds: "lo que no evitó que muchos de éstos lo hicieran clandestinamente" (p. 102). On the ways used to evade these prohibitions, see Juan Friede, "Algunas observaciones sobre la imigración española a América", Revista de Indias, 12:49.

15. Albert A. Sicroff, Les controverses des status de pureté de sang en Espagne du XVe au XVIIe siecle (Paris: Lib. Marcel Didier, 1960); Henry Charles Lea, A History of the Inquisition (4 vols., N.Y.: Macmillan, 1906); Joaquín Pérez Villanueva, ed., La Inquisición Española (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1980). Marcelin Defourneaux, L'Inquisition espagnole et les livres francais au XVIIIe siecle (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963), concludes: "Non, l'Inquisition n'a pas, en fait, fermé l'Espagne a la culture européene...;Mais elle a donné à certain de ceux qui vivairent a l'intérieur de ses frontieres l'impression d'être enfermésdans une prison..." (p. 166).

16. Marcelin Defourneaux, Daily Life in Spain in the Golden Age (London: Allan and Unwin, 1970) chap. 11. This book is also in many other aspects an excellent analytical description of social life in Spain during the beginnings of the colonization of America.

17. Ibid. The works of Américo Castro include numerous penetrating insights on this process: España en su historia, cristianos, moros y judíos (Barcelona: Crítica [1948], 1983); La realidad histórica de España (México: Porrúa, 1971) De la Edad Conflictiva, crisis de la cultura española en el siglo XVII, (Madrid: Taurus [1961], 1976), among others. Also useful, though too apologetic for the dominant Spanish culture, is Ludwig Pfandl, Cultura y costumbres del pueblo español de los siglos XVI y XVII (Barcelona: Araluce, [1929], 1942).

18. Generoso Morales Muñoz, Fundación del pueblo de Gurabo (S.J.: Imp. Venezuela, 1944) p. 12, presents a vivid description of this amalgam of different types of runaway in the formation of Puerto Rican rural culture. The importance of the incorporation of Spanish stowaways and deserters to this world is described by the chronicles of O'Reylly, op. cit., and Abbad, op. cit.

19. E.g. Manuel Moreno Fraginals, "Aportes culturales y deculturación" in Moreno, ed., Africa en América (México: Siglo XXI, 1977).

20. It is significant to note that much later (1868), during the most important Puerto Rican independentist rebellion against Spain, Spaniards identified with the colonial regime appear referred to in some documents as godos (goths), an echo of barbarian invasions. This term is still used in the Canary Islands to refer to Castilians. See Luis de la Rosa Martínez, La periferia del Grito de Lares, Antolgía de documentos históricos (1861-1869) (Santo Domingo: Ed. Corripio, 1983), p. 116.

21. "They are spontaneously of one manner and need to live in another," Iberoamérica (N.Y.: Dryden Press, 1966), p. 51. Castro's and Defourneaux's analysis of the significance of the cultural phenomenon of honor in the Spanish culture of the period are very illuminating. See also Bartolomé Bennassar, L'Homme Espagnol: attitudes et mentalités du XVIe au XIXe siècle (Paris: Hachette, 1975).

22. Los judeoconversos..., p. 131.

23. It is significant that the word was used first regarding animals that were supposed to be domestic but were at liberty like wild cattle or dogs. The word referred later to persons others had tried unsuccessfully to domesticate, most evidently through slavery. The Veláquez Spanish-English Dictionary (Chicago: Follet, 1964) p. 162, correctly defines cimarrón as "wild and unruly", runaway slave. See also Richard Price, ed., Sociedades cimarronas (México: Siglo XXI, 1981), p. 11, note 1. In this excellent book, although Price recognizes this original meaning of the word and is aware of ethnic fusions in the "wild" (but mainly between Afroamericans and Indians, p. 25), he uses the termbasically in its English meaning of black runaway slave. Benjamín Nistal, Esclavos prófugos y cimarrones, Puerto Rico 1770-1870 (S.J.: Ed. UPR, 1984), also uses the word in this sense, which, for the period it covers, is understandable and correct.

24. Enrique A. Laguerre and Esther M. Melón, El jíbaro de Puerto Rico: símbolo y figura (Sharon, CT: Troutman Press, 1968), state that the first written evidence of the word dates from 1814. They refer to racial mixture but stressing Hispanic predominance. Eloísa Rivera de García, "Primeras notas del tema jíbaro en la literatura puertorriqueña, Revista del Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña 7, 23 (1964), quotes the first literary use of the word in "Coplas del Gíbaro," published in 1820, in which the first "copla" talks about "Tío Juan Congo tocará ei tamboi" (p. 56) in obvious reference to his African descent. But Salvador Brau, Historia de Puerto Rico (N.Y.,1904), states that "La voz jíbaro, que por primera vez se aplica a los campesinos de Puerto Rico en documentos oficiales del siglo XVIII, es de origen indio. Con ella se designaba uno de los numerosos grupos o 'naciones' en que se hallaba dividido el pueblo caribe. Y precisamente distinguíase la nación jíbara por sus hábitos montaraces y cerriles, concepto en que aparece usada esa palabra en distintas comarcas" (p. 181). Esteban Pichardo, Diccionario provincial casi razonado de vozes y frases cubanas (La Habana: Academia Cubana de la Lengua [1836], 1953), p. 408, defines

cimarrón as "El perro o perra que se hace montaraz y su descendencia." Pichardo adds that in the eastern part of the Island (i.e., which is closer geographically, ecologically, and socially to Puerto Rico) jíbaro refers "al hombre de modales o costumbres agrestes" and is used as a synonym for "montaraz, rústico e indomable." The 20th century revision of this dictionary by Esteban Rodríguez adds that the word is used for "personas y animales cuando huyen del trato humano." I have not found specific links between the Caribbean word jíbaro and the jívaro Indians of South America, but probably they both have the implication of unruly and wild.

25. El camino de Santiago (Buenos Aires, 1957), p. 69.

26. This is the type of marronage that Price's book op. cit.,deals with mostly as the subtitle of its original English edition makes clear: "Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas."

27. Jean Casimir, La cultura oprimida (México: Nueva Imagen, 1981) esp. Chapter 4; and "Estudio de caso respuesta a los problemas de la esclavitud y de la colonización en Haití" in Moreno Fraginals, Africa..., chapter 17, has convincingly argue that post-independence Haitian village-society (aldeana) was a modified African presence in America via the counter-plantation ideology. It was the only case to my knowledge where counter-plantation social formation was predominant and analysis of its relations with the new national state could provide insights into its dynamics and contradictions. Post-emancipation Jamaican society experienced processes of a similar aldeana character. See Philip D. Curtin, Two Jamaicas 1830-65 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard U. Press, 1955).

28. Carmelo Viñas Mey, Las estructuras agrosociales de la colonización española en América, reprint from Anales de la Real Academia, (1969),46: 173-230, states that "las primeras experiencias fueron agrupar a los indios en pueblos para que vivieran como los labradores cristianos en Castilla" (p. 213). In another work, La sociedad americana y el acceso a la propiedad rural, reprint from Revisita Internacional de Sociología, nos. 1-4, Viñas argues that "the greater proportion of Spaniards that went to America were labradores" (peasants), p. 66. It is revealing that at least until the first half of the 18th century in the Hispanic Caribbean some of them created or participated in the formation of radically different settlement patterns. Viñas, focusing almost exclusively on state regulations, which he idealizes, does not see this phenomenon. Regarding Spain, by the same author, see El problema de la tierra en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII (Madrid: Instituto Jerónimo Zurila, 1941).

29. E.g. Abbad, op. cit.; Andree Pierre Ledrú, Viajes a la Isla de Puerto Rico (1797) (S.J.: Imp. Militar de J. González, 1863); Fernando Miyares, Noticias particulares de la Isla y Plaza de San Juan de Puerto Rico (1775) (S.J.: UPR, 1957).

30. Julio Caro Baroja, Inquisicíon, brujería y criptojudaísmo (Barcelona: Ariel, 1970), p. 17.

31. Abbad, p. 133.

32. Abbad, p. 182. Also Generoso Morales Muñoz, Fundación del pueblo de Lares (S.J.: Imp. Venezuela, 1946), pp. 116-117.

33. Marta Traba, La rebelión de los santos (S.J.: Puerto, 1972).

34. In Spain that "gastronomical" identification of non "Old Christians" was so important that Jews were ironically called marranos (hogs) and in Mallorca they were called chetas (tocino or salted pork lard).

35. Abbad, pp. 188-190 (my translation).

36. Pfandl, Cultura y costumbres..., p. 256.

37. Ibid., p. 161.

38. It was said in Castile that the mulatto Caribbean zarabanda, which Seville, the door to the Indies, had adopted, was "un baile y cantar tan lascivo en las palabras y tan feo en los meneos... tan lascivo y obsceno que parecía estar inventado por Luzbel para inducir a pecar a la senectud y a la santidad misma," José Deleito y Piñuela, ...También se diverte el pueblo (Recuerdos de hace tres siglos) (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1944), p. 79. For more on the Spanish dances of that period in Cotarelo Mori, "Introducción" of his Colección de entremeses, loas, bailes, jácaros y mojigangas desde fines del siglo XVI a mediados del XVIII, vol. 16 of La Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (Madrid, 1911).

39. Brau, Historia..., p. 158.

40. Puerto Rican ethnomusicologist Luis Manuel Alvarez first made me aware of this connection.

41. Luis Manuel Alvarez, "African Heritage of Puerto Rican Folk-music: Poetic Structure," ms., University of Indiana, 1979.

42. Pichardo, op. cit., defines the ey-el-ay in 1832 as follows: "canto vulgar mui común y favorito de los campesinos, cuyas letrillas (décimas, regularmente)... en que compiten los trovadores, etc." (p. 58).

43. Importance described by Abbad, p. 193.

44. Pedro Escabí and Gustavo Batista, research in progress, Social Science Research Center, UPR.

45. Abbad, p. 190.

46. Historia..., p. 158.

47. Quoted in ibid.

48. Deleito, También..., p. 29 for the May Holy Cross feasts; p. 53 for

the Saint John's day eve.

49. The relationship between bomba dances and slave rebellions has been well established by recent historical studies: e.g., Guillermo Baralt, Lydia Milagros González, and Ana Lydia Vega, El machete de Ogún (S.J.: CEREP, in press).

50. Included in Generoso Morales Muñoz, Gurabo..., p. 193 and Fundación del pueblo de Guadiana (Naranjito), Anotaciones al expediente (S.J.: Imp. Venezuela, 1948).

51. Hobsbawm argues that the social bandit emerges mainly in peasant economies menaced by commercialization or mercantile development. See Bandits (London: Penguin, 1969) and Primitive Rebels (Manchester U. Press, 1959).

52. This protection can be reading between lines in documents on the capture of Puerto Rican pirate Roberto Cofresi: D. Porter, An Exposition of the Facts and Circumstances Which Justified the Expedition to Foxardo (Washington: Davis and Force, 1825); and F. G. Geigel, Corsarios y piratas de Puerto Rico, Episodios durante la guerra de los Estados Unidos con los piratas de las Indias Occidentales 1819-1825 (S.J.: Cantero Fdz., 1946).

53. "Ponce, the Danza on the National Question: Notes Toward a Sociology of Puerto Rican Music" in Cimarrón, New Perspectives on the Caribbean 1:2 (1986).

54. For more details and references see my book Conflictos de clase y política en Puerto Rico (S.J.: Huracán-CEREP, 1977). A simple description of the economic relations in that period is found in Lydia M. González and A. G. Quintero-Rivera, La otra cara de la historia, Vol. I (S.J.: CEREP, 1984); in my articles included in Adalberto López, ed. The Puerto Ricans: Their History, Culture and Society (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman, 1980); and in my chapter on Puerto Rico in Cambridge History of Latin America, Leslie Bethell, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986: 5:265-286). I offer a more theoretical discussion in "Notes on Puerto Rican National Development: Class and Nation in a Colonial Context," Marxist Perspectives 9 (1980).

55. Amaury Veray, "Vida y desarrollo de la danza puertorriqueña" and "La misión social de la danza de Juan Morel Campos" in María Rosado, ed., Ensayos sobre la danza puertorriqueña (S.J.: ICP, 1977).

56. On the pro-Spanish alliance of bureaucrats and merchants, see the writings of one of the hacendados opposed to it: Francisco Mariano Quiñones, Conflictos económicos, (Mayagüez: Tip. Comercial, 1888); and Historia de las Partidos Reformista y Conservador en Puerto Rico (Mayagüez: Tip. Comercial, 1889).

57. See, for example, Vizcarrondo's figures in his notes to Ledrú, op. cit., p. 69.

58. The memoirs of a Ponce native, descendant of English forebears from the Lesser Antilles, Albert E. Lee, An Island Grows, Puerto Rico 1873-1942, S.J.: A. E. Lee and Sons, 1963, pp. 11, 67, and 68 contain vivid descriptions of the difference between Ponce and San Juan. Ponce is pictured as cosmopolitan, liberal, free-thinking, and modern; San Juan, as Catholic, Spanish, and conservative. Similar contrasts are presented by Antonio Gautier, Laureles de Ponce, S.J.: ICP, 1979, pp. 59-60; and Mariano Vidal Armstrong, Ponce: notas para su historia, S.J.: Comité Historia de los Pueblos, 1983. On Ponce, see also Enrique González Mena and Joaquín Telechea, Guía comercial e industrial de la ciudad de Ponce, Ponce: Tip. Baldorioty, (1903).

59. Mariano Vidal Armstrong, Estampas, tradiciones y leyendas de Ponce, Burgos: Aldecoa, (1959).

60. Antonio Mirabal, Próceres del arte, Juan Morel Campos, Ponce: Pub. de la Of. Mun. de Hist., 1956, p. 12, also mentions the flautist Allard who moved from San Juan to Ponce during the decade of 1850-60. Morel Campos, himself a native of Ponce, began to work in the Military Band of San Juan, but returned to the city of his birth looking for a stimulating environment. Mirabal points out that as early as 1863 "the name of Ponce resounded in European cultural centers of the highest rank" (p. 13). It is significant that a foreign musician of the importance of Louis Moreau Gottschalk also lived in Ponce upon coming to Puerto Rico. (1857). In contrast to Ponce, I emphasize in this article the official nature of San Juan. But it is important to note, or future analysis, that the internal social reality of San Juan (and likewise of its music) was much more complex. Alongside the official world (subordinate to it, but there emerged a rowdy San Juan (Veray mentions this, p. 28), as expressed in its guarachas. At any rate, that rowdy world (Veray also calls it "frivolous," ibid.) did not offer, as did Ponce, a creative stimulus to the more "cultivated" musicians, in the class process to be discussed later.

61. Veray in "La misión social..." in Rosado, op. cit., explicitly links Ponce's political boom of that period with the danza and the danza with national identity. In the essay by Balseiro (in ibid.) examining the danza, he points out that Luis Muñoz Rivera, foremost political leader of Autonomism, called Ponce "the most Puerto Rican City in Puerto Rico" (p. 49).

62. Some authors point to "La Margarita" (1870) by Julián Andino as the first danza because it was the first explicitly to pioneer use the classic triplet, the rhythmic form that would characterize it. Others point to "La Hortensia" (1855) by Ginés Ramos as the pioneer danza, or else they refer to "La Sopa" from 1848 (e.g., Cecilio R. Font, Cosas de la danza de Puerto Rico, Madrid: Artes Gráficas Ibarra, (1970). The dynamic approach of Veray seems to me more fruitful ("Vida y desarrollo..."); it examines the formation of the genre as a process which goes from the 1840s to the 1870s pointing out that toward the 1850s the contradanza "began to acquire a native profile and

to manifest the Puerto Rican character. The arpeggio accompaniment (1844) is soon enriched with the use of the augmentation point and the semiquaver, which is nothing if not the first gleams of the rhythmic pattern which is transformed into the future triplet" (p. 26). If they were not part of the history of a genre (which gradually jells as a national symbol), "La Margarita" or "La Hortensia" would be considered as individual artistic innovations. The formation of the danza as a genre was a broader musical process, in which innumerable musicians participated: composers and interpreters, in their constant interrelation were particularly important in the popular forms. (Alejo Carpentier, La música en Cuba, Mexico: FCE, 1946, p. 105, correctly analyzes basic forms of Cuban music as "modalities of interpretation which later are committed to paper.") It was a broad process in Puerto Rico, whence its national character, but without question its center was that musico-artisan world, which I attempt to analyze. In this essay I emphasize the social nature of the process, recognizing that the importance of individual artistic achievements cannot be overlooked. In the danza, as in any artistic form (be it the so-called cultured or the popular ones between which the danza moves) the relation between the particular creators (many of them situated also, in their schooling, in an international musical tradition) and the cultural forms that both frame and result from their production is important and complex.

63. See the section written by Gervasio García "El casino de artesanos: del rigodón a la huelga", in García and Quintero, Desafío y solidaridad, breve historia del movimiento obrero en Puerto Rico, S.J.: CEREP-Huracán,(1982), pp. 19-21, and Rubén Dávila, El derribo de las murallas y "El porvenir de Borinquen," CEREP-Cuadernos, Investigación y análisis 8, February, 1983.

64. More details and sources in a previous article: "Socialist and Cigarmaker: Artisans' Proletarization in the Making of the Puerto Rican Working Class," Latin American Perspectives,(1983) 37-38.

65. I have not considered it pertinent here to discuss the complex international web of influences that converge in the type of Caribbean music to which the danza belongs. The Cuban musician Natalio Galán has written an excellent essay on this subject: Cuba y sus sones, especially Chapter 6, "La contradanza sin contra," but it only addresses Cuban music, which was, in any case, the dominant source of the Caribbean tradition until very recently. This evident hegemony occasionally blinds Galán with an ethnocentrism (pathetically outrageous in the prologue by Cabrera Infante) which identifies as Cuban, processes that carry a broader Caribbean significance. Even so, the essay is excellent; it examines the formation of the genre as process, giving solid evidence of the importance of mulattoes and free blacks in the development of that musical tradition. Previously, Alejo Carpentier had also argued this point in La música en Cuba. Through other documents we know that mulattoes and free blacks in that tradition were basically artisans, so much so that Esteban Pichardo points out in 1836 (and reaffirms in 1875) that the traditional respectful word for a musician, maestro came to be used in Cuba indistinguishably to refer to those who "carry on a craft or a trade" (i.e., artisans) or to "people of color," p. 442; see also p. 490). It is extremely revealing that the character of Pimienta, one of the protagonists

of the classic nineteenth-century costumbrista novel, Cirilo Villaverde's Cecilia Valdés (1882), was a free black and a tailor and, at the same time, a musician. See also Díaz Ayala, Música cubana..., and María Teresa Linares, La música y el pueblo, La Habana: Inst. Cubano' del Libro, 1974, p. 194, although the latter draws on a quite unfortunate explanatory context.

Rodríguez Demorizi, Música y baile en Santo Domingo, especially in the section titled "Un apunte acerca del merengue," (pp. 127-33) points out interesting parallels between the music that would become "national" in both of the fraternal Caribbean countries. He describes the merengue as a mid-nineteenth-century form of the native danza (pp. 125, 176) and the merengues included a walk or paseo at the time. On the other hand, the danza has been analyzed as the development of the Cuban upa, or the merengue (pp. 130-32); (also Cesáreo Rosa Nieves, "Apuntes sobre los bailes en Puerto Rico," Revista Historia (1951) 1:2, pp. 191-92). The danceable part of the danza (i.e., the part that followed the walk) continued to be called merengue. From the description of Rodríguez Demorizi one may note the initially popular character of both the danza and the merengue (p. 130), but he does not link the differences in the class structures of both countries to the later development of these genres. While in Santo Domingo, the merengue keeps its dominance, maintaining its popular character in the face of attacks from the dominant classes, in Puerto Rico, where the danza was also attacked, the latter develops in such a way that it incorporates the character of the hegemonic class, as we will attempt to analyze in this text.

66. Veray, "La misión social...," p. 41, observes this double character of the danza. He points out that it was "the first dance with an intimate character in our emerging bourgeoisie" (referring to what I call the class of the hacendados); a few lines before, his text mentions the danza's evident "popular flavor."

67. Concretely, in 1839; see Ernesto Juan Fonfrías, Apuntes sobre la danza puertorriqueña, S.J.: ICP, 1967, p. 3. Galán, Cuba y..., p. 137., also points out the importance of the couple in the development of the Cuban danza, as part of the "modernizing individualism" characteristic of the transformations of the period.

68. Crónica de San Juan o sea descripción de las fiestas con que la ciudad de Puerto Rico ha celebrado a su santo patrón en el año 1864, S.J.: Imp. del Comercio, 1864, p. 43.

69. López Cruz, La música..., p. 4. James A. McCoy, The Bomba and Aquinaldo of Puerto Rico, as They have Evolved from Indigenous African and European Cultures, Ph. D. diss., The Florida State University, 1968, points out also that "the most evident rhythmic characteristics of the aquinaldo (a type of seis) are syncopation and the use of triplets" (p. 61) and "the triplet figure which is so characteristic in the aquinaldo is not immediately evident in the Nativity villancicos of Spain" (p. 64).

70. Galán, p. 283. Comparing the bolero to the contradanza, Gálan dates the transition from the three-part rhythm (3/4) —which was more common in Europe at the time — to a binary one (2/4), at about 1840. He considers

this a development of Caribbean mulatto culture in that as it provided greater freedom in the use of accents, and thereby facilited syncopated cadences which disrupted rhythmic monotony.

71. Many of the danza scores are written for piano, but according to ethnomusicologist Luis Manuel Alvarez, this was a condensed form of transcribing music performed mainly by small ensembles generally composed of one or two violins, a clarinet, a flute, two or three bombardinos, a contrabass, and a güiro.

72. Próceres, p. 28. It is very significant that four of the six dancing orchestras in Ponce in 1895 were conducted by musicians who were originally bombardino players (Rámon orel ampos, Guía local y de comercio de la ciudad de Ponce, Ponce: Tip. El Telégrafo, 1895, pp. 68-69).

73. This type of camouflage also appeared in the Cuban danza, but with other instruments and under other forms. Galán, p. 135, reproduces a quote from 1837, which says "Who doesn't knw that the danza musicians' basses in this country are an echo of the drum in the tangos?" and Carpentier, p. 112, points out that "Thanks to the black man, there began to appear, in the basses, in the accompaniment of the contradanza, a series of displaced accents, of graceful complications, of ways of doing, which created a habit, giving rise to a tradition." And further on (p. 185), he links the role of the clarinet (second in the Cuban danza) with the rhythms which "spring from the hands (in reference to the drum beat) of Santiago's French blacks." It is interesting how in the transformation of the danza into the danzón (which musicologists agree was the Cuban national dance at the beginning of the twentieth century), the mulatto aspect of Cuban culture is presented without beating around the bush; the danzón went so far as to incorporate (after El bombén de Barreto in 1910) a final section with rumba and son tunes: the montuno ending (montuno: the rhythmic dancing coda of Cuban country songs). The initial reaction of the high-class clubs to the danzón illustrates the importance of the camouflage at the time of its use. For example, Serafín Ramírez, La Habana, artística, La Habana: Imp. de la Cap. Gen., 1891, p. 29, protests to "the rowdy, spicy rhythm which accompanies that degeneracy of our contradanza called danzón and pleads for the elimination of "the harsh singsong of the guayo and the stupefying noise of the drums." The importance of blacks and mulattoes within Puerto Rican musicians is shown statistically in the 1862 Census. While colored population represented then 23.7% of farm laborers, 13.2% of landowners, 0.8% of merchants, and 0.3% of sales people in stores, it represented 67.5% of musicians. Quoted in Rafael María de Labra, La brutalidad de los negros, Madrid: Imp. de Aurelio Alaria, 1876, p. 37.

74. "Estudio sobre la danza puertorriqueña," reprinted in Rosado, ed., Ensayos sobre la danza..., pp. 17, 22.

75. The works of Font and Veray, quoted above, present a defense of the use of the triplet.

76. Francis Bebey, Musique de l'Afrique, Paris: Horizons de France, 1969, describes as an African tradition the search for and creation of

instruments which could simultaneously supply melody and percussion.

77. Citing a description from 1865, Galán, p.166, points to the European perplexity with the polyphony of the Cuban danza.

78. With the exception of danzas of a very particular type, such as "No me toques" by Morel Campos, where the staccato in the bombardino gives that instrument, in this context, a graceful or playful character, which could not be interpreted as defiant.

79. "Apuntes...," p. 4.

80. ...which always incorporates elements engendered by subordinate classes. See discussions in Raymond Williams, Problems in Materialism and Culture, London: Verso, 1980.

81. This, in basic terms, which does not rule out the intense intercommunication between both genres. In the XVIIIth century Iedru, Viaje..., mentions the word bomba within a description of a peasant ambience. And in both Cuba and in Puerto Rico, the word bomba was used to stop music momentarily to recite a copla. In Puerto Rico, a particular variant of seis was used in this combination of dance and declamation, and it was called seis bombeao. López Cruz, La música..., p. 19.

82. Included in the LP Lo Mato, N.Y.: Fania, 1973.

83. El libro..., p. 85 (my translation).

84. Ibid.